


# THE AMERICAN FEMINIST

 FEMINISTS FOR LIFE  
OF AMERICA



**BEYOND  
THE SCHISM:** **RECLAIMING  
FEMINISM**



What I have done,  
has been done,  
because I wanted to see

**BETTER** conditions,  
**BETTER** surroundings,  
**BETTER** circumstances  
for women.

Susan B. Anthony  
on the occasion of her 80<sup>th</sup> birthday  
February 15, 1900

**SO DO WE!**

## The Guttmacher Institute reveals who most needs our help:

- **75%** of the women having abortions are the poor and working poor (including those in college who have little or no income).
- **66%** are pursuing post-secondary degrees.
- **61%** are women of color.
- **59%** are already mothers (including those who had children in high school and during college).
- Half of all abortions are repeat abortions.

## Women Deserve Better®

Help us realize by 2020, the Centennial Celebration of the 19<sup>th</sup> Amendment, the unfulfilled vision of Susan B. Anthony, who urged the movement to address the root causes that drive women to abortion.



### Three Easy Ways to Multiply Your Impact

1. Please make a tax-deductible donation by December 31 that will qualify for our year-end match led by the FFL Board and Friends (including former Board members). Gifts of stock also appreciated.
2. Make a new or increased monthly gift, and your first gift will be double-matched!
3. If your employer matches donations, please include a corporate matching form to double your gift yet again!

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The matching gift campaign ends December 31, 2017, so please go online now to [www.feministsforlife.org/support](http://www.feministsforlife.org/support), or use the enclosed envelope or the form on page 22.

On behalf of those we serve, we thank you!

Feminists for Life is a 501(c)(3) organization. All membership contributions and donations to Feminists for Life of America and WomenDeserveBetter.com are much needed, deeply appreciated, and tax-deductible to the extent allowed by law.

# THE AMERICAN FEMINIST®

A publication of Feminists for Life of America

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Established in 1972, Feminists for Life of America is a nonsectarian, nonpartisan, grassroots organization that seeks real solutions to the challenges women face. Our efforts are shaped by the core feminist values of justice, nondiscrimination, and nonviolence. Feminists for Life of America continues the tradition of early American feminists such as Susan B. Anthony, who opposed abortion.

Feminists for Life of America recognizes that abortion is a reflection that our society has failed to meet the needs of women. We are dedicated to systematically eliminating the root causes that drive women to abortion—primarily lack of practical resources and support—through holistic, woman-centered solutions. Women deserve better than abortion.

Feminists for Life of America is a 501(c)(3) organization. All donations are tax-deductible to the full extent allowed by law.

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WHEN A MAN STEALS TO SATISFY HUNGER, WE  
MAY SAFELY CONCLUDE THAT THERE IS  
SOMETHING WRONG IN SOCIETY—SO WHEN A  
WOMAN DESTROYS THE LIFE OF HER UNBORN  
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BEEN GREATLY WRONGED.

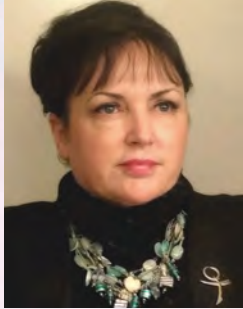
—Mattie Brinkerhoff,  
*The Revolution*, September 2, 1869

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FEMINISTS FOR LIFE  
OF AMERICA

# HASTEN THE DAY...



## “Abortion is the ultimate in the exploitation of women.”

—Alice Paul, author of the Equal Rights Amendment and suffrage leader

As we approach the 45<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the *Roe v. Wade* and *Doe v. Bolton* twin decisions that legalized abortion through all nine months of pregnancy for any reason, we pause again to remember those women and children who have died, and support those who mourn.

Many of us continue to wonder *how could this have happened in America*, a country that through centuries of expanded rights, from nobles in Europe to the common man, to freeing those who were enslaved, and finally suffrage for women and people of color, including (and lastly) indigenous Americans. *How did we get to the point when we would now betray our feminist principles of nonviolence, nondiscrimination, and justice for all, and replace a patriarchy with a matriarchy?*

In my speech, “The Feminist Case *Against* Abortion,” I explain how the two men who founded NARAL sadly convinced the women’s movement to embrace abortion by arguing that it wasn’t the employer or educator’s responsibility to accommodate pregnant women or mothers. But in this issue, **I ask Sue Ellen Browder, author of *Subverted*, to reveal the details of that very moment that split feminists for abortion from feminists for life—and was Alice Paul there?**

In this issue, with input from people like you who support our work, we also explore the impact of *Roe* and *Doe* on women and men, on those who remember the moment, and on those

yet to be born. We count down the most ridiculous questions still asked of pro-life feminists. And we examine “bad medicine” in the abortion business.

You will be inspired by the evolution of one woman who has lived through much of what we talk about. Learn what you can do to help us fulfill the unrealized vision of Susan B. Anthony to address the root causes that drive women to abortion.

Basics like medical coverage, child care, child support, and **diapers aren’t sexy, but they are what mothers need, what they want, and what women deserve.** So we provide a handout, our new Women Deserve Better® brochure, and our ad (which you can also download) to share on campus, in the workplace, and in your community.

I urge you to be a benefactor for those at highest risk by sharing this resource as well as through your year-end donation. Thank you for your sacrifice and support as we get closer to achieving our mission of resources and support, and making abortion unthinkable.

Because women deserve better,

**SERRIN M. FOSTER**  
PRESIDENT

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Serrin".



# THE UNSEEN VOTE THAT CHANGED THE WORLD

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THE NIGHT ABORTION ADVOCATES HIJACKED FEMINISM

America continues to be torn apart by the abortion debate. Not since the Civil War has our nation been so divided over a single issue. Abortion advocates believe abortion sets women free to be themselves and is a civil right, while pro-lifers recognize that abortion is killing a human being. Feminists for Life sees abortion as an attack on *women*—as well as the destruction of unborn children—that *keeps* women from being free and achieving our full potential.

Since the first wave feminists were—without known exception—pro-life, how, where, and when did this deep cultural divide in our nation begin? Did it just pop up out of nowhere? You know some of this from hearing or reading my speech, “The Feminist Case *Against* Abortion.” But there is so much more of our history that you need to know and share.

Veteran investigative journalist Sue Ellen Browder has written a profound book to answer these questions. In her book *Subverted*, she reveals the never-before-told story about the night abortion forces, working behind the scenes, hijacked feminism to serve their own purposes. I recently had an opportunity to speak with Sue Ellen about that night and what it has meant to our nation. My questions are in **bold**.

Serrin M. Foster  
President

**There are two stories in this book. One is your personal story as a writer for *Cosmopolitan*, *New Woman*, and other women’s magazines, which gave you a lifetime of experience reporting on the women’s movement. The other is a tell-all exposé about how and when the 1960s feminist movement (which was originally pro-life) was hijacked by abortion forces. Give our readers just a brief sense of your personal story.**

During the 30 years I was working for women’s magazines in New York City, I was firmly pro-choice. All my media



Sue Ellen Browder, author of *Subverted: How I Helped the Sexual Revolution Hijack the Women’s Movement*

colleagues and friends were pro-choice (many still are), and it never occurred to me that abortion might be bad for women. Although I’d had an abortion myself, I denied the interior turmoil I was still suffering from it. Skating over the surface of life, I superficially refused to consider abortion to be anything but an unalloyed good.

Still, as an investigative reporter, it’s my job to question everything honestly, to stay open-minded in order to serve the public’s right to know. Gradually, I began respectfully listening to pro-life feminists (before I blindly dismissed whatever you said), and I was shocked by what I heard. Only after I began asking deeper questions did I wake up to the reality that the abortion horror—violence toward others weaker than ourselves—is a counterfeit solution to women’s problems, one that’s undermining the conscience of our nation and our world.

**Let me pause a moment to say that I am sorry for your loss, and how much I respect you for being open to listening to pro-life feminists, and to challenge your own beliefs.**

Thank you, Serrin. That’s very kind of you.

**In *Subverted*, you point out that the feminist movement and the sexual revolution, with its abortion agenda, were once radically separate movements.**

Yes. When I was on staff at *Cosmopolitan* in 1971, it was plain to everyone there at the time that the sexual revolutionaries (with their demands for abortion) and the feminists (who were demanding equal respect for women in academia and the workplace) were two different groups of activists with radically different agendas. *Cosmo*’s editor-in-chief Helen Gurley Brown would have loved for her sex-revolution magazine to be part of the women’s movement. But Betty Friedan, who was widely credited

for having sparked second wave feminism in 1963 with her book *The Feminine Mystique*, called *Cosmo* “quite obscene and quite horrible.” She even called for women to boycott the magazine.

**I remember the strange alliance of *Playboy* and feminists after Gloria Steinem went undercover as a “bunny” to expose the exploitation of women. How did those two once radically separate forces ever get joined together in the eyes of the media and world? How did we get to the point where so many today link access to equal education and the ability to compete equally in the workplace with abortion—which ends the rights of another human being?**

Excellent question, Serrin. In fact, that was *the* question that burned in my mind and led to my writing this book. Once I began digging into it, what I found stunned and amazed me. In Chapter 5, “A Fly on the Wall of the Chinese Room,” I tell how a handful of power players in a closed-door meeting voted to insert the demand for abortion into the National Organization for Women’s political “Bill of Rights.” It was a dark hour that changed history—and it split the once-united feminist movement in two: feminists for abortion and feminists for life.

**What happened in the Chinese Room has been buried for 50 years and never reported—until now. Please tell us about it.**

Gladly. On the morning of November 18, 1967, a small contingent of NOW members (mostly women with a few men) gathered in the opulent Mayflower Hotel in Washington, D.C., for their second annual conference. Although 89 persons (excluding officers) formally registered for the conference, 105 people arrived. By midnight, they will have voted on and adopted a “Bill of Rights” that will set the political agenda of NOW and the mainstream feminist movement for decades to come.

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**Most of the meeting goes without a hitch.**

Right. Everyone unanimously agrees women should not be fired for being pregnant (a common practice in those days), that we should be able to attend law and medical schools, and we should have equal pay for equal work.

Of the eight rights voted upon, only two stir up heated controversy. One is the call for the Equal Rights Amendment. Among those strongly opposing the ERA is civil rights leader Pauli Murray, the first black American to graduate from Yale Law School. Arguing that “human rights are indivisible,” Murray considers it legally foolish to pit women’s rights against others’ rights by placing women in a separate category. Pauli Murray, like Rosa Parks, was arrested for sitting in a section reserved for whites. She wrote much of NOW’s stirring “Statement of Purpose” but walked out of the meeting early and quit NOW after the ERA (originally written by Alice Paul) was supported.

The other fierce battle—the call to repeal all abortion laws—creates an absolute uproar.

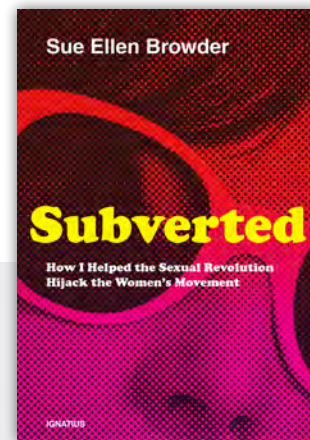
**For me, that battle over the abortion vote was one of the most dramatic and riveting scenes in your book. I was on the edge of my seat. People were screaming. One pro-life feminist called abortion “murder.” It was wild.**

Indeed, it was. The abortion battle raged until almost midnight. When the dust finally settled, the vote was 57 to 14, calling for the repeal of all abortion laws.

**I found that shocking. A mere 57 people voted to insert abortion into the women’s movement. Look what that invisible vote has done to our nation. We’ve now had over 60 million abortions in this country alone. That is over 1 million for every woman who voted for abortion at the meeting!**

Mind-boggling, isn’t it? Some politically savvy women in the Chinese Room believed the meeting had been stacked with young radicals who came just to make sure the

abortion issue was discussed and passed—a technique one witness disparagingly called “railroading.” The bitter battle in the Chinese Room was a microcosm of the abortion wars we’re still fighting in our nation and the world today.



How did the women’s movement, which fought for equal opportunity for women in education and the workplace, and the sexual revolution, which reduced women to ambitious sex objects, become so united with abortion? In *Subverted*, Sue Ellen Browder documents for the first time how it all happened. The longtime freelance writer for *Cosmopolitan* magazine wrote pieces meant to soft-sell abortion as part of the single woman’s path to personal fulfillment. But her thirst for truth, integrity, and justice for women that led Browder into journalism in the first place eventually led her to find forgiveness and freedom in the place she least expected to find them.

*Donors who give \$300 or more in a single gift by December 31, 2017 will receive an autographed copy of Subverted.*

## **The Unseen Vote That Changed the World**

### **Who were some of the women in the Chinese Room that night?**

One, of course, was Betty Friedan, who chaired the meeting. Some eyewitnesses claimed Friedan used her combative personality to ram through the abortion vote. But most of the women in that room were people you've never heard of. As many as one-third of them—including some original founders of NOW—angrily stalked out of the Chinese Room and later resigned from NOW over the abortion vote.

### **So there were pro-life feminists at the meeting! But I'm dying to know. Was suffragist Alice Paul at that meeting?**

Interesting question. Although she was not a voting member, she did make an appearance! After the delegates voted to insert a demand for the passage of the ERA into NOW's Bill of Rights, someone phoned Alice Paul to give her the news, and she came over to the meeting. It was a jubilant, memorable moment.

I don't know how long Paul stayed at the meeting. She certainly opposed linking abortion in any way to the ERA. Feminists for Life co-founder Pat Goltz told me that in a conversation she had with Alice before her death in 1977, Paul expressed her deep sorrow that the abortion issue, which she didn't even believe in, had destroyed her life's work on the ERA. According to Goltz, Paul was quite emotional and upset about that. As you know, Alice called abortion the "ultimate in the exploitation of women."

### **Your exposé reveals that Friedan originally didn't see abortion as a woman's right, and it was actually a fellow magazine writer named Larry Lader—a man—who convinced her she needed to insert the abortion "right" into the feminist movement for younger women to be "free."**

Yes. Lader was independently wealthy. He was also Planned Parenthood founder Margaret Sanger's biographer and co-founder of the National Association to Repeal Abortion

Laws (now NARAL Pro-Choice America). Most states still had anti-abortion laws on the books, and Lader's greatest ambition was to make abortion legal.

Unfortunately for him, the abortion movement in 1967 was still run mostly by upper-middle class white men, many of whom had mistresses and had the most to gain if they could legally abort any babies that were "accidentally" conceived. Lader knew if he wanted to get all abortion laws repealed, he would have to "recruit the feminists." Those were his exact words. He accomplished his goal by working for years on his friend Betty Friedan until he finally persuaded her to champion his cause.

### **Despite the key role she played in turning abortion into a feminist cause, it sounds to me as if Betty Friedan was ambivalent about abortion.**

I agree. I think her ambivalence mirrored the deep ambivalence many women who call themselves "pro-choice" still feel about abortion today. Betty had three children. She said that for her motherhood was "delicious." Although she divorced her husband, she loved men and frequently defended the family.

As late as the year 2000, when she was nearly 80, Friedan wrote, "Ideologically, I was never for abortion. Motherhood is a value to me, and even today abortion is not.... I believed passionately in 1967, as I do today, that women should have the right of chosen motherhood. For me, the matter of choice has never been primarily the choice of abortion, but that you can choose to be a mother. That is as important as any right written into the Constitution." Betty was what I would call a "family feminist"—a moderate on the issue.

**Yes. I remember meeting her twice and hearing her well-worn line, "I am not for abortion. I am for the choice to have children." And yet without her power to influence and change our culture, we might never have had *Roe v. Wade*.**



I think that's correct. Friedan had a strong personality, and she knew how to manage the press and make waves. Here's the most important point we need to remember, Serrin—and this cannot be shouted out too loudly or said often enough: That vote by a mere 57 people in the Chinese Room was one of the most pivotal moments in the history of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In literally the blink of an eye, that invisible vote—which took place behind closed doors—changed mainstream feminism from being pro-life (as it had been in reality from its beginnings) to being falsely perceived as pro-abortion (which is how it has been hard-sold to the American public since 1967). And the media were not there to witness all the controversy that erupted surrounding that vote—so they bought into the fantasy.

In a press conference the Monday morning after that chaotic meeting in the Chinese Room, Friedan completely glossed over the abortion fight that had actually happened. Boldly presenting NOW's new Bill of Rights, she claimed via a press release to be speaking for “28 million American working women, the millions of women emerging from our colleges each year who are intent on full participation in the mainstream of our society, and mothers who are emerging from their homes to go back to work.” Basically, she claimed to be speaking for all working women in America when—at least when it came to abortion—she was speaking only for herself and 57 people in the Chinese Room. That's how propaganda works.

**And the mainstream media bought the ruse hook, line, and sinker.**

They did, indeed. The next day, *The Washington Post* ran a story headlining the abortion vote and declaring: “NOW supports the furthering of the sexual revolution of our century by pressing for widespread sex education and provision of birth control information and contraceptives, and by urging that all laws penalizing abortion be repealed.” Over the next several years, as the media repeatedly told

this story, millions of Americans bought into the fantasy that abortion was a “right” all truly liberated women had always wanted and needed to be free. And that's how the 1960s feminist movement—which started out as a unified movement for working women and mothers—was subverted and became a vehicle for abortion. Right No. 8—the abortion “right”—is the only one in NOW's original Bill of Rights that we're still fighting over today.

**Whew! I can't thank you enough, Sue Ellen, for writing this book and setting the record straight. Feminists for Life sees abortion as a wrong against women, not a right. Do you have any final thoughts about that night in the Chinese Room—any message of hope?**

Yes. I think each of us needs to remember—and shout out to the world—that history took a hideously wrong turn that night. A mere 57 people made a tragic error, the consequences of which have become so staggeringly huge they boggle the mind. Ideas have consequences. The deep divide in the feminist movement created by that unseen vote in the Chinese Room has ballooned out of control over the past half-century until it's tearing our nation apart.

And yet amid this tragedy, I see rays of hope. For if a mere 57 people could spark such a monumental change in history, this means a handful of us working together with love can heal the abortion wounds in our nation. To paraphrase Margaret Mead, we should never underestimate the power of a small, creative minority to change the world. In fact, that's the only thing that has ever changed the world. So let's keep telling the truth, and never give up. □



**WHERE WERE YOU  
WHEN ROE WAS  
HANDLED DOWN?**

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TATIANA FEDEROFF

EVERYONE  
SHOULD  
HAVE A  
BIRTHDAY

JANUARY 22,  
1973  
Luckiest Day  
In U.S. History

Think about  
LIFE

The world was changing. The Vietnam War was coming to a close, the first handheld phone prototype was released, and on January 22, the Supreme Court of the United States reached a decision in one of the most influential rulings of all time. *Roe v. Wade* and its companion ruling, *Doe v. Bolton*—which made abortion legal for any reason and at any time during a pregnancy—reversed the laws first advocated by the early American feminists, doctors, and the media in the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century to protect women and children.

Since 1973, generations have been born, have grown up, and have grown old in the shadow of legalized abortion. Feminists for Life asked the question: “Where were you when *Roe v. Wade* was handed down?” Born or not, the reverberations are still felt powerfully today.

January 22 should have been a day of joy and celebration for Colford Bennet. Instead, “I was distraught to hear that this decision came down on my birthdate. Every year since, I think about my birth and how many have been destroyed.”

Elizabeth Dreier was in high school: “I can remember the debates that ensued, both formal and informal, about this issue. Surprisingly, many of the girls in my class thought *Roe* was a good decision because, in their eyes, the decision protected women’s rights. At the time, I knew enough to realize that this was a mistake, but I was not able to articulate all the reasons why.”

Many saw the decision initially as beneficial but were still troubled. “I was in my first year of teaching, graduated college half a year earlier. Then I was glad to hear the news, since I considered myself a feminist, but was still uneasy knowing that abortion takes a human life,” says Karen Gerhard Conner. “For years, I accepted abortion as a ‘necessary evil,’ that if it had to be done just do it as early as possible in the pregnancy.” Later, tragic experiences of miscarriage and loss helped her to become pro-life, but Karen’s viewpoint is far from unique. Kiki O’Quinn also

## **Women Deserve Better**<sup>®</sup>

BETTER CHOICES > BETTER LIFE



“eventually heard enough about ‘choice’ to honestly believe it was not my business to interfere. That grew to believing that abortion may be a good thing as a prevention of some vague kind of suffering.”

Initially, legal abortion was seen by many as a feminist and scientific victory, a decision that helped to free women from the threat of unplanned pregnancy. It was also seen as a way to combat child neglect and abuse, frequently rationalized as ensuring that “every child was wanted and loved.” But Ruth Michelsen Scuderi says that she realized it did exactly the opposite. “We have made life itself disposable and of little worth,” she says of *Roe v. Wade*, which was decided when she was a young adult.

This paradigm shift happened slowly but noticeably for those like Monica Glick, who was only 2 years old at the time and didn’t remember the original ruling. But as she grew up, she noticed “a shift among abortion advocates, from ‘Let’s not have any more women killed in back-alley abortions,’ to ‘Abortion should be safe, legal, and rare,’ to ‘Abortion is part of routine health care for women, not to be regarded much differently than other procedures.’”

Younger generations grew up in this brave new world of legalized abortion and saw this rhetoric firsthand. Katie Moore was not born yet in 1973, but she too felt the effects of the ruling nonetheless: “I remember as a child seeing a Planned Parenthood out of my car window. I had no idea what it meant because I was so young, but something about it left a gross feeling in the deepest part of my heart. I remember thinking, ‘What if someone becomes a parent and it was unplanned? Shouldn’t those people be cared for as well?’ Obviously, the thoughts weren’t as concrete when I first saw that sign, but I just knew that something was not right about it.”

Others who were born after *Roe* expressed feelings of sorrow and horror. Sarah Pressler concurs: “I’ve only known of a world where a baby’s most dangerous existence lies within its own mother’s womb. One third of my generation is missing because of elective abortion.” Ina Bach agrees: “I haven’t known a time without legalized abortion. The sad thing is that when something becomes legal, especially children and young people will not think to question its moral validity.”

It is the unquestioning acceptance of abortion by those in power that has led the radical acceptance—and even *celebration*—of abortion to now become commonplace. “It is strange to many of us when we see abortion advocates defend their ‘right to privacy’ encouraging women to don T-shirts declaring, ‘I had an abortion.’ And it is illogical to see those who defend legal abortion as ‘safer’ now demanding that abortion be performed without a doctor and teach self-inducing abortions online,” notes FFL President Serrin Foster.

The United Nations considers abortion “integral to women’s rights” while ignoring the rights of the child. That mentality angers millennials like Olivia Demkowicz: “I remember when I was 10 years old and truly understood what abortion

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I was horrified in the way only a 4-year-old could be—who wouldn’t want a baby? Who would want to hurt one?

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was and realized abortion was legal when I was conceived. I felt anger that my government thought my life wasn’t worth protecting.” She asks, “How dare they expect me to grow up and contribute to them when they would have let my mother kill me if she wanted? I didn’t understand the complexity of the issue then, I just knew that I wanted to be alive and, for lack of a better word, I got ‘lucky.’ Now, I just feel sadness. How sad for us all that we have to explain to our children still, that this is the reality.” The final part of her sentiment is perhaps the most heartbreaking, and it is a heartbreak that is echoed in every one of the many comments, emails, and testimonies submitted to Feminists for Life.

For my own part, I remember hearing what abortion was as a small child, when abortion had already been legal for over 20 years. I was horrified in the way only a 4-year-old could be—who wouldn’t want a baby? Who would want to hurt one? I participated in the local March for Life, even carrying a rose to the tomb of an unborn child at the local Catholic cemetery, to represent all the children who were lost to abortion in my birth year. I have watched the line of rose-bearers grow every year, as the toddlers who

clung to roses in their parents' arms have grown up to become parents themselves, carrying new rose-bearers. I have had to watch as abortion is explained to my younger siblings when they are old enough to understand why we march in the cold mornings of every January 22. I hope that one day I will never have to explain abortion to my own future children.

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I hope that one day I will never have to explain abortion to my own future children.

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That hope is what drives many pro-life women and men, old and young—many now Feminists for Life—to continue in their work decades after abortion became legal without the consent of Americans. “I think it is quite significant that even after several decades of legalized abortion, the pro-life movement is still strong,” says Karole Kuslak. “I think abortion is slowly becoming obsolete, as society becomes more accepting of mothers, and as we learn more about fetal development. I honestly feel that if ultrasound had been widely available back in the days prior to legalization, abortion never would have been so radically legalized in the first place.”

As education and opportunities grow, as we know more about the amazing development of a newly formed human being in a mother's womb, and as we come to address the underlying reasons that drive women to abortion, the



number of abortions has steadily declined within the past few years—the incidence of abortion fell 12 percent between 2011 and 2014, according to the Guttmacher Institute, the former research arm of Planned Parenthood. Since 1990, when public support for abortion was at its highest and roughly 1,608,600 abortions were performed, abortion rates have dropped a staggering 42 percent. Current support for abortion remains somewhat evenly divided, but many states now have restrictions in place, such as mandatory sonograms, waiting periods, and women's right-to-know laws, which encourage women to choose life over death. Thousands of pregnancy resource centers and online resources like WomenDeserveBetter.com mean that we or our children will see the end of abortion in our lifetimes. After all, the world is changing. □



**Tatiana Federoff**  
*Author*



# FEMINISM'S IMPACT ON THE WORKPLACE

MEAGAN DEVLIN

The reawakening of feminism began with Betty Friedan's book, *The Feminine Mystique*, published in 1963, which questioned women's traditional role in society as caretakers, but never mentioned abortion. Women began to make significant gains in the workforce, including maternity and family leave in many businesses. Pregnancy discrimination was outlawed. Opportunities for employment in almost all fields came rapidly. "It was an enormous cultural shift," says FFL President Serrin Foster. "If you weren't alive then, you can't imagine the freedom it presented, but many older women were unprepared in terms of education. It threatened some men. And by accepting abortion rather than solving the challenges to balance work and family, we see pregnant women and parents continue to struggle to this very day."

Part of FFL's vision is that in the future, there will be campuses and workplaces that support mothers in practical ways, so they are not forced to choose between their education or career plans and their children—a future when women will be able to thrive in a culture in which parents are respected, whether they decide to stay at home or return to work. Today, opportunities in nontraditional careers have opened up for women where there are now female physicians, veterans, attorneys, etc. Karole Kuslak, a female physician, is an example of this. "I am grateful to

live in an era where I have been able to accomplish everything I set out to do in my career while also having a fulfilling life as a mother," she says. "I am one of the extremely fortunate mothers who was able to take a generous maternity leave without having to worry it would adversely affect my job. My husband was also able to take parental leave. I wish that all parents received that level of support and acceptance in their workplace. My view is that absences from work are part of life and at least parental leave is something that can be planned for, unlike absences from causes such as sudden illness."

To prepare for these opportunities, more women than ever are free to choose to pursue higher education leading to better paying jobs in their chosen professions and reaching executive positions.

Monica Glick, a teacher, agrees, and says girls have been encouraged "to take STEM (science, technology, engineering, and mathematics) courses, participate in athletics, and aim for the career of their choice." She has seen the transition to where girls now have more options in choosing their careers. In fact, recently a bipartisan group of women successfully led an effort to pass laws to encourage more recruiting of women who have studied STEM for jobs in those fields as there is currently a

disproportionate number of women studying STEM and only obtaining entry level jobs in their chosen professions. These laws, which were passed with unanimous bipartisan support, include the INSPIRE (Inspiring the Next Space Pioneers, Innovators, Researchers, and Explorers) Women Act.

For some women, family obligations are worth sacrificing a high-paying career. As retired professor and author Celia Wolf-Devine notes: “Women, whatever their social class, who choose to center their lives around children and family are in many ways on a different page from those who look to their careers for fulfillment. And non-elite men and women do tend to look more to their families for happiness and security in their old age. Aspiring to become CEOs or senators is just not on their radar screen, not just because they don’t have the credentials, but because they don’t want to make the sacrifices they would have to make to do so. They do not want to live that sort of fast-track life at all. And these differences, of course, affect what a woman thinks are the most important problems women face. Simply being a woman is not enough to give one an understanding of what issues and problems are most important to other women from different walks of life. We need to respect them and get to know them and ask them what their concerns are.”

In addition to the freedom for a woman to now pick her career, the workplace environment is more supportive of working mothers. Diane Kenney notes the importance of a supportive work environment as her role as a mother changed: “My company has been very accommodating to women who seek to have children and a job. I personally worked from home during my children’s earlier years and then returned to a manager position. I left the company because the demands of the job didn’t sync well with being a mom and a wife (and a caregiver of my mom who had dementia). But the company sent me off with well wishes and congratulated me on my promotion! Since

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then, I have returned to the company as a contractor on specific projects. I can’t say enough on how well they treated me.” Not only was the company understanding when she had family needs and let her work from home, but it also has hired her back for projects after she left for a time to meet the needs of her family.

Overall, there has been a positive reaction to how feminism has changed the workplace, with women having more opportunities for advancement and management. Companies have also made adjustments for women who are pregnant and those who have young children or family members in need of special care. Along with the previously mentioned cases, Riina Ryyänen Loar also talked about the modifications saying, “My managers and coworkers are almost all female. And we accommodate for needing time for family and kids.”

There were also some negative responses on both extremes of the issue reflecting their own experiences, some saying that the workplace environment has not changed enough and others saying that women are now overly entitled. Elizabeth Edinger comments that progress has been made as there are now workplace rules about sexual harassment,

## **Feminism's Impact on the Workplace**

but “these rules have not stopped some workers from... making derogatory comments about women.” Ron Panzer, on the other side of the spectrum, believes that we have come to a place where “women are empowered, but men are diminished and intimidated. They know that even one woman can accuse them and destroy their entire lives and careers.” He believes that there are now double standards: “In 2013, a woman co-worker got away with completely abusive behavior. . . violating standards of care in nursing, and I reported it; nothing was done.” He contends that a male exhibiting the same behavior would have immediately been fired.

While support for women both in the workplace and as mothers has increasingly become the norm, talking about the two in the workplace—or society at large—is still an issue. Justin Yee mentioned how he was shut down in a discussion when he mentioned that “there are feminists that are pro-life.” One of the participants in the discussion simply laughed, and the other said, “I don’t know how that’s possible,” and left the discussion.

There are also those who have had negative experiences but believe there is hope for the future. Ann Cunningham had a situation where she had a female boss who “actually offered me a promotion if I was willing to wear tighter

clothing.” This was unacceptable, but Cunningham turned to a positive note and says, “Human beings who believe in the dignity of all other human beings are people whom I enjoy working with, whether they use the label ‘feminist’ or not.”

Foster concludes, “With half of the workforce being women, as well as half of the workforce being full-time parents, pro-life feminist solutions are essential—and achievable.” □



**Meagan Devlin**

Author



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# MEN IN THE WAKE OF THE SECOND WAVE

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ERIC HOLLENBECK

For centuries, men were seen as providers, and women were encouraged to work in the home. Certainly, there were women who worked outside the home in jobs traditionally held by men, but the idea of charge over a home, being the head of a family, and responsibility for finances were primarily considered male duties. The women's revolution changed all that.

The 1960s and '70s movement which sought to emancipate women put men in an understandably strange place. With women now seeking full equality in all areas of society, what were men to do in response? How were they to understand women? What role were men going to assume, now that traditional mores had been challenged? Men began to consider how they were going to treat women. Would opening a door for women, once seen as chivalrous, now be seen as condescending? How would a liberated woman who is pregnant consider the division of parental responsibilities between father and mother? How were men to figure out the proper etiquette of dating, spending money, and parenting, when these aspects of male and female relationships were being totally revolutionized? Many men of this time period were left to ponder these questions as the world around them adapted to a fundamentally new understanding of their relation to the opposite sex.

But it was the legalization of abortion that impacted men's most important traditional roles as husbands, providers, and fathers. Some men felt suddenly unnecessary, while others felt liberated.

### **Women emancipated. Men emasculated.**

Most famously, the character Murphy Brown from the eponymous 1980s and '90s television series was a cutthroat investigative journalist who was a strong, in-your-face female protagonist the likes of which had not been seen in women's roles in television decades prior. When she decided to parent without a man in the picture, it signaled

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Some men felt suddenly unnecessary, while others felt liberated.

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an enormous cultural shift. Dads were now considered extraneous by many. By elevating single motherhood, some then saw the unintended beginning of the feminization of poverty.

On the other hand, films like *Mr. Mom* developed male protagonists who emulated the role of a domestic parent, in stark contrast to previous male media images. When the characters of the movie reversed traditional roles of a husband/provider and a stay-at-home mother due to financial necessity, his position as a stay-at-home dad was found humorous to many. But by the time the film ended, many could see this working for families in similar circumstances—or by choice.

Critics of feminism have often been concerned about the diminution of fatherhood, the devaluing of masculinity, and the shrinking of traditionally male responsibilities ever since the women's movement. Compensating for centuries of discrimination in schools and the workplace, overcompensation sometimes puts men, who had nothing to do with actions taken by others before they were born, now at a disadvantage. After reading about child support in “End the Feminization of Poverty,” the Spring/Summer 2017 issue of *The American Feminist*, one father wrote to us a heartfelt letter illuminating the complexity of child support from his own experience and his daughter's,

pointing out that “for those fathers who become unemployed or underemployed, there are precious few remedies as child support obligations pile up,” but if the mother withholds visitation rights “you’d better be prepared to dip into your pocket and hire a lawyer.” He noted that “in reality, people tend to strike up relationships within their own economic class,” so if both are impoverished, then both may need help. His daughter, who is disabled and lives on \$700 a month from disability, was unable to get custody of her child, but by state law she was required to pay, which would have left her homeless. Thankfully, her ex-husband waived child support, but “this is the typical scenario—not some rich banker living the high life,” concluding that “we all have a right to a decent life without pitting mother against father....”

FFL maintains that both women and men should be accountable to their children, and responsibilities should be mutual. Unfair burdens and expectations on fatherhood are to be disdained just as much as those that afflict women. This imbalance of responsibilities harkens back to many of the consequences of the second wave of feminism during the time of *Roe v. Wade*. Other men have attempted to use *Roe* to say men should have a choice *after* conception, only to mourn the loss of their own children to abortion.

**Pro-life feminism is not a matriarchy.**

Pro-life feminism is a key solution to many of the problems facing both women and men in light of the wake of the second feminist wave. By venerating life for both mother and child, and respect for both parents, pro-life feminism places a fundamental dignity upon all persons. Instead of pitting men against women, or women against their children, Feminists for Life supports a fundamental equality belonging to all human persons, not as convenience, but as the very heart of true feminism.

“True feminism does not replace a patriarchy with a matriarchy,” says FFL President Serrin Foster. “It does not seek that women be greater than men but recognizes that parents have more freedom to determine the best ways to meaningfully contribute as they raise their children—and that has its own challenges.”

Feminist pioneer and senator Margaret Chase Smith, who ran for president in 1964, openly admonished colleagues for not celebrating Father’s Day, as Mother’s Day had already been celebrated nationwide in the United States since 1914: “Either we honor both our parents, mother and father, or let us desist from honoring either of them.” Sen. Smith was communicating that whenever a movement chooses to negate one parent in the family, or devalues one gender, the whole family suffers injustice. FFL member Diane Kenney adds, “Men and women each bring unique gifts to the world as well as the family. Dad’s presence in the family is so important. Life needs balance individually and in the family.”

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By venerating life for both mother and child, and respect for both parents, pro-life feminism places a fundamental dignity upon all persons.

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Another Feminist for Life and contributor to *The American Feminist*, Julia Smucker, elaborates, “Complementarianism to me is not an absolutizing of gender stereotypes into narrowly defined ‘gender roles’; it is not insistence on artificial differences between the sexes, such as intellectual ability; and it is not the twisting of genuine differences into the above ideas in order to put women in a box.” Amid genuine differences between the sexes, women and men often can provide balance to each other. While women and men do not need to have to strict, absolute gender roles, they can, amid common differences, find rich complementarity between each other through a feminism that works toward mutual justice.

Author, retired professor, and Feminist for Life Celia Wolf-Devine put it this way: “A worldview that pits men against women in some sort of sex war flies in the face of the fact that women’s and men’s lives are inevitably intertwined. Women have fathers, brothers, and sometimes sons, whether or not they have men as husbands or lovers. A choreographer friend of mine, when asked by a friend why she did not hate men (in spite of an unhappy marriage and divorce), simply said, ‘I have a son.’” □



**Eric Hollenbeck**  
Author



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True feminism does not  
replace a patriarchy  
with a matriarchy.  
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# WHY MEN CAN (AND SHOULD) BE PRO-LIFE FEMINISTS

DAMIAN J. GEMINDER

Now, I know what you're thinking: I don't shave my legs, I've never worn a bra, and I am *obsessed* with cats. So, really, I'm just a stereotypical feminist. But because I'm a guy, it's seen as somehow weird or unmasculine to self-identify as a feminist, and weirder still to self-identify as a *pro-life* feminist. Yes, men can be feminists, too! And they can be pro-life. *At the same time.*

For over two centuries, feminists from Mary Wollstonecraft, to Elizabeth Cady Stanton, to Alice Paul, and yes, to Susan B. Anthony, have argued the proposition that both women and their children deserve every opportunity at life. And these principles are complementary, not contradictory.

When I say I am a pro-life feminist, I do not mean that I support some vague concept of women's rights. I do not mean that I am latching onto a label because it's trendy. You don't need a BuzzFeed video full of wannabe lumberjack-hipsters boasting about their Feminist Pride™ to inspire you to be a feminist. I would even wager that most people are feminists but just aren't comfortable with... the F-word.

But words *mean things*. A feminist is, by definition, someone who stands for equality of the sexes. What fair-minded person is against that? If I were to say, "My job is to drive around in a truck with a loud siren extinguishing fires and occasionally rescuing cats from trees (I told you I'm obsessed with cats), but I am *not* a firefighter," you would say, "Of *course*, you're a firefighter. You just don't like that F-word!"

The same is true with being a feminist. And if you walk like a feminist, and if you talk like a feminist, then I hate to break it to you, but *you're a feminist!*

But why? Why the hostility to "the F-word"? Well, have

you seen how some so-called "feminists" treat people, particularly pro-life people? The philosophy of feminism is one of nonviolent solutions, and that includes mutual collaboration. But too often, we see our friends on the other side of the debate seeking to be exclusive, rather than inclusive.

We are told that no *true* feminist can be pro-life, that abortion "access" is a central tenet of feminism. That would certainly be a shock to our feminist foremothers (and forefathers)!

Our position is nothing new. In fact, it is the position most consistent with the first feminists, who fought for women's right to vote, to own property, and to receive a quality education. The women and men who advocated until their last breath for these rights all, without known exception, opposed abortion and saw it not as the liberation of women *or men*, but rather, as a betrayal of the gift of motherhood.

But just as some of those who are pro-choice are uncomfortable with the idea of pro-life people calling themselves feminists, so too are some pro-life people uncomfortable with the label "feminist." And although we as Feminists for Life are obviously all too happy to embrace that word, we *get* the reluctance on behalf of some good-hearted people to do so. Especially guys.

I wish to ask my feminist brothers reading this article: How often have you been told that your opinion on abortion doesn't matter because you're a man? To my feminist sisters: same question, but different reasoning. Have you been told that you are the wrong race, or sexual orientation, or socioeconomic status even to *question* abortion? That you have some sort of "privilege" you didn't even know was a *thing*, and therefore everything you say is worthless?

**Truth is not any less true just because you don't like the person saying it.** And the truth is: Abortion hurts women! And kills children! It is a sign that we have failed to meet women's basic needs and in so doing, we have pitted mothers against their children in a zero-sum game, and everyone is the loser—except, of course, for the abortion provider who, in the words of novelist and suffragist Eleanor Kirk, “pocket[s] a big fee and a little bundle of flesh at the same time.”

True feminism is not a good ol' girls club with a “No Boys Allowed” sign. Nobody has the right to invalidate you because of who you are. What's right is what's right, no matter who is saying it. And I'd like to remind you: **It was seven men—and no women—who made abortion legal nationwide.**

It was right when Parker Pillsbury, co-editor of *The Revolution* alongside Elizabeth Cady Stanton, forbade the use of advertising space in their newspaper for abortifacients, the most lucrative form of income for a periodical at the time. Rather than sell their souls to “child murder,” as they called it, the newspaper that Stanton and Susan B. Anthony co-founded went bankrupt after just four years. **Pillsbury was an abolitionist, a suffragist, and a pro-life feminist.**

As heirs of the abolitionist movement, the suffragists knew that there was no room for racism or sexism in their own movement. That is why, as Feminists for Life, we do not consider ourselves third or even fourth wave feminists but rather, **the renaissance of first wave feminism.** Ours is a holistic movement: We champion *all* of a woman's needs, not just some. And we champion *all* people who wish to advocate for equality, no matter their sex, their race, their age, their sexual orientation, or the circumstances of their conception.

The exclusion of men from the abortion debate is as arbitrary as it is unjust. Men who stand for life do so not in *spite* of our sex, but *because* of our shared humanity.

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Abortion affects the entire human family. The women in my life have shaped me into who I am today. Every man is his mother's son, and I am no different. I have also been fortunate to be the brother to a sister and the uncle to a niece. I do not want to live in a world in which we tell our daughters—and sons—they can be anything they want to be when that is still not so.

I refuse to abstain from this debate because of who I am. For any of us to sit out the greatest civil rights movement of our generation is to concede the future to violence.

I refuse to surrender to death. I choose to win the victory for life. □



**Damian J. Geminder**  
Editor



# THE MAKING OF A PRO-LIFE FEMINIST

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JOYCE MCCAULEY-BENNER

Why am I a pro-life feminist?

How does one even become a **pro-life** feminist?

And what does that even mean?

These are the questions that I have been answering for the last 10 years.

When I first found Feminists For Life, I knew that I was home. It was a gut feeling, an instant connection, like a prodigal daughter coming home to a rejoicing mother.

You see, the traditional pro-life movement was exclusionary to me. I had always been a champion for the outsiders, those society rejected. Although I didn't agree with those who chose abortion, I wholeheartedly understood them, and never judged them. I knew it was circumstances, sometimes awful circumstances, that led to that choice. I wanted *women*, and not just babies, to be seen and heard.

So that one day, when I first looked at the Feminists for Life website, and I read "women deserve better," I stopped. It is a profound thing when our hearts hear a message we need to hear. I needed to hear it that day.

There was a callout for those with stories of pregnancies under difficult circumstances. I had never shared my story before. Only my family and closest friends knew the truth of what I had been through, and even the minimal truth at that.

Something about "women deserve better" moved me that day. I wrote down my story—at first with no intention of sending it on. Just for me. Just to see the words in print. I had been raped and later found out I was pregnant. I didn't know who the father was—my boyfriend at the time or the rapist. I assumed people in the pro-life movement (especially those driven by religious principles) would judge me and toss me aside as another welfare mom who got herself into a bad spot with poor life choices.



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I chose life. During those agonizing nine months of pregnancy, wondering what kind of life lay ahead for me and my child, I was angry that everything hinged on who his father was. If it was the rapist, I believed my child and I were doomed. If it was my boyfriend, it might be OK, but no one warns you about the damage rape does to a relationship.

So how did I choose life in the midst of all that? During that time, I wouldn't have been able to articulate how, but in hindsight, there were some key events that happened.

I typed up those key events and clicked send, before I even realized what I was doing. I immediately panicked and wanted to grab it back but thought, "Well, they won't read it anyway."

Even though I gave voice to women I worked with, I wasn't yet at a place to recognize my own pain and hear my own

voice. After college, my work prepared me to be a racial justice facilitator and a coordinator for an interfaith organization that addressed peace and justice issues around the globe. I was being awakened as an activist, and my eyes were being opened to the injustices of the world. Some would say this is depressing, but somehow, I found it invigorating. I was finally able to connect the dots... one social justice issue was linked to another. Therefore, we could be more creative in our solutions. It would be a few more years before I would go on to work as an advocate for victims of sex trafficking and manager of a domestic violence shelter on the weekends. Yet during all this, I was so focused on the pain of the world, I paid no attention to my own.

When I first got the call from FFL that they were interested in my story, I was dumbfounded. Their interest in what I had to say, and their **recognition of my strength**, and not just the beauty of my baby, touched me deeply. They helped me to realize that my choice was not accidental, that it came from a deep well of courage. My healing journey had begun.

It was and is in that healing work where my identity fully developed, where I started to understand the whys of my rejoicing at being home.

You see, I realized that life empowers women.

LIFE provides opportunity for choice. Ironically, “choice” is often a code word for death. But that is only one choice. Life provides opportunity for women to decide if they want to parent or place for adoption. Life provides the choice to be a working mom, or a stay-at-home mom, or a student-parent. Society says that children and pregnancy are limiting, but we do not have to believe that. Women are limitless. We can design our life. We can decide our future. There is power in that.

LIFE provides opportunity for advocacy. When life choices are made, even in the hardest of cases, this allows us as

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Society says that children and pregnancy are limiting, but we do not have to believe that. Women are limitless. We can design our life. We can decide our future. There is power in that.

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feminists to address issues like violence against women, trafficking, rape, poverty, and other social injustices. Life forces us to look at issues and *become* activists. We cannot hide facts through secretive abortions, or sweep away problems like inequality in the workplace by simply eradicating pregnancies. We must roll up our sleeves and do hard work. We must challenge the status quo. There is power in that.

LIFE provides opportunity for growth. Ask any mother or birthmother how much she has learned, healed, or strengthened. We will all tell you tremendously. We find the resources and the inner strength. The journey is never easy. But hard walks make for tough feet. We endure, we persevere, we grow. There is power in that.

I came to these conclusions because of my feminism, because of my understanding and outrage that women in our world are fundamentally undervalued, mistreated, and underrepresented; however, *our liberation from that does not, cannot, and must not* come from the destruction of a living being within our bodies.

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Our liberation does not, cannot, and must not come from the destruction of a living being within our bodies.

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How can destruction within our bodies bring about change? How can an unnatural process liberate us from a world that doesn't value our bodies in the first place? Isn't that process only forcing us to maintain the status quo anyway? Whose burdens are eased when the "problem" pregnancy is gone? Rest assured, it's rarely the woman's.

**It is precisely my feminism that brought me to the cause of life.** It is precisely my feminism that says I must reject abortion as an answer to women's problems or as an "empowering" option for them.

It is precisely because of my feminism that I know women need to hear about hope and healing, and that I must share my story that even in the darkest of times, there is still hope. It's been 18 years since my rape. And I am OK. My son and I survived. Not just survived, we **thrived**—because of who his mother was (and is), not because of the result of the paternity test.

For it is life that offers a chance to love. Love is a choice, a choice made every day, in every moment of life, to bring about a better state for all. □



**Joyce McCauley-Benner**

Author

Speaker

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AS FEMINISTS FOR LIFE, EACH OF US HAS BEEN ASKED QUESTIONS THAT SEEM RIDICULOUS. SOME CAN BE AMUSING, OTHERS HURTFUL, AND SOME DOWNRIGHT OBNOXIOUS. IT'S UP TO US TO BE PREPARED WITH ANSWERS TO HELP CHANGE THE WORLD. HOW MANY OF THE TOP RIDICULOUS QUESTIONS ARE YOU FAMILIAR WITH? AND HOW WOULD YOU HAVE HANDLED EACH QUESTION?

## WHAT'S THE MOST *RIDICULOUS* QUESTION YOU'VE BEEN ASKED ABOUT BEING FEMINIST?

### **8. *What's wrong with being ladylike?* —Tovë Biffington**

Nothing. However, as feminists, we reject the idea that women must conform to a certain “respectable” trope or act a certain way. We assert that a woman has the faculty to decide what actions she deems respectable or decent. Whether she chooses to define herself as “ladylike” is up to her alone, not society’s preconceptions of womanhood.

### **7. *Don't all feminists hate men?* —Emma Green**

Absolutely not! Feminists certainly do not hate men—especially since many Feminists for Life *are* men. (See pages 19 and 24.)

### **6. *You're a guy. How can you be a feminist?* —Dennis Carman**

Feminism is a philosophy that embraces the rights of all human beings, regardless of their gender (or any other excuse for discrimination, like race, religion, size, age, or location).

### **5. *How can you call yourself a feminist and a Christian?* —Amy Munson**

Just as you don't have to identify with a certain gender to be a feminist, you don't have to follow a certain religion (or any religion) to believe in gender equality. In fact, Christianity teaches “loving your neighbor as yourself.” Any religion built on treating others equally is completely compatible with our feminist beliefs.

*Continued on page 32.*



# WHAT'S THE MOST *RIDICULOUS* QUESTION YOU'VE BEEN ASKED ABOUT BEING PRO-LIFE?

## **10. Do you *hate* women? —Sharon Flottman**

Of course not! As pro-life feminists, we love women and believe in celebrating their natural femininity! We recognize that women deserve better than abortion and want to provide them with better solutions, including affordable child care, pregnancy resources, and housing. No woman should feel as though abortion is her only option or that she cannot be successful and have a baby. As pro-lifers, we aim to offer women other alternatives so that they confidently make a positive choice for themselves and their babies.

## **9. Pro-life people only care about babies in the womb. Why aren't they *consistent*? —Joseph Drake**

This is patently untrue. Private funds have helped to create and support thousands of pregnancy resource centers across the country with comprehensive resources and support throughout and beyond pregnancy, including parenting classes, diapers and clothing, financial assistance, etc. In addition, check out our website [WomenDeserveBetter.com](http://WomenDeserveBetter.com). But a better question might be this: Will *you* work with FFL to support the rest of the choices—marital and single parenthood, guardianship and kinship care, and adoption options?

## **8. If you really care about these children, why don't you adopt? —Pat Goltz, Co-Founder of FFL**

Often, adoption is not posed as a legitimate option to women considering abortion, despite millions of vetted

parents awaiting adoption. However, there are many pro-lifers who do step up and adopt. Pat Goltz herself has adopted four children. Yet it is not realistic to imply that every single pro-life person must adopt, nor would doing so substantially reduce the number of abortions in our country. We must instead focus on addressing the root causes of abortions, such as poverty and societal pressures.

## **7. What about if a child is *disabled*? —Amber Arsenault**

A disability is *not* a justification for abortion. All people possess the same worth, dignity, and right to a full and happy life. We recognize that people with disabilities enrich our world. That is why we have the Americans with Disabilities Act. There are plenty of resources, including a few on our new website, [WomenDeserveBetter.com](http://WomenDeserveBetter.com), written by parents to help other families with a perinatal diagnosis or an injury or diagnosis after birth to care for children with disabilities and give them the best quality of life possible. Support for caregivers is also important. See [www.womendeservebetter.com](http://www.womendeservebetter.com).

## **6. Why didn't I abort my child conceived in rape? —Shannon Nicole**

Like the disability debate, children conceived in rape are no less human and no less deserving of life than other children. In her response, Shannon told us, "My child did not deserve death because of how she was conceived." Rape is a horrible offense, so rapists—not women or children—should be prosecuted, and society should be protected.

## **5. Why aren't you a *vegetarian*? —Christine Miranda**

Actually, some of us *are* vegetarian or vegan. However, a person's dietary preferences in no way foster or diminish his or her stance toward a human being from the first moment of conception.

*Continued on page 33.*

**4. So, you're a lesbian? –Tatiana Federoff**

Now, this question is ridiculous. A person's sexual orientation is completely separate from his or her support of equal opportunities for women and men. Feminists don't have to look, act, or identify a certain way to believe in gender equality.

**3. So, you don't believe there are any differences between genders? –Dakota Thacker**

Of course we do. Unlike men, women have the unique ability to bear children and become mothers. However, feminists reject discrimination in the workplace based on gender differences.

**2. How can you be married and be a feminist? –Marcia Rettig-Seitam**

Huh? Whether or not a woman decides to get married is a personal lifestyle choice that is unrelated to her beliefs as a feminist.

**1. How can you be a feminist if you're pro-life? –Priscilla Borlan**

This is the most common misconception that FFL hears. We're living the legacy of Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Alice Paul—among all the others—who founded the suffrage movement and held strong pro-woman, pro-life convictions. Like them, we refuse to choose between women and men or mothers and children. We refuse to choose between sacrificing our education and career plans and sacrificing our families. Women deserve better. □



**Havens Clark**  
Author

An advertisement for Feminists For Life (FFL) placards. The top half has a dark blue background with white text: "ORDER YOUR FFL PLACARDS COVETABLE STUFF<sup>SM</sup> NOW!". Below this, in smaller white text, it says "(See Posters and Fliers.) Allow six to eight weeks for delivery. Contact the FFL office for bulk orders: info@feministsforlife.org". The bottom half of the image shows a woman with long dark hair and sunglasses smiling while holding a black placard. The placard features a white silhouette of a woman and the text "Women Deserve Better than abortion" and "FEMINISTS FOR LIFE.org" with social media icons. In the background, the neoclassical architecture of the Supreme Court building is visible under a clear blue sky.

**4. So, you must be pro-gun and pro-death penalty?  
—Kay Kemper**

This question incorrectly assumes that all pro-life people lean toward a right-wing political identity. (We've also heard you must be anti-gun and anti-death penalty, which many are.) Abortion is a human rights issue. Pro-lifers can be found at every point on the political spectrum. Starting with woman-centered solutions is where we can all agree.

**3. Why are you anti-sex? —Bridget O'Donnell**

Sex is a beautiful component of our humanity, and I don't know one pro-lifer who is against it. This is also how we conceive our children! Pregnancy is a wonderful factor of a woman's being and sexuality, and we embrace our natural ability to have children, rather than reject it.

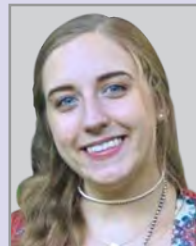
**2. Isn't legal abortion better than illegal abortion?  
—Olivia Marquez**

There is no "better abortion." Abortion, legal or illegal, can hurt women physically and/or emotionally. Some women are killed in the process. A better comparison would be to look at developed countries like Ireland and Poland, where women have comprehensive health care but their maternal mortality rates are lower than in the U.S. Don't women deserve better?

**1. You're a guy. What gives you the right to speak against a woman's choice? —Jacob Tipre**

On the contrary, pro-life men have an absolute right to free speech and are vital to our movement!! We need supportive boyfriends, husbands, fathers, co-workers, etc. to encourage women and help them through their pregnancies as well as parenting. Men are also hurt by abortions. Whether or not their choice, many mourn their missing children. Their voices can help reach other men who are conflicted about their feelings toward a pregnancy or the abortion issue. Their voices strengthen our society. Stop diminishing men and bullying them into silence. □

**Editor's Note:** Our thanks to those listed above for contributing their answers.



**Kathryn Baker**  
Author

An advertisement with a teal background on the left and a photograph of a woman feeding a baby on the right. The text on the left reads: "HELP US HELP HER. Designate Feminists for Life in your workplace campaign. Choose FFL in the CFC 10499." The photograph shows a woman in a white tank top sitting on a bed, holding a baby and feeding it with a bottle.



# WALKING OUR TALK

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EMMA HACKETT

In today's world, the word "feminism" has become a somewhat inflammatory and controversial word. Our culture has made women believe that, in order to be equal, they must in some way allow for the possibility of forfeiting one of their most unique gifts—the gift of motherhood. Our culture is failing women, and the primary proof of this is abortion.

However, the number of women and men who have come to love and embrace true feminism is encouraging—and growing.

As Feminists for Life, we walk in the shoes of our feminist foremothers who supported mothers and children, born and unborn, individually and collectively. We are inspired by those who work to provide support and encouragement for women and children in need.

Ann Cunningham volunteers as an organ and tissue donor advocate and as a child abuse prevention educator: "It makes perfect sense that I am pro-life, as this is consistent with my missions for life in other ways. I financially support our local crisis pregnancy center and our local chapter of Students for Life, as well as use social media to share stories, campaigns, and 'consistent life' messages from a variety of pro-life organizations." Highlighting the diversity of pro-lifers, she notes that "it's important that

those outside the pro-life world see that numerous demographics are pro-life. Respecting human dignity from womb to tomb is what we are about!"

Nikki L. Schuller believes that "showing we care beyond birth and are there to help" can be a powerful way to support both mothers and their children, while Margie Meleski gives a positive example of proactive action: "Tomorrow, I am signing up for training to volunteer at our local maternity home."

Our pro-life feminist philosophy goes well beyond the U.S. border. Gabriela Aurora Ámbar Statt Ostojic writes columns and letters for Chile's only pro-life feminist organization, Movimiento de Mujeres Reivindica: "I am a fierce supporter of the consistent life ethic, advocating also against euthanasia and the death penalty on social media. I'm studying social work, and my hope is to be able to work with women facing unplanned pregnancies and disadvantaged mothers and families." On October 2, 2016, the International Day of Non-Violence, Reivindica gave the unborn a voice. **While pregnant women gathered at the Plaza de la Constitución were silent, they gave voice to the voiceless for the first time by strapping sound equipment called loudhailers around their waists to amplify the sound of the hearts beating inside them.**



*Photo courtesy of Movimiento de Mujeres Reivindica*

**One participant said, “Abortion activists lost all their words. They watched in silence: The voice of those hearts was an unanswerable question.”** FFL President Serrin Foster hopes that similar demonstrations will be heard from Capitol Hill, across the country, and around the globe.

Pedro Feldmenstein captures an interesting perspective on the issue, writing that abortion debates often produce nothing but hostility: “I personally dodge abortion debates, and instead try to engage in discussions about issues related to what pregnant women face. A lot of times I intentionally don’t even speak the word ‘abortion’ in these conversations. Instead, I bring up things like how universities can improve their support services for pregnant students.” He addresses his personal strategy if the issue

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President Serrin Foster hopes that similar demonstrations will be heard from Capitol Hill, across the country, and around the globe.

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of abortion itself does come up in such encounters: “If someone asks me how I feel about abortion, I generally tell people ‘I think the abortion debate has been a distraction from issues that pregnant women face.’” Issues on the ethical ramifications of abortion itself are important, but focusing more on practical and immediate concerns can help women in crisis situations. In Pedro’s experience, this strategy leads to positive encounters. “A lot of times,” he continues, “this leads to the person asking what kind of things I was talking about that relate to pregnant women. This is the perfect opportunity to begin a conversation about how we can make our communities more supportive of pregnant women.”

Passing our philosophy on to the next generation, Amanda Salmon, a mother of four who speaks “openly” with her children about “babies and abortion in age appropriate ways,” advocates for the necessity of making people aware of the medical and scientific reality of abortion: “I have the perspective that people hold science up to a high regard (as they should) until it comes to abortion and then they turn their minds off. Sonograms were not a thing



## Walking Our Talk

when *Roe v. Wade* came to law. Sonograms are now, and people should be held accountable for propagating false information from a time with less technology. And also I share the factoid that *Roe* and *Doe* NEVER even had abortions; their cases were taken up and used as flagship cases to promote abortion and late-term abortion—even though they hadn't! And they both became pro-life advocates and worked hard to have their cases reversed." She concludes by summarizing her contribution as "knowing facts and being bold to share them with people with open hearts and minds. Those who are closed do not want to know and therefore won't believe. I try to impact those I am in contact with." Which is, at the end of the day, all that any of us can do. □

**Editor's Note:** *FFL is making it easier for to you to help women than ever before. Share and promote WomenDeserveBetter.com!*



**Emma Hackett**  
Author



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# BAD MEDICINE

MADELINE DAVIN

This past summer, I underwent surgery to remove an accessory navicular bone from one of my feet. Though the procedure did not carry much risk itself, I would not have chosen to have it done were I not certain that the surgeon was capable of performing the required surgery. I knew that if anything went wrong, I was in a good hospital and in capable hands.

If I were someone who believed that abortion was just another medical procedure, I would want to be certain that the abortion provider was medically approved and that the clinic was up to health codes. It seems logical to me that women seeking abortions would want to make sure that the procedure was as safe as possible, carrying limited risk for themselves. However, many abortion providers get away with malpractice because attempts to discredit them are often considered mere attempts by pro-lifers to limit access to abortion.

Dr. Ann Neuhaus had her medical license revoked by the Kansas State Board of Healing Arts for the third time since 1999. Each time the board has revoked her license, Neuhaus has managed to appeal the order and continue her abortion practice. She has been accused of “(1) violating the professional ‘standard of care’ and (2) ignoring agency regulations for appropriate record-keeping,” particularly pertaining to late-term abortions. **This failure to keep good records has allowed Neuhaus to get away with performing *third trimester abortions on girls under the age of 15*.** Eleven of these poorly recorded abortions were performed on teenagers who were already exhibiting signs of mental distress—including risk of suicide. The incomplete medical records have served as an obstacle in the present treatment of these girls.

Kathy Ostrowski, policy and research director for Kansans for Life, explains that because of their age and mental

distress, these girls are more likely to need medical help in the future and so “[a]ccuracy and detail in [these] medical files would thus be crucial as a baseline for assessing progress or decline.” Despite these concerns presented in 2012 and 2015, each time the board has revoked Neuhaus’ license, Shawnee County District Judge Franklin Theis has approved Neuhaus’ appeal and sent the case back to the board. Since 2007, Neuhaus has not performed abortions; however, the board has not given up its fight to take away her medical license. It states that “its judgment aims to protect the public and the integrity of the medical profession—and is not the result of any religious, philosophical, or anti-abortion bias.” This board sees the harmful effects of letting Neuhaus keep her medical license.

Neuhaus is not the only abortion provider to abuse his or her medical profession. In 2007, Dr. Joel Match assisted in performing a botched abortion on a woman with an ectopic pregnancy. As a result of his team’s failure to diagnose the pregnancy correctly, the woman’s fallopian tube burst. Though he was sued, Match was allowed to continue to practice medicine in Virginia. In 2012, Match’s medical license was suspended for irresponsibly and incorrectly prescribing pain medication to patients. The Commonwealth of Virginia cited examples of 10 patients whom Match continually prescribed narcotics, despite his knowledge of their misuse of the drugs. Match’s drug business was able to run for over a year before this license suspension. Nevertheless, Match’s OB-GYN practice is functioning once again.

Now one of the most well-known examples of “Bad Medicine,” Dr. Kermit Gosnell’s practice was unsafe and filthy. Several reports came out about the mistreatment and even deaths of women, including Karnamaya Mongar, and the slaughtering of children, yet the practice continued for years. After Gosnell

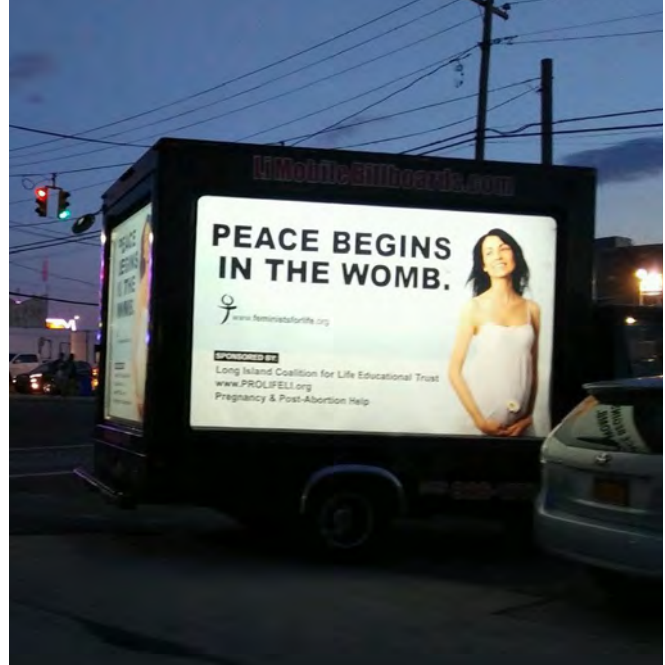
## Bad Medicine

was finally brought to court in 2013, the grand jury stated that it believed that reports were neglected over the years because “the women in question were poor and of color, because the victims were infants without identities, and because the subject was the political football of abortion.”

Since Gosnell, another abortion practitioner was found doing at-home abortions, actually *driving around with the remains of the unborn babies that he terminated*. Dr. Michael Arthur Roth, of West Bloomfield, Michigan, near Detroit, only had his medical license suspended this past September, for drug possession charges. His suspension did not note his abortion house calls or transportation of aborted fetal remains. Roth used drugs and abortion equipment stolen from his employer to conduct the illegal at-home abortions. Roth’s checkered past includes a \$2,000 fine in 2012 for medical negligence, including perforating a woman’s uterus during an abortion procedure; a protection order in 2005 filed by his wife, who remained locked in their basement out of fear of him physically abusing her pending their divorce; and bragging about performing sex-selection abortions in a 1988 interview with *The New York Times*.

Abortion providers such as Gosnell, Match, Neuhaus, and Roth are often able to avoid punitive action for their malpractice because of the taboo of abortion in legislation. Regardless of one’s position on abortion—or lack thereof—we should all be able to see the harm that can come to teens and women when abortion providers are allowed to disregard health standards.

Unfortunately, under the guise that shutting down those clinics would create an “undue burden” on those seeking abortions, as recently as 2016, the Supreme Court has sided with abortion providers over women’s health and safety. In a 5-3 decision, *Whole Woman’s Health v. Hellerstedt*, the Court overturned Texas state legislation that would have required a doctor have admitting privileges at a hospital and that abortion clinics be retrofitted to meet hospital-grade standards.



*With the help of Long Island Coalition For Life Inc., FFL’s PEACE BEGINS IN THE WOMB™ message illuminated real help for women on Long Island! If you wish to sponsor a Women Deserve Better® or Peace Begins in the Womb™ billboard, contact your advertising company about the cost of the space, then contact [info@feministsforlife.org](mailto:info@feministsforlife.org) for the art with the ad company’s specs.*

It is my hope that the public can see the danger that those found guilty of malpractice pose to both women and children. But my biggest hope is that we can reach women with the resources and support they need, before they ever consider an abortion. Women deserve better, and so do all children, because there is no such thing as a safe abortion. □

**Editor’s Note:** *Feminists for Life hopes for the conversion of all abortion workers and encourages them to seek out **And Then There Were None**. For women who regret their abortion, we urge them to contact **Rachel’s Vineyard**, **Project Rachel**, or a qualified reproductive grief counselor. For help while pregnant or parenting or placing a baby for adoption, go to **WomenDeserveBetter.com**.*



**Madeline Davin**  
Author

# WomenDeserveBetter.com Launches As a New Resource for Women



We are pleased to announce a **BRAND NEW** resource for women: **WomenDeserveBetter.com**. Feminists for Life of America debuts a new online resource for women today. WomenDeserveBetter.com aims to support women by providing education, resources, and inspiration in the areas that statistically relate to the feminization of poverty. Organized into four sections—LIVE, WORK, LEARN, and LOVE—the site provides resources for student mothers and working parents as well as birthmothers and parents of special needs children. Feminists for Life aims to do this in a way that no other organization is doing—by delivering this information in FFL's unique, pro-life feminist voice.

## Women Deserve Better will

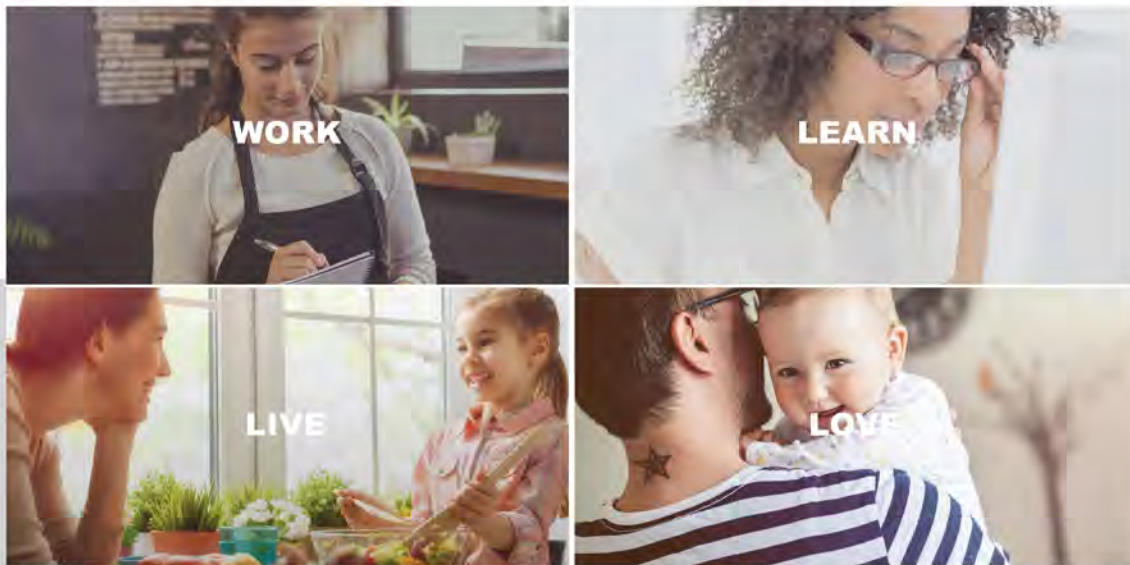
- **Empower** those women most at risk of abortion by offering the tools **to build a sustainable and meaningful life for themselves and for their families.**
- **Educate through valuable and practical information delivered** in a clear and easy to understand manner.
- **Inspire our audience** with what is possible and remind every woman **to never underestimate herself.**

## Those we serve

We strive to reach those at highest risk of abortion as well as their support networks. According to the most recent report by the Guttmacher Institute released May 2016:

- 75% of the women having abortions are the poor and working poor (including those in college who have little or no income).
- 66% are pursuing post-secondary degrees.
- 59% are already mothers (including those who had children in high school and during college).
- 61% are women of color.

## Our focus



- **WORK** sustainable employment and financial independence
- **LIVE** practical home life security
- **LEARN** completing one's education
- **LOVE** paternal support and other relationships

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When (and how) do I tell my employer about a pregnancy?

How do I build a career while parenting?

What type of job is best for me?

What are my options for child care?

How do I ask for a raise?

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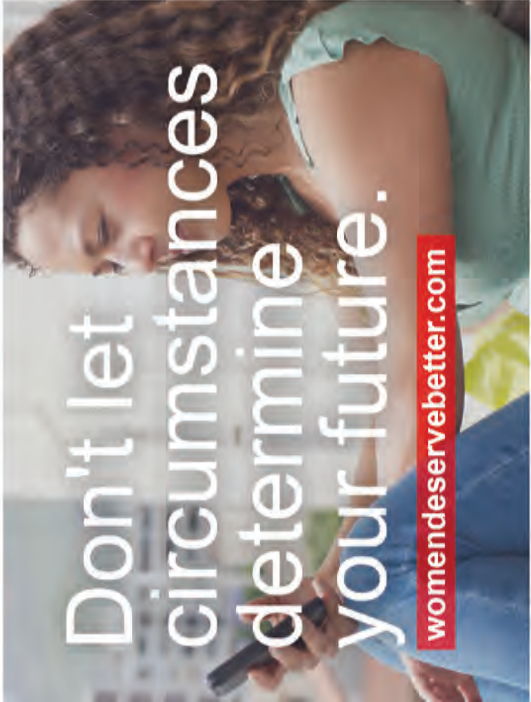
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Managing your finances and managing a household as a parent can be challenging. You want to know:

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**How can I find help paying for housing?**

**How do I child-proof my home?**

**What about health care?**

**Is there affordable transportation?**

**How can I escape debt?**

**What are some games and recreation for families on a budget?**

# LOVE >

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**What should I know about paternal support?**

**Is adoption an empowering option for me?**

**What are the signs of an abusive relationship?**

**How can I cope with miscarriage?**

**What if my child has special needs?**

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