

This is a living document. Please use it for what its worth.
Add to it, take from it. Do whatever you please with it.

Compiled in Cincinnati, OH. Anti-copyright. 2002



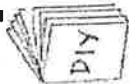
CONTACT ME AT
bsplat@yahoo.com

Papercut Zine Library

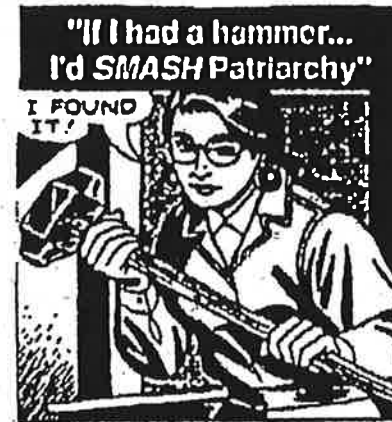
<http://www.pczl.org/>

papercut@riseup.net

14560 - feminism - "I"



Identifying and Confronting Patriarchy:



— A Train the Trainers
Man-ual for those that
Benefit from Male Privilege

Ref —

How This Manual Came into Existence:

A group of male students at the Institute for Social Ecology in Plainfield, VT. came together, after the urging of female students, to address the systemic and everyday manifestations of patriarchy. For most of us, this was our first time ever confronting patriarchy, let alone creating trainings to do so. We felt the need to first do a workshop identifying patriarchy in its different forms and then hold a second session on confronting patriarchy and how we can end male privilege. While men were in our workshops, the women at the school had women's space, talking about health issues, patriarchy, and just enjoying an all woman social atmosphere. Many men felt that they too needed and wanted a social space for men where they could address health issues and other male issues other than patriarchy and male domination. In the limited time together at the school, we felt it was more pressing to address our oppressive behavior. The model developed at the Institute has since been modified by males in Cincinnati. Enclosed in this manual are sample agendas for you to work off of, reflections by the trainers on the process of creating these trainings, feedback from those in attendance, and further reading that will help raise awareness and change the oppressive actions of those that benefit from male privilege.

Another problem we encountered was our binary approach to the subject. Originally we addressed the issue in a male-female mindset and did not take into account transgender folk or the issues of gender identity in general. Though we were aware of this, I don't know if we were able to resolve the inconsistency in anyway. The only start we were able to make was rather than making the training "for men" we made it for those that benefit from male privilege.

Though some articles in this 'zine are directed towards anarchists or assume a radical anti-authoritarian ideology, their critiques of patriarchy are universal no matter how one identifies politically.

Cultural Differences

Though patriarchy exists everywhere, it takes on different forms within different communities. Recognizing this and recognizing that this 'zine was compiled from the experiences of mostly "white" men and women, we cannot even begin to address the unique dynamics within relationships of African-Americans, Latinos and Latinas, and other "non-white" communities. As a means to enhance your understanding of patriarchy within different communities, we've included a few articles written by women of color. But this 'zine, written by "white" folk, is meant to only address the issues within the community we come from.

Why Are We Doing This?

Confronting patriarchy (and all our internalized privileges) *is* revolutionary. It is not something we need to do so that we can get on to the "real work." It is not something we do so that our meetings and our movements are more inclusive (though if we confront patriarchy effectively, these will be obvious benefits.) Anti-Capitalist blocs within the recent Anti-Globalization Movement often destroy the private property and symbols of those corporations that benefit from economic domination. What is there for Anti-Patriarchs to destroy? Though there are symbols of patriarchy everywhere we

53. If a woman discusses with you or calls you out on your patriarchy, do you make effort to be emotionally present? Listen? Not emotionally shut down? Not get defensive? Think about what she said? Admit you fucked up? Take responsibility/make reparations for the mistakes you made? Discuss your feelings and ideas with her? Apologize? Work harder on your own shit to make sure that you don't make the same mistakes again with her or other women?

54. Do you look inside yourself to find out why you fucked up in these relationships and work to both change your behavior and be a better anti-patriarchy in the future?

55. Do you organize regular house meetings or activist meetings to resolve conflict in house/group?

56. Do you use intimidation, yelling, getting in someone's physical space, threats or violence to get your point across? Do you create an atmosphere of violence around women or others to threaten them (i.e.: throw things, break things, yell and scream, threaten, attack, tease or terrorize the animals or pets of women in your life)?

57. Do you physically, psychologically, or emotionally abuse women?

58. Do the women in your life (mothers, sisters, partners, housemates, friends, etc.) have to "remind" you or "nag" you or "yell" at you in order for you to get off your ass and take care of your responsibilities?

59. Do you talk to other men about patriarchy and your part in it?

60. When was the last time you thought about or talked about any of these issues other than after reading this questionnaire?

(This questionnaire is meant to provoke thought and reflection. Some of the questions can be applied to all folks, not just men or those that benefit from male privilege. It is up to you to do personal exploration in order to decide how these apply to your life.)

Scoring: ALL MEN need to work on issues of patriarchy, sexism and misogyny. However, this questionnaire may point out to you areas of particular focus or concentration for your own anti-patriarchal/sexist/misogynist process and development.

notes: some women need to work on a lot of this stuff too + stop perpetuating it.



Domestic/Household Questions

41. When was the last time you walked into your house, noticed that something was misplaced/dirty/etc. AND did something about it (didn't just walk by it, over it, away from it or leave a nasty note about it) even if it wasn't your chore or responsibility?
42. Are you constantly amazed by the magical "food fairy" who mysteriously acquires food, brings it home, puts it away, prepares it in meal form and then cleans up afterwards?
43. Do you contribute equally to domestic life and work?
44. How many of the following activities do you contribute to in your home (this is a partial list of what it takes to run a household): A: Sweep and mop floors and clean carpets B: Wash and put away dishes C: Clean stove, countertops, sinks and appliances if they are messy and each time after you have prepared food D: Collect money, do food shopping, put away food and make meals for people you live with E: Do house laundry (kitchen towels, bathroom hand towels, washable rugs, etc.) F: Clean up common room spaces, even if it's not your chore G: Pick up other's slack H: Deal with garbage, recycling, and compost I: Take care of bills, rent, utilities J: Deal with the landscaping and gardening K: Clean bathrooms and make sure bathroom is clean after you use it L: Feed, clean up after, and take care of housepets

Children & Childcare

45. Do you spend time with kids? If you do, do you spend time with children (yours or anyone's) in a way that is gendered? (do certain things with boys and other things with girls?)
46. If you are a father, do you CO-parent your children? (Spend equal time AND energy AND effort AND money to raise them?)
47. Do you make childcare a priority? (at both activist events and in daily life)
48. Do you help make the lives of single mothers in your life and community easier by finding out if and how you can assist?
49. Have you politicized your ideas about child rearing and parenthood in radical communities? (Do you believe that individuals who are in the movement have children or that the movement has children?)

Multi-Category Questions:

50. When was the last time you showed a woman how to do a task rather than doing it for her and assuming she couldn't do it?
51. When was the last time you asked a woman to show you how to do a task?
52. Do you get emotional needs met by other women, whether or not you are in a romantic relationship with them? Or do you cultivate caring, nurturing relationships with other men in which you can discuss your feelings and get your needs met by them?

go (pride architecture, social engineering, etc.) and patriarchy is to destroy its manifestations within ourselves and actively identify any sexist and heterosexist actions of those we work and live with. There can be no successful unified mass movement if we allow our own oppressive behavior and the oppressive behavior of others to continue. If we do not actively confront patriarchy, white supremacy, classism, heterosexism, and all forms of domination, we will have nothing more than a movement of middle-class white males coming to consensus that they "need to work on outreach."

Remember, attacking patriarchy does not mean attacking ourselves or others. We often become defensive when called oppressors. Realize that as part of an oppressive society, we are automatically oppressors. When people identify our actions as such, they are helping us fight domination *not* (necessarily) attacking who we are.

Patriarchy and other forms of oppression have been constructed by a society dominated by straight wealthy white males. Growing up within that society these oppressive conditions are constructed within all of us. By deconstructing these systems within us and within our movements, we begin to construct healthy mutualistic relationships across sex, gender, class, and race lines.

How We Did It

At the institute, we shared meals, sleeping space, and pretty much everything. It was a temporary community. We had access to each other 24-7. We called open planning meetings and figured out each other's level of knowledge and specific interests. As it was the first time many of us confronted patriarchy we decided we ought to do two (two hour) training sessions: one identifying patriarchy and another to identify ways to confront (and end) patriarchy in ourselves and society as a whole. You may or may not have constant access to your community to work with, but I highly suggest working with others that benefit from male privilege in order to adapt our trainings to your community's needs. Though the women at the institute were very helpful and very willing to add to our thought process, it's important to remember that it is not the job of those that are on the receiving end of patriarchal behavior to educate us. They deal with confronting patriarchy on a daily basis and having to play educator for others would add to the tiring process of dealing with patriarchy in their own lives. It's our job to educate and train each other. If you have questions, feminism and patriarchy have been written about extensively, hit up the library. (This goes for learning about all oppressed groups).

In no way do our two workshops do a complete job of challenging patriarchy. It is a lifelong task and these workshops are very basic and introductory. Those who are part of active organizations should consider creating an anti-patriarchy working group that would continue these sorts of workshops on a regular basis as well as work towards integrating anti-patriarchy work and demands into all the work of the organization. (The same thing should definitely happen for anti-racist and all anti-oppression work that our groups should be doing regularly).

Agenda for 1st Session: Identifying Patriarchy

1. Introduction

It's important to say *why* we're doing this. One of the trainers might wish to talk

for a minute or two about how confronting patriarchy is central to any revolutionary movement (or anyone's life in general). How it's not something peripheral to the real work. We had someone speak to this for a minute and then did a go-around where each individual said a quick "why I'm here".

2. Ice-breaker/Safe space builder.

Confronting patriarchy can be a very challenging experience. It means addressing our personal relationships, how we were raised, and our every day actions. In order for individuals in the group to be able to do this together they need to feel safe and be able to trust each other. It's important here to not only build a group dynamic (we are confronting this together) but also stress the need for confidentiality. Concepts and general ideas can be shared outside the group but names and quotes stay inside this room.

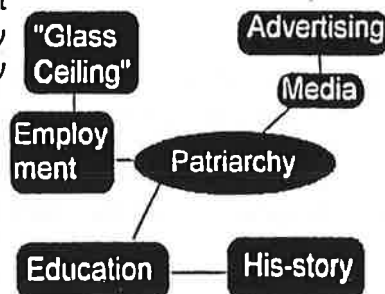
3. "I-Statements"

We've thrown together a list of "I-Statements" that reflect patriarchal beliefs and acts that people may identify with. This exercise should be done in silence so that people can fully reflect on their relationship to what is read. The list of statements is read, leaving space between each statement for people to reflect. If they relate to what is said then they should raise their hand. Rather than having one person read the entire list, we passed the list around the circle until all the statements had been read. Encourage folks to take this time to reflect internally but to also notice that all of us are patriarchal that everyone's hands go up at different points. This exercise exemplifies how widespread patriarchy is and how it effects everyone one of us. It forces folks to recognize their own acts and beliefs. There is no discussion. Some statements may be contested as not necessarily patriarchal but that is not the point of this exercise.

After this we moved right into the next exercise. Some people felt it was necessary to have a discussion to process the activity together. We moved on due to time constraints but if you have longer sessions or plan to do more than two sessions it may be beneficial to add in time for people's reflections and group processing here.

4. Patriarchy Web: What are manifestations of patriarchy?

Depending on the amount of people in attendance the group is broken up into small groups. Each group is given a large sheet of paper and a marker for each person. They are then told to draw a web connecting as many forms of patriarchy they can think of. After each group is done (most need only 5 minutes or so) we came together to point out highlights, reflections, and connected each others webs. All the webs could be laid out on the floor together or put up on a wall or a new web or list can be made on another sheet of paper compiling everyone's findings.



5. Small Group Discussion: "Where Do We Fit Into the Web?"

Depending on the size of your training team or the amount of skilled facilitators,

25. Do you jump from relationship to relationship? Overlap then? Or do you take space and time for yourself in between each relationship to reflect on the relationship and your role in it? Do you know how to be alone? How to be single?

26. Do you cheat on your partners?

27. If your girlfriend gets on your case for patriarchal behavior or wants to try to work on the issues of patriarchy in your relationship, do you break up with her or cheat on her and find another woman who will put up with your shit?

28. Do you agree to romantic commitment and responsibility and then back out of these situations?

29. Do you understand menstruation?

30. Do you make fun of women or write them off as "PMS-ING?"

Friendship Questions

31. Do you tend to set the standard and plans for fun or do you work with the other in the group, including women to see what they want to do?

32. Do you talk to your female friends about things you don't talk to your male friends about, especially emotional issues?

33. Do you constantly fall in love with your female friends? Are you friends with women until you find out that they are not in love with you too and then end the friendship? Are you only friends with women who are in monogamous or committed relationships with other people?

34. Do you come on to your female friends even jokingly?

35. Do you only talk to your female friends (and not your male friends) about your romantic relationships or problems in those relationships?

36. Do you find yourself only attracted to "Anarcho-Crusty Punk Barbie," "Alterna-Grrl Barbie," or "Hardcore-Grrl Barbie?" (The idea here being that the only women you are attracted to fit mainstream beauty standards but just dress and do their hair alternative and maybe have piercings and tattoos.) Do you question and challenge your internalized ideals of mainstream beauty ideals for women?

37. Have you ever heard of or discussed "sizeism" and do you think it is low on the oppression scale?

38. Are you aware of the fact that ALL WOMEN, even women in radical communities live under the CONSTANT PRESSURE and OPPRESSION of mainstream patriarchal beauty standards?

39. Are you aware of the fact that many women in radical communities have had and are currently dealing with eating disorders?

40. Do you make fun of "model-types" or "mainstream" women for their appearance

fought with police, done property alterations, beat up nazi boneheads, etc.)?

11. Do you take something a woman said, reword it and claim it as your own idea/opinion?

12. Are you taking on the "shit" or "grunt" work in your organizing?

(I.e.: cooking, cleaning, set up, clean up, phone calls, email lists, taking notes, doing support work, sending mailings, providing childcare?) Are you aware of the fact that women often are taking on this work with no regard or recognition for their efforts?

13. Do you take active steps to make your activist groups safe and comfortable places for women?

14. If you are trying to get more women involved in your activist projects, do you try to engage them by telling them what to do or why they should join your group?

15. Do you ever find yourself monitoring and limiting your behavior and speech in meetings and activist settings because you don't want to take up too much space or dominate the group? Are you aware of the fact that women do this all the time?

16. Do you pay attention to group process and consensus building in groups or do you tend to dominate and take charge (maybe without even realizing it)?

Sexual/Romantic Relationships and Issues

17. Do you make jokes or negative comments about the sex lives of women or sex work?

18. Can you only show affection and be loving to your partner in front of friends and family or only in private?

19. Do you discuss the responsibility for preventing contraception and getting STD screening prior to sexual contact?

20. Do you repeatedly ask or plead with women for what you want in sexual situations? Are you aware that unless this is a mutually consented upon scenario/game that this is considered a form of coercion?

21. During sex, do you pay attention to your partner's face and body language to see if she is turned on? Engaged, or just lying there? Do you ask a woman what she wants during sex? What turns her on?

22. Do you ask for consent?

23. Do you know if your partner has a sexual abuse, rape, or physical abuse history?

24. Do you stay with your partner in a relationship for comfort and security? Sex? Financial or emotional caretaking? If you're not completely happy or "in love" with your partner anymore? Even though you don't think it will ultimately work out? Because you're afraid or unable to be alone? Do you suddenly end relationships when a "new" or "better" woman comes along?

your small group size will be different. Obviously the smaller the better because the less people in a group the more each person can contribute. About 20+ people attended our first session. We broke up into two groups. Though left up to your discretion, any group above 8 or so minimizes the ability for individuals to participate.

You can come up with any discussion questions you want. We attempted to transition from societal forms of patriarchy identified in the web (see example) to what our role was in each of these manifestations. How do we participate in these patriarchal systems? How do our actions perpetuate patriarchy? People have a tendency to speak in generalities or about other people. Try to guide folks towards identifying how they themselves are patriarchal not just the guys they work with.

After people begin to identify their own role in perpetuating patriarchy ask what our assumptions are when we do these things. People may not understand at first. When we talk over others or interrupt them, there is an underlying assumption that what we have to say is more important. When some are relegated to secretarial or "shit" work in our organizations there is an underlying assumption that certain people are only capable of certain work and that other (more important or different) work can only be handled or is best handled by ourselves.

As discussion goes on, take a moment to pause and ask "What have we missed?" Most likely those in the small groups have only identified a few ways they act out patriarchy, interrupting people, how they look at women, etc. Patriarchy plays out in every interaction we have with others. Therefore its likely that there are many forms of patriarchy we participate in that we have not brought up and may not even be aware of. The women at the institute gave us a list of patriarchy's manifestations within our temporary community. We wrote this up on big paper prior to the training and revealed this during the discussions. After reading through the list of how women identified us acting out patriarchy, ask what people think and ask *why* didn't we notice these things? Patriarchy is so ingrained in us that we are not even aware of every way our acts or thoughts and beliefs are actually influenced by patriarchy.

If there are those that are oppressed by patriarchy in your community that you have a personal relationship with and would be willing to make up a list custom to your situation that may be helpful. If you do not feel comfortable asking for this or there aren't such people, we've included the list that came out of our community.

- men interrupt women in general

- men interrupt women facilitators in meetings and small groups

- men immediately assume the role of presenter during large group report backs (in another context, men assume the role of spokesman for groups when relating to other groups and speaking to the media)

- men neglect to engage women about intellectual topics

- men do not respect group's meeting process and blurt out comments while most people are waiting to be called on

- "There are reasons women are silent when they are. It isn't that we have nothing to say - you need to shut up and give us the space to talk."

- male musicians do not include women in music.

"If men were not always the ones playing music, women would play more!"

-Men often take off their 'consciousness hats' during informal settings but are more conscious of these issues in formal settings. (We set up specific ground rules for our meetings and attempt to create an environment where everyone can participate fully, but in casual conversation and informal settings this is not the case)

-men treat women too carefully, as if fragile.

6. Closing/Evaluations

As discussion wind down or become repetitive or run out of time, bring the groups back together for a closing. Do a go-around or other activity. We asked for someone who knew a fun game to volunteer and lead the closing that way. Ask for feedback, what could have been done better, what was good what was not handled well, what was lacking? Advertise next meeting and make note that this is a very positive first step to creating a egalitarian society. Some people may feel the need for affirmation that they did good work. Others may be feeling demonized or may be feeling some self-hate. It might be good to state that patriarchy is a societal construct that we all were raised to participate in. Now that we are aware of it we can actively work to end it. This has not been an attack on any one individual but a reflection of the sickness of our society. Others may feel the need to be congratulated for taking up this work. There's a difference between recognizing the importance of confronting patriarchy and congratulating each other. We don't congratulate each other after eating or going to the bathroom, confronting patriarchy is just as necessary and should be just as central to our lives.

Agenda for 2nd Session: Confronting Patriarchy

1. Introduction

It's really beneficial that people attend the first session before the second as we need to fully identify patriarchy before we confront it and this session builds off of what we covered last time. Also, creating a safe space is a lot easier if everyone has experience dealing with this together. However, we didn't exclude anyone that showed up for this one. It's important to reiterate the same introduction and then recap general themes.

2. Ice breaker/Safe space builder

Do the same as before. If its mainly the same group, you might ask how people's views or actions or interactions with others have changed since the last training. Another good question might be "what's one way that each of us has attempted to confront patriarchy before? What was the result?"

3. Role Play: Being an Ally

The theory behind this role-play is based on "Theater of the Oppressed," and "Forum Theater," concepts created and master by Augusto Bo'al. The basic idea is to have an oppressive situation where there is an oppressor and their target of oppression. The goal is to allow oppressed people (in this case allies of

Are You a "Manarchist" Questionnaire (developed by rad. women in Philly)

General Questions:

1. Do you ascribe to either: A) "Passive-Aggressive Patriarchy:" (often come across as a victim/helpless/in need/dependent and get women in your life to be your physical and emotional caretakers? to buy you things? to take care of your responsibilities? pick up your slack? use guilt or manipulation to get out of your responsibilities and equal share of the work? do you treat your female partner like "mom" or your secretary?)

B) "Aggressive Patriarchy:" (Do you often take charge? Assume that a woman can do something right so you do it for her? Believe that only you can take care of things? Think that you always have the right answer? Treat your female partner like she's helpless, fragile, a baby or weak? Do you put down your partner or minimize her feelings? Do you belittle her opinions?)

2. How do you react when women in your life name something or someone as patriarchal or sexist? Do you think of her or call her a "PC Thug," "Feminazi," "Thin-skinned," "Overly-Sensitive," a "COINTELPRO-esque" or "Un-fun?"

3. Do you see talking about patriarchy as non-heroic, a waste of time, trouble making, or divisive?

4. If a woman asks your opinion, do you assume she must not know anything about the subject?

5. Do you believe that women have "natural characteristics" which are inherent in our sex such as "passive," "sweet," "caring," "nurturing," "considerate," "generous," "weak," or "emotional?"

6. Do you make fun of "typical" men or "frat boys" but not ever check yourself to see if you behave in the same ways?

7. Do you take on sexism and patriarchy as a personal struggle working to fight against it in yourself, in your relationships, in society, work, culture, subcultures, and institutions?

8. Do you say anything when other men make sexist or patriarchal comments? Do you help your patriarchal and sexist friends to make changes and help educate them? Or do you continue friendships with patriarchal and sexist men and act like there is no problem.

Activism Questions

9. As a man, is being a feminist a priority to you? Do you see being a feminist as revolutionary or radical?

10. Do you think that you define what is radical? Do you suffer from or contribute "macho bravado" or "subpoena envy"? (I.e. defining a true or "cool" and respectable activist as someone who has: been arrested, done lockdowns, scaled walls, hung banners, done time for their actions, argued or

and, LISTEN TO WOMEN and our concerns.

I think that above all, I personally want the men in my life to understand that I will not take a backseat any longer. I have decided that I am a feminist first, and that my politics and perspective is shaped by the fact that I am a woman, and I understand oppression on a personal level. It is easy to stand up for an abstract ideal of anti-exploitation, and it is yet another thing to make the connection that women need allies in our fight against ALL oppression, including our own. I will never abdicate my identity as an anarchist and an activist, no matter how much pressure I receive to keep my mouth shut on these topics. I am a woman, a bisexual, the daughter of an immigrant and a person who grew up in poverty. Because of who I am, I will always confront oppression when I see it, even if it comes from within my own circle. Anarchism is MY movement, and I believe that an inclusive movement is a strong movement.

-Fuck the civil, Let's get disobedient!



oppressed people/ to experiment and be creative in many ways to overcome (or confront) behavior. For more on Theater of the Oppressed, check out <http://www.toplab.org>.

We asked two men we knew would be at the training to take a look at the script that one of us put together and start out the role-play. The rest of the group watches them act out the scene, identifying to themselves the manifestations of patriarchy and observing how the protagonist (the ally) attempts to confront the antagonist (patriarchal person) on their behavior. The short skit can be acted out repeatedly. As the group observes they should be thinking of ways they could be an ally. When they think of a different approach or feel the person acting is not being effective they can yell "Stop!" and take the person's place. The skit then continues with this new person trying out their way of being an ally. (Our group was small and so some people also tried out being the person acting out patriarchal behavior.)

Our script is below. It assumes that members of the workshop are involved in organizing efforts and are familiar with activist meeting structures. Please adapt to your situation. Remember, this is only one manifestation of patriarchy. Feel free to create your own situation. If you ever do a workshop with both sexes, this type of role-playing with the roles reversed (those that benefit from patriarchy being put in the position of being oppressed by it) can be extremely eye-opening to those that benefit from patriarchy.

Introduce the situation:

An organizational meeting for an upcoming demonstration has just been held. For the first time, people representing a diverse range of organizations, such as local labor unions, welfare rights coalitions, anarchist affinity groups, and many individuals, came together to work on these issues.

One person, Dave, has spoken more than any other individual. For the first half of the meeting, he reported from the communications working group, the website working group, and the outreach working group. While women representatives from the labor unions spoke, he made nonverbal communication that indicated frustration and disagreement with what was being said. He interrupted women numerous times and spoke over less assertive men. When the facilitator told him his behavior was not respecting the process he replied that he felt the need to clarify what he was saying. He did not interrupt others from his group but he did speak more than any one of them.

The Scene:

Dave and another person who attended the meeting are talking about what just happened. (Below is a sample script. Feel free to edit this.)

Person #1: Dave, I want to talk with you about what happened at that meeting.

D: What's up? You talking about all those moderate pansies?

P1: No. I want to tell you that I think you were being totally out of line.

D: Me! Out of line? I thought you were with me on this one. Those folks don't have a strong analysis of what's going on. They just want to take over the coalition that we formed. All they want is a legal permitted rally.

P1: You're not the only one in the room that had a difference analysis or wants to see radical actions take place. That's not what I'm talking about.

D: Can't you see? They aren't trying to make real change, they just want to feel good about themselves.

P1: Look. This event includes everyone's struggles. I saw you using your male privilege to

shut out everyone except the guys in your group. I overheard some of the women talking and they were pissed because you were always interrupting them.

D: Why don't you just go with those folks? Man, you need to get over this white guilt and start doing real work.

P1: You know, for someone who's trying to fight authority, you're pretty authoritarian.

D: I'm not telling anybody what to do. These people can organize themselves to continue doing nothing.

P1: Listen! You're driving everyone out of this group with your sexist crap!

D: If I'm so sexist, why don't the women say anything about it?

P1: Why should they? They can't trust you. Besides it's not their job to correct you.

D: I don't need this. There's real work to be done here. I'm done talking. (end)

After each person has a chance to play out being a strong ally and challenging patriarchy, discuss and process what went on. What worked well, what failed miserably? Was there anything else that happened we should talk about? (In our role-play, as more people challenged "Dave" a 'go-get-him' atmosphere and mentality seemed to develop where the activity became an 'knock him down' us vs. him event. Upon reflection it would seem that this 'attack or win over the other side' mentality and how it played out was pretty typical male behavior.)

4. Fish Bowl exercise.

People have many questions that they may not feel comfortable asking, even after making efforts to build safe space. Give paper and pens to each person and give them time to think of questions they may have about patriarchy and their lives. These are all then put in a hat/bucket/etc. mixed up and then brought out. You can either deal with each question sequentially or write them up for everyone to see, look for themes, group similar questions together, let this become an agenda for discussion.

5. Fighting Patriarchy Web

At the beginning of the first session folks drew up all the different manifestations of patriarchy. Now is their chance to draw up all the different ways to fight patriarchy. This can be done in a similar style in small groups or people can call out ways to fight patriarchy while a recorder writes them all up. Try to be as specific and thorough as possible.

6. Discussion/Closing

Again, getting someone else to lead a fun game as a closing creates a group feeling of inclusion and takes responsibility off your shoulders to come up with creative closings. Check-in with folks to see how they're doing. Ask how this influenced their outlook on their lives, get people to name concrete things they plan to do (if they're at a place where they're ready to do that), what's something that people gained from this workshop? Evaluations are very important. What worked, what didn't? How can it be made better? Do similar closings as in the first session.

- Women need to be in decision-making ("leadership") ~~(etc.)~~ Women need to have a say in group policies and direction, not just men.

- Structure meetings and gatherings around inclusion of all ideas. Don't assume that because a woman (or a member of any other underrepresented group) is quiet, they don't have anything to say. Do check-ins at the beginning of the meeting: -let people introduce themselves

- what was your day like? (Did you sit in class, work a crappy job, read a thought-provoking book?)

- see where people are coming from and break the ice so that the group begins on a cohesive and inclusive level.

- If you're organizing an event, make sure women comprise at least 50% of the presenters and organizing team. Seek out the voices of women for gatherings and conferences (this also goes for queers, people of color, etc.)

- Women need to be supportive of each other. This is a large topic unto itself, but leave it at this: we need to unlearn the competitiveness and sexist attitudes that we have been indoctrinated into, or we won't be taken seriously

- Share the grunt work in the movement. Rotate through tasks that no one wants to do so that no one always gets stuck with the jobs that get no recognition.

- Women should stand firm and not back-pedal when men react to our concerns in negative ways. As I mentioned before, women are indoctrinated to take care of others, and this includes men's egos. To fall back on an old cliché: sometimes the truth hurts (but it still needs to be spoken.)

- Women should take self-defense classes in order to learn that it's okay to act in your own best interest, and also to practice using your voice in powerful ways, and to feel comfortable taking up space (in both the physical and philosophical senses.)

- Recognize that we are products of a sexist society and we have a lot of work to do to change ourselves! We have been taught that women are less important and it carries over into what we think is important to the movement. We need to remember that women are half the planet and our concerns cannot be discounted as irrelevant or less important than other oppressions.



- Women need to embrace all parts of ourselves, including anger and other emotions denied us, and not apologize when advocating for ourselves and our needs in active and even aggressive ways. Men need to embrace all parts of themselves, including being comfortable with their own emotions and emotional expression by others.

- Women need to feel safe to express themselves freely and put for their ideas knowing that they will be taken seriously. Men need to help us to create a respectful environment for all to be heard and validated.

- Women need safe spaces to talk in women-only groups until such time as we feel this is no longer necessary. I can only imagine this happening when all oppression is eradicated. Men must create their own space to confront oppression and learned oppressive behaviors, and ask themselves why they are afraid of women-only spaces. Ask yourself honestly if it's because you fear the empowerment women are trying to find without men's involvement. Women and men need to nurture ourselves, take time to heal ourselves, and not feel guilty about it.

- Men need to take the initiative to educate themselves about sexism, and confront it too. There is an enormous amount of information out there about oppression and what you can do about it, so there is no excuse to constantly make women (or people of color, or gays, or poor people...) educate you on this topic. We wrote it down, NOW READ IT!

- Men need to abdicate their power when the mainstream targets them as spokespersons, leaders and authorities in their movement. Refer the press to a woman, suggest women speakers too when asked to speak at rallies and conferences, give women room to participate when the mainstream tries to shut them out. This also means giving women the floor to speak and feeling what it's like to listen instead of speak.

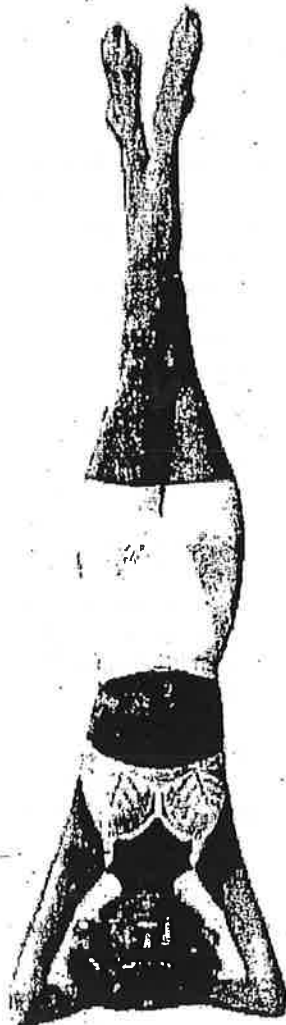
- We all, but especially men, have to confront sexism. Women have been doing it our entire lives and it's draining. Because men have the choice to keep their mouths shut in the face of female oppression, men must earn women's trust by never failing to confront all oppression, including sexism. Show us you are our allies, because I can tell you that we won't trust you if you fail to advocate and fight alongside us. We have a vested interest in ensuring our dignity and safety, whereas you have the privilege to ignore our issues.

- Give recognition to those who do the shit work, and the people (particularly women) who do a great job without all of the glory and fanfare men usually get.

"I statements" for 1st Session

- I'm not sure if I interrupt women more than men
- I have been aware of a woman trying to break into a conversation and ignored her.
- I have called out other men on their sexist behavior.
- I think it is women's responsibility to challenge men when they make sexist remarks
- I have hit on a woman at an organizational meeting
- I have been hit on by a woman at an organizational meeting
- I have used anti-sexist rhetoric to pick up women
- I have remained silent while a woman was being intrusively and/or aggressively hit on
- I have asked a female partner to shave her arms, legs, or pubic hair
- I predominantly look up to male thinkers and philosophers
- My education has familiarized me with male thinkers and intellectuals
- I listen to a lot of female vocalists
- I listen to a lot of male vocalists
- I listen to music that is condescending toward women
- I watch sexist music videos or television and get turned on
- I have actively sought out pornography
- I have found lesbianism kinky
- I can walk around with my shirt off in public
- I've been raised believing in a male deity
- I have seen my father attack my mother
- My father makes most of the decisions in my family
- My mother did most or all of the cooking and cleaning
- My female friends or partner do a lot of my cooking and cleaning
- I have derogatorily referred to other men as queer, fag, or pussy
- I have laughed at women for their size
- I have assigned worth to women based on their appearance
- Family members tell me I won't get married unless I get nicer hair
- I tend to play sports more with men than with women
- I feel comfortable crying with other men
- I feel comfortable hugging other men
- I have degraded women in the presence of other men
- I interrupt women more than men
- I value men's comments more than women's comments
- I haven't observed any sexist behavior at or in this [institution, working group, etc.]
- I think women in this [program, school, working group, location or institution, etc.] haven't felt the effects of patriarchy. ???????????
- I have noticed men being passive about patriarchy and other forms of hierarchy
- I get angry about the oppression that women go through on a daily basis
- I have 'hooked up' with a woman and then ignored her the next day
- I have less respect for women after I sleep with them
- I only date skinny women
- Sometimes I see women and rate their beauty
- I have an eating disorder or have an awkward relationship with food
- I know a woman who has an eating disorder or an awkward relationship with food
- I have been insulted for being promiscuous
- I have been congratulated for being promiscuous
- I think that a man can force his sexual partner to have sex with him and it is not rape
- I am afraid I'll get raped when I walk down the street
- I have had thoughts or dreams about raping a woman
- I know a woman who has been raped

- I have a male friend who has raped, beaten, or abused his girlfriend or another woman
- I have close female friends with whom I've never considered having sex
- Sometimes I get angry at women because I cannot control my sexual desire
- I have persuaded a woman to get intoxicated so that I could have sex with her
- I am open to sleeping with multiple women at a time, but I wouldn't want my partner to sleep with other men
- I have cheated on my girlfriend in a monogamous relationship
- I initiate sexual encounters with women more than vice versa
- I have had sex with women who loved me, that I did not love in return
- I have had sex with women who I did not respect but who I thought were attractive
- I find women attractive primarily by their physical appearance
- I have no female friends who are overweight
- I have felt the need to assert the size of my penis when the topic arises
- I think that there can be revolution with patriarchy



These are not isolated events.

There are many challenges to addressing sexism, and one of the greatest is the overwhelming apathy of men in confronting this issue. One of the few men in attendance at the seminar complained that the reason men are so absent from the discussion of sexism, is that they fear male bashing, and feel like they would be accused of co-opting the process if they try to participate. The reaction of my (male) partner afterwards sums it up: "(sexist) men need some bashing!" Sexism must be met with the same outrage that we hold for racism, exploitation of animals and the earth, etc. They are not separate issues, but are part of the whole system and ideology of dominance, and a culture of oppression.

If men are unsure of where their place is in a discussion of combating sexism, why are they afraid to ask for the expertise of women? Can it be that it escapes them that the easiest way to find out how to be an ally to women is to listen to women and ask what they can do? It is really that simple. I think that it is hard for men to put themselves into the position of admitting that they don't know, and that women are the "authority" on a subject; but that's what needs to be done. Men won't be seen as co-opting if they have the humility to let women lead the fight against sexism and other oppressions, and have the respect enough for their women friends to listen to their concerns and **VALIDATE** them - and to fight alongside us.

Because men have the choice to address or ignore sexism in a way that women do not, it is imperative that men prove that they are our allies by taking the uncomfortable step that many women take every day - confronting sexism when you see it. How can we be expected to trust men if they ignore our concerns for safety, respect, and equal participation? It is impossible to have a movement that does not have a foundation of respect and unity, and that is why it is important to eradicate all forms of oppression from our movements, so that we might have a broader base of support and ideas from a diverse set of people.

And to that end, here is a list of suggestions, both from the group discussion and my own mind, on what we can do to move towards a woman-inclusive progressive movement (though many of these suggestions are also applicable to the inclusion of gays and lesbians, people from various economic classes, and people of color.)

- (Men) must feel the loss to the movement when women aren't involved on an equal basis with men. When more than half of the planet takes a back seat in importance and respect, the entire movement suffers from that lack. Be aware of how we judge other people and ourselves as "emotional" or "irrational," and be aware of holding reason as superior to emotion, logic over intuition.



power you may not even be aware of, but still exploit; superiority and privilege that cannot be accessed by most females; it forces a his-story of oppression on you, one you have to accept or reject. To reject, we must fight against male domination.

-Fuck the civil, Let's get disobedient!

You will notice that some of these issues are internal to the group, and others are external. We live in a sexist society that, despite advances for women, continues to value men and their ideas above women. The same is true in movements, because we are a product of our society in no small measure. Even when movements try to be inclusive, the media and other outside sources can undermine our efforts by portraying women in negative or stereotyped ways. Women in the movements have to contend with prejudice and oppression from within and outside our movements.

For instance, women have had to continually educate men regarding their sexist behavior, and this is very draining (I speak from experience). It is also draining to the movement when women's energy is diverted to educating men about sexism when men should be educating themselves about it.

An external challenge to combating sexism comes from the media. They are more likely to approach men as leaders and treat them as authorities on their movement. (This is especially evident in the 1999 "Reclaim Our Streets" protest in Eugene and other more recent actions, in which men have stepped forward as spokesmen for anarchists.) This is fed by our society's emphasis on the value of men's ideas and leadership, but there ARE ways that we can address this within the movement (more to follow).

At the panel discussion we also addressed barriers to an inclusive movement, though not in a formal way. The following is a list of factors that create barriers to change within movements:

- We live in a sexist society
- Assumption that male pattern of organizing is the normal and standard way of doing things
- Men are in a position to either choose to confront sexism or ignore it, whereas women have a vested interest in confronting sexism. We cannot ignore issues that directly affect us without shooting ourselves in the foot.
- Women's issues are considered secondary or unrelated to the goals of the movement
- Women burn out from trying to educate men about sexism
- Men don't come to discussions about sexism and women's issues because, as above, they have the privilege to decide that it's not important, or to ignore the issues
- Women are not supportive enough of one another
- And last but not least, MASSIVE DENIAL, that there's a problem.

Overcoming Masculine Oppression in Mixed Groups



By Bill Moyer and Alan Tuttle
with drawings by Peg Averill

"Sexism isn't the problem; anyone can talk when they want to," declared one man. "It's just that some of us have had more experience and can talk more easily in groups."

We all support women's liberation," chimed in another man.

Around the room, reactions spanned a wide range: resentment, distraction, passive interest, eagerness and anxiousness.

At last week's meeting, one woman confronted the men with her frustration at their domination of the group. A couple of people had supported her, but most seemed unaware or remained passive. Defensive anger had surfaced in several of the men, despite their best intentions.

The woman who spoke out last week is absent tonight. The group has been dwindling in size since shortly after its founding last year. Many excited newcomers have attended one or two meetings and never returned. Others stuck it out for months before fading away. The group of some 30 members has shrunk to half that; of the original 15 women, five remain.

The Problem

A hypothetical situation—but a real problem, and all too familiar to those of us who have participated in progressive organizations. Most voluntary groups, such as social change groups, are dominated by a few people, with a small number of other regular members. These groups' objectives—an equal, just, and democratic society—

Bill Moyer and Alan Tuttle are both members of the Philadelphia Region Network of the Movement for a New Society. Bill Moyer is a member of the Medium Term Training Organizing Collective and is co-author of *Moving Towards a New Society*. Alan Tuttle is a member of the collective *Men Against Patriarchy*.

seem unattainable even within their own domain. One informal study of a dozen small groups found that the most frequent talkers spoke nine times as often as the less frequent talkers. It is no surprise that newcomers often show once or twice and are not seen again.

Domination within social change groups may be one of the main reasons that so many of them are short-lived or have small membership with substantial turnover. People are all too often stifled by heavy-handed authority: bosses at work, parents or spouse at home, and teachers at school. Most people, and especially those who join social change groups, want not only to be accepted, but also to make a contribution and be an active participant. Movement groups, because of their basic values of justice and egalitarianism, are one forum where the common problems of domination could well be dealt with.

This guide is addressed to men and to how we can overcome our own oppressive behavior in mixed (male and female) groups. More often than not, men are the ones dominating group activity. Such behavior is therefore termed a "masculine behavior pattern," not because women never act that way, but because it is generally men who do. Over the past few years there has been a tremendous increase in the awareness of many women and some men regarding masculine domination in groups. No longer is all-male leadership universally assumed or accepted. Unfortunately, groups often have great difficulty developing egalitarian relations even when everyone theoretically agrees with that ideal.

The following formulations are drawn primarily from our experience in the Philadelphia Network of the Movement for a New Society. While our focus is on changing behavior, we recognize that equally important is changing consciousness.

Social Movement Empowerment Project
721 Shrader Street
San Francisco, CA 94117
Telephone: 415/387 3361

60 \$ EACH
PLUS 30 \$ POSTAGE

Nov 10, 1977 WIN
(War
Resisters
League)

16

Men beginning to take responsibility for confronting our behavior must do so in an affirmative way. We are making a choice to take part in the liberation of all people, through changing our actions and our views of ourselves and the world. We have been raised in a society which is oppressive at its very roots. We have learned to function in ways based on hierarchy and control. In addition to masculine domination, class, age, religion and race contribute to authoritarian structures. Our goals are to rid the society—and our own organizations—of these forms of domination.

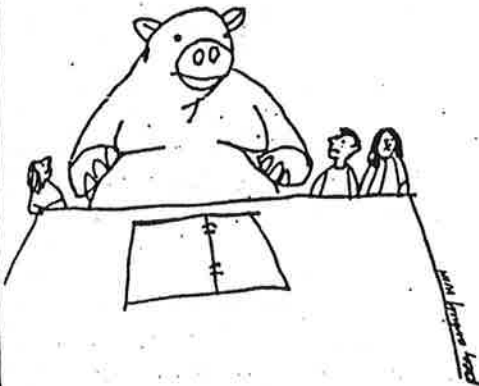
Common Pitfalls

The following are some of the more common problems to become aware of:

Hogging the show. Talking too much, too long, and too loud.

Problem Solver. Continually giving the answer or solution before others have had much chance to contribute.

Speaking in Capital Letters. Giving one's own solutions or opinions as the final word on the subject, often aggravated by tone of voice and body posture.



Defensiveness. Responding to every contrary opinion as though it were a personal attack. "People obviously didn't understand what I was saying. What I meant was..."

Nitpicking. Pointing out minor flaws in statements of others and stating the exception to every generality.

Restating. Especially what a woman has just said perfectly clearly.

Attention seeking. Using all sorts of dramatics to get the spot light.

Task and content focus. To the exclusion of nurturing individuals or the group through attention to process and form.

Putdowns and one-upmanship. "I used to believe that, but now..." or "How can you possibly say that...?"

Negativism. Finding something wrong or problematical in everything.

Focus transfer. Transferring the focus of the discussion to one's own pet issues in order to give one's own pet raps.

Residual office holder. Hanging on to formal powerful positions.

Self-listening. Formulating a response after the first few sentences, not listening to anything from that point on, and leaping in at the first pause.



George Custerism. Intransigency and dogmatism; taking a last stand for one's position on even minor items.

Avoiding feelings. Intellectualizing, withdrawing into passivity, or making jokes when it's time to share personal feelings.

Condescension and paternalism. "Now, do any women have something to add?"

Being "on the make." Treating women seductively; using sexuality to manipulate women.

Seeking attention and support from women while competing with men.

Running the show. Continually taking charge of tasks before others have a chance to volunteer.

Graduate studentitis. Protectively storing key group information for one's own use and benefit.

Speaking for others. "A lot of us think that we should..." or "What so and so really meant was..."

The full wealth of knowledge and skills is severely limited by such behavior. Women and men who are less assertive than others or who don't feel comfortable participating in a competitive atmosphere are, in effect, cut off from the interchange of experience and ideas. Those of us who always do a good deal of the talking will find we can learn a lot by contributing our share of the silence and listening to those around us.

If sexism isn't ended within social change groups there can't be a movement for real social change. Not only will the movement flounder amidst

something to fight. What does that say about the level of liberatory consciousness male domination and privilege isn't even mentioned?

To deny there is a problem with sexism in anarchist circles or other anti-authoritarian movements, is to deny the voices of the countless wimmin—and some men—who say there is. To deny is to discount these wimmin's experiences and voices. I'm not even talking about the larger, mainstream culture. So much of the anarchy-feminist writing that I've come across deals solely with identifying sexism within anarchist communities. Who can move onto a larger vision—theory of anarchy-feminism and life—when you've first got to combat the sexism of fellow anarchists? Can a woman or man argue for anarchy-feminism knowing that the anarchists aren't all feminist and the feminists aren't all anarchists? Yes, of course. That is why anarchy-feminism is so important a bridge between these two movements; both hold domination to be wrong. Anarchy-feminism—and anarchy as a whole—is stymied by anarchist men who can't get their act together, who don't want to see themselves as participating in oppression because they are supposedly against all oppression.

All of the anarchist raging, in so many circles, against liberals and leftists, reminds me of what anarchy-feminists have been writing and saying for years about sexist male anarchists: they don't go far enough in their analysis; they're comfortable with the way things are and don't want to lose their superior position; they pay lip service to radical change (eliminating sexism), but don't really do anything about etc.

It is time for men to start actually thinking about male domination and sexism. Look deep, try and defend the attitude that working on sexism isn't important. Read some writings, from an anarchist perspective, feminist perspective and from wimmin around the world involved in day to day life, as well as involve struggles for land and liberty. You'll see that the government and their communities as well mainstream denigration of other mainstream ideas—another wimmin have to say, if they. That said, it is not up to wimmin to educate men about sexism and male domination, like it isn't up to people of color to educate whites about racism. Use your open revolutionary mind to search out and learn about wimmin's reality. We are a society that puts a high priority on thinking and learning for one's self, so let's do that. Realize that just like we're all involved, to varying degrees, in capitalism, we're also touched by sexism, racism, and heterosexism.



Men need to start talking to other men about sexism and male domination. About what our culture says a man should be and what we'd like to be. I see almost no writing and discussion on the topic of men challenging their own and others' sexism; struggling to recreate the kind of non-authoritarian man they'd like to be. Patriarchy affects men negatively as well; it grants you

The current rise of anarchy and other radical, anti-authoritarianism is often wonderful, insightful, and inspiring. There is, however, an age-old pathology that still diminishes and disrupts our ability to unify and be completely effective. In my experience and what I see and read in other anarchist circles, the reality of sexism; male domination and privilege, and the refusal to deal seriously with these realities, is once again undermining anarchist organizing and activity.

I've run into quite a few people in anarchist/activist/punk circles who claim to be "not sexist" as an excuse for not working on or even discussing sexism and male domination, and the concrete effects of these on wimmin in society and our own circles. I have been the same way—a few songs, books, patches that say the right things seem to be enough. Through wider experiences, seeking out stories, wimmin friends, and thinking, I realized that I wasn't aware of enough, doing enough, not really understanding. Rather than ignore the reality of oppression of wimmin and my own participation in it, I chose to confront it. I haven't always been successful, nor dealt with everything, but I will continue to think and work on and against the institution of patriarchy and its thousands of permutations/effects.

Aside from the fact that almost no one could possibly be untouched by the dominant values and attitudes of our society—white, male, dominating—I have to wonder if people's claims to be "non sexist" are not just a convenient ploy to avoid painful discoveries, responsibility, and guilt. It is much easier to ignore it, especially for me, or relegate feminism to the dreaded "single issue" status. Well, they say, anarchy is against the totality of oppression, so we can't be side-tracked by single issues, but must attack the whole mega-machine. I would argue that, by leaving out feminist thought, challenges and actions, the we are not attacking all the machine; for male domination is not only part and parcel of it, but exists outside of it as well—right down to ourselves. Bringing down techno-capital will not automatically erase sexism and male-domination: the tentacle of Leviathan can writhe and strangle without the body, to speak in poetic abstraction.

Another tack—better, from a reluctant radical male's viewpoint—is to conflate feminism, and even anarchy-feminism, with the liberalism evidenced in groups like NOW, or even with the religiously moralistic right-wing organizations. Such a comparison is woefully ignorant, and does more to inform us of the lack of understanding of feminism and male domination/sexism than anything else outside of outright hostility and abuse of wimmin.

To return to an earlier mentioned theme, I wonder about this equating to saying of the word's "I'm not sexist" with not having to fight, study, and understand male domination and sexism. Hey, then if you're not a capitalist—an anti-capitalist—then you don't need to work against capitalism! Problem solved (only in your mind) by not dealing with it.

The reality is that, like capitalism, we're all involved in sexism, whether we want to be or not. The question isn't whether we're going to deal with it or not, but how we're going to fight it. It's sad that a lot of anarchist writings that I've read don't even go as far as mentioning sexism/male domination as

divisiveness, but the crucial issue of liberation from sex oppression will not be dealt with. Any change of society which does not include the freeing of women and men from oppressive sex role conditioning, from subtle as well as blatant forms of male supremacy, is incomplete.

Becoming Responsible

Here are some specific ways we can be responsible to ourselves and others in groups:

Limiting our talking time to our fair share. With ten people in the group, we are entitled to roughly one-tenth of the total talking time.

Not interrupting people who are speaking. We can even leave space after each speaker, counting to five before speaking.

Becoming a good listener. Good listening is as important as good speaking. It's important not to withdraw when not speaking; good listening is active participation.

Getting and giving support. We can help each other be aware of and interrupt patterns of domination, as well as affirm each other as we move away from those ways. It is important that we men support and challenge each other, rather than asking women to do so. This will also allow women more space to break out of their own conditioned role of looking after men's needs while ignoring their own.

Not giving answers and solutions. We can give our opinions in a manner which says we believe our ideas to be valuable, but no more important than others' ideas.

Relaxing. The group will do fine without our anxiety attacks.

Not speaking on every subject. We need not share every idea we have, at least not with the whole group.

Not putting others down. We need to check ourselves when we are about to attack or 'one-up' another. We can ask ourselves, "Why am I doing this? What am I feeling? What do I need?"

Nurturing democratic group process. Learning democratic methods and adopting democratic structures and procedures will improve our group process.

Interrupting others' oppressive behavior. We should take responsibility for interrupting a brother who is exhibiting behavior which is oppressive to others and prohibits his own growth. It is no act of friendship to allow friends to continue dominating those around them. We need to learn caring and forthright ways of doing this.

Acknowledging our short-comings makes us vulnerable, whereas we have been taught to be invulnerable and to dominate and compete with one another. The process of changing, therefore, requires strong support in a safe atmosphere. That

is why it is important that men meet together to work on this in an affirming supportive group.

A Men's Agenda

The methods listed above can all be put into practice by individual men for everyone's benefit. Yet the really substantial changes which will empower women and less assertive men must be in the group's process, that is, in the way the group does its work. This change requires more than the separate acts of caring men; it requires alternative structures which are stable through time and liberate the potential of all.

We suggest that men engage in the following toward development of democratic structures and egalitarian group relations. Through two sessions totaling three to four hours, and shorter follow-up sessions, much progress can be made in becoming aware of and changing dominating behavior. The momentum from this process might lead to an ongoing men's group which could spend fun time together, focus on other aspects of sexism, and explore various issues in men's lives.

The process is a liberating one; rather than emphasizing guilt in defining ourselves as oppressor, the focus is on liberation: freeing ourselves! This includes affirmation of who we are and recognition of who we can become.

An agenda for the first meeting of the men's caucus could be as follows:

Minutes	Agenda
5	Gathering
5	Agenda Review
15	Self-affirmation as males
20	Rap and discussion (optional): "Why we need to work on dominating behavior in groups."
15	Sharing feelings (nervous? bored? excited?)
10	Game
20	Brainstorm (optional): "Ways men dominate in groups, and specific ways to overcome such behavior."
10	Break
90	Self-estimation/estimation (time for affirmative and critical sharing about each man's participation in the group, see below).
10	Plan future meetings
10	Evaluation (positives and "to be improved's").

The "self-estimation/estimation" exercise is the central part of the agenda. Each man takes a turn sharing ways he has grown as a sensitive group participant and areas in which he still needs to grow, and then getting responses from the group.

It begins with a ten minute quiet time for each man to think about himself regarding these two

areas. Then someone volunteers to be the first person focused on by the whole group. After three minutes or "think time" in which all the men think about this first man, he shares for five minutes his thinking about himself while the group listens. For the following ten minutes, members of the group share their thinking about him; how they've seen him grow and specific areas where they see changes needed. After all the men have shared, the first man has three more minutes to respond. This is time to focus on what specific things he will be trying to change, how he will be going about this, and what specific support he will need from men in the group. Contracts for support can be made at that time.

This whole process is then repeated for each man, with a 20 to 25 minute limit for each. If the group is larger than six, it might want to break into two separate groups or have a second meeting to complete the process. Follow-up sessions give the men a chance to appreciate changes in group participation and to get continued support. Repeating the self-estimation/estimation exercise, forming support pairs, doing peer counseling, and playing are other ways support can be given.

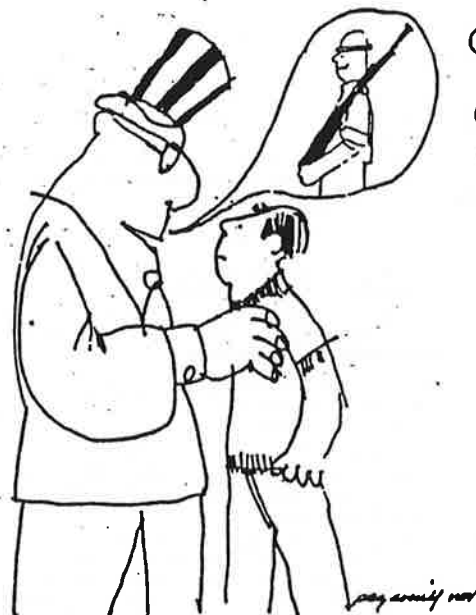
Increasingly in mixed groups there is heavy criticism of men. This is an important, positive development in the movement and essential for progress towards a better society. Although this criticism is usually accurate, it doesn't feel very good. And sometimes there is undeserved criticism mixed in with it, which feels even worse and is frustrating and confusing.

It is important that men not allow their pain and frustration in this situation to build into anger and hostility. Instead, we must acknowledge these feelings, share them, and begin to deal with them. We probably will find that these feelings, in reaction to the necessary challenging of our old behavior, are just part of the normal pain of growing and changing. And, for those times when criticism has been unjust, feelings of pain and confusion are particularly reasonable and appropriate. Through mutual support, men can respond to this without resorting to a counter-attack.

A Men's Anti-sexism Movement

The maintenance of present society depends upon the male population continuing to be the competitive, unfeeling people we are taught to be. The political system needs "tough" men to fight its imperialistic wars. The economic system needs highly competitive, materialistic men to fill low-level and management jobs in industry and business.

A strong men's anti-sexism movement is needed to challenge that social order. It will help men become conscious of our own pains and needs, to recognize how we dominate others, and to give support to each other in our own struggle for liberation. Becoming conscious of the ways men



dominate others, and struggling to change this behavior is a crucial starting point. And it is crucial to the movement.

The initial impetus for the men's movement came from women challenging the sexism of the men around them. Men, therefore, often get together as a defensive measure or out of guilt. A group of guilt-ridden men with an image of themselves as nothing but oppressors have nowhere to go but down. Their focus is on how terrible they are rather than on how their potential has been limited by society. The process of growing from infancy to boyhood to manhood teaches us to be oppressive and is extremely deleterious to our own natural growth as human beings.

Men need to recognize and concentrate on our qualities of love, of deep concern and caring which have been suppressed. We can overcome the barriers which prevent us from being the full humans we are. Men's groups must affirm the human qualities of men and be a space in which men can reclaim those qualities through trust and support.

Selections from the small but growing list of materials on men's lives include: *Men and Masculinity*, Joseph Pleck and Jack Sawyer (Prentice Hall paperback); *The Male Machine*, Marc Feigen Fasteau (Delta paperback); "Masculinity and Violence," Bruce Kokopeli and George Lakey (WIN Magazine, July 29, 1976). A good book describing sexism in our society is *Woman's Consciousness, Man's World*, Sheila Rowbotham (Pelican paperback).

11. Struggle with and work with the model of group leadership that says that the responsibility of leaders is to help develop more leaders, and think about what this means to you.

12. Remember that social change is a process, and that our individual transformation and individual liberation is intimately interconnected with social transformation and social liberation. Life is profoundly complex and there are many contradictions. Remember that the path we travel is guided by love, dignity, and respect - even when it is bumpy and difficult to navigate.

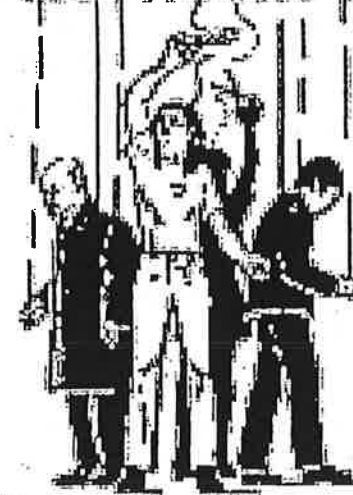
13. This list is not limited to white guys, nor is it intended to reduce all white guys into one category. This list is intended to disrupt patterns of domination which hurt our movement and hurt each other. White guys have a lot of work to do, but it is the kind of work that makes life worth living.

14. Day-to-day patterns of domination are the glue that maintain systems of domination. The struggle against capitalism, white supremacy, patriarchy, heterosexism, and the state, is also the struggle towards collective liberation.

15. No one is free until all of us are free.

-Identity Politics and White Activism: Who's Talking?

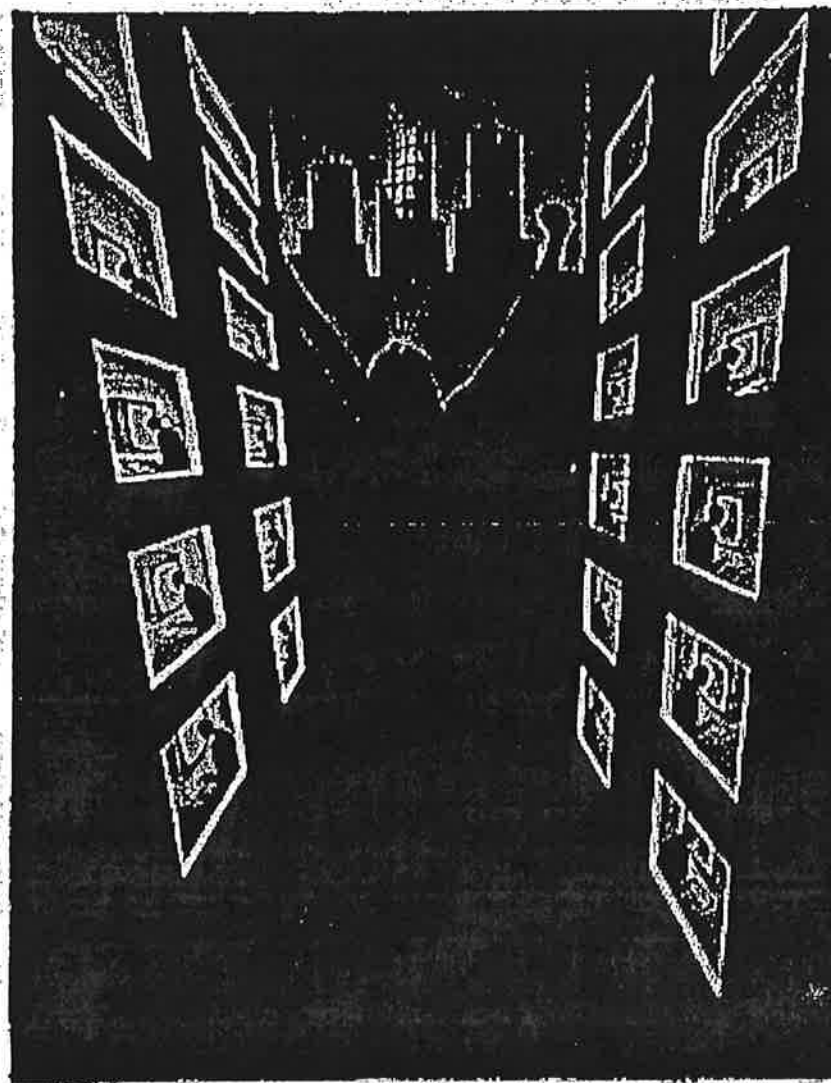
Let's cut ourselves free
from
AUTHORITY



Tools for White Guys Who are Working for Social Change

And Other People Socialized in a Society Based on Domination

1. Practice noticing who's in the room at meetings - how many men, how many women, how many white people, how many people of color, is it a majority heterosexual, are there out queers, what are people's class backgrounds. Don't assume to know people, but also work at being more aware.
- 2a. Count how many times you speak and keep track of how long you speak.
- 2b. Count how many times other people speak and keep track of how long they speak.
3. Be conscious of how often you are actively listening to what other people are saying as opposed to just waiting your turn and/or thinking about what you'll say next.
4. Practice going to meetings focused on listening and learning; go to some meetings and do not speak at all.
- 5a. Count how many times you put ideas out to the group.
- 5b. Count how many times you support other people's ideas for the group.
6. Practice supporting people by asking them to expand on ideas and get more-in-depth before you decide to support the idea or not.
- 7a. Think about whose work and contributions to the group get recognized.
- 7b. Practice recognizing more people for the work they do and try to do it more often.
8. Practice asking more people what they think about meetings, ideas, actions, strategy, and vision. White guys tend to talk amongst themselves and develop strong bonds that manifest in organizing. This creates an internal organizing culture that is alienating for most people. Developing respect and solidarity across race, class, gender, and sexuality is complex and difficult, but absolutely critical - and liberating.
9. Be aware of how often you ask people to do something as opposed to asking other people "what needs to be done."
10. Think about and struggle with the saying "you will be needed in the movement when you realize that you are not needed in the movement."



Reactions, Stories, and Suggestions for Revolutionaries Struggling Against Gender Privilege and Domination

Let's talk about diversity. Everyone's talking about it. *Why aren't more people of color here? Where are the strong women?* Really, though, who is asking these questions? Straight, white, more affluent activists organized in college groups, Direct Action Networks, Indymedias, and black blocs are defining "the Movement" as theirs. While they call out for us and others to join them, personal relationships are not being built. Existing struggles are delegitimized and seen as dividing their movement. This silences these struggles and individuals already involved.

We chose the following pieces because we are frustrated with representing and bored with teaching about how we're silenced and dominated. In order for diverse struggles to work together and become allies, white people must talk about race, men must address sexism and heterosexism must be confronted. While these voices offer a constructive critique of privileged activist circles, they are angry. Hopefully, we will begin to acknowledge the hurt of these voices and allow for the space of identity politics as part of a revolutionary movement against all forms of domination.

-Identity Politics and White Activism: Who's Talking?

What it is to be a Girl in an Anarchist Boy's Club

You act as if you think nothing will get done if you don't do it. I don't trust physically that you initiate BUT at the same time I want all of us to be more physical-playful-affectionate with each other.

I can and do defend myself against all sorts of verbal attacks until it is something sexual from someone I know and like and trust and then sometimes I pretend I'm amused or like it or don't mind or something. I'm confused by my inability to deal when I've practiced and want to be able to, and I'm confused by your inability to recognize your behavior as sexual oppression.

O.K. I'm way intimidated by lots of loud boys in a group. Everything I say out loud in a group is pre-planned, composed. I'm not spontaneous 'cuz yeah I'm shy but mostly I don't trust you to listen without interrupting, treat what I say as valued if I'm not rehearsed. I don't want to be squashed. I'm out-numbered. My allies are silent around you.

You are approached to answer questions for our group, make decisions and announcements. You even think it is okay to define our group to visitors, strangers. Somehow you aren't ever questioned by the group for this behavior. I've stopped believing that you are "sorry" or "working on it."

to them. Their ideology is rooted in the liberalism of Western Europe, and this Eurocentrism makes global feminism inconceivable.

Conversely, women of color in the United States have separated themselves from the exclusionary white women's movement because it made women of color invisible. Consider, for example, reproductive rights. Black women advocate the option of abortion because the socio-economic conditions in which they live pose obstacles for raising children, whereas many white feminists campaign to exercise their choice over a sexual mishap. White feminists who call for female unity do not understand the depth of these differing motives. The patriarchal economic structure, which privileges white over non-white, and race politics perpetuate the divisions on the women's movement in North America.

The diversity of women's circumstances is real, but so are the commonalities of their oppression. The union of the various feminisms in North America and Africa would magnify the underlying issues of racism and classism within worldwide feminist discourse. At the same time, all self-proclaimed and unlawful authorities would be challenged and global sisterhood will be more attainable.

(Though these articles are added to display the diversity of the female experience, remember that all authors are writing from their own experience and are not representative of all women or all women within their ethnic group. I have not included an article written by a queer woman of color because I couldn't find one. That perspective is definitely out there. Find it!)

I'm putting less and less energy; at age 25, into heated discussions and reacting to/educating people with stupid behavior. I'm tired of correcting sexism. There are other things I need to put my energy into-my creativity, my search for meaning, personal relationships. Men (and all people with a sub/consciousness who say women are less able) need to feel how sexism limits them. Men need to stop feeling self-righteous and defensive (classic reactions to even a third person comment about gender inequity) and look honestly at their ways. How does sexism limit a man?

Why do I hafta be the bitch? Yeah. I'm pissed off. Maybe a "group" discussion dominated by two or three ISN'T. D.I.Y. or do it all by yourself? Why don't you wonder about girls not getting involved, or leaving, or sitting in silence? A body count is not gender balance. I don't fucking want the responsibility of policing sexism. Get over it because *it sucks*, not just because I'm in the room right now. Feminist perspective is not just for women or special occasions. You are not the boss. Get over yourself.

When I assert myself you think that it is as easy for me as for you, as easy for all women as for me. WRONG. Prob'ly you think that THIS group (yeah this one) doesn't have any gender issues or sexism.

Sometimes I think that feminist issues, women's groups and projects exist to both pacify and occupy and distract me. Just shut the fuck up a little. Once in a while.

I'm so fed up with the games and bullshit that I'm ready to work with mainstream groups or alone or somewhere else or not at all. It's like you think that calling yourself an anarchist makes you clean and pure and no longer subject to self-examination or criticism. You've made the term repulsive to me.

Why am I the only one who knows how to nurture? You prob'ly think this song is about you, don't you? Don't you? Don't you?

When women in our group decide to get together you hafta know why and how and what gets said. None of your beeswax. You complain that you feel left out when the women get together. So. I feel surrounded in a "mixed" group right now. I just don't wanna tolerate this shit anymore. Why, when you confront sexism, is it cause for celebration?

It is time for me to be with women. I've spent my life in a world defined by men. Learning from men, relating to men, trying to write and talk like men, being around men. You feel threatened 'cuz me and my sistahs are pissed off and together maybe you got a good reason to run. That's right.

-Alphabet Soup.



Double Jeopardy: To Be Black and Female by Frances Beal 1969

In attempting to analyze the situation of the black woman in America, one crashes abruptly into a solid wall of grave misconceptions, outright distortions of fact and defensive attitudes on the part of many. The system of capitalism and racism, under which we all live, has attempted by many devious ways and means to destroy the humanity of all people, and particularly the humanity of black people. This has meant an outrageous assault on every black man, woman and child who resides in the U.S.

In keeping with its goal of destroying the black race's will to resist its subjugation, capitalism found it necessary to create a situation where the black man found it impossible to find meaningful or productive employment. More often than not, he couldn't find work of any kind. And the black woman likewise was manipulated by the system, economically exploited and physically assaulted. She could often find work in the white man's kitchen, however, and sometimes became the sole breadwinner of the family. This predicament has led to many psychological problems on the part of both man and woman and has contributed to the turmoil that we find in the black family structure.

Unfortunately, neither the black man nor the black woman understood the true nature of the forces working upon them. Many black women tended to accept the capitalist evaluation of manhood and womanhood and believed, in fact, that black men were shiftless and lazy, otherwise they would get a job and support their families as they ought to. Personal relationships between black men and women were thus torn asunder and one result has been the separation of man from wife, mother from child, etc.

America has defined the roles to which each individual should subscribe. It has defined "manhood" in terms of its own interests and "femininity" likewise. Therefore, an individual who has a good job, makes a lot of money and drives a Cadillac is a real "man" and conversely, an individual who is lacking in these "qualities" is less of a man. The advertising media in this country continuously informs the American male of his need for indispensable signs of his virility – the brand of cigarettes that cowboys prefer, the whiskey that has a masculine tang or the label of the jockstrap that athletes wear.

The ideal model that is projected for a woman is to be surrounded by hypocritical homage and estranged from all real work, spending idle hours primping and preening, obsessed with conspicuous consumption, and limiting life's functions to simply a sex role. We unqualitatively reject these respective models. A woman who stays at home, caring for children and the house, often leads an extremely sterile existence. She must lead her entire life as a satellite to her mate. He goes out into and brings back a little piece of the world for her. His interests and his understanding of the world become her own and she cannot develop herself as an individual, having been reduced to only a biological function. This kind of woman leads a parasitic existence that can aptly be described as "legalized prostitution."



Southern Africa: An Overview," *Gender in Southern Africa: Conceptual and Theoretical Issues*, ed. Ruth Meena, 1992, p. 15). Because they are marginalized by the patriarchal state, feminism in Africa entails creating spaces for women to participate in the management of their societies. This includes empowering women through access to resources such as health, education, and housing.

Many women in the U.S. already enjoy the rights that African women are striving for today, but this does not mean that there is no connection between the two regions. First, economically underprivileged women in both continents share the same problems. Legally American women may have more options, but if they do not have the means their rights are inaccessible. Furthermore, there are immigrant women in the United States that have lived there illegally for years, but because they are considered burdens to the American system they are not allowed proper services when needed. Second, during the era of African liberation struggles, blacks in North America were sympathetic to the struggles and could identify with the efforts being made. Thus, black women were supporting black women because the black nationalist movement in America coincided with the political climate in Africa.

Feminism in Africa is not as stratified as feminism in the United States because cultural similarities among African particular ethnic groupings, although specifics often differ. African feminists were the mother figure as a woman's empowerment, unlike American decentralized the importance of hindrance to mobility in the Africa, Filomena Steady was mothercentric model. This view, involved men recognizing home and in the public sphere. have contended that African from men for what is rightfully out that men have no place in liberty because they

The unfortunate token response to this new voice among "Women in Development." states by Europe and America loans and aid from the World Bank, which is reimbursed through Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs). SAPs overburden African women, who must assume the sacrifices of cutting expenditures. Under the guise of self-help to improve women's living conditions, these programs relegate low-skilled and low-paying jobs to women, further restricting their labor force participation. Therefore, African feminists address gender discrimination in the labor force as a political imperative.



women, in spite of their create a standard agenda, For example, until recently, committed to the glorification of sole source of personal feminists, who have motherhood because it is often a public work sphere. In 1930s one of the proponents of the which lasted fifty years, women for the work they do at More recently, feminist scholars women do not need approval theirs. In fact, they have pointed the African woman's quest for administrate her subjugation. from many African governments feminists is a program called Underdevelopment of African has left Africans dependent on

White feminists in Africa, who are descendants of exploitative European settlers, separate themselves from the large African feminist consciousness because of their privileged position in society. They do not bear the brunt of SAPs and social services are guaranteed

woman in the cotton belt. Yet American feminism is generally recognized as the legacy of middle class white women in the late 1800s. The diversity of North America, which is often overshadowed by this movement, is reflected in the many ways that individual women challenge patriarchy. Still, the fundamental objective—overcoming gender-based oppression—remains the same for every woman.

The multicultural and multiethnic character of the continent makes it impossible to define American feminism. The middle class feminist movement was born out of the anti-slavery campaign in the U. S. The problem was that it did not embrace women of color or white women of lower economic classes. Middle class feminists worked for the limited emancipation of well-to-do white women, seeking suffrage and recognition by society. On the other hand, black women first sought credit as women. They were challenging the institution of slavery and resisting white men's sexual assaults. They were already equal to their men socially within the slave community and in terms of the oppression both women and men suffered (Davis, Angela, *Women, Race, and Class*, The Women's Press, 1994, p. 23). This provides an early indication of differences among feminisms in the U.S. The issue, however, is not a matter of black and white. It is instead a class issue with racial overtones that account for the different circumstances that women of similar classes encounter.

Women are classed racially, socially, culturally, and politically, but economic classifications are at the crux of the prejudices within the women's movement. As in Africa, American women of certain races disproportionately constitute certain classes. Although many differentiations within the movement are class based, they become racial as race clouds matters that concern all women. It convinces white women to claim that they should speak for black women because black women are oppressed and economically disadvantaged and have not yet become conscious of the centrality of sexism. However, only privileged white women claim this obligation; those of the lower classes do not. What is more peculiar is that privileged black women often "other" themselves from the causes of other black women because they consider themselves free of oppression. In the 1960s and 1970s, black women of all social classes recognized these divisions and redefined a black feminist identity, but since then these differences have resurfaced.

Black women in Africa, however, have not yet fully engaged themselves in an organized feminist movement. Feminism is deemed an imported concept detached from tradition and disruptive to African women despite the fact that African women have engaged in acts of resistance since pre-colonial days. Most recently, they mobilized in nationalist campaigns which excited a fervor for challenging the status quo. Yet after independence, the new states sidelined women's issues, believing that feminism turns African women into social deviates. Thus Ruth Meena states that "women's oppression has been located in the traditional African society, in the colonial system, in the neo-colonial nature of the African state, and in the patriarchal ideologies of post-colonial African states" (Mannathoko, Changu, "Feminist Theories and the Study of Gender Issues in Southern Africa," *Gender in Southern Africa: Conceptual and Theoretical Issues*, ed. Ruth Meena, 1992, p. 87). Many African women, she continues, "do not enjoy equal rights to access and control over resources, including land" (Meena, Ruth, "Gender Research/Studies in

Furthermore, it is idle dreaming to think of black women simply caring for their homes and children like the middle-class white model. Most black women have to work to help house, feed and clothe their families. Black women make up a substantial percentage of the black working force and this is true for the poorest black family as well as the so-called middle-class family.

Black women were never afforded such phony luxuries. Though we have been browbeaten with this white image, the reality of the degrading and dehumanizing jobs that were relegated to us quickly dissipated this mirage of womanhood...

Unfortunately, there seems to be some confusion in the movement today as to who has been oppressing whom. Since the advent of black power, the black male has exerted a more prominent leadership role in our struggle for justice in this country. He sees the system for what it really is for the most part, but where he rejects its values and mores on many issues, when it comes to women, he seems to take his guidelines from the pages of the *Ladies' Home Journal*. Certain black men are maintaining that they have been castrated by society but that black women somehow escaped this persecution and even contributed to this emasculation.

Let me state here and now that the black woman in America can justly be described as a "slave of a slave." By reducing the black man in America to such abject oppression, the black woman had no protector and was used, and is still being used in some cases, as the scapegoat for the evils that this horrendous system has perpetrated on black men. Her physical image has been maliciously maligned; she has been sexually molested and abused by the white colonizer; she has suffered the worst kind of economic exploitation, having been forced to serve as the white woman's maid and wet nurse for white offspring while her own children were more often than not starving and neglected. It is the depth of degradation to be socially manipulated, physically raped, used to undermine your own household, and to be powerless to reverse this syndrome.

It is true that our husbands, fathers, brothers and sons have been emasculated, lynched and brutalized. They have suffered from the cruellest assault on mankind that the world has ever known. However, it is a gross distortion of fact to state that black women have oppressed black men. The capitalist system found it expedient to enslave and oppress them and proceeded to do so without consultation or the signing of any agreements with black women.

It must also be pointed out at this time that black women are not resentful of the rise to power of black men. We welcome it. We see in it the eventual liberation of all black people from this corrupt system of capitalism. Nevertheless, this does not mean that you have to negate one for the other. This kind of thinking is a product of miseducation: that either it's X or it's Y. It is fallacious reasoning that in order for the black man to be strong, the black woman has to be weak.

Those who are exerting their "manhood" by telling black women to step back into a domestic, submissive role are assuming a counter-revolutionary position. Black women likewise have been abused by the system and we must begin talking about the elimination of all kinds of oppression. If we are talking about building a strong nation, capable of throwing off the yoke of capitalist oppression, then we are talking about the total

involvement of every man, woman, and child, each with a highly developed political consciousness. We need our whole army out there dealing with the enemy and not half an army.

There are some women who feel that there is no more productive role in life than having and raising children. This attitude often reflects the conditioning of the society in which we live and is adopted from a bourgeois white model. Some young sisters who have never had to maintain a household and accept the confining role which this entails, tend to romanticize (along with the help of a few brothers) this role of housewife and mother. Black women who had to endure this kind of function are less apt to have these utopian visions.

Those who project in an intellectual manner how great and rewarding this role will be and who feel that the most important thing that they can contribute to the black nation is children, are doing themselves a great injustice. This line of reasoning completely negates the contributions that black women have historically made to our struggle for liberation. The black women include Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman, Mary McLeod Bethune and Fannie Lou Hamer, to name but a few.

We live in a highly industrialized society and every member of the black nation must be as academically and technologically developed as possible. To wage a revolution, we need competent teachers, doctors, nurses, electronics experts, chemists, biologists, physicists, political scientists, and so on and so forth. Black women sitting at home reading bedtime stories to their children are just not going to make it...

Much has been written recently about the women's liberation movement in the U.S. and the question arises whether there are any parallels between this struggle and the movement on the part of black women for total emancipation. While there are certain comparisons that one can make, simply because we both live under the same exploitive system, there are certain differences, some of which are quite basic.

The white women's movement is far from being monolithic. Any white group that does not have an anti-imperialist and antiracist ideology has absolutely nothing in common with the black woman's struggle. In fact, some groups come to the incorrect conclusion that their oppression is due simply to male chauvinism. They therefore have an extremely anti-male tone to their dissertations. Black people are engaged in a life and death struggle and the main emphasis of black women must be to combat the capitalist, racist exploitation of black people. While it is true that male chauvinism has become institutionalized in American society, one must always look for the main enemy – the fundamental cause of the female condition.

Another major differentiation is that the white women's liberation movement is basically middle class. Very few of these women suffer the extreme economic exploitation that most black women are subjected to day by day. This is the factor that is most crucial for us. It is not an intellectual persecution alone; it is not an intellectual outburst for us; it is quite real. We as black women have got to deal with the problems that the black masses deal with, for our problems in reality are one and the same.

to look upon herself with guilt and censorship. Thus she suffers much as a human. Everywhere she looks she seems rejected.

This woman has much to offer the movement of the Mexican-American. She has had to live all of the roles of her Raza. She has had to suffer the torments of her people in that she has had to go out into a racist society and be a provider as well as a mother. She has been doubly oppressed and is trying very hard to find a place. Because of all this, she is a very, very strong individual. She has had to become strong in order to exist against these odds. The Mexican-American movement is not that of just adults fighting the social system, but it is a total commitment of a family unit living what it believes to be a better way of life in demanding social change for the benefit of humankind. When a family is involved in a human rights movement, as is the Mexican-American family, there is little room for a woman's liberation movement alone. There is little room for having a definition of woman's role as such. Roles are for actors and the business at hand requires people living the examples of social change. The Mexican-American movement demands are such that, with the liberation of La Raza, we must have a total liberation. The woman must help liberate the man and the man must look upon this liberation with the woman at his side, not behind him, following, but alongside him, leading. The family must come up together.

The Raza movement is based on brother- and sisterhood. We must look at all of the children as belonging to all of us. We must strive for the fulfillment of all as equals, with the full capability and right to develop as humans. When a man can look upon a woman as human, then, and only then, can he feel the true meaning of liberation and equality.

Differences and Intersections Between Feminism in Africa and Feminism in the United States by Eryn Scott

Global feminism is far beyond our grasp for many reasons: the inequities of the international division of labor; the hierarchical stratifications among women socially, economically, and racially; and the unacknowledged prejudices and privileges between women of the North and South. While feminists of all circumstances work against all forms of male domination and oppression, the socio-political reality of the capitalist structure inhibits universal sisterhood.

The capitalist class structure contributes to ideological differences among feminists. Different feminist experiences are also rooted in racial, cultural, regional, and historical variations. Economics has compressed them. Women should be united across cultural boundaries by the universality of female oppression. However, to date, diversity has translated into fragmentation. This is due to the race, class, and cultural trisection which illuminates the ways in which feminism in the United States is different from feminism in Africa.

Feminism in the U.S. includes a number of movements and experiences because of the diverse nature of the population. So, addressing feminism in the U.S. includes a vast range of experiences, from the poorest Southern farmer to the affluent woman of New England, from the Native American woman in the West to the African-American

realize that she has been living in a racist society. She will have much difficulty in proving herself in any position. Her work must be three times as good as that of the Anglo majority. Not only this, but the competitive way of the Anglo will always be there. The Anglo woman is always there with her superiority complex. The Chicana woman will be looked upon as having to prove herself even in the smallest task. She is constantly being put to the test. Not only does she suffer the oppression that the Anglo woman suffers as a woman in the market of humanity, but she must also suffer the oppression of being a minority person with a different set of values. Because her existence and the livelihood of the children depend on her conforming, she tries very hard to conform. Thus she may find herself even rejecting herself as a Mexican-American. Existence itself depends on this.

2) She must find housing that she will be able to afford. She will very likely be unable to live in a decent place; it will be more the matter of finding a place that is cheap. It is likely that she will have to live in a housing project. Here she will be faced with the real problem of trying to raise children in an environment that is conducive to much suffering. The decision as to where she will live is a difficult matter, as she must come face-to-face with making decisions entirely on her own. This, plus having to live them out, is very traumatic for her.

3) In finding a job she will be faced with working very hard during the day and coming home to an empty house and again having to work at home. Cooking, washing, ironing, mending, plus spending some time with the children. Her role changes to being both father and mother. All of this, plus being poor, is very hard to bear. On top of this, it have a survey worker or social worker tell you that you have to have incentive and motivations – these are tough pressures to live under. Few men could stand up under such pressures.

4) Child care is one of the most difficult problems for a woman to have to face alone. Not only is she tormented with having to leave the raising of her children to someone else, but she wants the best of care for them. For the amount of money that she may be able to pay from her meager wages, it is likely that she will be lucky to find anyone at all to take care of the children. The routine of the household is not normal at all. She must start her day earlier than an average worker. She must clothe and feed the children before she takes them to be cared for in someone else's home. Then too, she will have a very hard day at work, for she is constantly worrying about the children. If there are medical problems, this will only multiply her stress during the day. Not to mention the financial pressure of medical care.

5) With all of this the fact still remains that she is a human and must have some kind of friendship and entertainment in life, and this is perhaps one of the most difficult tasks facing the Mexican-American woman alone. She can probably enjoy very little entertainment, since she can not afford a babysitter. This, plus the fact that she likely does not have the clothes, transportation, etc. As she cannot afford entertainment herself, she may very often fall prey to letting someone else pay for her entertainment and this may create unwanted involvement with some friend. When she begins to keep company with men, she will meet the disapproval of her family and often be looked upon as having loose moral values. As quite often she is not free to remarry in the eyes of the Church, she will find more and more conflict and disapproval, and she continues. If the white

groups do not realize that they are in fact fighting capitalism and racism, we do not have common bonds. If they do not realize that the reasons for their condition lie in the system and not simply that men get a vicarious pleasure out of, "consuming their bodies for exploitive reasons" (this kind of reasoning seems to be quite prevalent in certain white women's groups), then we cannot unite with them around common grievances or even discuss these groups in a serious manner because they're completely irrelevant to the black struggle.

The black community and black women especially must begin raising questions about the kind of society we wish to see established. We must note the ways in which capitalism oppresses us and then move to create institutions that will eliminate these destructive influences.

The new world that we are attempting to create must destroy oppression of any type. The value of this new system will be determined by the status of the person who was low man on the totem pole. Unless women in any enslaved nation are completely liberated, the change cannot really be called a revolution. If the black woman has to retreat to the position she occupied before the armed struggle, the whole movement and the whole struggle will have retreated in terms of truly freeing the colonized population...

Being White and Male, Double the Privilege

The majority of articles and focus within this packet have addressed sexism and sexism alone. However, as men, our privilege does not exist in a vacuum. While deconstructing our male privilege, we must examine our entire identity. We are not just men, we are white men. The color of our skin changes the dynamic of how we relate to all people.

In this society, we use "dichotomous logic." This buzz word means that, in the West, we think in terms of either/or rather than both/and. If one thing is good than all else must be bad. In a society created by European males with their own (Christian) values in mind, white men become the standard by which all else is set against. Not only are all men more valued than women and their contributions to society; white men are the most valued population. If white men and their values are the standardized good, this means that all else is inferior to that standard. (An Example: If men are strong, then women must be weak, if white people are "educated" than people of color must be un intelligent.)

It would take books to explain the specific dynamics within the history of the relationships of men and women of different cultures in the U.S. (And I'm sure there are books about it.) In this brief commentary, I merely intend to urge you to examine the connection between all oppressions, but specifically those between racism and sexism and their manifestations in our lives as white males. (Read Bell Hooks)

As men we are put in a position of power over women. As white men, that position of power is amplified by our racial privilege resulting in heightened levels of privilege and doubly ingrained forms of domination. What does it mean to be a white male in

a society with a history of white men justifying their racism as protecting white women from the "dark-skinned over-sexed brutal savages" (African men during slavery, Japanese men during WWII, and so on)? What are the lasting effects of white men referring to African men in America as boys and seeing African women as exotic? Throughout our history, our masculinity has been asserted by demonizing men of color as threatening, thus idolizing the chasteness of "our" white women.

We are inheritors of this history. If we do not challenge our internalized oppressions holistically, connecting them all, then we will continue these patterns and pass them on to younger generations.

The Mexican-American Woman by Enriqueta Longauey y Vasquez 1970

While attending a Mexican-American conference in Colorado this year, I went to one of the workshops that were held to discuss the role of the Chicana – the Mexican-American woman, the woman of La Raza. When the time came for the women to report to the full conference, the only thing that the workshop representative had to say was this: "It was the consensus of the group that the Chicana woman does not want to be liberated."

As a woman who has been faced with living as a member of the Mexican-American minority group, as a breadwinner and a mother raising children, living in the housing projects, and having much concern for other humans plus much community involvement, I felt this as quite a blow. I could have cried. Surely we could at least have come up with something to add to that statement. I sat back and thought, Why? Why? Then I understood why the statement had been made and I realized that going along with the feelings of the men at the convention was perhaps the best thing to do at the time.

Looking at the history of the Chicana or Mexican woman, we see that her role has been a very strong one – although a silent one. When the woman has seen the suffering of her people, she has always responded bravely and as a totally committed and equal human. My mother told me of how, during the time of Pancho Villa and the revolution in Mexico, she saw the men march through the village continually for three days and then she saw the battalion of women marching for a whole day. The women carried food and supplies; also, they were fully armed and wearing loaded *Carrilleras*. In battle, they fought alongside the men. Out of the Mexican Revolution came the revolutionary personage "Adelita," who wore her *rebozo* crossed at the bosom as a symbol of the revolutionary women in Mexico. Then we have our heroine Juana Gallo, a brave woman who led her men to battle against the government after having seen her father and other villagers hung for defending the land of the people. She and many other women fought bravely with their people. And if called upon again, they would be there alongside the men to fight to the bitter end.



Today, as we hear the call of La Raza and as the dormant, "docile," Mexican-American comes to life, we see again the stirring of the people. With that call, the Chicana woman

also stirs and I am sure that she will leave her mark upon the movement in the Southwest.

How the Chicana woman reacts depends totally on how the *macho* Chicano is treated when he goes out into the "mainstream of society." If the husband is so-called successful, the woman seems to become very domineering and demands more and more in material goods. I ask myself at times, Why are the women so demanding? Can they not see what they make of their men? But then I realize: this is the price of owning a slave.

A woman who has no way of expressing herself and of realizing herself as a full human has nothing else to turn to but the owning of material things. She builds her entire life around these, and finds security in this way. All she has to live for is her house and family; she becomes very possessive of both. This makes her a totally dependent human. Dependent on her husband and family. Most of the Chicana women in this comfortable situation are not particularly involved in the movement. Many times it is because of the fear of censorship in general. For these reasons she is completely inactive.

Then you will find the Chicana whose husband was not able to fare so very well in society, and perhaps has had to face defeat. This is the Chicana who really suffers. Quite often the man will not fight the real source of his problems, be it discrimination or whatever, but will instead come home and take it out on his family. As this continues, his Chicana becomes the victim of his *machismo* and woeful are the trials and tribulations of that household.

Much of this is seen, particularly in the city. The man, being head of the household but unable to fight the System he lives in, will very likely lose face and for this reason there will often be a separation or divorce in a family. It is at this time that the Chicana faces the real test of having to confront society as one of its total victims.

There are many things she must do. She must: 1) find a way to feed and clothe the family; 2) find housing; 3) find employment; 4) provide child care; and 5) find some kind of social outlet and friendship

1) In order to find a way to feed and clothe her family, she must find a job. Because of her suppression she has probably not been able to develop a skill. She is probably unable to find a job that will pay her a decent wage. If she is able to find a job at all, it will probably be sought only for survival. Thus she can hope just to exist; she will hardly be able to live an enjoyable life. Here one of the most difficult problems for the Chicana woman to face is that of going to work. Even if she does have a skill, she must all at once