

The Fight for Reproductive



FREEDOM

A NEWSLETTER FOR STUDENT and COMMUNITY ACTIVISTS

This conference has a broad understanding of reproductive rights, encompassing the struggle for racial equality, economic justice, civil liberties, gay/lesbian/bisexual/transgender rights, environmental justice, peace, freedom from violence, access to education, healthcare and childcare, welfare rights, and support for immigrants. Our aim is to make the connection between reproductive rights and other social justice movements in order to enliven our mutual efforts for justice and equality for everyone.

The conference weekend will include time for learning, listening, speaking, networking, and connecting. The conference will begin at 4pm on Friday, April 4th and will end at noon on Sunday, April 6th. The weekend will include an abortion speak out, performances, a networking reception, and

FROM ABORTION RIGHTS TO SOCIAL JUSTICE: Building the Movement for Reproductive Freedom

The seventeenth annual conference for student and community activists.

April 4-6, 2003

Hampshire College · Amherst, Mass.



Azi Shariatmadar, a student organizer, welcomes the participants of the 2002 annual reproductive rights conference.

over 25 workshops on topics such as abortion access, human rights, population control, international women's health, immigration, art and activism, welfare, globalization, spirituality, sex education, and caring for ourselves as activists.

The conference is open to everyone. It is intended as a forum for learning and networking for all ages, experiences and background knowledge. If you've been an activist for the past twenty years,

or if you are just curious and have never been to a conference before, you are equally welcome to attend. The conference is free, wheelchair accessible, and housing, childcare and sign language interpretation are available with advance registration. > continues next page

- Reproductive Rights Conference — 2
- Queer Youth and Prisons — 4
- No Woman Left Behind... — 8
- Act Against Criminalization — 10
- Militarism is Bad for Reproductive Freedom — 11
- Surf This: Web Resources — 15

The Fight for Reproductive FREEDOM

Civil Liberties and Public Policy Program
Hampshire College
Amherst, MA 01002-5001
Phone: 413-559-5416
Fax: 413-559-6045
Email: clpp@hampshire.edu
Website: <http://hamp.hampshire.edu/~clpp>

RYN GLUCKMAN

Editor
Population and Development Program Coordinator
CLPP Program Associate

MINA A. TRUDEAU

Editor, Special Projects Coordinator

MARLENE G. FRIED

CLPP Program Director

BETSY HARTMANN

Population and Development Program Director

AMY CRYSEL

Manager of Operations and Finance

The Civil Liberties and Public Policy Program and its companion Population and Development Program support and promote reproductive rights activism, education and research. Based at Hampshire College, the programs are national and international in scope.

Special Thanks to our funders who help us bring this newsletter to you:

The Robert Sterling Clark Foundation
The Educational Foundation of America
The Ford Foundation
General Service Foundation
The George Gund Foundation
Richard and Rhoda Goldman Fund
The Huber Foundation
Ms. Foundation for Women
Jessie Smith Noyes Foundation
Unitarian Universalist Veatch Program at Shelter Rock

The conference is sponsored by the Civil Liberties and Public Policy Program and the Population and Development Program at Hampshire College. For more info, call us at 413-559-5416, e-mail at clpp@hampshire.edu or check out our website at <http://hamp.hampshire.edu/~clpp>.

Highlights from the Reproductive Rights Conference, Spring 2002

In April 2002, over 600 community activists, educators, and students came together with 60 speakers from around the world to discuss reproductive freedom and social justice at the CLPP conference, "From Reproductive Rights to Social Justice: Building the Movement for Reproductive Freedom." The theme of the conference is always to make connections between reproductive freedom, and the environment, economic and racial justice, queer rights, youth liberation, HIV/AIDS, criminalization and prison issues, sexual health education, abortion access, disability rights, and domestic and state violence. Many speakers and participants spoke about the effects of war and military occupation on women's lives, militarism in the U.S. and abroad, and about organizing in this difficult political time.

Ranya Tarazi (from Juzoor, a Palestinian women's health center in the West Bank) and Sue Katz (from Jewish Women for Justice in Israel-Palestine and Women in Black) both spoke during the conference on the effects of Israeli military occupation and U.S. foreign policy on the lives of all women living in Palestine and Israel. Laura Whitehorn, a social justice activist and former political prisoner, and Wyndi Anderson (from National Advocates for

Pregnant Women) educated participants about conditions for women in prison, and the ongoing criminalization of substance using mothers.



Creative ways of moving and shaking...in the Art and Activism Workshop.

In the spirit of addressing issues that are often marginalized or invisible, a workshop on transgender issues was held for the first time ever, as well as a workshop on masculinities. These sessions were packed to capacity, and discussed transgender people's access to healthcare as a reproductive rights issues, the struggle to make the reproductive rights movement aware of transgender liberation, and men's role in the movement.

Also held for the first time was a forum for young conference participants and activists, entitled YouthSpeak. Over 60 young people attended this forum, which was intended to be a space to talk about the challenges and promise of organizing as young people, as well as age-ism in movements for social justice. Conference organizers also took suggestions from young participants about how the conference could become more accessible to youth.

The CLPP annual conference continues to be a space for activists, educators, and organizers to network and push the boundaries of the reproductive rights movement. It gathers an extraordinarily diverse spectrum of perspectives together, always with the purpose of connecting with each other and inspiring collaborative organizing. The 2003 conference promises to be as stimulating and energizing as last year's conference. Please be our guest at Hampshire College, April 4 – 6, 2003 for the 17th Annual Reproductive Rights Conference.

For more information about the conference or our programs, please contact the Civil Liberties and Public Policy Program:

CLPP · Hampshire College · Amherst, MA 01002

Phone: 413.559.5416 · Fax: 413.559.6045

clpp@hampshire.edu

<http://hamp.hampshire.edu/~clpp>

QUEER YOUTH¹ AND THE PRISON INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX²:

The fight for visibility as the means to an end

BY RICKKE MANANZALA

THE PICTURE ISN'T GOOD FOR LGBT YOUTH:

Up to 40 percent of homeless youth are believed to be lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender (LGBT).³

45 percent of parents were angry, sick, or disgusted when first learning of their children's homosexuality.

26 percent of youth are forced to leave home due to conflicts over sexual orientation.⁴

LGBT high school students in Massachusetts are three times more likely to report having been injured or threatened with a weapon at school in the past year.

LGBT youth in Massachusetts are also more likely than heterosexual youth to skip school because they feel unsafe.⁵

In Massachusetts, 40% of LGBT high school students attempted suicide in 1997.⁶

In a 1990 survey of 500 LGBT youth of color, 46 percent reported that they had been the victim of violence from family, peers, or strangers. In a similar study of LGBT youth of color, 41 percent of females, and 34 percent of males had actually attempted suicide.⁷

Apply these statistics to the criminalization of queer youth and the picture becomes even bleaker.

Organizers, former prisoners, young people, queer people, researchers, and academics alike agree that the foundation for the prison abolition movement is to create a world less dependent on locking people up. Crime would be more effectively dealt with by addressing the very social inequities that have led to over two million people living behind bars. As our country continues its trend of shifting funding from social programs and welfare, into law enforcement, prisons, and the military, that number will continue to grow, and so will rates of youth incarceration.

Recent studies have shown high-risk conditions in juvenile detention facilities. Overcrowding is a major problem which leads to increased risk of injury, and decreased ability to provide medical attention and recreational, educational, and rehabilitative programs to youth.⁸ Between 50% and 75% of incarcerated youth have diagnosable mental health disorders, yet these youth are frequently misdiagnosed or not diagnosed.⁹

The last twenty years have seen a growing trend of warehousing juvenile offenders in adult prisons. Youth in adult prisons are "five times as likely to be sexually assaulted, twice

as likely to be beaten by staff, 50% more likely to be attacked with a weapon, and eight times as likely to commit suicide, [compared to youth] confined in juvenile facilities.”¹⁰ Given the social stigma and marginalization that young queer people face outside of prisons, we can only assume that these conditions are magnified once they are inside the prison system.

Although there are no official statistics on queer youth currently or formerly involved in the juvenile justice system, we know that they exist. The racist, ineffective “War on Drugs” has led to heavy policing and the unnecessary incarceration of many young people. Queer youth from poor communities and communities of color, areas that are more heavily policed, are at a greater risk of being arrested and incarcerated. Queer youth, particularly queer youth of color and poor youth from communities with inadequately funded schools, are more likely to enter the juvenile justice system. Selling and using drugs, sex work, and stealing are just a few of the non-violent, survival crimes for which queer youth are arrested. The juvenile justice system does not address the underlying issues that lead youth to commit these crimes.

The lack of information and research on LGBT youth in the juvenile justice system, and the system’s attempt to treat “all youth the same,” has meant continued invisibility and lack of support and programs for queer youth. Counseling that addresses the stigma that queer youth face, rather than just the specific crime committed, is rare in the current juvenile justice system. In a personal interview conducted by the

Lesbian and Gay Youth Project of the Urban Justice Center, a New York Department of Juvenile Justice official said of a LGBT youth he was counseling: “We never get to the point of discussing sexual orientation with kids because there is so much going on and there is such a quick turn-around. There was a young man...who admitted he was gay – was in for drugs and prostitution. His sexuality was far down on the list of issues to be addressed. My first line of attack was to deal with other priorities: prostitution, use and sale of drugs.”

The invisibility and needs of queer youth both in and out of prison is an issue that must be addressed both in the prison abolition movement and in the reproductive rights movement. In an interview from the February 2003 issue of *Curve*, Jessie Gilliam, a program manager with Advocates for Youth explains that “reproductive health and birth-control issues are often overlooked in queer youth organizations, just as queer identities are often overlooked in organizations that supply information about reproductive health and birth control.”

**In Massachusetts, 40% of
LGBT high school students
attempted suicide in 1997.**

Furthermore she adds, “...an increasing number of LGBTQ youth organizations are understanding that queer-identified young women are likely to have sex with queer-identified young men and they are making



invisible and places them at high risk for pregnancy and sexually transmitted infections. In a 1999 survey of 3,816 students, published in Family Planning Perspectives, about 30 percent of young women of all sexualities reported

major efforts to inform young people that they need to protect themselves.”

Insufficient or non-existing materials focused on queer sex education are often a result of state or federal regulations that prevent many schools and agencies from distributing information for queer youth. The Bush administration’s recent emphasis on abstinence-only education and marriage promotion programs for those on welfare makes queer youth

having intercourse. Yet bisexual or lesbian women had twice the rate of pregnancy as their heterosexual peers.¹¹

The state’s ability to regulate and criminalize the type of sex acts that are mostly associated with being queer is not unlike or unrelated to its ability to intervene in a woman’s right to get an abortion, or women’s access to healthcare. Fourteen U.S. states, Puerto Rico, and the military still have sodomy laws.¹² Massachusetts recently removed sodomy statutes, but still prosecutes offenses involving public conduct, continuing to criminalize the ways in which queer people express both intimacy and gender identity. This criminalization illustrates that the needs of queer youth both inside and outside of prison are not only a criminal justice issue, but also reproductive rights issue.

**Selling and using drugs, sex work,
and stealing are just a few of the
non-violent, survival crimes for which
queer youth are arrested.**

The reproductive rights movement, along with the prison abolition movement must work to both understand and challenge the conditions and invisibility of queer youth. Both must share a common goal in fighting for a greater quality of

life for those who are marginalized and lost in a system that would rather lock them away. It is crucial that these two movements work hand in hand to achieve greater social justice.

GRASSROOTS ORGANIZING FOR YOUTH IN PRISON

An example of a community-based organization working to raise awareness around queer youth and the Prison Industrial Complex is Out Now – a lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, two-spirit, queer, questioning, allied youth organization for the greater Springfield, Massachusetts area. Out Now is part of a larger coalition of western Massachusetts community-based organizations, known as the Springfield Harm Reduction Coalition (SHaRC). SHaRC's efforts include the campaign to decriminalize prostitution in Springfield and the campaign to

prevent construction of a new women's jail in Hampden County, in addition to a campaign for needle exchange in Springfield. Out Now's role in this coalition is to educate about the issues faced by queer youth, as well as encouraging LGBT youth leadership in the movement to reduce drug-related harm in the greater Springfield area. For more information about Out Now's organizing efforts, call the Out Now office at 413.253.2822 or email outnow@rcn.com.

[rickke mananzala](#) is a youth organizer at Out Now, Arise for Social Justice, and Critical Resistance Western Mass. S/he also serves on the board of directors for the Third Wave Foundation.

1 The term "queer youth" refers to lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender youth.

2 "The Prison Industrial Complex (PIC) is the name given to the set of circumstances that have caused prisons to boom. The PIC is a system of government institutions, corporations, social policies, and cultural attitudes that control and profit from many disenfranchised communities – the poor, people of color, immigrants, women, urban and rural youth, and lesbian, gay, and transgender communities. The system claims to reduce crime, but the facts are different." Prison Moratorium Project, www.nomoreprisons.org

3 Laurie Schaffner, "Violence & Female Delinquency: Gender Transgressions & Gender Invisibility," *Berkley Women's Law Journal* 14. 1999: 40.

4 Sonia Renee Martin, "A Child's Right to be Gay: Addressing the Emotional Maltreatment of Queer Youth," *Hastings Law Journal* 48. 1996: 167.

5 Massachusetts State Youth Risk Behavior Survey. *Massachusetts Department of Education*, HIV/AIDS Program. <http://www.doe.mass.edu/hssss/yrebs99/chapter7.html> 1999.

6 Patrick Healy, "Massachusetts Study Shows High Suicide Rate for Gay Students," *Boston Globe*, February 28, 2001. B1

7 Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Youth: At Risk and Underserved. www.advocatesforyouth.org

8 Conditions of Confinement Fact Sheet. Building Blocks for Youth. www.buildingblocksforyouth.org

9 Mental Health Needs of Youth in the Juvenile Justice System. www.buildingblocksforyouth.org

10 Children in Adult Jails. www.buildingblocksforyouth.org

11 Elizabeth Saewyc, Linda Bearinger, Robert Blum, Michael Resnick, "Sexual Intercourse, Abuse and Pregnancy Among Adolescent Women: Does Sexual Orientation Make a Difference?" *Family Planning Perspectives*. Vol. 31, No. 3, May/June 1999.

12 www.sodomylaws.org

NO WOMAN LEFT BEHIND...

Expanding our vision of reproductive rights

BY WYNDI ANDERSON

Pregnancy and drug use are reproductive rights issue. Thirty years ago, activist Lucinda Cisler argued “the central rationale for making abortion available [is] justice for women.” She warned that “[t]he choice is up to us: we must subject every proposal for change and every tactic to the clearest feminist scrutiny, demand only what is good for all women, and not let some of us be bought off at the



Left to right: Laura Whitehorn (prison activist), Wyndi Anderson (National Advocates for Pregnant Women), and Jennie Sheeks (Critical Resistance Western Massachusetts) discuss the criminalization of women with conference participants.

expense of the rest.” This must include attacks on pregnant drug using women. In South Carolina, state prosecutors charged pregnant women who had drug problems with child abuse, arguing that fetuses are legal persons and that even the risk of harm to the fetus could be considered child

abuse. Through this tactic they won a state declaration of fetal personhood that provides the basis for making both abortions and stillbirths homicide by child abuse. That case, involved a woman named Cornelia Whitner who tested positive for cocaine and gave birth to a healthy child. Although at sentencing Ms. Whitner begged for in-patient treatment, judge responded, “I think I’ll just let her go to jail,” and sentenced to her to eight years in prison. On appeal, the state supreme court held that viable fetuses are persons. As a result, a pregnant woman who uses an illicit drug, or engages in any other behavior that might endanger a viable fetus, may be prosecuted as a child abuser and sentenced to ten years in jail.

Shortly after that decision the state charged a young African American woman, Regina McKnight, with homicide by child abuse when she suffered a stillbirth. This crime carries a penalty of life in prison and requires proof of “extreme indifference” to life. The state blamed the stillbirth on Ms. McKnight’s use of cocaine although, in fact, there was no evidence that the cocaine did - or even could have - caused this stillbirth.* Nevertheless a jury convicted Ms. McKnight in less than 15 minutes of deliberation. While the state admits she had absolutely no intent to harm her pregnancy, the

State Supreme court just upheld her conviction for homicide, a crime that carries a twenty years to life sentence. Had Ms. McKnight deliberately and intentionally tried to end her pregnancy in the third trimester she would have only been charged with an illegal post viability abortion that carries a maximum two-year sentence.

It appears that prosecutors could now treat post viability abortions as murder and in the meantime they have turned pregnancy and stillbirths into a crime. Pregnant drug addicted women have been a perfect target for conservatives who want to undermine reproductive rights. Why? Let's be honest. Many of us are not sure how we feel about (1) drug users (2) women drug users or (3) pregnant and/or parenting drug using women. Many people react to these women with anger and disgust. This reaction makes sense, given years of media misinformation campaigns and government rhetoric blaming social ills on drugs and the women who use them.

The actual studies and research done on drug-addiction and rehabilitation tell a different story. Recent research on drug-exposed children has found that many of these children are not, in fact, harmed. Rather than helping women and

children, punitive measures like incarceration, actually scare women from getting the health care they need. We know when drug treatment programs are geared to meet the needs of women (parenting, reproductive health and choices, sexual trauma counseling, etc.) they are successful in helping those women heal. We know that programs that let women stay with their children benefit both the mothers and the children. Yet women continue to be turned away or put on long waiting lists to get into drug treatment. The "War on Drugs" actually seems to be a war on women, children, and their families. A movement for reproductive rights must include all women and the conditions they live in, especially the women we ignore or worse, reject. We can no longer afford to make token efforts to expand the reproductive rights agenda. If we want to see actual movement away from restrictive punitive attitudes around women's health it requires all of us to move toward a common vision. So take some time, 5 minutes today, and check out www.advocatesforpregnantwomen.org and find out why pregnancy and drug use are reproductive rights issues.

[Wyndi Anderson is the national organizer for the National Advocates for Pregnant Women.](#)

Lucinda Cisler, *Abortion Law Repeal (sort of): A Warning to Women*, in *Radical Feminism* 153 (Anne Koedt et al. eds., 1973).
Id. at 152.

* Numerous medical studies have shown that cocaine use has minimal effects upon the fetus in a woman's body, while alcohol and tobacco products – commonly used legal drugs – have direct and undoubted effects upon the fetus

WHATCHYA GONNA DO? Take action against the criminalization of women

1. REPEAL THE HIGHER EDUCATION ACT'S DRUG PROVISION OF 2000

The Higher Education Act (HEA), passed in 2000, includes a provision which denies federal student loans and grants to people with a previous drug conviction on their record, no matter how minor. Studies have shown that access to higher education can often makes the difference in women's lives. A 1999 Department of Justice report found that only 29% of women in federal prison, 17% in state prisons, and 16% in local jails had some college education.¹ The HEA limits educational access to women who are seeking higher education and trying to improve their lives.

Over 59 college campuses across the nation have passed resolutions that support reforms to the HEA. Several campuses have set up loan funds for students who apply but are denied federal funding as a result of drug convictions. For more information on how to start a HEA Reform Campaign on your campus, visit www.raiseyourvoice.com, or Students for a Sensible Drug Policy at www.ssdp.org.

2. WRITE TO A WOMEN PRISONER

Prisoners are isolated and sometimes abandoned by their friends and family. Letters are both a lifeline to the outside and a sign that they have not been forgotten. There are organizations specifically committed to facilitating pen pal relationships with prisoners. A list of those organizations is available at www.prisonactivist.org under "Prisoner Support."

3. BOYCOTT!

Boycott businesses and corporations that profit from prisons, and products made by prisoners' labor. You can also organize on your campus to persuade your college to stop doing business with companies that are invested in private prisons. For more information, go to the "Prison Industry" section of www.corpwatch.org.

4. EDUCATE YOURSELF.

Organize a teach-in, workshop, or book discussion group about prison issues. You could develop a reading list for yourself or with friends. We recommend the following books:

- *Policing the National Body*, edited by Jael Silliman and Anannya Bhattacharjee
- *Live From Death Row*, by Mumia Abu-Jamal
- *Assata*, by Assata Shakur
- *Partial Justice: Women, Prisons, and Social Control*, by Nicole Hahn Rafter
- *The Angela Davis Reader*, edited by Joy James
- *Pregnant Women on Drugs: Combating Stereotypes and Stigma*, by Sheigla Murphy and Marsha Rosenbaum

There is an excellent bibliography on prison issues at www.prisonactivist.org.

¹ U.S. Dept. of Justice. *Women Offenders*. December 1999. NCJ 175688. www.usdoj.gov

Ten Reasons Why Militarism is Bad for Reproductive Freedom

Lately, it seems whenever we need a reminder about why it is the U.S. should budget more national funds for the military, or take aggressive action in another small poverty-stricken country, the battle cry of equal rights for women is sounded by the most unlikely people. When U.S. soldiers invaded Afghanistan in the fall of 2001 and unseated the Taliban, they were hailed as the liberators of Afghani women. Bush has repeatedly referred to women's rights in Afghanistan and Palestine as a positive outcome of U.S. intervention in those areas as well as in Iraq. If we are to believe what we hear, militarism is the true herald of feminism. But don't let the talking heads fool you. Upon closer examination it is clear that tanks and guns are doing more damage to women than liberating them. Here are ten reasons why:

1. MILITARY TOXINS DAMAGE THE ENVIRONMENT AND REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH.

Militaries are among the worst polluters on the planet. Not only does war degrade or destroy local environments, but military bases and weapons facilities contaminate the air, soil, and water with deadly toxins. According to geographer Joni Seager, "Anywhere in the world, a military presence is virtually the single most reliable predictor of environmental damage." Military pollution has many harmful and long-lasting effects

on reproductive health. In Vietnam, the herbicide Agent Orange sprayed by the U.S. military is responsible for ongoing high rates of birth defects, miscarriages and reproductive cancers. In both the U.S. and Russia, releases of radioactive materials from nuclear weapons production and testing are associated with sterility, cancer and genetic abnormalities. Military pollution is usually shrouded in secrecy. In Memphis, TN, a military depot dumped chemical weapons in the midst of a black residential community without informing people of the health dangers. Today, women there report a high incidence of miscarriage, birth defects, kidney diseases and cancer.

2. ARMY BASES INCREASE PROSTITUTION.

Military bases are notorious for their contribution to prostitution, child prostitution, and the spread of HIV/AIDS. In countries where prostitution is illegal, women are counted as "special job workers" and are categorically denied protection against abuse both by their customer and their boss. At the U.S. Udon Air Force Base in Thailand, the number of "special job workers" increased from 1246 in 1966 to 6234 in 1972 during the Vietnam War. In 1991, a U.S. Navy convoy returning from the Gulf War with seven thousand soldiers made a stop at the Thai beach resort town of Pattaya. The men aboard were prepped on how to use a condom and the

convoy was greeted with banners that proclaimed, “Welcome U.S. navy to the Red Parrot Sexy Life Show.” Military base prostitution has led to the devastating spread of HIV among prostitutes. Today, sex workers are still blamed for the spread of HIV/AIDS and sexually transmitted infections while little or no attention is given to the military’s role.

3. MILITARISM INCREASES VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN.

In times of war, military-sponsored rape becomes commonplace. Rape is frequently used as a tool to further ‘ethnic cleansing.’ In Bosnia-Herzegovina, an estimated 20,000 women and girls were raped by the Serbian military in the early 1990’s. The rapes were committed to terrorize the population and eliminate Muslims from the region by impregnating women and forcing them to bear Serbian children. The climate of militarism also easily gives way to domestic violence. In the summer of 2002, four wives of U.S.

military officers, all stationed at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, were killed by their husbands. Three of the four officers had recently returned to the country after being deployed to Afghanistan as special operations soldiers. It is suspected that these women were victims of domestic violence long before their murder, but could not or did not choose to obtain help. This is not surprising given Cynthia Enloe’s observation that, during times of war, “Soldiers’ girlfriends and wives...[have] been persuaded that they are ‘good citizens’ if they keep silent about problems in their relationships.”

4. MILITARISM CUTS FUNDING FROM SOCIAL SERVICES.

War is expensive and must be funded at the cost of health care, education, and social security. In February 2002, President Bush proposed a national budget for FY 2003 that would raise defense spending by nearly 13%, the greatest increase since the Reagan Administration’s Cold War era budget. Bush’s proposed defense budget would reach \$451 billion by 2007, while funding to social services would be sacrificed in order to support this increase in military spending. The Bush budget relies heavily on savings from Medicaid and CHIP (Children’s Health Insurance Program), as well as cuts in Social Security. Budget cuts such as these put safe and accessible healthcare for low income women and older women in severe danger.

During war, the first voices to be eliminated from the public sphere are those belonging to women.

5. MILITARISM AND MILITARY OCCUPATION

RESTRICT FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT.

Restrictions on freedom of movement during wartime include curfews, roadblocks, checkpoints, and closure of geographical areas. These restrictions are enforced by the military, often with the use of force. They have a devastating effect on women, barring their access to food, work, and medical attention. The right to move freely is particularly critical for sick, injured, and pregnant women. The Israeli human rights organization, B'Tselem, has documented 35 cases of death since 2000 due to restriction of movement imposed by the Israeli military. Eighteen of those have been women and girls. Eight have been infants that died because their mothers were detained at checkpoints while in labor.

6. MILITARISM INCREASES RACISM AND ANTI-IMMIGRANT ACTIVITY.

It is no secret that militarism fosters racial prejudice in the name of national security. From Japanese-American internment camps during World War II to the current INS detention of Middle Eastern men, war reinforces racial stereotypes and discrimination. Today, racial profiling of Arab-American, Muslim, and South Asian people is defended as necessary for homeland security. In the wake of September 11, national anti-immigrant groups strengthened their activism to severely restrict immigration into the United States. Organizations such as the Federation for American Immigration Reform, Negative Population Growth, and the Carrying Capacity Network blamed immigration for the attacks on the World Trade Center, using fear-based tactics



to play upon the national panic. The sentiments of these organizations have helped lead to programs, public policy, or legislation that target women of color and immigrant women for population control. Population control has often taken the form of involuntary sterilizations, welfare family caps, and/or risky long-term contraceptives. Anti-immigration attitudes associated with militarism pose huge threats and challenges to immigrant women, particularly those seeking asylum or those fleeing domestic violence. According to Amnesty International, women seeking asylum in the U.S. (some of whom are pregnant) have reported being detained without adequate food or medical care and undergoing strip searches, as well as physical, verbal, and sexual assault.

7. MILITARISM SILENCES WOMEN.

During war, the first voices to be eliminated from the public sphere are those belonging to women. According to a study conducted by Fairness and Accuracy in Media, in the month following September 11, women were outnumbered by 10 to 1 on op-ed pages of the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and *USA Today*. Similarly, while Bush's

90% approval rate was consistently hailed, a poll finding that 48% of women supported limited or no military action was severely under-reported.

8. THE MILITARY RESTRICTS SOLDIERS' RIGHT TO ABORTION.

Women in the U.S. military are unconstitutionally denied their right to choose abortion if they are faced with an unplanned pregnancy. Women serving in the armed forces are barred from obtaining an abortion on a military base, even if they are able to pay for the procedure with their own money. In June 2002, the Senate voted 52-40 to lift this ban. However, the House of Representatives opposes this measure, and prevented it from being included in the FY 2003 National Defense Authorization Act. As a result, women who are stationed in countries where abortion is illegal or inaccessible are still forced to carry their pregnancy to term whether or not they want to do so.

9. MILITARISM ENCOURAGES A CLIMATE HOSTILE TO CHOICE.

Militarism shifts the nation's priorities toward increased support for military and defense programs. This undercuts issues like gender equity and reproductive choice, thus discouraging citizens from considering such social concerns when voting. Candidates with the staunchest support for war are usually the most adamantly opposed to reproductive freedom; hence, anti-choice politicians win wartime elections and continually draft and introduce anti-choice legislation. Under the Bush Administration and the Republican-

controlled House, several anti-choice, anti-child initiatives have passed in the House including the Child Custody Protection Act, the Abortion Non-Discrimination Act, and the Unborn Victims of Violence Act (for more information on this legislation visit www.crlp.org.) President Bush has also consistently supported judges who are opposed to reproductive freedom.

10. WAR KILLS PEOPLE.

It is impossible to deny that war kills innocent people. Civilian casualties occur, no matter how "smart" the bombs or how much peanut butter is dropped from the sky. In Afghanistan, among other things, the U.S. bombed a Red Cross building, a U.N. building, and a wedding. The Gulf War, though hailed as a war with so few casualties that the first Bush Administration described it as "surgical," resulted in the destruction of all Iraqi irrigation systems, 52 health centers, 28 hospitals, 56 mosques, and over 600 schools. Due to the extensive damage to water and sewer systems, more than 250,000 people (most of them children under the age of five) died within a few months. Even after the Gulf War, the U.S. led the United Nations in imposing sanctions on Iraq. The International Action Center estimates that, as a result, 1.5 million Iraqi people have died, over half of them children under the age of five. Why, one might ask, is this amount of death and destruction considered "very clean" and continually justified? Furthermore, why are these atrocities committed by U.S. leaders who claim to be "pro-life"?

SURF THIS!

References

- #1. Joni Seager, "Patriarchal Vandalism: Militaries and the Environment," in Jael Silliman and Ynestra King, eds., *Dangerous Intersections*, Boston: South End Press, 1999.
- Nancy Lee Peluso and Michael Watts, eds., *Violent Environments*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001.
- Military Toxics Project and Environmental Health Coalition, *Defend Our Health: A People's Report to Congress*, 2001, accessed at <http://www.miltoxproj.org/magnacarta/DefendOurHealthReport.html>.
- #2. Cynthia Enloe. *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives*. Berkeley: CA: University of California Press, 2000.
- #3. Angela Robson, "Rape: Weapon of War." *New Internationalist*. Issue 244 (1993).
- Associated Press, "Military Murders: Series of Slayings Shakes Fort Bragg Community." *Crime and Justice*, <http://pub86.ezboard.com/fcrimeandjustice13552frm51.showMessage?topicID=75.topic>
- Cynthia Enloe, "Sneak Attack: The militarization of U.S. culture." *Ms.*, December 2001/January 2002: 15.
- #4. "Bush Unveils 'War' Budget." BBC News. 4 February 2002. Accessed at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/business/1798732.stm>.
- #5. B'Tselem. www.btselem.org
- #6. Azi Shariatmadar, "Anti-Immigrant Alert!" *Political Environments*. Issue 9 (2002): 8-9.
- Amnesty International. www.amnesty.org
- #7. Jennifer Pozner. "Casualty of War: The U.S. Press Corps wimps out." *Ms.* December 2001/January 2002: 33-34.
- #8. National Organization for Women, www.now.org/news/goodnews.html#abortion
- Center for Reproductive Law and Policy, www.crlp.org/hill_military.html
- #9. Center for Reproductive Law and Policy. www.crlp.org
- #10. Barbara Kingsolver "Jabberwocky." *High Tide in Tucson*. New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1995.
- International Action Center. www.iac.org/iraq.htm

Find out more about the criminalization of women:

Critical Resistance

www.criticalresistance.org

Drug Policy Alliance

www.lindesmith.org

Justice NOW (Network On Women)

www.jnow.org

National Advocates for Pregnant Women

www.advocatesforpregnantwomen.org

Prison Activist Resource Center

www.prisonactivist.org

Find out more about the effects of
war on women's lives:

The American Friends Service Committee

www.afsc.org

MADRE

www.madre.org

INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence

www.incite-national.org

Women's Caucus for Gender Justice

www.iccwomen.org

Women's Human Rights Net

www.whrnet.org

SAVE THE DATE! April 4 — 6, 2003

FROM ABORTION RIGHTS TO SOCIAL JUSTICE: Building the Movement for Reproductive Freedom

17th Annual Conference at Hampshire College in Amherst, MA

This conference will explore the ways in which reproductive rights are linked to other social justice issues. Workshops include:

Access to Abortion
Environmental Activism
The Disappearing Virus: HIV/AIDS
Masculinities
Occupied Territories/Occupied Bodies
Challenging Population Control and Dangerous
Contraceptives
State, Home, Street: Violence Against Women and LGBT
Art and Activism
Sex Ed and the Politics of Protection
Criminalizing Women
Designer Genes/The New Eugenics
Immigration and Civil Liberties
The Politics of Sexuality
International Women's Roundtable
Transgender Issues

READ ON...MORE INFORMATION INSIDE

SS 34901

Civil Liberties and Public Policy Program
Hampshire College
Amherst, MA 01002-5001 USA

Address Correction Requested

NonProfit Org.
U.S. Postage
PAID
Amherst, MA
Permit No. 3