

SELF REPORTED BEHAVIORAL AND ATTITUDINAL CHANGES
INFLUENCED BY PARTICIPATION IN WOMEN'S
CONSCIOUSNESS-RAISING GROUPS

by

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	11
TABLE OF CONTENTS	1V
LIST OF TABLES	VI
 CHAPTER I FEMINISM AND BEHAVIORAL CHANGE	 1
Introduction to the Study	1
Consciousness Raising Toward a Definition	5
Background to the Study	7
Purpose of the Study	9
The Questionnaire	10
Population and Sample	11
Significance of the Study	11
 CHAPTER II THE CONSCIOUSNESS RAISING GROUP A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE	 13
The Beginnings	13
Development and Theory	20
Recordings of a CR Group	34
Norms, Methods and Processes	42
The Spread and Use of CR	59
CR as Small Group Communication	60
Relationship of CR to Encounter	61
Relationship of CR to Therapy	65
Criticisms of CR	69
Popularization of CR	71
 CHAPTER III METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY	 79
Introduction	79
Sampling Technique	79
Greater Washington, D C Metropolitan Area	79
Population of the Study	81
The Sample	82
Methodology of the Study	83
The Survey Questionnaire	83
Limitations and Advantages	84
Inventory of Raised Consciousness (IRC)	87
Justification of Questionnaire Items and Sections	90
Proceedures of Analysis	95
Coding of Questionnaire	95
Computer Tests	96

CHAPTER IV	INVENTORY OF RAISED CONSCIOUSNESS	THE RESULTS . . .	97
	Personal Background		97
	Reason for Joining a CR Group		107
	The CR Group Experience		108
	Feminist Movement Activity and Education		115
	Influence of the CR Group		122
	Marital and Living Arrangement		124
	Job -- Occupation -- School		126
	Financial Responsibility		128
	Children and Family		128
	Location of Residence		131
	Household Tasks and Division of Labor		131
	Personal Appearance		134
	Relationship to Self and Other Women		137
	Relationships With Men		141
	Correlations of Information Items With Reported Change		145
	Activity in CR and the Women's Movement		146
	Income Personal and Family		149
	Age Currently and When First Began in CR		151
	Number of Children		152
	Living Arrangement and Marital Status		153
	Relationship to Parents		154
	Degree, Schooling and Occupation		155
	Therapy		156
	Religion and Intensity of Religious Feeling		157
	Summary of Results		158
CHAPTER V	WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE	NEW DIRECTIONS FOR CR . . .	170
	Basic CR Needs		170
	CR as Learning		171
	CR as Support		174
	CR as a Path to Social Action		176
	CR as a Developmental Life Experience		177
	New Developments in Consciousness-Raising		179
	Summary and Conclusions		184
BIBLIOGRAPHY	. . . . .		187
APPENDIX A	INVENTORY OF RAISED CONSCIOUSNESS (IRC) AND LETTERS .		198
APPENDIX B	FIRST FORM OF IRC		205
APPENDIX C	SECOND FORM OF IRC		219
APPENDIX D	EXAMPLE OF LOS ANGELES NOW CR HANDBOOK TOPIC TOPIC OUTLINE		223

LIST OF TABLES

1.	MARITAL AND LIVING ARRANGEMENTS	. . . . .	125
2.	JOB -- OCCUPATION -- SCHOOL	. . . . .	127
3.	FINANCIAL RESPONSIBILITY	. . . . .	129
4.	CHILDREN AND FAMILY	. . . . .	130
5	LOCATION OF RESIDENCE	. . . . .	132
6	HOUSEHOLD TASKS AND DIVISION OF LABOR	. . . . .	133
7.	PERSONAL APPEARANCE	. . . . .	135
8.	RELATIONSHIP TO SELF AND OTHER WOMEN	. . . . .	138
9	RELATIONSHIPS WITH MEN	. . . . .	142
10.	SUMMARY OF INFLUENCE	. . . . .	144

Chapter One

Feminism and Behavioral Change

I. Introduction to the Study

Any attempt to assess the effects of the current feminist movement to date would be a staggering task. In an era permeated with change and revolution -- whether in science, technology or human behavior -- it is, I believe, reasonable to assert that the women's movement will bring about the most basic of all alterations in the way persons will live their lives in the coming decades. As expressed by Helen Shaffer:

. . . the feminist revival that began in the latter half of the 1960's is heading toward a far more fundamental change than that sought by the suffragists of a half-century ago or even by the "equal rights" fighters of the more recent past. The underlying goal is no less than a reconditioning of the American people to accept sex equality as the norm of social and personal behavior. It would mean a reordering of the way men and women customarily feel about each other in every relationship of life as father-daughter, mother-son, sister-brother, teacher-student, boy friend-girl friend, husband-wife, employer-employee, doctor-patient. (1973)

At its very core, behavioral and attitudinal change in virtually every important relationship of human life is the goal of the feminist movement.

Wilma Scott Heide, past president of the National Organization for Women, has described the movement as "... the most profound universal behavioral revolution the world has ever known." (1973) Judith Hole and

Ellen Levine, who have written the most comprehensive study of the movement to date, have stated that it is " .. as much a state of mind as it is a movement." (1971)

Feminism touches all areas of life, not only the social, economic and political, but more importantly the personal, intellectual, emotional and psychological. It is here in the personal changes experienced by women and men, that the movement seems to have reached its crowning achievement so far "... it has raised the consciousness of the people on the issue of sex equality. As a result, women are acting - and men are reacting - as never before to the ideas fostered by the movement." (Shaffer, 1973)

Assuredly, during the last decade, the consciousness of the people on the issue of sex equality has been raised. Even if we mention only major examples, the evidence of behavioral and attitudinal change is overwhelming. Some important changes are: the 1972 approval by Congress of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) after 49 years of its being introduced into every Congress; the growing usage of the title Ms. as a replacement for Mrs. or Miss, the growing female participation in politics at all levels, the number of successful litigations in the area of sex discrimination in all aspects of employment; the millions of dollars in legally withheld back pay granted to women by the courts, women increasingly being hired and promoted into executive positions in business, industry and government, the growing response of the academic world to feminist pressure for women's studies, programs directed to the needs of mature women and for continuing education of women, the unparalleled attention of the press and media to the persons and issues of the movement; the creation of such female superstars as Gloria Steinem, Germaine Greer, Betty Friedan,

Kate Millett and Billy Jean King, the growing numbers of educational programs and weekend seminars directed at women, the growth and development of city, county and state Commissions on the Status of Women; the Supreme Court ruling on abortion laws, the prospering of national women's rights organizations such as the National Organization for Women (NOW), Women's Equity Action League (WEAL), Federally Employed Women (FEW), and Women's Political Caucus (WPC); the taking of strong feminist stands on women's issues by such traditional women's organizations as the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), League of Women Voters, American Association of University Women (AAUW), and Business and Professional Women's Clubs (BPW), the successful lobbying accomplished by a coalition of the above named groups on such issues as the inclusion of athletics in Title IX of the 1972 Education Amendments Act Guidelines; the use of feminist materials in such traditional women's magazines as Ladies Home Journal, McCall's and Good Housekeeping, a men's magazine, Esquire, devoting an issue to the subject of women and what is going on with them today (July, 1973); the widespread use of words such as Chairperson and humankind - a partial elimination of the generic "man", the unparalleled success of the feminist magazine Ms., currently considered a unique phenomenon in the publishing industry; the increasing visibility of, and rewards for, women in competitive athletics, and ... the list seems endless. It is difficult to believe that virtually all these changes have occurred since late in 1968 -- the date that marks the beginning of a national women's movement.

Accompanying these more obvious feminist achievements have been the enormous amounts of energy poured into scholarly research, analysis and writing of the feminist/female relationship to such fields of study as.

psychology (Weisstein, 1969, Chesler, 1972); sociology (Bardwick, 1971, Janeway, 1971, Howard, 1973); economics (Bird, 1963 and 1972, Galbraith, 1973); political science (Firestone, 1970, McWilliams, 1973); literature (Millett, 1970, Showalter, 1971), law (DeCrow, 1974, Schulder, 1970); linguistics (Strainchamps, 1971, Pierce, 1971, Fuller, 1974), religion (Daly, 1970 and 1974), history (DeBeauvoir, 1974, Kraditor, 1965, Flexner, 1968), medicine/physiology (Boston Women's Health Collective, 1973, Lyndon, 1970, Shulman, 1971) and communications (Sargent, 1973, Chesebro, et al., 1973, Katz, 1973, Hope, 1975), to mention only the most basic. Also indicative of the quality of the work pouring forth from the new ideology is the number of anthologies published in recent years including: Morgan, 1970; Gornick and Moran, 1971, Koedet, Levine and Rapone, 1973; Roszak, 1969, Agel, 1971; and Esptein and Goode, 1971. Also the renewed interest in women authors such as George Elliott, George Sand, the Brontes, Virginia Woolf, Sylvia Plath, Simone DeBeauvoir, Ains Nin and Jane Austen who have become heroines for modern feminists, is further indication of the revival of and involvement in a women's culture. In short, most women and some men are taking an interest in women's culture and women's study in a way never before exhibited

The point is obvious; like it or not, agree or not, the consciousness of the people has been raised -- we have all been made aware of the changes.

Before this widespread social change was possible, however, a prior step was necessary. It was essential that the consciousness of the persons making these changes be raised, that their perceptions be altered and that their understanding of the ways society determines their life sphere be broadened. These changes, alterations and understandings came about because of numerous forces, one of the primary of these being the conscious-

ness raising group which became a foundation of the feminist movement. And so it was that the great and sweeping social changes that have occurred in the last decade, frequently began where small groups of women gathered together and talked about the realities of their lives and the depths of their feelings

II. Consciousness-Raising Toward a Definition

Since consciousness-raising (often referred to as CR) is a highly personal matter, definitions are frequently difficult and generally do not transmit the intensity of the experience. However, by putting together a compendium of definitions, we can arrive at a clearer initial picture of what is meant by CR.

Most writers who attempt a concise definition do so from the standpoint of the group process. Janice Sargent, for example, writes:

Consciousness-raising by definition is an educational process of developing awareness, or of awakening consciousness, to the "psychological oppression" which women liberationists say subtly underlies the behavior, values, and attitudes of women. CR involves not only recognizing this oppression, but also identifying its source as a societal rather than individual. (1973)

A further development of this concept is presented by Juliet Mitchell:

The process of transforming the hidden, individual fears of a woman into a shared awareness of the meaning of them as social problems, the release of anger, anxiety, the struggle of proclaiming the painful and transforming into political - this process is consciousness-raising. (1971)

Both these definitions emphasize crucial aspects of the CR group. First is the movement from the description of personal problems and fears to a realization of the political nature of their lives and then to a broader analysis of the role of women in this society. Again Mitchell

As the group develops it transforms its nature. At first it is the means of bringing women into close personal solidarity and friendship with each other. In the final stage, many

small groups see themselves as revolutionary collectives, whose task is to analyze the nature of women's oppression and thereby work out a strategy. (1971)

While the CR group does on occasion transform into an action group, usually it does not. The process of analysis of the wider issues, is, however, an integral part of CR.

A third definition of a somewhat different nature is offered by Paula Eastman. CR groups she writes are where

... thousands of women have had an opportunity to learn to support each other, to gain new feelings of self-respect and to speak about what they are thinking ... women coming to see themselves as oppressed ... with the goal of freeing time, energy and minds by changing their social and physical surrounds. Consciousness-Raising groups are small, initially leaderless collectives that attempt to arrive at a political perspective... with an emphasis on 'sisterhood' or promotion of solidarity among women and a heightening of personal self-esteem ... (1973)

Here is a definition of CR that addresses not only the process, but also the effect that CR has on the participation in a cause which does lead to increased feelings of self-esteem and respect.

A final definition of CR which is based on theoretical analysis of consciousness-raising has been provided by Vivian Gornick:

Consciousness-raising is the name given to the feminist practice of examining one's personal experience in the light of sexism: i.e., that theory which explains woman's subordinate position in society as a result of a cultural decision to confer direct power on men and only indirect power on women. ... in consciousness-raising one looks not to one's personal emotional history for an explanation of behavioral problems but rather to the cultural fact of the patriarchy. (1971)

In this definition we see the beginnings of the type of theoretical analysis eventually done by feminists and then used as the basis for an understanding of the cultural and social position of women. While the full implications of these various approaches to CR will become clearer as we expand on such analysis in Chapter Two, this background will help

set the stage for a more complete understanding of the research proposal.

III. Background to the Study:

From May 1970 until August 1972, I participated in what was one of the earliest stable CR groups in Lawrence, Kansas. That spring of 1970 had been traumatic for the generally quiet university town -- riots erupted, the Student Union was partially destroyed by arson, the National Guard was called in, and before the summer was over, two young men would be dead.

In the midst of the chaos when many classes were canceled, action groups of various sorts sprang up to fill a personal need and a social void. Two women began organizing women's CR groups, and, intrigued by what I knew of feminism to that point, I joined. The experience of that group has unalterably changed the course of my life. Among the important changes have been my feelings about myself as a separate, capable and worthwhile individual, my feelings of respect, love and understanding for other women, the ways in which I interact with men, the way I view the world in terms of its treatment of women (i.e., the media, textbooks, language, etc) and finally the profession I am currently pursuing. From these experiences I was able to conclude that the effect of what was begun in that CR experience has radically altered the rest of my life.

Was this also true for other women? I knew that several women in that group had undergone similar life changes both during and after participation in the group, but what about women in general -- those thousands of other women who had participated in CR?

In searching through the literature on CR, not much addressed itself to that particular question. That which did was helpful, although not un-

expected in light of my personal experiences. Basically the literature covers six important behavioral and attitudinal changes that women have noted and reported as occurring in their lives:

1) An increased feeling of self-worth and self-respect which is frequently translated into increased self-confidence in their interactions with others. (Lichtman, 1970; Harris, 1971, Barbara, et al., 1972, Eastman, 1973)

2) An increased understanding of human nature, of their interactions with men and their relationships with women. (Harris, 1971)

3) A sense of self-acceptance that comes from the realization that one is not alone. As Ronnie Lichtman expressed it: "Listening to other women, learning about their feelings, their weaknesses and strengths, their fears, their experiences, has helped me to accept myself as a woman." (1970) Also expressed is the feeling of commonality with other women that results from such acceptance. (Komisar, 1971)

4) The surprising pleasure, sheer joy and fun that comes from being with and sharing with other women. As Ronnie Lichtman explained. "For me, to enjoy women en masse was an almost totally new experience. I who had always shunned all-girl groups, all-girl schools, now looked forward to my all-girl meetings as one of the high points of my week." (1970; Meador, 1972; Barbara, et al., 1972)

5) The realization that important life changes are usually possible only where there is the emotional support the group provides. (Barbara, et al., 1972, Lichtman, 1970)

6) A new and different perspective on society in many of its various aspects. As expressed by Kathy: "I have to zero in on how much I've really changed. I'm not the same person. I view the world, ... myself, . . men,

... children, ... society differently." (Barbara, et al., 1972)

Essentially this study is a more formalized attempt to discover whether there are additional areas of change, and to what degree participants see the CR group as having influenced their perceived changes in behavior or in attitude.

IV. Purpose of the Study

Since most feminists have never really challenged the assumption that the lives of women were changed by participation in CR, it seemed appropriate that a way be found to examine this assumption. Thus, the fundamental purpose of this investigation is to determine what behavioral and attitudinal changes, if any, women report as have been influenced by their participation in consciousness-raising groups. Subsidiary purposes of this study also include:

- 1) an examination of the personal and demographic characteristics of women who participate in CR,

- 2) an examination of the reasons these women give for initially joining a CR group;

- 3) an examination of the norms, methods, structure and process of their CR groups,

- 4) an examination of other kinds of activity within the feminist movement in which they are participating,

- 5) an examination of various ways in which their CR group might have influenced them and an estimation of the degree of that influence;

- 6) an examination of the relationship between the demographic and activity factors, the kinds of changes made and the perceived influence of the CR group in those changes.

This information should provide a reasonably complete picture of the possible kinds of influence of the CR experience as determined by the women who have experienced it.

V. The Questionnaire

To accomplish this task, it was decided that a questionnaire survey would be run. To this end a questionnaire was constructed covering each of the above six major areas of investigation. After the first form was tested, it was revised, tested, reviewed by the examining committee and revised a final time. (See Appendix A)

The questionnaire is constructed in two basic parts. The first deals with background information on the participant and her group. Included in this part are sections dealing with 1) personal background, 2) reasons for joining a CR group, 3) the actual CR group experience, 4) their activity and education in the feminist movement, and 5) the sort of influence they felt their CR group exercised on them.

The second part of the questionnaire deals with self reported behavior and attitude change. This part was constructed by examining feminist literature in order to determine major areas of concern and activity. Nine significant areas were chosen as being particularly applicable and important to most women. These areas are: 1) marital and living arrangements, 2) job, occupation and school, 3) financial responsibility, 4) children and family, 5) location of residence, 6) household tasks and division of labor, 7) personal appearance, 8) relationship to themselves and other women, and 9) relationships with men. Under each of these sections, specific questions concerning the individual's changes in behaviors or in attitudes are asked. Through additive and correlational processes performed on the responses, it should be possible to determine answers for the above-mentioned purposes of

the study.

VI. Population and Sample.

The population for this study is drawn from the Greater Washington, D.C. Metropolitan Area, which contains approximately one and one-half million people. Besides being a large population center, it is a city with a highly mobile population -- relatively few being native "Washingtonians."

The population for this study consists of women in the area who have participated or who are participating in consciousness-raising groups. The sample has been formed through an investigation of the network of feminist activity throughout the city and a drawing up of a list of women who have been involved in CR. From this initial list a random sample was selected and a questionnaire was mailed to them. Follow-up letters and telephone calls were used to assure a return of approximately 40 percent. The details of the population and sample as well as of the processes performed on the questionnaire will be further developed and expanded in Chapter Three.

VII. Significance of the Study.

There are three important understandings that should result from this study. The first is that to date, the only types of writings to come out of the feminist movement relating to consciousness-raising have been personal experiences, insights, effects and theoretical analysis of the basis, structure, processes and learnings of the CR experience. While this material was interesting and exceptionally valuable -- not to mention essential to a new movement groping for an analysis on which to base its theoretical de-

velopment -- it has not provided us with what is obviously the next step: some concrete research data on which to draw some valid conclusions. This study is a beginning, and only a beginning, of what will become, I believe, a systematic study of the CR group as it operates in this society as a learning ground for new feminists.

The second important type of information that will come out of this study is some concrete data on the types of women who participate in CR and on the effect they believe that experience has had on them. While it has always been difficult to determine what kind of learning actually takes place in a group interaction, the fact that so many women are working in the feminist movement is an indication that somewhere new awarenesses are being developed. This study should provide needed data on whether or not the CR group is, in the eyes of participants, a learning ground for change.

The final significance of this study is that it should provide us with a further understanding of the processes of one of the largest of the current small group phenomena. While we have studied the small task or work group and also the small human-relations (T-group, encounter, or sensitivity) group, we have not studied the small consciousness-raising group.

While the consciousness-raising group has been around in one of several forms for a long time, it is only recently that it has received any widespread recognition as a vehicle for personal and social change. In order to better our understanding of the direction in which our society is headed, a further look at where consciousness-raising came from and where it is going is certainly in order.

Chapter Two

The Consciousness-Raising Group: A Review of the Literature

I. Consciousness-Raising: The Beginnings

1961-1971

To be able to look back on that extraordinary decade as a whole is to see a mass movement of revolutionary potential, like a huge new geological feature, in the process of formation. (Stimpson, 1973)

The first wave of feminism ended in 1920 with the passage of the 19th Amendment granting women the right to vote. Ninety years of grueling effort had gone into that endeavor, and by the time it happened the first feminist movement had spent itself. (Kraditor, 1965, Flexner, 1959)

In the forty-year period between 1920 and 1960, only vestiges of feminism were alive - mostly within the National Women's Party. For all practical purposes, it took two World Wars and a widely growing American affluence to create the political, social and economic environment prevalent in the 1950's which set the stage for future change.

Not only were the 1950's the era of the "silent generation," bobby-sox and Elvis, they were also the period of the great hard commercial sell of home, motherhood, family life, domestic bliss, ravenous consumerism and suburban happiness. Madison Avenue sold, women bought and husbands died of heart failure in their harried drive to keep up, provide more and climb

the ladder of success. The children of the depression finally had the suburban home, two cars, three children and all the trappings of a "normal life." But by 1960, the beginnings of a new order were present.

It is hard to pin point exactly when the stirrings first occurred. It was in December, 1961, that President Kennedy established the President's Commission on the Status of Women with Eleanor Roosevelt as Chairperson, and for the first time since the passage of the 19th Amendment, the Federal Government addressed itself to "women's issues." For two years the Commission examined seven areas of concern: Civil and Political Rights, Education, Federal Employment, Private Employment, Home and Community, Social Security and Taxes and Protective Labor Legislation. Issued in October, 1963, the Commission's report, American Women, did not challenge any of the basic assumptions concerning woman's role, although it did present a broad spectrum of sound information and some significant recommendations for political action. From the vantage point of hindsight, it appears that the "... greatest impact of the President's Commission ... was made not by its Report ... but by the very fact of [its] existence, which ... generated for the first time in nearly a half-century a general interest in women's issues." (Hole, 1971)

But a second most important event of 1963 was the February publication of the The Feminine Mystique by Betty Friedan. It succinctly delineated the psychological, social, educational and media pressures on women to embrace the "natural" roles of women -- those of housewife, mother, sex object, sex partner and emotional supporter of men. For vast numbers of women, her book accurately chronicled the frustrations and emptiness of the mystique that had been so successfully sold during the 50's. As one woman expressed

her frustration "I've tried everything women are supposed to do -- hobbies, canning, being social with my neighbors, running PTA teas. I can do it all, but it doesn't leave you anything to think about -- any feeling of who you are. ... I'm a server of food and putter-on of pants, somebody who can be called on when you want something. But who am I?" (Friedan, 1963) The book became an instant best seller, particularly among the middle class suburban women to whom it was primarily addressed.

These two publications, along with the 1963 passage of the Equal Pay Act and the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which included sex discrimination as an area of litigation, brought into full activity that part of feminism generally referred to as the Woman's Rights Movement.

Relatively conservative in its political approach, and attracting largely business and professional women, the Women's Rights Movement has worked tirelessly to research, analyze, lobby, file court cases, change laws and educate women to the rights and responsibilities of full societal membership. Their work is "... through traditional political and legal channels ... are for the most part organized on a national basis and by and large are composed of moderate and conservative feminists." (Hole, 1971)

Such groups as NOW, WEAL, WPC and FEW are representatives of this end of the feminist spectrum, though their appeal has broadened in recent years to include housewives and younger working women.

During the same period of time, beginning in early 1960's, another segment of the female population was being caught up in quite different currents which would also lead them to this "greatest of all revolutions." These women were the young civil rights workers and later the student activists of the "new left" who would eventually form what has come to be

known as the Women's Liberation Movement.¹

During the early 1960's the issue was, of course, civil rights. Young women frequently left college to travel south, to march, to sit in, to help with voter registration drives and work for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and Congress on Racial Equality (CORE). They had.

gone to the south to work along side men in the fight for equality only to find they were second class citizens in a movement purportedly determined to wipe out all discrimination. Rarely permitted to participate in policy-making, they found themselves relegated to kitchen-work, mimeographing, typing and serving " . . . as a sexual supply for their male comrades after hours." (Hole, 1971 quoting Koedet, 1968)

It was a SNCC staff meeting in 1964 that Ruby Doris Smith Robinson presented a paper on the "Position of Women in SNCC," which is said to have elicited the comment from Stokely Carmichael, "The only position for women in SNCC is prone." (Hole, 1971) It was the wide reporting of this incident that "... signals the first stirrings of resentment among women participants." (Hole, 1971)

¹ Analysts have objected to the dividing of the Feminist Movement into these two segments and one must be cautious not to make the lines too definite. While Hole and Levine in Rebirth of Feminism, make this distinction, one critic has observed "Any reporter must impose some order on the chaos of material, and they have devised a way to picture the divisions within the Women's Movement, which has, after all, never been famous for either internal coherence or ideological symmetry. But I fear people will read [it] too rigidly and believe that the Women's Movement consists of two camps, as divided as Berlin or as the sexes themselves." (Stimpson, 1973)

Another author correctly points out that "... Rather than ideology, it is structure and style that more accurately differentiates ... oddly enough, it is those groups labeled "reformist" [Rights] are the activists, while the "radicals" [Liberation] engage primarily in educational work." (Freeman, 1974)

An example is that " . . . while Redstockings [a radical liberation group] organized its abortion speak out, the New York Chapter of NOW formed a committee to lobby for repeal of restrictive abortion legislation." (Brownmiller, 1970)

Throughout 1965, women's groups within SNCC began meeting separately. Although clinging to their radical affiliations, they suffered much hostility and abuse whenever they would publicly mention women's issues.

By 1966, with racial tensions growing, the white radicals moved out of civil rights and into the "new left" movement which concerned itself with the issues of peace, Vietnam, the arms race, civil liberties, capitalism, economic injustice and corruption. Most popular of the new groups was SDS (Students for a Democratic Society), which attracted scores of young college students anxious to live and fight for the "cause." Even though most of the movement women were married to or living with movement men, they rapidly discovered that the "... social vision of radical men did not include equality for women." (Brownmiller, 1970) Black Power meant power for black men only, and the white male radical eagerly embraced the worse aspects of machismo as derived from the male dominated Latin cultures.

Within their one-to-one relationship with their men, the women felt the highly touted "alternate life style" of the radical movement was working out no better than the "bourgeois" life style they had rejected. If a man and wife in a suburban split-level was a symbol of all that was wrong with plastic, bourgeois America, "man and chick" in a Lower East Side tenement flat was hardly the new order they had dreamed of. (Brownmiller, 1970)

Despite some pressure to conform, small groups of women continued to meet within the larger radical organizations. At a December 1965 SDS Convention, when the women addressed some of their concerns they met with "... catcalls, storms of ridicule and verbal abuse, 'she just needs a good screw,' or (the all time favorite) 'She's a castrating female.' " (Dixon, 1970) In 1966 when the SDS women demanded a women's liberation plank they were "... pelted with tomatoes and thrown out of the convention." (Morgan, 1970)

During the summer of 1967, two women conducted a seminar on women's issues at the University of Chicago, Center for Radical Research. A group from that class who continued to meet, formed the first known small radical women's group which was independent from any radical organization. It was this small group that decided to present a list of demands and a strong women's liberation plank to the September 1967, National Conference for a New Politics (NCNP).

During the Conference, which received much media attention, there was acceptance of a list of extreme demands from the black caucus. Through political maneuvering, however, a very traditional "women-for-peace" resolution was introduced. When the Conference Chairman railroaded this resolution through and did not allow the women to substitute their much stronger resolution on the pretext that time was short, the seeds of open anger were sown. At a time when no more resolutions were to be heard, a young man began speaking of the "forgotten minority of the American Indian."

When the women realized that the convention was willing to listen to a new set of resolutions as long as they had nothing to do with women's issues, that women's issues were not considered political, [Jo] Freeman and Shulamith Firestone ... went to the platform and demanded a hearing. They were told in no uncertain terms that their "trivial" business was not going to stop the conference from dealing with the important issues of the world. (Hole, 1973)

Largely due to the anger and frustration created by this treatment, the first real break of radical women from new left groups was seen. Jo Freeman began organizing women's groups in Chicago and Shulamith Firestone did likewise in New York. These groups were the first known women's groups to utilize and to develop the techniques and theory of Consciousness-Raising.

Within their groups, the women began looking for a way to develop an identity of their own. Women who had come out of the civil rights movement had been impressed with ". . . the Southern revival-style mass meeting at which blacks got up and "testified" about their own experience with "the Man". Might the technique also work for women?" (Brownmiller, 1970)

Radical women who had studied revolutionary leaders such as Che, Castro and Mao, had learned of the method used by Mao Tse-tung to raise the political consciousness of the Chinese women. It seems that when Mao's 1940 Eighth Route Army drive liberated and gained control of North China, it found that much of the economic and land reform would be unsuccessful without the direct labor and assistance of the "other half" of China -- the women. For over a thousand years the women of China had suffered under the most tyrannical forms of male supremacy, slavery and abuse. Beginning with infanticide for female babies, through a childhood of excruciating foot-binding until they were married to a man who could murder, sell or beat them, the Chinese women had doubtless suffered more than perhaps any other single group of women.

As the army initiated land reform and won the support of the peasants, they discovered a way to reach the silent, fearful women. "A political worker would get a few women in the village together and encourage them to talk about their lives. Slowly and reluctantly, the women would begin to speak of the bitterness and misery of their existence " (Tavris, 1974) "When the women began to speak her misery and anger would touch off the anguish and fury of the other women and they would be mobilized to join in." (Sidel, 1973) More and more women would join and thus began what

came to be called the Speak-Bitterness meetings -- "Speaking Pain to Recall Pain." Both in intent and in process much like the consciousness-raising sessions of American feminists, these Chinese women also learned that their experiences were not unique, that their list of grievances was long, that their position was changeable and that together and united there was power.

Thus consciousness-raising developed by a natural evolution - when the women got together the talk centered around the problems and questions that they felt and shared -- those problems that had brought them together in the first place. As they continued to separate from the men's groups and began the search for a polemic with which to express their angers and frustrations, it was natural that they turn to their experiences in civil rights and the radical left. And so it was that by the fall of 1967, the first seeds of the Women's Liberation Movement were firmly planted, and consciousness-raising was established as a means of developing and spreading the concept of the "new feminism"

II. The Consciousness-Raising Group: Development and Theory:

The number of women participating in the independent women's groups was small during that fall and winter of 1967. While Jo Freeman and Naomi Weisstein organized in Chicago, Shuli Fireston had met Pam Allen and they had begun organizing women in New York.

Much of the early difficulty with a women's movement centered around the issue of male exclusion. Even though the reason for exclusion was obvious -- when the males were present, women's concerns were not discussed -- the implication that a women's movement might be separate and apart from the new left movement was difficult for radical women to accept.

Even though the terms "politico" and "feminist" were not used as yet, the seeds of this split were apparent. The women from the left dominated the early meetings and, as a result, much of the talk centered around traditional left issues but with a female slant, i.e. women as a consumer class, women in Cuba and Vietnam, women and the war, women and capitalism, etc. Among these politicos, there was no attempt to discuss the central concern that had brought them together -- the issue of male supremacy and the denigration of women. These women were able to see their personal struggle only as a part of the general struggle of the working class. The social/economic issue was still primary.

Shulamith Firestone makes the point that politicos always found it necessary to tailor their feminism

... to fit into a preexistent (male created) political framework ... their need to tie their issue at all times to some "primary struggle" rather than seeing it as a central or even revolutionary in itself, is derived directly from their lingering feelings of inferiority as women.

She decries "... their inability to put their own needs first ... [and] their need for male approval ..." as rendering them unoriginal and politically sterile. (1971)

But also attending these meetings were women who had come out of the civil rights movement. These women were not sophisticated in the language and theory of Marxist analysis, but they did have a stronger sense of their own personal oppression. From the vantage point of hindsight, Shulamith Firestone makes the comment

... white women's numbered days in the black movement of the early sixties proved to be a more valuable experience in terms of their own political development ... The women who went South

are often much more politically astute, flexible and developed than women who came in from the peace movement, and they tend to move toward radical feminism much faster. Perhaps because this concern for the suffering of the blacks was white women's closest attempt since 1920 to face their own oppression to champion the cause of a more conspicuous underdog is a euphemistic way of saying you yourself are the underdog." (1971)

For these women, radical feminism or Women's Liberation, was the answer. It defines the sexual class system as the model for all other exploitative systems and which must be eliminated before any economic revolution is possible. Radical feminists eventually came to feel that the male left movements did not strike at the basis of the class system, male supremacy. Thus it was that in the early days the politicians were loosely defined as seeing the "system as the enemy," and feminist as seeing "man as the enemy."

The group that organized in New York that winter of 1967-68 was called Radical Women and would later become most important as the New York Radical Women (NYRW). It was this group that undertook one of the first feminist actions during the January 1968 demonstrations against the Vietnam War in Washington, D.C. For the protest, many left women's groups had formed the Jeanette Rankin Brigade. In a desire to break away from the traditional "women for peace" aspects of the Brigade, Radical Women decided to hold a torchlight parade at Arlington Cemetery called "The Burial of Traditional Womanhood." With 500 women who broke off to join the demonstration, Kathie Amatniek delivered a funeral oration -- the first speech to publicly address the question of women's issues as political issues. In responding to the question - "Why bother with women's issues when people are dying in Vietnam?" she answered

Sisters who ask a question like this are failing to see that they really do have a problem as women in America. . that their problem is social, not merely personal. . and that their problem is so closely related and interlocked with other problems in our

country ... that we cannot hope to move toward a better world of even a truly democratic society at home until we begin to solve our own problems. (1968)

It was the success of this event that first "raised the consciousness" of many new left women and it was here that the slogan "Sisterhood is Powerful" was first used.

The 1969 distribution of NYRW mimeographed journal Notes From the First Year, had the next great impact on the growing feminism. One article of particular concern was entitled "Women Rap About Sex." "This was a four page dialogue whose ... style of description, explanation and analysis from discussions of personal experiences became a frequent form used in the literature emerging from the movement." (Hole, 1971) This style became the early model for the process which would eventually become known as consciousness-raising.

During 1968, groups of women spontaneously began organizing in all parts of the country even though there was no women's liberation movement and, in fact, that phrase had not been used as yet. Seattle, San Francisco, Oakland, Berkeley, Los Angeles and Washington, D.C. were all areas of early activity. In August 1968, the first meeting of women's groups was held in Sandy Springs, Maryland, when some thirty women from east coast groups met to discuss priorities for a women's movement

It was in September 1968 that the nationwide front page and media coverage of the NYRW's demonstration at the Miss America Pageant heralded the beginnings of a national "women's liberation movement." While the actual events of this demonstration were badly distorted by the press and many misconceptions about the movement started at this point, the demonstration did have the positive effect of spreading the word and bringing new women into the movement.

Soon after the demonstration the NYRW began a process in their meetings

which would effect the entire movement.

In their meetings the women had begun to "rap" about themselves, recalling their individual experiences, relating personal problems and focusing on their personal feelings. They were slowly and hesitantly beginning to conclude that what seemed to be a woman's idiosyncratic pattern of behavior was in fact a prescribed social role, and "... that what was thought to be a personal problem has a social cause and probably a political solution." This process of relating the personal to the political later became the formalized intra-group method of discussion called consciousness-raising, an educational process used throughout the country in women's groups. Moreover, since consciousness-raising works best with a limited number of women (seven to fifteen), the small group has become the most widespread organizational unit of the movement. Consciousness-raising has thus come to define both the form and content of much of the activity of the women's movement. In this respect, it is not limited to radical feminists. Suburban housewives, who might hesitate to call themselves "feminists," are among the most frequent employers of the small group technique. (Hole, 1971)

While there were still women in the movement who did not believe that rapping was political in nature (such persons formed the more politically ("zap action") active WITCH group,) the consciousness-raising approach was rapidly becoming the central and organizing philosophy behind the liberation movement.

On Thanksgiving weekend of 1968, the first national feminist conference was held, drawing two hundred women from thirty-seven States and Canada. It was during the conference that a paper was presented, "A Program for Feminist Consciousness-Raising," which

... was an attempt to formalize the process that the New York women had been using in their meetings ... [It] can be read as an early formulation of the concept central to feminist analysis that women are a political group and that women's issues are political in content. To counter the idea that discussions and analyses of feelings were non-political and therefore trivial if not irrelevant, it was argued: (Hole, 1971)

We always stay in touch with our feelings ... We assume that our feelings ... mean something worth analyzing ... that our feelings are saying something political .. In our groups, let's share our feelings and pool them. Let's let ourselves go and see where our feelings lead us. Our feelings will lead us to our theory,

our theory to our action, our feelings about that action to new theory and then to new action. (Sarachild, 1968 and 1970) [The paper is based] ... on the assumption that a mass liberation movement will develop as more and more women begin to perceive their situation correctly and that therefore, our primary task right now is to awaken "class" consciousness in ourselves and others on a mass scale. (Sarachild, 1971b)

Although the paper was presented as an answer to the politico charge that rapping was not political, it did not solve the splits between the feminist and politico points of view. As one observer wrote: "The conference ended in the atmosphere in which it had begun ... [with] the sure knowledge that one's consciousness-raising or one's socialist ideology was the single truth." (Dixon, 1970)

Finally by December 1968, the SDS was sufficiently nervous about the success of the women's movement, to adopt a resolution written by SDS women. The National Resolution on Women states that.

women are not oppressed as a class but they are oppressed as women within each class ... [and] the fact that male supremacy persists in the movement today, raises the issue that although no people's liberation can happen without a socialist revolution in this country, a socialist revolution could take place which maintains the secondary position of women in society. Therefore the liberation of women must become a conscious part of our struggle for people's liberation. (SDS, 1968)

Taking an economic approach, the resolution stated strongly that women should battle for their own liberation, and that men should join in the battle against male domination. The document raised again the question: " ... should a women's liberation movement be a caucus within SDS, or should it be more than that?" (McAfee, et al. 1969) The answer from feminists was "more," from politicos "within " The split continued to widen between these factions.

It was in January 1969, during the counter-inaugural activities in Washington, D.C , that the final blow to the politico-feminist split occurred.

The left women had invited radical men to join them in a protest where they would tear up "... voter registration cards as a feminist action to dramatize the fact that in their view the extension of the vote to women had accomplished little or nothing toward the eradication of the oppression of women." (Hole, 1971) A New York feminist, Ellen Willis provides a detailed description of the event:

Our moment comes. M. from the Washington group gets up to speak. This isn't the protest against movement men, which is second on the agenda, just fairly innocuous radical rhetoric - except that it's a good-looking woman talking about women. The men go crazy. 'Take it off!' 'Take her off stage and fuck her!' They yell and boo and guffaw ... When S. comes to the mike and announces that women will no longer participate in any so-called revolution that does not include the abolition of male privilege, it sounds like a outburst of rage.

By the time we get to the voter card business, I am shaking. If radical men can be so easily provoked into acting like rednecks, what can we expect from others? What have we gotten ourselves into? (Willis, 1969b)

It is ... clear that a genuine alliance with male radicals will not be possible until sexism sickens them as much as racism. This will not be accomplished through persuasion, conciliation, or love, but through independence and solidarity. radical men will stop oppressing us and make our fight their own when they can't get us to join them on any other terms. (Willis, 1969b)

But despite the split, the new movement proved itself to be flexible enough to survive and grow stronger. By mid 1969 it was even possible to believe that "... our movement moved beyond an initial reactive stage and started to consolidate itself into a creative, energetic and assertive social movement " (Salper, 1972) It was at this point that two members of N.Y. Radical Women, Shuli Firestone and Ellen Willis, organized the group known as Redstockings. While Radical Women had developed the concept of consciousness-raising, it was to Redstockings that the credit must go for its widespread use as both a pattern of organization and a means of education.

Redstockings was important in the development of the women's liberation movement because several of its members developed the language and psychology of sisterhood underlying all of the new feminism - the idea that woman, through knowledge and articulation of her own life experiences, will be led to work for revolutionary changes in her position. (Salper, 1972)

In the Redstocking Manifesto of July 1969, their approach to and belief in consciousness-raising is clearly stated.

We regard our personal experiences, and our feelings about that experience, as the basis for an analysis of our common situation. We cannot rely on existing ideologies as they are all products of male supremacist culture. We question every generalization and accept none that are not confirmed by our experience. (Redstocking Manifesto, 1969)

A year later in March 1970, the San Francisco Redstockings issued a statement at a meeting on women's liberation entitled "Our Politics Begin With Our Feelings." It is a further early development of the theory and justification of consciousness-raising. They write:

Our politics begin with our feelings. Feelings are a direct response to the events and relationships that we experience that's how we know what's really going on ... Information derived from our feelings is our only reliable information, and our political analysis can be trusted only so long as it does not contradict our feelings.

The political unit in which we can discover, share and explore our feelings is the small group. Raising our collective consciousness is not a process that begins and ends, but is continuous and necessary given the enormous pressure placed on us everywhere to deny our own perceptions or feelings. By facing our pain together we can begin to imagine the absence of that pain and develop an idea of our needs or our vision. In our groups we ask what stands between us and that vision and in each particular case we see the enemy is men and their interests: male supremacy. (San Francisco Redstockings, 1970)

One member of the early Redstocking group explains the method the group arrived at for their consciousness-raising:

Our method is not abstract. Each woman talks about herself and her own feelings and experiences. If our method works, we will have an analysis that is not only relevant to women but to all people because it will be an analysis based on the

realities of our lives. We direct our talk to one particular question at a time in order to formulate an analysis based on our real experiences and so that any generalizations we might come to will be based on fact. We go around the room, each sister taking a turn. In this way everyone has a fair chance to speak and be totally heard. When a sister gives testimony the other women in the group can ask questions in order to clarify in their own minds what a sister is saying. When everyone has spoken we go around the room making generalizations and trying to find out what the connections are between our experiences and how they relate one to the other. (Susan, 1970)

To the Redstockings, one of the most important factors working against women was the "ghettoization" of one woman from another. The Manifesto continues

Because we have lived so intimately with our oppressors in isolation from each other, we have been kept from seeing our personal suffering as a political condition. This creates the illusion that a woman's relationship with her man is a matter of interplay between two unique personalities, and can be worked out individually. In reality, every such relationship is a class relationship, and the conflicts between individual men and women are political conflicts that can only be solved collectively. (1969)

It is here that we find early expression of what was to become a widespread belief -- that women are a class and as such can exercise considerable political power. For these women, the consciousness-raising group was the ideal means of overcoming not only the physical but also the psychological and emotional isolation of women from each other.

The Redstockings established consciousness-raising as an institution to be used by women organizing throughout the country and the consciousness-raising group was firmly established within the women's movement.

By this time there was a good deal of writing coming out of the new movement pertaining to issues raised by consciousness-raising (or CR as it had come to be called). One early article was Jennifer Gardner's "False

Consciousness," a refutation of the anti-feminist theory that women oppress themselves. In it she describes the problems and criticisms faced by a woman who attempts to be "equal" and she articulates the ways in which men benefit from the institution of male supremacy. (Gardner, 1969) In another article of this period, Irene Peslikis lists those factors which operate as "Resistances to Consciousness" such as: "Thinking that our man is the exception and, therefore we are the exception among women. Thinking that individual solutions are possible, that we don't need solidarity and revolution for our liberation." (Peslikis, 1971)

And so it was that at first very slowly and then with a "rolling stone" pace, the early feminists had begun throughout 1969 the painful and exhilarating process of formulating a theory entirely separate from radical left thought.

Besides Redstockings, two other important groups formed in New York that year. With different approaches and tactics, they complemented Redstockings and the consciousness-raising formulations.

The group called The Feminists gave the new movement two important contributions: first was an attempt at very rigorous theoretical analysis of the social and political role of women, and the second was the attempt to develop an egalitarian structure by use of the lot system for all work done by the group. Committed to theory and action, they had an abortion speak-out, developed materials on marriage as an oppressive institution and developed an analysis of radical feminism as the annihilation of sex roles. The Feminists eventually ran into problems as the most anti-male of all the groups (no more than one-third of all their members were allowed to live with or be married to men), and also they were the most demanding

in terms of control over members' lives (they had very strict attendance, participation and study requirements). But perhaps the issue that ultimately caused the most dissension was the "anti-individualism" that was based on the lot system and which allowed no member to have a personal achievement (all writings were from the group) or to speak to any media persons (spokespersons were chosen by lot and always included several members).

The type of extremism represented by The Feminists is probably to be expected of a new movement and the general turmoil of the era was representative of much of the conflict felt by feminists. "By the end of 1969 and throughout much of 1970, this dissension was not limited to New York. Throughout the country .. groups were forming, splitting over ideological and structural disagreements, regrouping and resplitting." (Hole, 1971) Also the politico-feminists arguments were still very much present in the movement.

Despite the problems of the new movement a regional conference, The Congress to Unite Women, was held in November 1969 in New York City with groups from Massachusetts to Maryland participating. This was the first large scale meeting of women's groups and drew over 500 women. The Congress proved to be a remarkable success in developing positions through workshops on such issues as abortion, ERA, child care, women's studies programs, media image, etc.

After the Congress, in December, a third important group formed calling itself the New York Radical Feminists. Membership in this group came from women who were unhappy with the great restrictions placed on them through their membership in The Feminists and from women unhappy with

"CR only" philosophy of the Redstockings.

Among the founders of the New York Radical Feminists (NYRF) were Ann Koedet and Shulamith Firestone who envisioned a city wide group structured to include consciousness-raising, theory and analysis and political action. Together they worked out both a manifesto, "Politics of the Ego," and their "Organizing Principles" which were then presented to a group of women. The New York Radical Feminists were particularly significant in that they shaped the form and the politics of much of the radical movement from that point on

The Manifesto was a clear and strong statement of feminist principles. It was not the politico camp in that it rejected the male left Marxist political analysis and focused instead on the system of male supremacy. It rejected the intense structure, control over member's personal lives and the lot system of The Feminists, and it developed the CR group as the first step toward active feminism unlike Redstockings which utilized CR as the beginning and end of feminism.

In the "Organizing Principles" there was, however, a strong stand taken on the value of CR:

We have all, in order to adjust to our condition, had to develop elaborate blinders, and to uncork our anger and frustration in order to rechannel it in the right direction. Before we can remove the structures of oppression, we must remove our own accommodations to them. (NYRF, 1970)

The "Organizing Principles" were an attempt to overcome some of the past difficulty of feminist groups. Essentially there were three concerns. The first was how to initiate and incorporate new women into the movement. The answer was that a small group would be formed of eight to twelve compatible women. This group would become one of the brigades of the New

York Radical Feminists. For three months they would undergo a serious program of consciousness-raising and, after that, would begin reading and discussing past and present feminist literature for another three months. It was felt that by the end of the six months, the group would have a strong sense of unity and trust.

The second problem was how to provide enough flexibility for the continued growth of the new brigades. At the end of the CR process, the brigade would have the option of joining the NYRF or of continuing in its own direction. If it joined, there would be no rules, doctrine or threats from the larger organization and, in fact, the larger organization was essentially a confederation of brigades with no hierarchical structure. At the point of joining and subscribing to the principles of the Manifesto, the brigade would have full autonomy to "... begin the serious work of an experienced brigade, attacking the problem of women's liberation in whatever aspects and by whatever method they should decide ..." (NYRF, 1970)

The final concern was how to build a mass-based, grass roots movement. Since it was strongly felt that a mass movement was the only way that women could alter the social structure, the development of the confederation seemed logical. Since unlimited numbers of brigades could join the larger organization, there was real potential for a mass movement.

Although technically unsuccessful in that the organization was torn by the general internal dissension so characteristic of the movement through 1970, the unofficial estimate of membership numbered over 400 in early 1971. The Stanton-Anthony Brigade, founder of the NYRF, was dissolved by mid 1970 largely due to charges of "elitism" which observers have said "... boiled down to jealousy." (Hole, 1971) Nonetheless, the story of that

brigade gave rise to one of the most interesting pieces of literature about the movement - Jane Kramer's "Founding Cadre." (1970) With Hannah as Shuli Firestone and Barbara as Ann Koedet, "Founding Cadre," depicts with accuracy and sensitivity the founding, the personal backgrounds, life styles and conflicts, as well as the issues, the politics and internal dissensions of the group which to a large extent helped to shape the thought and form of feminism.

Both 1969 and 1970 had been years of tremendous growth for the women's movement. By the beginning of 1971, feminism had reached every part of the country and for many women, CR had become an accepted and important way of involving themselves in the movement. After 1971 the political climate began changing, the previous strength of the new-left and radical movements was dissipated and a more conservative "working within the system" approach to feminism became the norm. In some parts of the country, the conservative National Organization for Women (NOW) is considered the "radical" women's group and, although they certainly do manage to get a great deal of work accomplished, it is always through perfectly legal and systematic means. It is also true, however, that the young radicals have had an effect on the thinking and the policy of such organizations as NOW. On the question of whether or not to take a stand for such controversial issues as abortion and lesbianism, there is no doubt but that the radical feminists have been influential.

To a large extent, after 1971, CR groups started either within organizations such as NOW and WEAL, or they occurred spontaneously among groups of friends and neighbors. One woman, who was elected to organize groups

for Montgomery County, Maryland NOW, says she started over 20 new CR groups in 1974 and she estimates that 40 to 50 CR groups are going on among chapter members currently. (White, 1974)

To this point the literature of consciousness-raising has been reviewed using a historical and developmental approach. The remainder of this chapter will review the CR literature by: 1) providing an example of what a CR session is actually like, 2) discussing the norms, methods, techniques and processes of CR, and, 3) expanding on the ways in which CR has spread and been utilized throughout the feminist movement and the popular culture of the 1970's.

III. The Recordings of a CR Group

In the previous sections, consciousness-raising and the CR group were defined and explained. At the same time, for the individual who has not experienced a CR group, it is perhaps helpful to provide a concrete example of what CR "sounds" and "feels" like.

To accomplish this, there are good examples of recordings of CR sessions. It can be an enlightening experience for the novice to read these transcripts in order to better understand the issues women talk about, as well as their feelings, experiences and positions

The recording of a CR session is one of the more interesting and unique forms of CR literature. Sessions have been recorded singly as are the two discussed here, and as many as 12 sessions of the same group have been recorded and made into books. (Dreifus, 1973, Sheehan, 1973) although the books are interesting in that they demonstrate the development of a feminist consciousness of the participants over time, they are too complex and lengthy to be discussed here.

The earliest of the recordings of a single CR session is a transcript of a tape that was done by WBAI-FM Radio in New York City in 1970. WBAI formed a CR group of seven women who produced a tape on a different topic each week. When the first session was played on the air, it received more mail than any other first broadcast in the station's history. The one session that was reproduced in Radical Feminism is on the subject of "Men and Violence." After presenting some of the dialogue we will be able then to draw some conclusions as to the handling of the subject.

Gloria: What I feel is rage. I mean I feel outraged in terms of the street and in terms of my position on the street, in terms of the fact that the streets are owned by men. I just feel that the men stake out the street and each block is owned by different men, and that men travel those blocks with the consent and permission of other men. Women travel those blocks also with the consent and permission of men, but on a different level, in that you are at any time susceptible to those whims in far more of a real way than those men are.

You know, it's becoming a well-known thing that women in the movement hate to be whistled at. They hate to be stopped in the street. I mean, men laugh at it - other women laugh at it. They say that we're too sensitive that we're too upset, that we get too outraged and that it's really a compliment to be stopped and to be whistled at and to be thought pretty and that we should start worrying when it stops.

But what I find outrageous is the fact that their fantasy can be activated into a reality at any time. And you're the object of it, so that you cannot escape. That's what happened tonight. I mean, we were coming to the studio and Vivian and I had stopped in front of a store, and a man came up to her and asked her for twenty cents. She said "no," and she proceeded to walk into the store. He blocked her way and he shoved her against a plate glass window. And he called her a strange name. And all I could feel was contained rage, because if I hit him, he would've killed me. He was really a violent man. Much larger, much stronger. And I had no effective way of dealing with it.

If it happened again when we walked out of the studio, there would be no way of dealing with it. If you walk up to the police, as I wanted to do, the reality is that they probably wouldn't deal with it, because it's much too frequent. So you have to begin to choose your neighborhoods and choose the hours, and choose the circumstances that you can be out.

And that's the rage I feel as a woman. That complete physical powerlessness in a situation. And the only way of dealing with it is to react with some sort of violence, which women don't want to do. I don't want to become a man, in the sense of becoming someone that can beat the crap out of another person. Yet, the only alternative women have on the street is to become a part of the street. To react in the same way men do, which makes them immune in the sense that nobody walks up to a huge man in the streets and beats him up, or presumes upon him.

Kate: Or asks him for twenty cents, even.

Sebern: So what are you going to do?

Gloria: I'm going to start learning to be violent, I guess I mean I can only contain for so long my pure thoughts about how one power structure shouldn't presume upon another, and how you don't remove violence by being violent. That theory works only until you're ripped off against a wall or raped, or someone you know is killed. And then you begin to see that powerlessness is not the answer to that kind of street situation.

Kate: Because, in fact, it's not simply nonviolence, it's non-violence combined with powerlessness, which doesn't make any sense at all.

Gloria, I just remember an incident when I was visiting one night, and a man who was a friend of this family started to talk to me. I was talking about the movement and I was telling him about myself and who I was and what I was doing. ... All of a sudden he became very agitated and said, "Well, if I really wanted to right now, I could kill you. I could beat the shit out of you." And I looked at him and I said, "Probably, but that doesn't make you a superior person." And he said, "But I really could. You know, I really could beat you up "

I've noticed a degree of violence that men have in relationship to me. I think maybe that's their second line of action when the first line doesn't really work. ...

Kate: A male chauvinist would say that you provoke that.

Mary: You only provoke it by assuming any kind of equality. The moment you begin to assume equality is that moment that it's provoked -- if you want to use that word.

Gloria: That's why the man stopped Vivian. ... she was walking down the street as though she had a right to be there.

This passage has the virtue of providing an accurate glimpse of the ways in which women can speak to a subject from personal experience and also of the intensity of their feelings. The short time limits of the broadcast did not allow for much generalization, however, there is some relating of the subject to the broader issue of women as exemplified by the following statements which come at the end

Mary: So it starts at a very early age where women begin to dislike or be conditioned to dislike any kind of real aggressive behavior.

Kate: It seems to me that the reason we have such difficulty responding adequately either to being attacked or being put down or being used in some way, being disregarded, whistled at or whatever, is that on the one hand there is objectively a great deal of real danger, and to a certain extent if we're sensible we're going to back away. I mean that's a sensible reaction to real danger. But on the other hand we have internalized our fear of invoking male anger, and that we carry around within us -- this powerlessness. We've allowed it to shape us on the inside so that internally we're debilitated and there are also external conditions that are really threatening. The combination of the two really, I think, is too much.

Thus, even within the time constraints of the radio program, the relating of the issues to a broader analysis is accomplished.

In her article "Consciousness Q," Vivian Gornick relates a CR session with ten women discussing the topic of work. In following a typical pattern, each woman tells her personal experience with and feelings about the topic. These range from "Work! God, what can I say? The whole question has always been absolute hell for me ..." and the relating of an aimless life of drifting, to the issue of sex in the office which is related thusly:

Sheila I've always wound up being propositioned by my bosses. It's a funny thing. As soon as I'd being doing really well, learning fast and taking on some genuine responsibility, like it would begin to excite them, and they'd make their move. When I refused, almost invariably they'd begin to browbeat me. I mean they'd make my life miserable! And, of course, I'd retreat. ... I'd get small and scared and take everything they were dishing out ... and then I'd move on. ...

Laura It's almost as if sex were being used to cut her down, or back, or in some way stop her from rising. An instinct he, the boss, has --- to sleep with her when he feels her becoming really independent.

Lucie: I'll buy that! Look, it's like Samson and Delilah in reverse.

After some discussion on the put down of using sex in business, one woman comments:

Veronica: The way you're talking about using sex at work. As if it were so horrible. Well, I've always used a kind of sexy funniness to get what I want at work. What's wrong with that?

Lucie: What do you do?

Veronica. Well, if someone is being very stuffy and serious about business, I'll say something funny - I guess in a sexy way - to break up the atmosphere which sometimes gets so heavy. You know what I mean? Men can be so pretentious in business! And then, usually, I get what I want - while I'm being funny and cute, and they're laughing.

Diana: (heatedly): Look, don't you see what you're doing?

Veronica (testily): No, I don't. What am I doing?

Diana If there's some serious business going on you come in and say. Nothing to be afraid of folks. Just frivolous, feminine little me. I'll tell a joke, wink my eye, do a little dance, and we'll all pretend nothing's really happening here.

Veronica My God, I never thought of it like that.

Laura It's like those apes. They did a study of apes in which they discovered that apes chatter and laugh a lot to ward off aggression.

Marilyn Just like women! Christ, aren't they always saying to us: Smile! Who tells a man to smile? And how often do you smile for no damned reason, right? It's so natural to start smiling as soon as you start talking to a man, isn't it?

Lucie That's right! You're right! You know -- God, it's amazing! -- I began to think about this just the other day. I was walking down Fifth Avenue and a man in the doorway of a store said to me, "Whatsamatta, honey? Things can't be that bad." And I was startled because I wasn't feeling depressed or anything, and I couldn't figure out why he was saying that. So I looked real fast, in the glass to see what my face looked like. And it didn't look like anything. It was just a fact at rest. I had just an ordinary, sort of thoughtful expression on my face. And he thought I was depressed. And I couldn't help it, I said to myself: "Would he have said that to you if you were a man?" And I answered myself immediately "No!"

Diana. That's it. That's really what they want. To keep you barefoot, pregnant, and smiling. Always sort of begging, you know? Just a little supplicating -- at all times. And they get anxious if you stop smiling. Not because you're depressed. Because you're thinking!

One of the interesting things about the above passage is the ways in which very small life experiences are related to the larger concerns and also the ways in which the group uses this sharing of experiences to arrive at new understandings of their behavior and the resulting changes of behavior that come from awareness.

Other issues discussed in the group concerned never believing that you were responsible for a job well done, but that it was always luck, or the problem of not knowing what to do and so you keep marrying and having children in order to avoid facing the issue.

The question of personal identity in work as it relates to sex roles we are trained to play, become an important issue during this session.

Lucie That's odd, isn't it? When a man says he lives for his family it sounds positively unnatural to me. When a woman says it, it sounds so "right." So expected.

Laura. Exactly. What's pathology in a man seems normal in a woman.

Claire It comes back, in a sense, to a woman always looking for her identity in her family and a man never, or rarely, really doing that.

Marie God, this business of identity! Of wanting it from my work, and not looking for it in what my husband does.

Jen Tell me, do men ever look for their identities in their wives' work?

Veronica Yes, and then we call them Mr. Streisand.

Another woman relates how her father taught his daughters to compete and the effect that has had on her relationship to work:

Claire: For me, work is like everything else. Competitive. I get in there, do the best I can, compete ferociously against man, woman or machine. And I use whatever I have in the way of equipment: sex, brains, endurance. You name it, I use it. And if I lose I lose, and if I win I win. It's just doing it as well as I can that counts. And if I come up against discrimination as a woman, I just reinforce my attack. But the name of the game is competition.

After much negative response to this admission -- one group member breaks in:

Marilyn. I think you're wrong, all of you. You don't understand what Claire's really saying. ... What Claire is really telling you is that her father taught her not how to win but how to lose. He didn't teach her to ride roughshod over other people. He taught her how to get up and walk away intact when other people rode roughshod over her. And he so loved the idea of teaching that to his children that he ignored the fact that she and her sisters were girls, and he taught it to them, anyway. ...

Laura: I think Marilyn has a very good point there. That's exactly what Claire has inside her. She's the strongest person in this room, and we've known it for a long time. She has the most integrated and most separate sense of herself of anyone I know. And I can see now that probably has developed from her competitiveness. It's almost as though it provided the proper relation to other people, rather than no relation.

Sheila: Well, if that's true then her father performed a minor miracle.

Jen: You're not kidding. Knowing where you stand in relation to other people, what you're supposed to be doing, not because of what other people want of you but because of what you want for yourself ... knowing what you want for yourself ... that's everything, isn't it?

Laura. I think so. When I think of work, that's really what I think of most. ...

At the end of the meeting they sum up:

Lucie: Well, one thing became very clear to me. Every one of us in some way has struggled with the idea of getting married in order to be relieved of the battle of finding and staying with good work.

Diana: And every one of us who's actually done it has made a mess of it!

Jen: And everyone who hasn't has made a mess of it!

Veronica: But, look. The only one of us who's really worked well -- with direction and purpose -- is Claire. And we all jumped on her! ...

Marilyn. ... We can't do it, we can't admire anyone who does it, and we can't let it alone. ...

Jen. .. That's not quite true. After all, we were able to see finally that there was virtue in Claire's position. And we are here, aren't we?

Marie: That's right. Don't be so down. We're not 102 years old, are we? We're caught in a mess, damned if we do and damned if we don't. All right. That's exactly why we're here. To break the bind. (1971)

One of the interesting learnings to come out of this session is that the one woman with what could be considered the most "masculine" personality in terms of her competitiveness, aggressiveness, and attitude toward work, is also recognized as the most healthy and integrated of the women in the group. Essentially, it goes back to the earlier statement that what is frequently considered pathology in women is considered healthy or normal in men. Essentially a different standard of mental health is expected and then, of course, is realized.

Through these articles and the previously mentioned books the reader has the opportunity to develop an understanding of the concerns discussed and the feelings that bring forth these concerns. For the uninitiated in consciousness-raising, even an attempt to empathize with these women so they struggle to clarify and express their innermost emotions can clarify and intensify much of the material on CR to follow.

IV. The Consciousness-Raising Group: Norms, Methods and Process

A. The Norms.

Much of the literature of Consciousness-raising deals with the issue of "how to start a CR group." These articles are usually found in popular feminist books, magazines and journals and cover the basics of CR. From them, a number of consistent norms, methods and to some lesser extent, processes can be drawn. An examination of this material will give a clearer idea of what a CR group is like and what it does.

There are two types of norms operating in the small CR group process, structural and interaction. The eight structural norms relate to 1) group membership, 2) group homogeneity, 3) group size, 4) meeting place, 5) meeting time, 6) attendance expectations, 7) participation in discussion, and 8) leadership requirements.

It must be remembered that like any norm, these are not absolutes, however, they are dominant in both the practice and the literature of CR. Let us briefly examine each of these in more detail.

It is always strongly urged that a CR group be composed of members of the same sex. ("A Guide," 1972, Farrell, 1973, White & Goode, 1969, Ladies Home Journal, 1970, Rush, 1973, King & Myers undated, Women's Action Alliance, 1974, "Consciousness-Raising, 1973, Booth, 1970, Sapho Collective, 1971)

The reasons for this are also made clear.

Husbands and male friends or co-workers may resent this at first, but their presence makes it much harder for us to speak honestly, and to venture out from under our habitual roles and patterns. Even well-meaning men tend to adopt an attitude of helpful paternalism, and less enlightened ones take over the focus of a group by becoming adversaries - symbolic enemies to be defeated or convinced. Women need to be by themselves. ("A Guide," 1972)

It is generally felt that women should remain in CR with only women for at least six months and many CR groups remain stable for eighteen months to two years ("A Guide," 1972, Women's Action Alliance, 1974)

There is somewhat more controversy about the issue of the homogeneity of a group and here it is much more a matter of personal preference. (White & Goode, 1969, "A Guide," 1972, King & Myers, undated, Rush, 1973, Booth, 1970, Ladies Home Journal, 1970, Women's Action Alliance, 1974, Farrell, 1973) Since groups often start among friends and neighbors, they tend to be homogeneous in terms of social and economic class as well as educational background. Also, as we discovered during the early development of CR groups, some agreement in philosophy and approach - i.e. "radical" or "conservative" - is important for the functioning of a group. There are, however, advantages to non-homogeneous groups. As has been pointed out

Groups that are not homogeneous take longer to break through differences of style, but have the advantage of showing dramatically how women's problems tend to survive the boundaries of age, economic status, and ethnic background. The important requirement for a rap group is that the members be serious about their desires for life changes, and that they respect that need in each other. ("A Guide," 1972)

So while homogeneous groups are perhaps easiest to begin and maintain, if a non-homogeneous group can be made to work, there is a great deal to be learned from that experience.

While the desirability of homogeneity of age, race, economic and social class is debatable, all the above authors agree that no women "new" to CR should join a group that has been functioning for a time. It is generally felt that " . the organizing committee should not place new women in old groups. It is better for women to begin to discover their oppression with other women who are also beginning this discovery . " (White & Goode, 1969) Generally, no new members are allowed after the first two or three meetings. "The need for repetition can provide an excuse for the group not to break new ground " (Farrell, 1973) Also, it is hard on the new member who has not been a part of the history of the group.

A third norm on which there is widespread agreement concerns the size of the group. It should be small (Sapho Collective, 1971, A Guide, 1972, King & Myers, undated, Rush, 1973, Ladies Home Journal, 1970, Women's Action Alliance, 1974, "Consciousness-Raising," 1973, Farrell, 1973) Generally the ideal size is between six to ten, but most recommend beginning with thirteen to fifteen to allow for attrition.

Most groups take turns meeting in each other's homes and this is believed by most authors to be beneficial for the group. (Women's Action Alliance, 1974, Rush, 1973, Ladies Home Journal, 1970) "Giving shelter to the group, seeing it function in rooms we live with intimately, is part of the process " ("A Guide," 1972) Also, a member's home is an added dimension of that person. Always essential, however, is privacy. Husbands, children, roommates or friends must be gone or quite out of the way. Otherwise the openness of the meeting will be seriously affected.

Probably the best time for most groups to meet is evenings, and once a week seems to be average. ("Consciousness-Raising," 1973, Booth, 1970,

Ladies Home Journal, 1970, "A Guide, 1972) For some groups of non-working housewives, the day may be best, but the openendedness of evening is usually desirable. Weekly meetings seem to be preferred in order to maintain continuity of the contact and intimacy.

While groups whose members are serious and involved do not have an attendance problem, regular attendance and punctuality are important. (Women's Action Alliance, 1974, "A Guide," 1972, Farrell, 1973) "Erratic attendance breaks down trust and continuity and calls into question the seriousness of members' commitment ..." (Farrell, 1973) Also, irregular attendance affects the process.

Each meeting is a step in a growth process, and each member plays an organic part. Members who are often absent or come very late, slow down the process. They also may create bad feelings by implying through their actions that the group isn't very important to their lives. (A Guide, 1972)

Regular attendance is often strictly sanctioned by group pressure.

One of the more flexible of the norms is that of participation in the meeting and is also closely related to the ways in which the group meetings are structured. The usual recommendation is for the group to pick a topic to be discussed. At the beginning of the meeting each woman has a period of time to talk about the topic, relating it to her personal experience, after each woman has spoken there is general discussion. (Sapho Collective, 1971, "A Guide," 1972, King & Myers, undated, Rush, 1973, Ladies Home Journal, 1970, Women's Action Alliance, 1974) If, however, any member has a personal crisis she needs to discuss, the topic and structure are dropped until she receives the help she needs. (King & Myers, undated, "A Guide," 1972, Women's Action Alliance, 1974)

One of the norms which seems to present more problems than any of the others, is the question of whether a group should have a leader and what to

do if a natural leader arises within the group. It is recommended that no leader for the group be appointed. The reasons for this are expressed by White and Goode.

Our basic assumption is that internal democracy is needed if Women's Liberation is to function as an organization that will effectively combat our oppression. The organization we build is the society our revolution will create. Only a democracy has the means of assuring that power will not be autocratic or oppressive. We must understand that a political structure is a democracy only when all individuals in it relate to each other as equals and when each individual participates fully. Individual participation is the freedom to express one's thoughts and feelings -- the freedom to be one's self and to grow which we as individuals in Women's Liberation most need. (White & Goode, 1969)

This reasoning has led to the general consensus that there should be no leader. (King & Myers, undated, Booth, 1970, Ladies Home Journal, 1970, Women's Action Alliance, 1974, Arrow, 1969) A further rationale is presented:

The consciousness-raising group is specifically designed to eliminate preexisting habits of passivity, dominance, the need for outside instruction, or a hierarchy, even if it is to take care of functional details. If one or several members of the group dominate to a degree that keeps others from participating fully, it is the responsibility of each member to try to set the balance straight. It's often helpful to go around in a circle, starting with a different member at each meeting ... ("A Guide," 1972)

Even though a group may not have any appointed leader, it is always possible that stronger personalities will begin to dominate the group. To keep this type of leadership from developing ...

... "many groups have devised "token" systems. In the beginning, ... some groups give each member ten tokens, and require that a token be given up each time that individual speak. The score at the session's end helps us to realize who is listening too much, and who is not listening enough. ("A Guide," 1972)

These then are the eight structural norms of the CR group. While they are the general "rules" followed by most CR groups, like other social norms, they have been disregarded and the group still quite successful. Certainly

even more important are the interaction norms which determine the ways in which the group members act, respond, treat and communicate with each other.

There are four important interaction norms consistent throughout the literature. They are: 1) an individual must speak personally, 2) one should not interrupt a person and should listen closely, 3) one should not judge, criticize or give advice to a member concerning her experiences, thoughts or feelings and 4) there must be absolute confidentiality among members concerning what occurs in the group.

The first of these norms is that each woman must speak personally about her own experiences and feelings. The reasons for this are many. "When women are constantly engaging in self-examination and mutual support of a highly personal sort, they gain the strength and insight to move in directions that would be likely to emerge from public discussion and debate." (Andreas, 1973) Expressed another way: "Speak from your own experience We are all experts on ourselves." (King & Myers, undated)

It is important that we speak personally, subjectively and specifically. Generalizing, theorizing, or talking in abstractions is bound to misrepresent or alienate some member of the group to whom these generalizations don't apply. This personal mode of speaking is called "giving testimony," ... [and] has come to describe the firstperson rule that is the heart of CR. ("A Guide," 1972)

While this rule may be broken as the group becomes more advanced and, thereby, more analytical and given to abstraction concerning the political nature of the problem, speaking personally about the events and experiences that have shaped you and your feelings as a person is essential in the initial states of a CR group.

The second interaction norm is to not interrupt the person speaking. Everyone has a right to be fully heard in her own way while giving testimony, and she may only be asked short questions for the purposes of clarification. Part of the point is to learn to listen carefully. For some it is the experience of being really listened to for the first time when they are discussing a truly personal issue. Another part of the point is to learn empathy for the person speaking by trying to understand and by attempting to feel what that person is or has felt. In this way it is possible to overcome some of the alienation women feel from themselves, and that they have been taught to feel for each other. (Women's Action Alliance, 1974, Rush, 1973, King & Myers, undated, "A Guide," 1972)

The third norm consists of the "do nots" -- do not give advice, do not judge and do not criticize. The first of these is put succinctly by Anne Rush.

Stay away from advice. The focus of the group is not on problem solving, it is sharing .. You are there to learn to help each other make your own decisions. The orientation is self help. Also the person giving advice can hide behind this role and not reveal herself. (1973)

The second part of this norm is to never judge or challenge another woman's testimony. It is carefully pointed out that

... in describing personal feelings and experiences, there is no right or wrong.

This rule of never challenging another woman's experience may be the hardest one to stick to, but it is also one of the most important. What a sister says may seem inaccurate to you, but it is true for her at that moment. If it is wrong, she must come to realize it herself, not be forced into a defensive position. Keep in mind that she may never have had a chance to talk about herself without being interrupted or challenged by a father, mother, husband or psychiatrist. Ask yourself why you feel compelled to challenge her. And remember, when it is your turn to speak, no one will challenge you. ("A Guide," 1972)

Finally, do not criticize. As King and Myers put it: Don't ever put another woman down. Her experience is true. Don't criticize sisters. Most of us have been worked over by experts. Criticizing only puts a woman on the defensive." (undated)

Essentially, these "do not's" aim at the same point -- that open communication and the feeling of sharing can be seriously harmed if one sister either openly criticizes, more subtly passes judgment, or gives advice which implies a judgment. (Sapho Collective, 1971, Women's Action Alliance, 1974)

The final norm is, of course, the obvious necessity for all members of the group to know that what is said in the group will be absolutely confidential. (King & Myers, undated, Sapho Collective, 1971, Women's Action Alliance, 1974) In order for trust to develop to the point that the group is a successful and functioning unit, all members must know that whatever they do or say will never go beyond the persons of that group.

These then are the structural and interaction norms that seem to be present in the vast majority of CR groups and that certainly dominate the literature of CR

B. Methods, Techniques and Topics:

Other areas of importance in CR literature are the various methods, techniques and topics used by CR groups in order to develop the atmosphere and growth desired by members. Whether or not any particular group uses any one of these methods or topics, is not important. Groups are highly individual and whatever suits the members is the best approach for that group to take. There are, however, some consistently suggested approaches that seem to work best for a majority of CR groups.

Usually there are two types of methods that a group may use, and at one time or another, most groups will use them both. Frequently games will be played by the members of the CR group - usually in the early stages of the life of the group while they are still getting to know one another. These games can either be physical or mental (verbal). Many of these games or exercises are taken from the wide variety of materials from the human potential movement and the encounter or sensitivity groups that are popular. Physical exercises may include warming up with modern dance exercises, Yoga, massage, blind walks or touching. Sometimes different types of drawing or painting exercises, either alone or in pairs, are used. (Pogrebin, 1973)

Many of the verbal exercises include such things as role reversals, where one member becomes another member and "plays" her role through a discussion. This technique allows one to see how others view them. Sometimes role playing is used to act out events in a family or work situation. Working on task projects in small groups or in pairs to see who is dominant or who controls the group is another way of getting at feelings, issues and conflicts.

The exercises, however, play a small part in the life of the typical CR group. The major activity is discussion -- discussion of the significant life experiences and feelings of the individuals involved. While some groups discuss whatever is on the mind of a member or members, most groups decide on specific topics for each meeting. Usually the topics center around such general issues as one's past, present and future life, the physical, emotional, the intellectual and the practical. The literature of CR abounds with suggested discussion topics and they number in hundreds. Some of the more common include: What are some of the things that got you interested

in the Women's Movement? Were you treated differently from brothers or friends who were boys? How were you introduced to womanhood? to sex? Who do you live with and how do you like it? Who do you usually confide in? How do you feel about being married? single? divorced? What have been the pressures - family and social - on you? Are women discriminated against? Did you ever consider having children a matter of choice? How do you feel about abortion? child care? Are there any recurring patterns in your relationships with men? How can we raise our daughters (and sons) to be liberated? What do we consider sexually attractive? Have you ever felt like a sex object? Have you ever been pressured into having a sexual relationship with a man? Have you ever lied about orgasm? How do you feel about your body? How did your religion affect your life as a woman? Were you taught to compete with other women for men? How do you feel about other women? How do you feel about rape? What do you do for a living? What keeps women separate from other women? Who are your heroines? How do you feel about aging? Could you defend yourself in a dangerous situation? What are you guilty about? What do you hate? How do you feel about housework? What jobs or tasks do you do that make you feel like a servant? How do you feel about love? Can you love other women? How do you feel about lesbianism? What is a good marriage? Men kill women, women rarely kill other women, why do you think this happens? How do you feel about money? power? What is femininity? What is masculinity? Are you competitive? What are your fantasies? Are you afraid of death? Do you feel you have control over your life? Are you ever lonely? when? How do you want to change your life? yourself?

This list is as endless as persons, life situations and feelings.
(Sapho Collective, 1971, "A Guide," 1972, Ladies Home Journal, 1970
Rush, 1973, King and Myers, undated, Women's Action Alliance, 1974.
"Consciousness-Raising," 1973, Warrior, 1971, Sarachild, 1969, Pogrebin,
1973, Booth, 1970)

While a discussion on any one of these topics could take from two to six hours in any group, no mere listing could hope to impart the range of expression and emotions involved as the stories come tumbling forth. Letty Cottin Pogrebin, an editor of Ms. and the author of How To Make It In a Man's World, presents a dramatic example of what happened to her CR group when they decided to talk about their childhood.

Many of us had wept at our recital of our own memoirs or during someone else's. None of the eight women present at the session had experienced what could remotely be called a happy childhood

Instead, there was the "ugly duckling" chopping away at her unruly bangs and frantically performing to attract her family's attention from a more beautiful, beloved sister.

And the desperately lonely child whose parents' greatest kindness was "benign neglect "

The little girl who remembered the comfort of a soft stuffed lamb and an empty California beach juxtaposed against tormented memories of an insane but magnetic father.

And the parade of brothers who got the praise we could rarely win - and didn't believe when we did

The fathers who weren't there or the fathers who we disappointed or the fathers we cajoled and manipulated.

And the mothers who failed us by their weakness, taught us how to suffer, and haunt us still with their unfulfilled dreams.

I think I will never forget the almost mystical feeling I had that each of us was reporting one chapter of the same distorted childhood. (1973)

Although all consciousness-raising sessions are not as serious, Ms. Pogrebin's example is close to the sense of universality that pervades much of the content of CR. It is ultimately the realization that through talking

about the pain of the past, a new and stronger human can be born and thereby a change in attitudes that are bound to influence a society is inevitable.

C. The Process of the CR Group:

With this background on the CR group, we can next turn our attention to the group process. In the life of any group there will be certain phases that it must go through, phases that will be determined by the nature of the group. In terms of CR groups, very little has been done in the way of studying the process. Essentially there have been two studies, each quite different from the other. These will be examined and then compared.

Only one functioning CR group has published an analysis of its own process. In September of 1968, after leaving New York Radical Women, Pam Allen joined a group in San Francisco. Out of the experiences of this group, called Sudsofloppen, she wrote Free Space A Perspective on the Small Group in Women's Liberation. Published in 1970, it is still the most complete analysis of group process in consciousness-raising. The chapter entitled "The Small Group Process" explains their purpose. It begins:

The group processes described in this chapter were discussed and identified by Sudsofloppen after we had been meeting for over a year. This was one of the first times that we turned our growing ability to analyze onto ourselves and our own activity. . . the processes may seem a little arbitrary and too structured for some of you but we are a group which believes that there is always a structure, the issue is to consciously choose one that will encourage our growth rather than just hope that it will happen. (Allen, 1970)

Essentially the group identified four individual processes which made up the over-all process. Each of the four is identified and explained. First was the process of "Opening Up" described:

This is a very individual need; the need for a woman to open up and talk about her feelings about herself and her life. In the beginning of a group experience opening up is a reaching out to find human contact with other women. Later it becomes a way to communicate to others about one's subjective feelings - about the group, about the women's movement, about one's life. (Allen, 1970)

Because of the many ways in which society alienates us from our feelings and since getting in touch with the realities of those feelings is so essential, this process of opening up is necessary for the life of any group. Recognizing that the early weeks of CR are the euphoric days of closeness, feelings of intimacy and trust building opening up becomes the vehicle which frees women so that they might eventually be able to discuss their deepest fears and problems. It is the means by which the frustrations and disappointments can be shared, brought to surface, and, perhaps most of all, listened to by a sympathetic and understanding group of others. The response to the individual problems is not so important as is the fact that someone is listening without passing judgment and without ridicule. "... someone listens and acknowledges the validity of another's view of her life. It is the beginnings of sisterhood, the feeling of unity with others, of no longer being alone." (Allen, 1970)

The second process described is that of "Sharing:"

There is another experience that can take place in the group which is similar to the first yet different, for the emphasis is on teaching one another through sharing experiences. Not only do we respond with recognition to someone's accounts, but we add from our own histories as well, building a collage of similar experiences from all women present. The intention here is to arrive at an understanding of the social conditions of women by pooling descriptions of the forms oppression has taken in each individual's life. Revealing these particulars may be very painful, but the reason for dredging up these problems is not only for the therapeutic value of opening up hidden areas. Through experiencing the common discussion comes the understanding that many of the situations described are not personal

at all, and are not based on individual inadequacies, but rather have a root in the social order. What we have found is that painful "personal" problems can be common to many of the women present. Thus attention can turn to finding the real causes of these problems rather than merely emphasizing one's own inadequacies (Allen, 1970)

Essentially, "sharing" becomes the means by which women can see the commonality of their experience and begin to realize that perhaps a solution rests in a common political answer. Through sharing, women can begin to look critically at a society which so narrowly defines the roles they should play and the types of humans they should become. It is here that the awareness of what is meant by "the personal is political" becomes a reality

At this point in the life of a group, a new process must emerge. It is not enough that women share and begin to understand the universality of their experience, ". . . they must understand the objective condition of women and the many forms that oppression takes in the lives of women (Allen, 1970). Thus the third stage is "Analyzing "

... the reasons for and the causes of the oppression of women. This analysis rises out of the questions which are posed by the basic raw data of the opening up and sharing periods. It is a new way of looking at women's condition, the development of concepts which attempt to define not only the why's and how's of our oppression but possible ways of fighting that oppression .. This period is important because it is the beginning of going beyond our personal experiences. (Allen, 1970)

Essentially this is the beginning of reading and study in order to develop a concrete theory of the state of womankind. It is the beginning of the necessity for conceptual thinking and the awakening of the realization that conceptual thinking is difficult for many of us because of the narrow confines of our lives to the private sphere. It is, however,

.. not in our interest to fit experiences into preconceived theory, especially one devised by men. This is only because we must suspect all male thinking as being male supremacist, but also because we must teach ourselves to think independently. Our thinking must grow out of our questions if it is to be internalized and if we are to have the tools to look objectively at new experience and analyze that correctly. Thus a period of analysis will come after each new experience and will add new thinking to our ever growing ideology. (Allen, 1970)

After the process of analysis of specific conditions and issues is completed, it becomes necessary to unify them into a complete theory or feminist way of looking at the world. The final process then is "Abstracting:"

A synthesis of the analyses is necessary before the decisions can be made as to priorities in problems and approach. For this to happen a certain distance must exist between us and our concerns. When we remove ourselves from immediate necessity, we are able to take the concepts and analysis we have developed and discuss abstract theory. We are able to look at the totality of the nature of our condition, utilizing the concepts we have formulated from the discussions of the many forms our oppression takes. Further, we begin to build (and to some extent, experience) a vision of our human potential. (Allen, 1970)

It is essential to remember that these are not processes which are defined and limited in time or space, but that each is continually occurring. A process is never completed but is forever ongoing. Also, it is essential to remember that analysis and abstraction must be grounded in feelings and experiences and as those feelings and experiences change with growth, so will the analysis and abstraction.

This then is the way one group analyzed its own process. Quite recently, a group of researchers analyzed the process of CR groups and they too discovered four stages in the life of the groups they studied. The research to which I refer is the article by James Chesebro, John Cragan

and Patricia McCullough, entitled "The Small Group Technique of the Radical Revolutionary: A Synthetic Study of Consciousness-Raising."
(1973)

There are several important differences between the two studies, however, which must be kept in mind: 1) one is an analysis by a group member of the group to which she belongs, the second uses the "participant observer" technique, and two other non-participants also assist in the analysis, 2) one is an effort done for personal edification and growth, the other a professional study; 3) the first study is done by looking back over the pattern of behavior for better than a year of meetings of the same persons, the second is a study of three separate groups, meeting only once each for a period of several hours (although all the participants in each of the groups had had prior experience with CR); 4) the first study was a form of remembering, the second had each session taped for study of a specific nature, 5) the first is a feminist CR group composed entirely of women, the second is a series of gay liberation groups which one assumes from the text to be composed of men (although this is not specifically stated in the paper), finally, the first is written in a very personal style, the second in a professional research style. Despite these differences, the conclusions concerning the processes of the groups seem remarkably similar.

Remembering the four stages discussed previously: opening up, sharing, analyzing and abstracting, the researchers on gay liberation consciousness-raising found the following four stages: 1) Self realization of a new identity, 2) Group identity through polarization, 3) New values for the groups, and, 4) Relating to other revolutionary groups. Let's take these one at

a time.

Self realization of a new identity is where the essential characteristic of the group is "... to establish "credentials" of the group members by seeking out the behavioral patterns and identity of each member." (Chesebro, et al., 1973) This stage seems very similar to the opening up process of talking about yourself, your life and your experiences. It is a stage where each individual reveals the necessary "facts" about themselves to help the group get acquainted. It is oriented toward each of the individuals and their personal situation, and it performs the essential function of developing solidarity, trust and a sense of "groupness."

The second stage is "Group identity through polarization " This is a process where " .. they began to build solidarity by securing a group consensus that the gay community was a distinct subculture of the larger society ..." (Chesebro, et al., 1973) In building a group consensus in order to arrive at a conclusion, there is certainly a process of sharing of experience. While the gay groups arrive at the conclusion that their community is a distinct subculture, the feminist group arrives at the conclusion that their personal situation is not personal at all but that they are part of a class that is also separate from the larger society. Also, the concept of polarization in the gay group implies much the same type of alienation that the feminists often express as they view the larger society. Thus the second stages have remarkably similar components.

The third stage is "New values for the groups." The "... general purpose of this stage was to free the gay world from heterosexual values and in the process to determine what new values should regulate the gay world." (Chesebro, et al., 1973) This is most certainly a process of

analysis. Just as the feminists were attempting to define the why's and how's of their oppression during the analyzing stage, so are the gay liberationists attempting to analyze the values of the society to which they do not belong and develop new values for the society to which they do belong. Just as the feminists, they are going beyond their personal experience and are attempting to understand the why's and how's of the life they have previously defined and shared.

The final stage is "Relating to other revolutionary groups." In this stage "... members sought to determine if gay people were oppressing other oppressed groups. From a larger movement perspective, this stage was apparently intended to ensure that there is 'constant, cultural revolution' ..." (Chesebro, et al., 1973) Here again is a process much like the feminist abstracting. The gay group has acquired a "certain distance" from their personal concerns and now they are concerned with the larger questions of the society of oppressed groups and their relationship to those groups. They are now at the stage of discussing, as were the women, more abstract theory and the "totality of the nature of their condition."

In conclusion, it is this author's opinion that these two papers, one a personal, subjective, continuing process and the other an impersonal, objective research project, have defined essentially the same process for the consciousness-raising group. Although this is not sufficient evidence to be conclusive, it certainly does show remarkably similar constituent parts and does give a clear conception of the stages in the life of a consciousness-raising group.

V. Consciousness-Raising: Its Spread and Use.

By the beginning of 1970, several factors relating to the growth,

development and status of CR became apparent. First, as the women's movement became less radical and more reformist in emphasis, participation became increasingly acceptable for vast numbers of career women, housewives and students. Second, it was generally understood that the best way to become involved in the women's movement was to first form or join a CR group and spend six months to a year going through that process. And so it was the CR became a widespread phenomenon and as such was studied, used, written about and discussed in increasingly diverse ways. An attempt to order this diversity of research and writing has resulted in the following five general categories: 1) CR as small group communication, 2) relationship of CR to encounter, 3) the relationship of CR to therapy, 4) criticisms of CR, and 5) the popularization of CR for the mass reading/viewing audience. A closer examination of each of these areas of research and/or writing will indicate the breadth of this material.

A. CR as Small Group Communication:

There is not a great deal of work which approaches CR as a small group phenomenon but what there is has basically come out of the academic field of speech communication. The usual format of these works has been the descriptive/analytic paper either written for classroom projects or for presentation at conventions. One of the first was Janice Sargent's paper "Small Group Communication and the Women's Movement: An Analysis of Consciousness-Raising Groups," which was read at the April, 1973 meeting of the Southern Speech Communication Association. In this paper she examines "... the origins, process and purpose of CR groups." (1973) After a discussion of the origins of CR groups, she approaches the issue of specific charac-

teristics or norms of the groups and then analyzes the processes used in discussions within the groups. By using the general concepts of small group research as the structure for her paper, Ms. Sargent is able to demonstrate that the CR group is a viable form of small group research.

Taking a somewhat different small-group approach is Linda S. Katz in an unpublished paper entitled "A Small Group Analysis of Consciousness-Raising Discussions." Keying in on just the interaction and dealing with the point of view common to CR, Ms. Katz summarized the essential feeling of a CR discussion thusly:

Among the common themes voiced in consciousness-raising are those familiar to the women's movement. Women, for the most part, have internalized our society's judgment of them, and have learned to value men more than other women. They have taken their identity from the man to whom they are attached, and view themselves as others do as "the doctor's wife," "Madelin's [sic] mother." Many women see the care of their homes and children as valueless work... (Katz, 1973)

From this point she goes on to explain that in a CR discussion each member begins to accept the common aspiration of the group as their own, and by the accomplishment of the group's goals each member develops interpersonal feelings which assist in the result of independence for each of the members. Here the interaction concepts of small group analysis are used as a structure for the paper. Both these papers can be viewed as initial attempts to deal with the CR group as a viable part of total small group studies. In that regard, they have been useful in establishing a framework for further research in CR as a small group process.

B. The Relationship of CR to Encounter

Almost any woman who has experienced both encounter and a women's CR group will tell you that the two are not the same. (Susan, 1970,

Driefus, 1973) It is this author's experience, as well as the experience detailed by others, that the most important difference, aside from the fact that no men are present in a woman's CR group, between encounter and CR centers around the issue of confrontation (Hartman, 1973)

To a large extent, the CR group is viewed as a personal support group first and strictly "growth" group secondarily. Women have mostly needed a safe and secure environment in which they could explore their lives and their needs. While certainly this type of exploration leads to a kind of growth, it is not the same as the sort that occurs when a person is asked to examine her behavior as in an encounter experience.

Giffin and Patton define confrontation in encounter in the following manner:

The essence of confrontation .. is that, in one way or another, a person sees himself in a way that is new or different. In laboratory training groups this new awareness is often brought about by a "reflection" of ourselves from others - feedback indicating their view of us. ... In our use of the term we are concerned with conflict within a person about his view of himself - new self-insight or self awareness that is in disagreement with important parts of his previous self-image. (1974)

Contrast this view of confrontation as new learning about the self, with the CR norm of never contradicting another woman concerning her views on herself or her world and with the assumption that what is true for her at that moment is true. The CR group thrust is in relating personal experience and then in generalizing from those experiences to find areas of commonality. While this can certainly be a form of new learning and insight -- the emphasis is on the common "political" experience of women and not on the gaining of new insight through confrontation provided by feedback.

One of the most interesting investigations of the issue of confrontation

in CR is provided by Nancy L. Hartman in her unpublished paper on a small feminist group. As a participant-observer in the group, Ms. Hartman describes the processes of the group as first moving through two phases - the "bitchgroup" phase and the problem solving phase - before it reached the phase where normative confrontation "... was seen as essential in order for the group to meet our needs." (1973) She continues to describe the reservations held by some group members concerning the nature of confrontation as only being a chance to "dump on someone." Also, a group member indicated a lack of trust in the group's ability to care for her as a person "... therefore, she could not trust us enough to deal on such a risky level." (1973)

Perhaps this point of view was well taken. One incident of confrontation was described where a woman was badly hurt and where the confrontation was equated with personal dislike and attack.

To avoid this situation, it is perhaps necessary that a group have a trained facilitator who can not only clarify the confrontation if it is misused, she/he can also ward off the personal attacks. Essentially it would seem that the lack of a facilitator in the CR group leaves it far more vulnerable to misuse of confrontation.

In reporting research on the leader's effect on the encounter group, Giffin and Patton point out that the "... most effective leaders are those who specialized in (1) caring and (2) interpreting interpersonal behavior." (1974) While it is possible for CR group members to show the caring, the untrained participants usually have no expertise at interpreting behavior for themselves.

In dealing with the issue of confrontation Gerald Egan discusses the

risk involved and points out the fact that "confrontation is usually in some way directed toward the defense mechanisms of the confrontee." (1970) He then expands on the problem of confrontation when he cites Douds' study (1967) where it was suggested that "... we fail to confront because we are afraid of the consequences for ourselves, for he who confronts opens himself to confrontation." (Egan, 1970)

It is probably an accurate evaluation made by CR group members that direct interpersonal confrontation is risky for them. In a group without an untrained facilitator the possibility of hurt and damage are great enough that the risk might not be worth the possible growth.

On the other hand, in the one recorded instance of an encounter group only for women, lead by three trained women psychologists and encounter group facilitators, the results of confrontation seem to be quite healthy. In their article "Encounter Groups for Women Only," Betty Meador, Evelyn Solomon and Maria Bowen discuss the kinds of learning and sharing that took place when they ran their groups which they describe as "... encounter groups as consciousness raising experience for women." (1972)

To a large extent their groups are parallel to traditional CR with three notable exceptions: 1) they have three leaders, 2) they take place over a weekend or last only one evening a week for eight weeks, and 3) they do not attempt the broader social analysis of relating the personal to the political as is the norm in traditional longer running CR groups. Undoubtedly, however, the most significant difference is the presence of the leaders.

After first commenting that only one member of any of their groups had been involved with a women's liberation organization, they say.

Yet almost without exception, these women saw the necessity of beginning to carve out a life style which suited them individually, rather than blindly following traditions in which they were raised. This theme was so prevalent that we began to see the groups primarily as an occasion for women to discover within themselves their individual road maps. The group members met the painful self-explorations of individual women with nonjudgmental support, caring and confronting feedback. (Meador, et al., 1972)

It would seem then that in this atmosphere, there was not the same risk involved in the confrontation through feedback. While an examination of one's behavior always involves some risk, certainly the security of knowing that there is a trained leader in the group eliminates most of the concern over the issue of whether or not an emotional and confrontive situation can be properly handled by someone. Therefore, it was possible for confrontation to take place in this situation, where in other traditional CR experiences the members were fearful of confrontation.

It is interesting to note that in the women's encounter experience the issues and topics of discussion are very parallel to those of the traditional CR group. Because the experience is shorter, essentially only the opening and sharing phases occur and there is more focus on immediate, personal needs, but the topics and issues of concern to these women are the same as those of concern to women participating in feminist CR.

C. Relation of CR to Therapy

Any review of the literature of consciousness-raising must address itself to the issue of what is the relationship between CR and therapy. Long a controversy among both feminists and mental-health professionals, this question is one that is yet to be resolved. At best, we can only present here a summary of the major issues and the positions that have been taken on these issues.

In one of his writings on the encounter group, Jack Gibb equated encounter with "therapy for normals" which focused primarily on the openness of the communication of a person. (1971) But just as practitioners of encounter do not consider it primarily a "therapeutic" function, women involved in consciousness-raising do not consider it therapy. The entire issue then becomes clouded when it is also admitted that there are therapeutic implications to either encounter or to CR.

Turning to the relationship of therapy to CR, Carol Hanisch expressed the feminist point of view clearly when she stated:

Therapy assumes that someone is sick and that there is a cure, e.g. a personal solution... [while through CR it is learned that] there are no personal solutions at this time. There is only collective action for a collective solution." (1970)

In other words it is the old "personal vs. political" debate only this time therapy is the personal solution and CR is the political solution. (Wyckoff, 1971, Zweig, 1971, Hanisch, 1970) A Redstockings Sister goes even further to charge that:

The field of psychology has always been used to substitute personal explanations of problems for political ones, and to disguise real material oppression as emotional disturbance. (1971)

Or, as Carol Hanisch expressed it "Therapy is adjustment to your bad personal alternative." (1970)

Even though feminists prefer the political solution of CR, Carol Hanisch points out that there are at least two aspects of CR that are therapeutic. The most important is that CR helps to get rid of self-blame by increasing understanding of the political situation and the second is that participants often feel like they are thinking for themselves for the first time - like "... their minds are growing muscles." (Hanisch, 1970)

The entire point is well summarized by Marilyn Zweig:

... here is where the main difference between a Women's Liberation Group and a therapy group begins: our primary goal is not to attempt to help individual women find individual solutions for the problems each has in her life as a woman. We have the fundamental conviction that only a change in the life conditions of all women can help bring about a solution for the troubles of individual women. (1971)

Basically then, feminists argue that therapy is a personal solution to a problem when what is needed for most women is a political solution to the general socialization and conditioning of women.

On a more personal level, individual women have expressed their feelings concerning the relationship and/or similarity of therapy to CR. While Barbara Susan states emphatically that they are not alike, -- "I've been involved in both and I can tell you they are very different." (1970), others such as Leah and Mary Jane find similarities:

Consciousness-raising is in some ways comparable to group therapy and to psychoanalysis. In all three relationships it is possible for women to break down barriers which keep us from self-knowledge, to get to the roots of our discontent, to free ourselves from self-destructive situations, be they our parents, our husbands, our lovers, our children, our roommates or our trapped selves. (1971)

After this drawing of parallels, they do go on, however, to decry any analysis for women based on Freudian principles as being harmful and hateful and they supported Dr. Phyllis Chesler when she "... spoke out vehemently against traditional therapy and analysis for women..." (1971) Others have also pointed to Freud as being one of the most harmful forces in the development of a strong self-concept for women. (Millet, 1970, A Redstockings Sister, 1971)

Realizing, of course, that most current therapy is not Freudian, the point still is emphatically made that women should stay away from therapists

and analysts who employ such principles.

One of the most discussed of issues relates to the therapeutic effects of CR on a woman's sense of self esteem and self worth.

In her highly personal account entitled "About my Consciousness-Raising," Barbara Susan makes the point that therapy increased her sense of self worth, bettered her self image and increased her confidence and although she attracted more male attention, the result of therapy

... had separated me from my sisters by calling them 'most women' and me 'special.' It had neglected to tell me that my newly acquired feeling of self-worth was only going to propel me headlong into another struggle because although I felt worthy, I was still a woman and very few people were going to recognize my worth.

While in Ms. Susan's case the self-worth had in her mind a negative effect, some mental health professionals have commented on the positive effects of the increase in such feelings. For example:

The appeal of women's liberation to a woman's sense of dignity and the possibility of enhanced self-esteem are very powerful attractants - the potential gain is often seen by many women as outweighing major risks. (Rice, et al., 1973)

Or again: CR Groups are where:

... thousands of women have had an opportunity to learn to support each other, to gain new feelings of self-respect and to speak about what they are thinking. [They are] women coming to see themselves as oppressed rather than sick. ... with an emphasis on sisterhood or promotion of solidarity among women and a heightening of personal self-esteem with therapeutic implications. (Eastman, 1973)

In summary, the issue of CR and its relationship to therapy has two important considerations. First, therapy is a vehicle for a personal solution to a personal problem, while CR advocates a political situation to the basic condition of women. Second, it is admitted that by participation in CR (and by implication in the larger women's movement), a woman

can gain a new sense of self-worth and self-esteem which can have personally valuable and "therapeutic" results. In any case, however, there are basic differences between CR and therapy which make them both alternatives for human growth and development.

D. Criticisms of CR:

While CR is frequently acknowledged to be a most powerful means of becoming involved in a personal form of liberation and self awareness, the major criticism of CR concerns the structure (or lack of structure) of the CR group which does not lend itself to the development and carrying out of political action, once consciousness is raised. This question is raised by Carol Williams Payne in her article "Consciousness Raising: A Dead End?"

We never resolved the question of what a women's liberation group was supposed to do. There was always a conflict between those who favored the personal, psychological approach and those who felt that a women's group should be building a bridge between the personal insight gained by being in a small group and political action with a larger body of women. ... I left the group because it did not change and I needed to relate to the women's movement in a different way. I felt that nothing could be accomplished by becoming more and more intimate with a small group ... It is pointless to develop the self-confidence to challenge assumptions about women's roles and an understanding of the way society channels women without then collectively doing something about these problems. There must be a way to retain the intimacy and sense of belonging that comes from being part of a small group and link it to a sense of purpose and relationship with other groups. (1971)

Essentially, Ms. Payne is expressing the frustration of not being able to use the CR group to form a more political, action oriented group. Eventually the basic problem does become one of the structure or lack of structure of the CR group and its resulting inability to cope with overt actions.

In her lengthy article on the women's movement, Jo Freeman says:

... this loose structure is flexible only within limits. The small group is an unstable base on which to build a politically effective movement. Rap groups tend to crumble when their members exhaust the virtues of consciousness-raising and cast about for something more concrete, but the problem is that few groups are willing to change their structure when they change their tasks. They have accepted the ideology of 'structurelessness' without realizing its limitations. (1974)

The most complete analysis of this issue is provided by Joreen in her article "The Tyranny of Structurelessness." After pin-pointing the problem as arising when the CR group has

... exhausted the virtues of consciousness-raising and decided they wanted to do something more specific. At this point they usually floundered because most groups were unwilling to change their structure when they changed their task. (1972)

From this base, she goes on to challenge the women's movement's concept of a "structureless" group and contends that there is no such thing as a structureless group -- there are only groups with informal rather than formal structure. She also argues that there is greater efficiency with the structured group when it comes to problem-solving. Most important is the necessity for getting things done, and the CR group is simply not structured to do that. While many women leave CR to join activist groups such as NOW, WEAL, FEW and WPC, frequently they are unprepared to handle the top-down power structures of those groups and, for a time at least, their efficiency in those groups is limited.

Joreen emphasizes the fact that since the nature of the women's movement is changing toward political action, "consciousness-raising as the main function of the women's liberation movement is becoming obsolete." (1971) Thus, it is increasingly necessary that women learn to function in action oriented organizations.

Finally she argues that principles of democratic structuring which do such things as 1) delegate authority, 2) require responsibility, 3) distribute authority, 4) rotate tasks, 5) allocate tasks along rational criteria, 6) diffuse information and 7) provide equal access to resources, can provide for a productive group atmosphere where responsibility is delegated but at the same time controlled by the group. In this way the several negative aspects of the "structurelessness" that has limited the political activity of the feminist movement can be overcome. (1971)

Essentially, the criticism directed toward consciousness-raising is directed at what it does not do, and it would be simple to answer these arguments by saying that the CR group was designed to raise consciousness, and that once that is accomplished the individual should go into other action oriented groups. In short, it is quite probable that the CR group is being criticized for not being an action group when it was never meant to be one in the first place. Perhaps this statement indicates that the CR group is doing what it was meant to do -- and nothing more.

E. The Popularization of CR.

It is generally possible to tell when a phenomenon, such as consciousness-raising, has finally become institutionalized in that news about it begins appearing with some regularity in such popular media as newspapers, traditional magazines, easy, introductory books, and finally, of course, on television. By 1974, all these forms of popularization and institutionalization had come to the consciousness-raising aspect of the women's movement.

The newspapers are usually the first to pick up on a "new item of interest and, as was mentioned earlier, the protest at the 1968 Miss America Pageant was the first big news coverage for the Women's Liberation Movement. While literally millions of words have been written about the women's movement since that time, the press was generally more concerned with the sensational aspects and did not much address itself to the CR group. One exception was an October 1972 article in the New York Times, "Long Island's Liberated Women," where the number of women participating in CR was noted, but there was no attempt to deal with what CR was or with what it was doing.

Another exception is an article of June 11, 1971, by Flora Lewis which was found in the Wichita Beacon. In "Women's Lib in the Parlor," she describes a dozen women participating in a New York City CR session: "One was especially pretty ... none were horrors, none were hippies. Most worked or had worked. About half were married or had been married. All had become city girls ..." Even more important than what these women were like was what they had to say to each other:

They spoke with an extraordinary combination of candor and shyness, bearing personal fears ... There had only been lost, though not lonely, people shedding their defenses for an evening and telling each other that it really is hard to find a place where an intelligent woman's aspirations and abilities and emotions fit comfortably in today's world, telling each other there is nothing peculiar about feeling put-down, nothing to panic about ... The quiet little meeting revealed what outwardly sophisticated women thought Women's Liberation really is about. It's a shame no men could hear, but the women couldn't have spoken so honestly in front of men. That's why they wished for liberation. (1971)

One interesting note about this article is the empathy of the author

toward the problems these women faced. While much of the early radicalism of the movement had in fact died by mid-1971, the public perception of the women's movement as being "radical" still persisted. This article, however, seemingly marks the beginning of an awareness of the change that women had made away from radicalism.

A second form of popularization, the light, humorous, introductory book, first appeared in 1972 in the form of Gabrielle Burton's I'm Running Away From Home but I'm Not Allowed to Cross the Street A Primer of Women's Liberation. [A second one, by Tish Sommers was published in 1973.]

Ms. Burton's book is dedicated to "... my sisters in the Sojourner Truth consciousness-raising group, who never once doubted I could do it." (1972) While the book deals with the entire spectrum of the women's movement, she goes into consciousness-raising in some depth:

Twenty women came to that first meeting. It was an intensely stimulating enjoyable evening. The hours flew by as we began to discover ourselves -- to grope toward common bonds. I had hoped it would be beneficial, I had never dreamed that it would be enjoyable. That night, I took my first small step toward switching my identity and allegiance to women. (Burton, 1972)

She expresses also, as so many women writers do -- the feeling that her CR group " ... is the only group of people I know in which it is possible to show all of one's human dimensions." (1972)

Basically, the book is exactly as its title suggests -- a primer -- an easily read introduction to feminism, and the section on CR is a basically accurate as well as enticing investigation of the subject.

By the time mid-1973 arrived, virtually every traditional magazine,

and especially women's magazines, had had numerous articles concerning the women's movement, but here again, few of them are centered around the issue of CR. When Susan Jacoby wrote the article, "What Do I Do For the Next 20 Years? Feminism in the \$12,000.00 a Year Family," it was a first in that it addressed what was happening to women who were over 40, had limited education and training, who were married to blue-collar, union workers, had on the average three children and had lived in East Flatbush, Brooklyn most of their lives. The issues that brought them into a CR group were clear:

... The feeling that society in general, and their husbands in particular, no longer viewed them as sexually interesting or even sexually functioning women, and the realization that they were "out of a job" in the same sense as a middle-aged man who is fired by his employer of 20 years. (1973)

The article tells the humorous and human tale of these women and the changes that took place in their lives over the next several months. It told of husbands threatened and quietly supportive, of sabotage and pride. It showed how women supporting each other can overcome 45 years of fear and go out to find a first job -- even if only as a file clerk, and of two women who enrolled in college -- one to become a teacher and the other a computer programmer. It told of one husband, a construction worker, who decided that if his wife could go back to school, so could he -- to become the engineer he had always wanted to be. It spoke of the courage it took for these women who had never discussed the subject of sex with their husbands, to at last face the issue with them and the surprise they expressed at the positive reaction from their husbands. It was even found that when some of the wives began working and took a portion of the financial pressures off their husbands, their sex lives improved considerably.

Toward the end, the group became more politically active and began the planning of a health information service for girls and women right in East Flatbush. As one woman expressed it: "To me, that's what Women's Lib is all about - progress. In small steps maybe, but still progress." (Jacoby, 1973)

Probably the great virtue that this type of article had was that it demonstrated that the women's movement was indeed affecting the lives of all women, not just the young, middle-class and college educated. It also demonstrated that "liberation" comes in many forms and many faces and that the changes wrought by the movement are going far deeper than is generally realized.

Another interesting popularization of CR was presented in McCall's Magazine in a regular monthly feature entitled "What's Wrong With My Marriage." This feature usually presents a case history of a failing marriage, then presents solutions and generally leaves the impression that all will be worked out. In this case the article dealt with the concern of many married women -- that being in a CR group is a type of divorce counseling, as Linda Wolfe, author of the article, expressed it:

There is an emphasis on change, rather than accommodation, so that a woman who complains of restrictions or humiliations in her life is urged not to surrender to these but to alter them. For married women, I suspected, this could easily lead to domestic conflict.

Of course, the answer is yes for some and no for others.

Initially, Ms. Wolfe paints a picture of suburban housewives "... devoted to helping one another remain married." Stories range from the CR group telling members to be less demanding to recommending that members live up the decisions they made earlier concerning housekeeping and child care.

In investigating the attitudes of suburban women who basically felt they had good marriages and who were fundamentally happy with their lives, the one sort of anxiety that was expressed was

... anxiety over marriage in general. What's happened, . . . is that people no longer seem to stay together ... The rules of attachment have changed. ... Actually [the] question of whether or not CR improves or weakens a marriage is irrelevant. What matters is that a woman's own view of herself improves, because marriage isn't always for life any more. (1974)

As the author then expresses her feeling.

I began to realize that it was no wonder that women, traditionally the sex that suffers most from divorce, should be joining and sticking with CR; it is one of the few ways they have of exploring how to feel complete as women first, as wives only secondary. (1974)

The first conclusion reached in the article is one that has been reached by feminists for a long time: "CR was having a divisive effect only on those women whose marriages were already in trouble."

The second conclusion is derived from the basic realities that women are facing today:

... that one out of three marriages will end in divorce, that the average woman will live seven years longer than her husband, that the average family has only two children, so that child care consumes less and less of a woman's energies. On some level all married women I had met in CR groups were coping with the possibility that they might one day have to be living independently, either through the departure of their children, through divorce or through widowhood. Consciousness-raising was simply women's way of preparing, investing, saving up against the possibility that they might one day have to make it on their own, an intangible life insurance against aloneness. (1974)

The final form of the popularization of CR was on television when NBC presented Jean Stapleton in a special entitled "Tell Me Where it Hurts " This show centers around a group of middle-aged housewives who begin "really talking" one evening after a "girl" party. When they decided to

to discuss further some of the issues that had surfaced, they too met with a variety of responses from husbands -- ranging from an absolute denial of permission to participate, to quiet forms of "well, if you want to" by the majority. The story then unfolds in a touching way that dealt with personal struggle and growth and the effect that these have on relationships. It shows many of the same things we have been discussing -- fear of loneliness, lack of communication with husbands, feeling unneeded with children grown, the desire to do something productive and useful, coupled with the fear of finding a job after 25 years of being at home. The story is of small steps leading to bigger steps and to a final personal kind of victory over or reconciliation with a situation. It is perhaps through the medium of TV that the message of what CR really is like will finally become clear to a vast majority of the population.

These then are the ways in which CR has been digested for popular consumption. The quality has been remarkably high and the accuracy of treatment has been exceptional. While it is true that the political action and the sensationalism of the women's movement has captured the lion's share of the media attention, examples such as these serve to demonstrate the potency of the quiet, small consciousness-raising group.

Finally, it can be said that consciousness-raising has come a long way [baby!] since those early meetings of women within the civil rights and new left movements. From those timid beginnings has developed a movement that will have to be reckoned with for the rest of time. It has simply gone too far and women have learned too much ever to be able to go back. While consciousness-raising is not the glamorous part of the movement, it is the rock bottom gut-level beginning. The personal awareness that must

come first, is found there. At this point it is appropriate to turn our attention to the methods to be used in our attempt to discover more about this phenomenon.

Chapter Three

Methodology of the Study

I. Introduction:

Remembering that the central research question of this study is to examine the question of what behavioral and attitudinal changes, if any, do women report as having been influenced by their participation in a consciousness-raising group, it was essential to find a methodology which would sample a representative group of former CR participants and then ask the sorts of questions that would provide concrete and relevant data. The methodology developed to accomplish this purpose is the subject of this chapter.

While Chapter One briefly touched on a methodology, this chapter will expand the following five areas 1) the sampling technique, 2) the rationale for the use of the mail survey questionnaire, 3) the development of the questionnaire including a justification of the questionnaire items, 4) the pilot study, and 5) the procedure of analysis to be used on the questionnaire.

II. Sampling Technique

A. The Greater Washington, D.C. Metropolitan Area.

The population for this study is drawn from the Greater Washington, D.C. Metropolitan Area, a large population center of one and one half

million people. This area covers Washington, D.C., the Maryland Counties of Montgomery and Prince George's, Fairfax, Loudoun, and Prince William Counties of Virginia; and the Virginia cities of Alexandria, Fairfax and Falls Church.

Encompassed in this geographic spread are regions which would be considered city, suburban and, in the outer fringes, rural. Also, the population tends to be mobile and so a good portion of the persons living in the D.C. area are from many different parts of the country.

Probably most important, however, in justifying the use of the D.C. area for this study is that it was one of the earliest centers of feminist activity and remains so today. As was mentioned in Chapter Two, the first feminist convention was held in Sandy Spring, Maryland in 1968, just a few miles from the heart of D.C.

Many of the earliest feminist groups were formed here and the National Organization for Women (NOW), the leader of feminist organizations, was founded in a D.C. hotel room in 1968. There are presently seven NOW chapters in the area as well as the NOW Legislative Office. Also, the national offices of Women's Equity Action League (WEAL) and Federally Employed Women (FEW) and such important feminist publications as Women Today and Spokeswoman are based in D.C.

Obviously the fact that feminism has become more and more political in terms of the issues with which it deals adds emphasis to the activity in the nation's capital. Also, the large numbers of women working for the Federal Government and for the businesses that government attracts, account for the support of equal employment concerns of women. The fact that every federal agency has a Federal Women's Program, based in EEO law, has also brought the employment situation of women to the forefront and has added support to and interest in women's issues. In short, the

the D.C. area is certainly one of the most vital and important in the variety and degree of feminist activity.

B. The Population of the Study.

At the same time these varieties of feminist activities were growing in the D.C. area, the consciousness-raising group was beginning. As early as 1969 small groups were forming in response to the growing movement and the Sandy Spring convention. Among the earliest organizers of CR groups were Peggy King and June Myers who became involved with NOW and began organizing through NOW contacts. To date there would not be much question but that thousands of women in the area have participated in some type of CR group.

NOW has been the most active organizer of CR groups. Each of the six chapters has an officer who is CR Coordinator and it is her responsibility to collect names of women wishing to participate (they do not have to be or become members of NOW) and when she has approximately 10 to 12 she gets them together and attends their first two or three meetings to help them get off to a good start. This is very likely the reason that a good number of CR participants either join or eventually become active in NOW.

Another organization that participates in CR organizing is WEAL. In 1970, Arvonne Frazier, past national president and wife of Minnesota Congressman, became interested in organizing an "intellectual sisterhood" a form of CR whereby a topic was presented for general discussion, a paper was read on the subject and then discussion was held. Since being active in a organization associated with "Women's Lib" was not an acceptable pastime for "political wives," the Nameless Sisterhood was born. These women gathered for a brown bag lunch once a month and discussed the topic while forming the friendships and support systems that would further the close network

of feminism which was fast growing in the city. In 1973 WEAL member Sue Tennebaum, formerly a Boston Redstocking, began forming evening CR groups in Maryland, D.C. and Virginia. To date there have been 3 noon and 3 evening groups operated by WEAL.

While it is possible that a large number of the participants in the study will be NOW or WEAL members, it is also true that many CR groups are formed on a less structured basis. A few friends will get together each bringing women they know are interested. They obtain a set of CR instructions, such as the Ms magazine article or the King and Myers mimeograph, and begin. At some point there is usually contact from one or more members of such a CR group with active feminists, or eventually, they themselves become more actively involved in the women's movement. It is this network of contacts that made this study possible. Ultimately then, the potential universe for this study is all the women in this area who have participated in CR.

C. The Sample

For purposes of this study, a list of names and addresses of women who had participated or were participating in CR, was drawn up by first contacting persons from every available organization that might be associated with CR. From that point the list was greatly expanded by contacting persons who knew others participating in CR. Because of this close network of feminist activity and by contacting many persons it was possible to draw up a list of 1,000 names of women who had had some form of CR experience. These women were considered an adequate number for the final population of this study.

In order to randomize the selection of the actual sample, each name and address was placed on a separate 3X5 inch card. The cards were then

alphabetized according to last name and beginning with number one, every other name was sent a questionnaire. On the 500 cards of the women who received a questionnaire, the questionnaire number and the date of the mailing were placed. The mailings were sent out in two groups, one on December 10, 1974, and one on December 16, 1974. As each questionnaire was returned, the date of the return was placed on the card and the questionnaire number was removed from the questionnaire. Of the total 500 questionnaires mailed, 4 were returned as undeliverable. In those cases, the next person on the alphabetical list was sent the questionnaire.

Since the original questionnaires were sent right before the holiday season, a longer time was allowed before a follow up letter was sent. By January 26, 1975, 161 questionnaires had been returned. On February 3, 1975, a letter and another copy of the questionnaire was sent to those persons who had not as yet responded. A deadline of February 10, 1975 was put on the letter. Ultimately 218 questionnaires were returned, but only 215, or 43 percent, were in time to be used for the study.

III. Methodology of the Study

A. The Survey Questionnaire

In attempting to find an appropriate methodology for this study, both the interview and the mail survey questionnaire were analyzed. It quickly became apparent that the interview technique had some problems which will be discussed later. On the other hand, there was some good material which justified the use of the survey questionnaire as a means of collecting accurate and useful information.

Survey research has been defined as "... a term ... [which] connotes a project to get information from a sample of people by use of a questionnaire." (Tull & Albaum, 1973) This was certainly an accurate assessment of what was

wanted in this study. They further pointed out that "... Survey research projects are always concerned with the behavior of the members of the population of interest ... [and that it is] for the purpose of understanding ... behavior... that the investigation is being made." (1973) Herman Hyman in his writings on Survey Design and Analysis, described the "... use of surveys for the sheer description of some phenomenon." (1955) Certainly this investigation is concerned with describing and understanding the attitudes and behaviors that women report as having been influenced by CR group participation. Because of the self-report nature of the study, prediction of behavior cannot be a factor.

One other element that helped to build the case for the survey questionnaire as being a suitable methodology for this study was the successful usage of it by Carol Tavris, an associate editor of Psychology Today, who was working toward a Ph.D. in Sociology at the University of Michigan. In February, 1971, she had a 109 item multiple choice questionnaire which dealt with issues of women's liberation and differences in attitude and belief of men and women who did and did not support the movement. The questionnaire was printed in Psychology Today and the respondents were some 20,000 persons who chose to fill it out and send it back. A year later, in March, 1972, she reported on the results of that survey. While she was dealing with a broader population, it was also a less controlled population. Although she was evaluating more encompassing issues, the basic analysis and types of correlations are similar to the ones utilized by this study. The success of her study in terms of the information gained added support to the use of the survey questionnaire as a viable method for this study.

B. Limitations and Advantages of the Survey Questionnaire:

Since both previous research and research design literature pointed to

the survey questionnaire as a useful methodology for this study, (Glock, 1967, Cronbach, 1960, Kleinmuntz, 1967) a further examination into the specific advantages and limitations seemed appropriate in terms of the final interpretation of the data.

The most complete analysis of mail survey research was done by Paul L. Erdos in his book Professional Mail Surveys (1970). In Chapter Two, he discusses limitations and advantages to the mail survey questionnaire which can be examined in light of this study

In looking first at the limitations, it could be concluded that while several of the objections were not applicable to this study, three limitations are relevant -- although none seem insurmountable.

They are the following:

1. "No mailing list is available." It is true that no single mailing list was available which included all those women who had participated in CR. There were, however, a number of lists available from the various CR Coordinators of NOW and WEAL. There was also, as was explained earlier, this close network of feminist activity which made it possible to learn of different CR groups just by contacting individuals who could then put you in touch with others. In short, while no one mailing list was initially available, the gathering of such a list was not an impossible task.

2. "The mailing list is incomplete." There is no question but that many women who would be part of the total universe available were not included on the list that was developed. It is felt, however, that the list is complete enough, the numbers large enough and the area wide enough to get a good random sampling of those available.

3. "The available list is biased." To some extent this is probably true of the list developed for this study. For the most part the bias will be toward women affiliated with either NOW or WEAL or biased toward women

who live in what is basically an affluent, middle-and upper-middle-class areas of the country and toward women who have become more actively acquainted in feminist circles in the city. The final tabulation of such factors as group membership and average annual income level will, however, give us a clearer picture of whether or not this bias is serious.

Essentially, the limitations of this study all have to do with the mailing list -- its development, its completeness and its possible bias. Keeping this in mind, it still seems likely that valuable information which will confirm or deny what has been theorized about CR, or knowledge which will add to our understanding about the possible influences of CR, can be gained by the use of the mail survey questionnaire.

Now turning to the major advantages of mail surveys, several factors seem pertinent to this study.

1. "Wider distribution." While it is possible that the entire D.C. area could have been covered by auto and an individual, it would not have been at all practical in light of time constraints, gas shortages and scheduling problems. It is safe to say that the questionnaire was more widely distributed by mail.

2. "Less distribution bias in connection with the neighborhood." While this would not be a major advantage, it is quite possible that an interviewer would be more comfortable working in neighborhoods that were familiar or that were close. The mail survey avoids this problem.

3. "Less distribution bias in connection with the type of family." This is connected with the above point and assures also that the extremes of the economic spectrum are represented.

4. "Less distribution bias in connection with the individual." The mail survey will usually eventually reach an individual whether they have

moved, are out of town or are otherwise unavailable.

5. "No interviewer bias." There is a great deal of study regarding all the factors about the interviewer that may influence an answer. The mail survey, to some extent, reduces this as a problem.

6. "Better chance of thoughtful reply." A questionnaire is answered at a person's leisure and there is more chance to give a really considered reply than if the question had to be answered immediately.

7. "Better chance of a truthful reply." On questions of a somewhat personal nature, a respondent is more likely to be truthful on an anonymous questionnaire than if an interviewer is present.

8. "Time saving " About 90 percent of the replies from a mail survey will come within two weeks after the original mailing. For this study, in order to have obtained 215 interviews, it would have taken several months. As it was, the survey was completed in about two months.

9. "Centralized control." A mailing is done from one place with consistent controls over all phases of the operation.

10. "Cost-saving resulting in more flexibility per dollar spent." There is no question but that the mail survey was less costly in terms of dollars spent per respondent than would have been an interviewer. (Erdos, 1970)

In summary, the conclusion is reasonable that the mail survey questionnaire would cover more persons and territory with more accuracy and in less time. Therefore, it was the methodology selected.

IV. The Inventory of Raised Consciousness (IRC).

The initial consideration in constructing the questionnaire was that

it must provide the data necessary for the purposes of the study. From the purposes presented in Chapter One, it is possible to list all the questions which might be appropriate in providing adequate information in order that each purpose might be answered, explained or analyzed. For example, one purpose is to examine the personal and demographic characteristics of women who participate in CR. In order to answer this question, a list of all such information believed to be relevant was drawn up. Then each item was analyzed for its relevancy both to the purposes of the study and to whether or not it is an issue dealt with by the literature. At this point a decision was made based on the criteria of 1) relevancy to the purpose, 2) relevancy to the literature on CR and 3) new information which might be of value to CR research. This method was applied to all the sections of the questionnaire except those which directly related to changes in behavior.

In attempting to select items of behavior and attitude change, it was necessary to be specific, concrete and brief. The format was established by checking "yes" if the behavior or attitude had occurred and then checking whether or not that behavior had or had not been influenced by participation in CR. At that point a list was made of all the types of behavior and attitude changes dealt with in the literature, that had occurred to me or to other women known to me or that would seem possible considering the types of issues addressed by CR groups.

These items were then clustered into logical groupings and each was analyzed again for its relevance. After the initial form of the questionnaire was drawn up, it was tested on five women who made comments as to both form and content. Revisions were made and the second form was then developed. (See Appendices B and C)

The second form was submitted to the dissertation reading committee and a meeting was held to discuss the questionnaire and the study. During the meeting several important suggestions for additions to the questionnaire were made, namely, the section on ways in which a CR group might influence a participant, the degree of influence items after each of Sections VI through XIV, and a better balance in terms of possible direction of change particularly in the section dealing with personal appearance.

After these basic changes were made, the questionnaire was again tested on a group of nine women who agreed to be a part of an informal Pilot Study.

It was important to know if these women interpreted the questions in the same manner as that of the researcher. While interpretation did not prove to be a problem and the women found the questionnaire clear and easy to answer, they did point out some areas where this study could lend confusion. For example, while the questionnaire does provide some data on attitudes, it mostly deals with concrete behaviors. Even though, they pointed out, it is quite possible that one's attitude toward lesbianism or sharing child care might have changed, it does not mean that one had actually become a lesbian or had begun sharing child care. The way the questions are structured, however, it is impossible to learn of some possible specific attitude changes.

It is also pointed out that for women who were actively participating in the women's movement or who were in some kind of therapy as well as in a CR group, it would be difficult to tell from where the major influence had come. In this case the woman just had to make an educated guess as to the major source of influence.

While this informal pilot study did point out some interpretative

problems, they were not judged to be sufficient for any further alterations of the questionnaire form and so the third draft became the final form.

B. Justification of the Questionnaire Items and Sections:

The Inventory of Raised Consciousness is composed of fourteen sections, each of which includes a number of items of data. Sections I through V deal with basic background and facts needed to understand the individual respondent, while Sections VI through XIV are the items of self-reported behavioral and attitudinal changes.

Section I asks about the personal background of the respondent and deals with most of the basic demographic questions concerning age, marital status, income, education, occupation, etc. It also addressed questions which relate to some of the assumptions frequently made by persons who do not understand feminism such as: degree of religious involvement, relationship with parents, therapy and psychoanalysis and the type of personal living arrangement. These questions relate to such issues as the role of women as characterized by most religious dogma, the assumption that feminists are often confused in general or that many of them live in such unorthodox arrangements as communes. Hopefully this will give us a clearer picture of the individuals actually involved in CR in the D.C. area.

Section II asks the respondent to rank their reasons for joining a CR group from a list of fifteen possible reasons. This list was drawn up after examining comments made by women who had been participants or who had written about their CR group experience. Some of the statements were constructed from observations made by CR Coordinators who frequently asked

the question "Why are you here?" when they were beginning a new group. Basically covered are the three general reasons for CR participation: interest in the women's movement, problems with relationships and the need for interaction and support. (See Chapter One, pp. 8-9)

Section III examines the CR group experience of the respondent. Here again the information requested is basically factual. Realizing that many women have participated in more than one group, some of the questions ask that the respondent answer in light of her most significant CR group experience.

Many of the questions in this section are designed to affirm or deny the general CR instructions and suggestions provided by the experts relating to the norms of CR groups. Questions concerning such things as length and frequency of meetings and numbers and homogeneity of participants can then be tested against the recommendations. Also, several questions relate to the interaction norms of personality conflicts, confrontation, topic selection, etc. In short, this section was designed to test many of the norms discussed in Chapter Two. (See Chapter Two pp. 42-49)

Section IV asks basic questions about whether or not the woman has become active in the women's movement in general, the feminist organizations she might have joined, the issues that concern her, the political activity she engages in and the feminist books and publications she has read or is reading. Essentially these questions will test the often expressed assumption that women in CR groups are always activists, spending their time in political or organizational involvement. Also it will provide new data on how much women in CR groups tend to educate themselves on women's issues.

Section V was the one added after meeting with the dissertation reading committee. Essentially it was felt that a way was needed to measure the degree of pressure to change attitudes and behavior exerted by the CR group and felt by the participant. Also, it was decided that it would be helpful to know the form or types of influence that a CR group does exert. Thus a list was made of all possible types of influence, was then edited and the respondent asked to rank order those that apply to her group and to add others of her own.

Sections VI through XIV are the ones that deal with specific types of behavioral and attitudinal changes. These were developed by going through the basic CR literature examined in Chapter Two and by listing all the types of changes reported as having occurred to women. In addition to this list organizers of CR groups were questioned concerning the types of changes they had observed women undergoing. Essentially then, both literature and the personal experiences of many women combined to draw up the initial list.

After the list of specific items was developed, the process of clustering them into logical groupings occurred. It was this process of clustering that resulted in the nine sections of the final questionnaire.

After the sections were defined, each item was analyzed for repetition overlapping, clarity, brevity and balance (i.e. it would not be balanced to have items which only say "separate from spouse/partner" or "become less concerned with hair, dress, jewelry, etc." unless there were also the corollary items of "reunite with spouse/partner" or "become more concerned with hair, dress, jewelry, etc.") After this point the IRC was basically complete. Let us now examine each of these sections individually.

Section VI is concerned with marital and living arrangements and tests some of the assumptions that women make life changes -- usually separation or divorce -- after being in a CR group. It also attempts to see if basic attitudes toward the marital or partnership relationship were changed. (Bernard, 1972, Krantzler, 1974, Oneil, 1973)

Section VII deals with jobs, occupations and schooling and is designed to see what kinds of career development processes or commitments might have been influenced by the CR group. Also it is concerned with the volunteer work of the woman. (Bird, 1968 and 1973)

Section VIII is directed toward finding out what steps, if any, the woman has taken in making herself financially independent and self-sufficient, or if she has begun contributing financially to her family. (Bird, 1968, 1973, Steinem, 1971)

Section IX deals with the issues of children, pregnancy, abortion, adoption and birth control. Since one of the crucial issues of women in the feminist movement is that of family responsibility, these questions are designed to see if any basic decisions have been made by women concerning whether or not they want children and if so, how many, when, etc. (Peck, 1972)

Section X asks questions about the location of the family residence and relates to the problem experienced by many career women whose husbands are transferred to a new location. When there are two careers in a family, the kinds of decisions made and how those decisions are reached is crucial to the couple and to the two careers involved.

Section XI confronts what for some couples is the most explosive issue of the feminist movement -- how shall the labor of a household be divided

among members of the household. Based on the assumption that women always were responsible for the household chores, the situation became a problem as more and more women entered the labor market and then discovered that they were holding down two full time jobs -- one all day and then another in the evenings doing all the housework, child care, etc. The obvious disparity of this situation caused many women to rethink the entire assumption of whether or not certain work was in fact "women's work" only, or whether it was "family work." This section deals with information about the rethinking of those assumptions. (Mainardi, 1970)

Section XII asks about the woman's possible change relative to her own personal appearance. Early stereotypes of the women involved in the movement were that they were basically ugly and that they did none of the usual "Glamour magazine" things to fix themselves up. Early "women's libbers" were pictured with no makeup, unkempt hair, not shaving and, of course, the all time favorite, braless. As a corollary to these assumptions, it was frequently believed that movement women were more involved with good health and exercise. The questions, are designed to test these basic assumptions. (Stannard, 1971)

Section XIII relates to the way the respondent feels about herself as a person and to the way she has come to feel about other women. Feminists have long understood the reasons why a male-dominated society was interested in keeping women separate from one another and in the fostering of group self-hate. To be divided certainly is to be easily conquered and to feel contempt for your group is to not respect yourself. Consistently, however, throughout the literature is the theme of increasing self-love that comes

from and with growing group love. As women have learned to love and care for other women, so they have learned to love and care for themselves. Resulting from this is a new sense of self-worth, self-confidence, self-esteem and from that a greater sense of freedom either to be alone or with other women. It is this theme that is analyzed by this section. (See Chapter One, pp. 8-9)

The final section investigates the change, if any, in the relationship women in CR have experienced with men. One of the burning issues of the movement has been the question of whether feminists could either establish or maintain a relationship with a man. At the same time, with the growing economic independence of women, one of the basic reasons for the female's previous subservience to men is eliminated. Essentially it is important to know if the woman's growing independence or her participation in CR, has in any basic way altered her relationships to men. (Greer, 1970)

These then are the fourteen sections of the questionnaire. They cover the issues of change and alteration of life-style. From the responses to this data we should be able to fulfill all of the purposes discussed in Chapter One.

V. Procedures of Analysis:

A. Coding of the Questionnaire:

Upon receipt of the returned questionnaires, the process of coding began. Essentially the procedures outlined in Chapters 18 and 19 of Erdos (1970) are the basis for the type of coding done.

Since the data from the questionnaire was going to be placed on punch cards for the computer run, the coding was designed to allow for quick

punching of the cards. Essentially coding is a process of assigning numerical designation to each of the possible answers on the questionnaire and a numerical code to the respondent. Each respondent was assigned a three digit code beginning with 001 and going to 215. Then each possible answer to each question was assigned a number which then correlates to the space to be punched on the punch card. For example, in question number two, the age group 15-20 is assigned a number 1, 21-25 is assigned a number 2, 26-30 is assigned a number 3 and so on until over 45 which is assigned a 7. Each of these numbers is then coded on a separate column which relates to the question number. All of this coding is done on a special form provided by the Computation Center at the University of Kansas.

B. The Computer Test:

After the keypunching of the information onto punch cards, a computer run of basic correlations will be made. Essentially the information desired is the kind of attitudinal and behavioral change as it relates to the different factors investigated by the questionnaire. In some cases information will be tabulated or explained (such as books read or issues discussed) but basically the correlations will give us information as to what types of women seem to be reporting what kinds of behavioral and attitudinal changes from participation in their consciousness-raising groups.

This then is the basic procedure and the methodology followed by this study. Hopefully it will provide results that will add to our understanding of the women who participate in consciousness-raising and in the alterations they perceive themselves to have resulted from that particular type of group interaction.

Chapter Four

Inventory of Raised Consciousness. The Results

In this chapter the results of the Inventory of Raised Consciousness (IRC) are presented. Based on the belief and assumption that the ultimate goal of the women's movement is behavioral change, this study attempts to assess in more concrete terms whether or not this is true.

Although consciousness-raising in the women's movement has an eight year history, no attempt has yet been made to systematically explore the ways in which the lives of the participants are changing and the ways in which their relationships with others are changing. The results herein reported should provide us with the first steps toward a clearer understanding of this small group phenomenon.

A total of 215 (43 percent) IRC questionnaires were returned. All were filled out completely and were usable for this study. In this chapter we will examine that data -- first, section by section of the Inventory, and then through correlations between categories.

I. Personal Background:

The first section of the IRC concerned personal background of the respondent and basic demographic material. All respondents were women since this study relates only to women's CR.

A. The age groupings of the 215 respondents were as follows:

<u>Age</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
15-20	2	0.9
21-25	31	14.4
26-30	50	23.3
31-35	49	22.8
36-40	45	20.9
41-45	21	9.8
Over 45	17	7.9

Of particular interest is the fact that 67 percent of the CR participants are between the ages of 26 and 40. Hardly can the women's movement be called a "young" women's movement any longer. The oldest respondent was 67 years old when she began in CR.

B. In terms of marital status it was found that:

<u>Status</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Single	42	19.5
Married	105	48.8
Separated	12	5.6
Divorced	34	15.8
Remarried	22	10.2

These figures also dispute some of the myths about feminists. About 20 percent of the total U.S. female population is single and if you consider that all those separated, divorced and remarried women have been through serious marital problems, we find that the 31.6 percent of the CR participants is very close to present U.S. statistics which tell us that one out of every three (or 33%) of U.S. marriages will end in divorce. Thus the marital status of this population seems remarkably average.

C. Of the 173 who had been married it was found that:

- 136 (78.6%) had been married once
- 33 (19.1%) had been married twice
- 2 (1.1%) had been married three times
- 2 (1.1%) had been married four times

D. In terms of living arrangement the following was found:

- 56 (26.5%) live alone
- 68 (31.6%) live with an adult male
- 5 (2.3%) live with adult males
- 2 (0.9%) live with an adult female
- 4 (1.9%) live with adult females
- 13 (6.0%) live with a child
- 66 (30.7%) live with children
- 51 (23.7%) live with an adult male and children
- 7 (3.3%) live with an adult male and a child
- 1 (0.5%) lives with adult males and adult females

These percentages seem likely to be close to the U.S. norm for living arrangements.

E. It was essential to categorize occupations in order to cluster them. Using a system like that of Tavaris (1972) the following was found:

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Professional, MD, Ph.D, LLB	22	10.2
Nurse, teacher, social worker, counselor, etc	44	20.5
Other professional: clergy, artist, etc.	18	8.4
Manager, administrator	39	18.1
Secretary, clerical, sales	26	12.1

Technician, crafts	4	1.9
Housewife	32	14.9
Graduate student	5	2.3
Student	24	11.2
Retired, unemployed, other	1	0.5

Obviously this sample shows a bias toward women in the labor force. On a national average, 40 percent of all women work, although over 50 percent of all women between the ages of 18 and 65 work. In this study 71.1 percent of the respondents work and another 13.5 percent are in school. The one retired woman mentioned earlier was a professional. Of this population 40.9 percent are women who are single, divorced or separated and must then usually work as heads of households. Thus, there is a weighting in this study toward employed women, and the women who choose to be employed is about 20 percent above the national average.

F. Average annual family income breaks out in this manner:

<u>Income in the Thousands</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
0-5	13	6.1
6-10	20	9.3
11-15	36	16.7
16-20	39	18.1
21-30	60	27.9
31-40	33	15.3
41-50	6	2.8
Over	8	3.7

In this study, 46.0 percent of the families earn between \$16,000 and \$30,000 per year -- about average and necessary for this part of the country. While 21.8 percent of the families live comfortably at \$31,000

and above, 32.1 percent earn less than \$15,000.

G. In turning to figures concerning just the women themselves, the income picture is different.

<u>Income in Thousands</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
NONE	44	20.5
0-3	31	14.4
4-7	27	12.6
8-11	50	23.3
12-15	26	12.1
16-20	18	8.4
21-25	15	7.0
26-30	1	0.5
31-Over	3	1.4

Certainly most of the women in the very low income end are either housewives or women with child support or alimony as assistance. However, almost one-half or 48 percent of all of the women who work have incomes between \$4,000 and \$15,000 per year, close to the national average for women.

H. For many feminists the question of religious preference and strength of religious belief is a matter for speculation. Religious preference proved to be:

<u>Religion</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Catholic	15	7.0
Jewish	43	20.0
Protestant	51	23.7
Unitarian	24	11.2
None	74	34.4
Other	8	3.7

Of course, the bias is toward preferring no organized religion at all, and the participation of women of the Jewish faith far exceeds their number in the population. On the other hand, when asked to rank degree of religious feeling on a scale of 1 to 5 the following results occurred.

<u>Degree</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Very religious	64	29.8
Religious	42	19.5
Average	81	37.7
Slightly non-religious	21	9.8
Anti-religion	7	3.3

So while 34 percent are involved in no religion only 13.1 percent believe they are below average in degree of religious conviction.

I. It has been questioned if feminists were following the trend toward smaller families or toward no children at all. These respondents proved to have fewer children than the average. While only 42 respondents were single, 93 had no children. The figures are as follows:

<u>Number of Children</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
0	93	43.3
1	24	11.2
2	60	27.9
3	21	9.8
4	10	4.7
5	5	2.3
6	1	0.5
7	0	0.0
8	1	0.5

Overall, 82.4 percent of these women have none, one or two children. Also as was pointed out earlier 84.7 percent of these women are over 26 years of age, the age at which the "average" American woman has her last child. This coupled with the high rate of participation in the labor force indicates that these are not typical of the statistical norms of American women.

J. Women in this study are better educated than the general public.

<u>Schooling Completed</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Elementary	3	1.4
High School	14	6.5
Some College	59	27.4
Bachelor Degree	48	22.3
Graduate Work	91	42.3

Considering that 64.6 percent of these women have at least a B.A. degree is certainly above general population figures.

In asking what was their highest attained degree, the following were the results:

<u>Degree</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
None	3	1.4
H.S.	51	23.7
A.A. or R.N.	21	9.8
B.A. or B.S.	77	35.8
M.A.	48	22.3
Ph.D. or J.D.	15	7.0

Here again, these women are far above the average in educational attainment.

K. In order to examine the question of the numbers, kinds and length of analysis or therapy the following was asked.

Have you ever been in therapy or psychoanalysis?

Yes	101	47.0
No	114	53.0

If yes, was it

Group	50	49.5
Private	48	47.5
Both	3	2.9

How long were you in therapy:

1-6 months	24	11.2
7-12 months	15	7.0
1-2 years	31	14.4
2-3 years	9	4.2
3-4 years	13	6.0
Over 4 years	9	4.2

Almost half of these women have had some type of formal therapy or psychoanalysis, about half group and half private, and a few tried both. Of the 47 percent who have been in therapy 32.6 percent have been in for less than two years and 14.8 for longer than two years. It can certainly be concluded that a larger than normal proportion of these women have in some way felt problems of adjustment severe enough to warrant the need of outside help. A further consideration here may be that well educated persons seem to be more likely to seek help with personal problems. Thus there may be a relationship between the high educational level of these respondents and the high level of participation in therapy.

L. One very interesting outcome of this study is the analysis of answers concerning relationships to parents. Each respondent was asked

to characterize her relationship with her mother and father on a one to five scale ranging from very good to very bad.

<u>Mother Relationship</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Very Good	22	10.2
Good	20	9.3
Average	54	25.1
Below Average	63	29.3
Very Bad	56	26.0
<u>Father Relationship</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Very Good	25	11.6
Good	37	17.2
Average	57	26.5
Below Average	47	21.9
Very Bad	49	22.8

It is of interest to note that 55.3 percent had relationships with their mothers characterized as below average to bad and 44.7 percent had the same relationship with their fathers. If taken from average and below, over 80 percent had such relationships with their mothers and over 71 percent with their fathers. This leads to speculation about the high frequency rate of women in therapy and analysis and also perhaps provides some insight into why these women are motivated to participate in CR.

M. In terms of their family sibling experience, we wanted to know numbers of brothers and sisters and rank in family.

<u>Number of Sisters</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
0	69	32.1
1	93	43.3
2	36	16.7

3	13	6.0
4	2	0.9
5	1	0.5
6	1	0.5
<u>Number of Brothers</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
0	91	42.3
1	75	34.9
2	36	16.7
3	8	3.7
4	5	2.3
<u>Rank in Family</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Oldest	101	47.0
Middle	47	21.9
Youngest	49	22.8
Only	18	8.4

A NOW CR Coordinator once remarked that it seemed to her as if a large number of women in the groups she started had no brothers -- and 42.3 percent seems high. Perhaps of even more interest is that 47 percent of these women are the oldest children in their families.

This then is the basic demographic data concerning this group of participants while they fit general population data concerning marital status and general living conditions, they are better educated, more inclined to be in the labor force, have fewer children, are more affluent and are inclined toward religious conviction. They also have a higher rate of therapy participation, have generally negative relationships with parents and are frequently the oldest child in their family. With this background information, let us look next at the reasons given for joining a CR group.

II. Reasons for Joining a CR Group:

The questionnaire gave a list of fifteen reasons for joining a CR group. Respondents were asked to rank those reasons that applied to them giving the most important a 1, the second most important a 2, etc. They were to leave blank those that did not apply to them. A mean was then struck for each answer. The reasons and the number of 0, 1, 2, and 3 rankings and the means are as follows:

	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>Mean</u>
1. I was curious about consciousness-raising.	73	15	30	33	2.363
2. I was interested in the women's movement.	63	29	39	29	2.274
3. I wanted a way to get involved in the women's movement.	92	29	29	22	1.912
4. I wanted to talk about myself and my life.	126	5	12	17	1.893
5. I thought it might be a place where I could work through some of my personal problems.	124	8	14	19	1.716
6. I wanted to meet new people and make new friends.	94	36	17	16	1.702
7. I wanted and needed emotional support.	113	24	27	16	1.498
8. I felt it was time for me to do something about myself.	148	11	5	11	1.256
9. My life was at a turning point.	125	36	11	14	1.135
10. I was having problems with my relationship/s with a man/men.	171	3	2	4	1.070
11. A person I trusted told me I would like CR.	146	16	16	11	1.033
12. I really didn't know why I wanted to join, I just knew that it was important that I do it.	188	4	2	7	0.488

13. I wanted to leave my husband/ boyfriend and I thought this might give me the courage.	195	0	6	2	0.395
14. A group was being formed in my neighborhood.	196	0	3	4	0.391
15. Now that my children are gone, I needed something to do with my life.	211	0	0	2	0.093

Essentially this confirms what feminists have felt for a long time -- that women enter CR because they have heard of it and are curious about it, because they are interested in the women's movement and need to know more and because they want a way to get involved and this is certainly the safest and surest. Next, of course, come the reasons of talking about themselves, their lives and problems and developing the friendship systems that lead to feminist support and can lead to active participation. In short, this information is basically what feminists have believed for many years. It is also interesting to note that statements 6 and 9 received the greatest number of "1" votes.

III. Your Consciousness-Raising Group Experience:

This section is designed to find out some basic data concerning the CR group experience of these women, such as:

1. Have you participated in more than one group?		
Yes	63	29.3%
No	152	70.7%
2. If yes, how many?		
2 groups	47	21.9%
3 groups	14	6.5%
4 groups	2	0.9%

3. Are you currently in a group:

Yes	100	46.5%
No	115	53.5%

4. If yes, how long have you been participating?

1-6 months	40	18.6%
7-12 months	27	12.6%
1-2 years	24	11.2%
2-3 years	4	1.9%
3-4 years	3	1.4%
4-5 years	1	0.5%
Over 5 years	1	0.5%

5. Your age when you first joined a CR group?

15-20	14	6.5%
21-25	49	22.8%
26-30	55	25.6%
31-35	34	15.8%
36-40	39	18.1%
41-45	9	4.2%
46-50	7	3.3%
51-55	7	3.3%
55-Over	1	0.5%

6. Did you ever drop out of a CR Group?

Yes	73	34.0%
No	142	66.0%

7. If yes, why? Reasons for dropping out were pretty basic and could be categorized into 7 general reasons: In order of frequency they were:

- (a) Group dissolved, usually because it had run its course or had served its purpose for the participants.
- (b) The woman did not feel compatible with the group. It was not meeting her needs or her consciousness was already raised.
- (c) She became too involved with her career, job or school.
- (d) She became politically active and she felt she had gone beyond CR.
- (e) She did not have the time or the distance to travel was too far.
- (f) The participant moved away.
- (g) The woman had personal problems or the group became too threatening for her.

8. Your marital status when you first began in CR?

Single	49	22.8%
Married	123	57.2%
Separated	18	8.4%
Divorced	17	7.9%
Remarried	8	3.6%

Certainly this latter information is the most interesting to come out of this section. In comparing the marital status figures when these women entered CR, with the figures now, we can see some interesting changes.

<u>Marital Status</u>	<u>When Entered CR</u>	<u>After CR</u>
Single	49 (22.8%)	42 (19.5%)
Married	123 (57.2%)	105 (49.8%)
Separated	18 (8.4%)	12 (5.6%)
Divorced	17 (7.9%)	34 (15.8%)
Remarried	8 (3.7%)	22 (10.2%)

This data demonstrates that while 7 women have married since beginning CR, 17 have divorced. This is counter-balanced by the fact that when entering CR only 8 were remarried, while after CR 22 were remarried. In terms of total figures 131 women were married before CR and 127 were married after CR, certainly a refutation of some of the charges that feminists do not marry, or that CR is divorce counseling. What seems more likely is that during and after their feminist consciousness raising, the type of person to whom they wished to be married changed. Thus, for those women who still prefer the marriage relationship, it is a matter of having the strength to leave a marriage in which they were unhappy and then to form a relationship with a man who is better able to understand them now and fill their current needs.

The remainder of this section on the CR group experience, asks the respondent to answer the questions in light of her most significant CR group experience since 63 of them had been in more than one group.

1. How long did you participate in that group?

1-6 months	39	18.1%
7-12 months	43	20.0%
1-2 years	117	54.4%
2-3 years	11	5.1%
3-4 years	4	1.9%
4-5 years	1	0.5 %

This pattern certainly fits the CR norm of the group generally lasting from 7 months to 2 years.

2. How long did that group continue to meet regularly?

1-6 months	6	2.8%
7-12 months	23	10.7%

1-2 years	98	45.6%
2-3 years	12	5.6%
3-4 years	1	0.5%
4-5 years	1	0.5%
still going	71	33.0%
uncertain	3	1.4%
3. How long have you been out of that group:		
1-6 months	26	12.1%
7-12 months	6	2.8%
1-2 years	44	20.5%
2-3 years	52	24.2%
3-4 years	14	6.5%
4-5 years	5	2.3%
still in	68	31.6%
4. Did your group meet in members' homes?		
Yes	205	95.3%
No	10	4.7%
5. How often did you meet?		
Weekly	180	83.7%
Every other week	28	13.0%
Monthly	7	3.3%
6. How many members were there?		
1-5	16	7.5%
6-10	165	76.7%
11-13	29	13.0%
14-15	6	2.8%

7. How many did you know before the group started?

0	92	42.8%
1	56	26.0%
2	31	14.4%
3	24	11.2%
4	6	2.8%
5	4	1.9%
6	0	0.0%
7	0	0.0%
8	1	0.5%
9	1	0.5%

8. Did you pick topics to discuss?

Yes	85	39.5%
No	34	15.8%
Sometimes	96	44.7%

9. Did you limit the number or length of time each person could speak?

Yes	26	12.1%
No	116	54.0%
Sometimes	73	34.0%

10. Did you have a designated leader?

Yes	23	10.7%
No	163	75.8%
Sometimes	39	13.5%

11. How long was an average meeting?

1-2 hours	29	13.5%
2-1/2 - 3 hours	104	48.4%
3-1/2 - 4 hours	70	32.6%

4-1/2 - 5 hours	12	5.6%
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12. Was your group similar in the following categories?

Age: Yes	88	40.9%
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No	127	59.1%
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Race: Yes	190	88.4%
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No	25	11.6%
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Education: Yes	129	60.0%
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No	86	40.0%
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Economic Status: Yes	132	61.4%
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No	83	39.6%
----	----	-------

13. Were there personality conflicts in your group?

Yes	111	51.6%
-----	-----	-------

No	104	48.4%
----	-----	-------

14. If yes, were they serious enough to cause damage?

Yes	54	25.1%
-----	----	-------

No	161	74.9%
----	-----	-------

15. Did the group ever confront persons causing problems?

Yes	98	45.6%
-----	----	-------

No	117	54.4%
----	-----	-------

16. Did you have an outside "leader" to help the group get started?

Yes	111	51.6%
-----	-----	-------

No	104	49.4%
----	-----	-------

17. Did you ever do physical exercises such as yoga or dance?

Yes	23	10.7%
-----	----	-------

No	192	89.3%
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18. Did you ever do verbal/mental exercises or games?

Yes	26	12.1%
No	189	87.9%

Generally it is found that most groups fit under the basic "norms" discussed in Chapter 2 (pp.42-49). Groups generally meet in members' homes, they average 6 to 10 members, over 68% of the participants knew either no one or only one member when they joined the group, they generally picked topics to discuss, they usually did not limit the number of times or length of time a member could speak, they were generally leaderless, most meetings were 2-1/2 to 3 hours, the groups were generally homogeneous except for the age factor, about half the groups had personality conflicts, however, these were generally not harmful, perhaps more groups than would be expected confronted members, about half had assistance in getting started and few groups did any kind of exercises. In short, this information generally conforms to basic expectations of what we know about the way CR groups function.

IV. Feminist Movement Activity and Education:

This section was designed to find out if women who have participated in CR actually do become women's movement activists and, if they do, in what kinds of activities they participate. Also, it seemed important to find out how much these women have educated themselves on feminist issues by courses taken or books and material read. The questions were as follows:

1. Since CR have you become politically active in the feminist movement?

More	93	43.5%
Less	14	6.5%
No Change	108	50.2%

2. Have you become politically active on women's issues?		
More	112	52.1%
Less	5	2.3%
No Change	98	45.6%
3. Have you joined a national organization working on or for women's issues and concerns?		
Yes	124	57.6%
No	91	42.3%
4. If yes, which one(s)?		
NOW	89	41.4%
FEW	20	9.3%
WPC	12	5.6%
WEAL	11	5.2%
LWV	4	1.8%
BPW	2	1.0%
Other	7	3.2%
5. Have you joined a radical feminist group?		
Yes	8	3.7%
No	207	96.3%
6. Has your CR group worked or lobbied for any feminist issues?		
Yes	28	13.0%
No	187	87.0%
7. Have you written to your Congressperson or Senator concerning a feminist issue or legislation concerning women?		
Yes	89	41.4%
No	126	58.6%
8. Have you done any testifying or lobbying for a women's issue?		
Yes	35	16.3%
No	180	83.8%

9. Have you taken any courses or classes that dealt with the women's movement in some depth?
- | | | |
|-----|-----|-------|
| Yes | 40 | 18.6% |
| No | 175 | 81.4% |
10. Have you read books concerning the feminist movement?
- | | | |
|-----|-----|-------|
| Yes | 179 | 83.3% |
| No | 36 | 16.7% |
11. If yes, which were most important or impressive to you?
- | | | |
|--------------------------------|----|-------|
| <u>Feminine Mystique</u> | 70 | 32.6% |
| <u>Sisterhood is Powerful</u> | 44 | 20.5% |
| <u>Our Bodies, Our Selves</u> | 42 | 19.6% |
| <u>Second Sex</u> | 40 | 18.6% |
| <u>Fear of Flying</u> | 39 | 18.2% |
| <u>Female Eunuch</u> | 35 | 16.3% |
| <u>Women in Sexist Society</u> | 27 | 12.6% |
| <u>Born Female</u> | 25 | 11.7% |
| <u>Sexual Politics</u> | 20 | 9.3% |
| Others | 98 | 45.6% |

While a total of 42 different books were specifically mentioned, the above were listed most frequently.

12. Have you read materials concerning the early suffrage movement?
- | | | |
|-----|-----|-------|
| Yes | 117 | 54.5% |
| No | 98 | 45.6% |
13. If yes, what?
- | | | |
|----------------------------|----|-------|
| Articles in <u>Ms.</u> | 70 | 33.5% |
| <u>Century of Struggle</u> | 32 | 14.9% |
| History Books | 20 | 9.3% |

Biographies	20	9.3%
<u>Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement</u>	19	8.8%
<u>The Other Half</u>	18	8.4%
<u>Feminist Papers</u>	13	6.0%
Have read things but don't remember what	20	9.3%
Other	25	11.6%

A total of 17 different books or sources were mentioned.

14. Do you subscribe to or regularly read feminist journals or magazines?

Yes	178	82.2%
No	37	17.2%

15. If yes, which ones?

<u>Ms.</u>	171	79.6%
<u>NOW Newsletter</u>	39	18.1%
<u>Women Today</u>	31	14.4%
<u>Spokeswoman</u>	31	14.4%
<u>FEW Newsletter</u>	29	13.5%
<u>WEAL Washington Report</u>	16	7.4%
<u>New Woman</u>	8	3.7%
<u>Quest</u>	7	3.3%
<u>Journal of Liberation</u>	6	2.8%
Other	24	11.2%

While participation in CR did seem to have an influence on the participant becoming more active on certain women's issues, only 43 percent became more active in the women's movement. We may speculate that some of those who did not change (50.2%) were already somewhat active.

Slightly over half these respondents have joined a national organization, but we do not know if they actively participate in that group.

As predicted, very few have joined what might be termed a radical feminist group, few have lobbied for feminist issues, but some 41 percent have written to legislators on matters that concern women.

While only slightly over 18 percent have had formal courses on the women's movement, over 83 percent have read books, over 54 percent have read of the early suffrage movement and over 82 percent regularly read a feminist magazine or journal. In keeping with the high level of educational attainment, most of these women are knowledgeable, but by and large are not political activists.

Two questions, one in Section III and one in IV were by-passed so that they might be dealt with together at this point. Their answers in juxtaposition provide some interesting information and questions.

In Section III the question was asked: What were some of the more important issues or topics that concerned your group? Section IV asked: Which women's issues particularly concern you? '

Logically, it might be predicted that the issues which concerned the women as individuals would be the same, or at least relatively similar to those issues of concern to the group. This simply did not prove to be the case.

Looking first at the issues with which the CR groups were concerned, we find that they overwhelmingly dealt with the area of relationships with other persons such as men and/or spouse, children and family, parents and childhood, other women, their relationship to themselves and their self image. Closely connected to these issues were the concerns of feminine sexuality, sex, celibacy and more generally marriage.

To a lesser extent the groups expressed concern over such other issues as anger, frustration, assertiveness, aggression, aging, dependency, power, sex role stereotyping and socialization, life goals, trust, and negative male attitudes about women. The overriding concern, however, in most of these groups centered around the interpersonal relationships that these women had with those closest to them.

Because concerns in this area were expressed in complex ways, they were hand tabulated, but roughly the tabulation was as follows:

relationships in general	26
relationships with men/spouse	42
relationships with family/children	30
relationships with parents/childhood	29
relationships with other women	19
relationships with self	17
sexuality, sex and celibacy	36
marriage	12
bodies, beauty, appearance	18
discrimination (generally)	20
careers, jobs, employment	33
self confidence, worth, esteem, responsibility, growth, respect, awareness, image	37

In contrast, when these same women were asked what issues concerned them personally the results were quite different. The following list will demonstrate:

abortion	54
employment, equal job opportunities	48
discrimination and equal pay	34

Equal Rights Amendment (ERA)	41
credit, money and social security	17
stereotyping and socialization	16
rape and self defense	18
divorce	13
child care	11

These latter concerns are quite different issues, particularly when viewed as a whole. While relationships with men received 42 "votes" to lead the group concerns, it was mentioned only once as a personal concern. While abortion had 54 "votes" as a personal concern, it was an issue in only 4 CR groups. The only area where there is some overlap is in the concept of discrimination, which in the groups would probably certainly include economic; but privately these women are specific about equal job opportunities, equal pay, credit and money.

I believe that these differences make an important statement about where women are today. In their groups, they might still wish to talk about relationships -- that makes for interesting group interaction -- but the issues that concern them are basically the public ones that relate to the power and control they have over their own lives. In being concerned with abortion, rape and self-defense, they directly express the desire to control what happens to their own bodies. The issues of equal job opportunities, equal pay, employment, discrimination, credit, money and social security and even the ERA all relate to the increasing need of women to have economic as well as psychological independence. As has been mentioned before, there is no longer the assumption that women will marry or that they will not need to work even if they do, or that marriage today is anything more than a temporary relationship. In very concrete ways,

these women are expressing their concerns for the survival issues that may have the most important effect on their lives.

In summary then, what is talked about in the CR group are the private and personal issues of relationships to others and self growth. In confronting issues on their own, it is the public concerns of physical and economic independence and survival that are of most concern. It is because of this dichotomy that perhaps some new directions are in order for CR, as will be explored in Chapter Five.

V. Influence of Your CR Group:

It was necessary to find a way to measure if these women had been influenced or even pressured by their CR groups to change their behaviors or attitudes. Thus the questions in this section first asked about perceived degree of pressure and then reasons for changes.

When asked to circle the degree of pressure to change behaviors and/or attitudes exerted by their CR groups, the results were as follows:

No Pressure	91	42.3%
Some Pressure	56	26.0%
Moderate Pressure	43	20.0%
Significant Pressure	20	9.3%
Great Pressure	5	2.3%

Sixty-eight percent felt little or no pressure to change and only 11.6 percent felt more than moderate pressure to change. This would lead us to believe that women generally do not perceive their CR groups as a place where they must change behaviors or attitudes.

More than pressure, however, we are interested in the ways in which a CR group might exert influence. Six statements were presented and respondents

were asked to rank them according to the ways in which they felt they were influences. If the statement did not apply, they were to leave it blank.

The results were as follows and in each case the statement begins "My group influenced me by: . . ."

<u>Statement</u>	<u>Not Ranked</u>	<u>Ranked 1</u>	<u>Ranked 2</u>	<u>Mean</u>
1. Talking openly about their feelings and their lives.	18	67	56	2.000
2. Suggesting alternatives I had not previously considered.	60	11	57	1.967
3. Presenting new information which changed some of my ideas.	70	44	35	1.535
4. Providing emotional support which made me feel better about myself.	44	89	47	1.381
5. Other - most filled in answers dealt with - being honest and allowing me to be honest.	164	25	7	0.549
6. Threatening loss of membership or friendship if I did not change.	204	1	1	0.181
7. Building pressure to conform to the group's way of thinking and acting.	206	2	2	0.130

Here again the results are not unexpected. CR groups were reported to influence most by allowing openness, suggesting new alternatives, presenting new information and providing emotional support. Now it is time to examine exactly what kinds of behavioral and attitudinal changes have been reported by these respondents and whether or not the CR group was perceived to be an influence.

There are nine different sections which ask the respondent to indicate areas of change. The instructions on the questionnaire read:

If your answer to the question is "no" or "not applicable" leave it blank. If your answer is "yes," check the first column; also check whether or not you believe your change was influenced by participation in a CR group. In each case the question begins: "During or after your participation in a CR group did you'..." (See Appendix A)

At the end of each section, they were then asked to circle the degree of influence their CR group had on them relating to the issues of that section on the following scale: No influence, 1 2 3 4 5 Great influence. Now let us turn to each section and examine the types of changes reported.

(See Table 1)

It is interesting to note that CR was reported as showing more influence in divorce, separation and beginning and ending affairs than it was in the opposite steps of engagement, marriage and remarriage. It is noteworthy, however, that for those women who reunited with their spouse or partner, over 50 percent felt that this action was influenced by the CR group.

Of most significance, however, is that over 30 percent of the women in CR began working for an "open marriage," and over 65 percent have changed their concept of what a marriage or partnership should be. Also on both those issues over 80 percent of the respondents felt their change was influenced by their CR group.

In terms of influence ranking factors, the results were:

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
No influence	61	28.4
Some influence	33	15.3
Moderate influence	45	20.9
Significant influence	55	25.6
Great influence	21	9.8

VI. Marital and Living Arrangement

Table 1

"During or after your participation in a CR group did you ...

	YES		INFLUENCED BY CR GROUP					
			YES		NO		UNCERTAIN	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
1. Become engaged	3	1.4			3	100.		
2. Marry	7	3.3			7	100.		
3. Divorce	24	11.1	10	41.7	10	41.7	4	16.7
4. Remarry	10	4.7			10	100.		
5. Separate from spouse/ partner	21	9.8	14	66.7			7	33.3
6. Reunite with spouse/ partner	15	7.0	8	53.3	5	33.3	2	13.3
7. Begin living with a man	20	9.3	8	40.0	8	40.0	4	20.0
8. Begin living with a woman	4	1.9			4	100.		
9. Stop living with a man	11	5.1	2	18.1	3	27.3	6	54.5
10. Stop living with a woman	9	4.2	1	11.1	7	77.8	1	11.1
11. Begin an affair/s	66	30.7	31	47.0	20	30.3	15	22.7
12. End an affair/s	61	28.3	36	59.0	16	26.2	9	14.7
13. Work for an "open marriage"	67	31.2	55	82.1	6	8.9	6	8.9
14. Change your concept of what marriage/ partnership should be	140	65.1	123	87.9	1	0.7	16	11.4

Over 43 percent list only some to no influence and over 35 percent felt significant to great influence. While the weighting is toward the negative, the CR group was perceived to have had a reasonable amount of influence.

(See Table 2)

In this section major changes were reported as occurring in that over 25 percent began working at a job, over 35 percent a definite career commitment, over 20 percent began job hunting, over 23 percent returned to school, and 36 percent increased volunteer work in the women's movement. The CR group itself was particularly influential on these women in the areas of making a career commitment (89.5%) and increasing volunteer work in the movement (82.1%). Also it had influence in the areas of changing occupational fields (68.9%) and returning to school (68.6%).

Influence factors were ranked:

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
No influence	77	35.8
Some influence	45	20.9
Moderate influence	39	18.1
Significant influence	41	19.1
Great influence	13	6.0

While over 55 percent felt the influence to be some or below, 25 percent felt it to be significant or above. In a sense these figures are contradictory to the items reported above as having had CR group influence. The problem seems to be that while a large number of participants may report CR group influence on a few of the items, when taken as a total group of twelve separate issues, they may have felt the influence to be slight. Perhaps a methodology which would distinguish influence rank according to item would be more accurate.

VII. Job -- Occupation -- School:

Table 2

"During or after your participation in a CR group did you ...

	YES		INFLUENCED BY CR GROUP					
			YES		NO		UNCERTAIN	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
1. Begin working at paid job.	54	25.1	27	50.0	17	31.5	10	18.5
2. Quit working at paid job.	11	5.1	6	54.5	2	18.1	3	27.2
3. Change occupational fields.	45	20.9	31	68.9	7	15.5	7	15.5
4. Begin job hunting.	45	20.9	26	28.0	12	26.7	7	15.6
5. Make any career commitments.	76	35.3	68	89.5	3	3.9	5	6.5
6. Make a commitment not to become involved in a career at this time.	18	8.3	11	61.1	6	33.3	1	5.5
7. Return to school.	51	23.7	35	68.6	11	21.6	5	9.8
8. Leave school.	9	4.2	5	55.6	4	44.4		
9. Graduate from school.	22	10.2	5	22.7	12	54.5	5	22.7
10. Increase volunteer work in the women's movement.	78	36.3	64	82.1	6	7.6	8	10.2
11. Increase other volunteer work.	17	7.9	8	47.1	8	47.1	1	5.8
12. Decrease volunteer work.	26	12.1	8	30.7	13	50.0	5	19.2

(See Table 3)

This section demonstrates a trend toward women beginning to work toward financial independence. The number who began getting credit in their own names (21.7%) and who began establishing separate accounts (20.5%) is an indication of this trend. In terms of CR group influence on these factors the group was most influential in encouraging women to work toward financial independence (77.6%) and in establishing personal credit (72.3%).

Influence rating came out in this manner:

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
No influence	97	45.1
Some influence	26	12.1
Moderate influence	42	19.5
Significant influence	26	12.1
Great influence	24	11.2

(See Table 4)

In this section the most important changes relate to the issues of deciding to have a tubal ligation, deciding to postpone having children or deciding not to have children at all.

Influence ratings were as follows:

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
No influence	166	77.2
Some influence	10	4.7
Moderate influence	9	4.2
Significant influence	19	8.8
Great influence	11	5.1

VIII. Financial Responsibility

Table 3

"During or after your participation in CR group did you...

	YES		INFLUENCED BY CR GROUP					
			YES		NO		UNCERTAIN	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
1. Change your mind about financial responsibility for your family	41	19.1	28	68.3	4	9.7	9	21.9
2. Begin contributing financial support to your household	27	12.6	9	33.3	14	51.9	4	14.8
3. Get credit cards or accounts in your own name	47	21.7	34	72.3	10	21.3	3	6.4
4. Establish separate checking or savings accounts	44	20.5	28	63.6	11	25.0	5	11.4
5. Take out your own loan	26	12.1	14	53.8	10	38.5	2	7.6
6. Make any investments in your own name	33	15.3	15	45.5	15	45.5	3	9.0
7. Work toward financial independence	54	43.7	73	77.6	15	16.0	6	6.3

·IX. Children and Family

Table 4

·"During or after your participation in a CR group did you...

	YES		INFLUENCED BY CR GROUP					
			YES		NO		UNCERTAIN	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
1. Get pregnant	16	7.4	1	6.2	12	75.0	4	18.8
2. Have a baby	9	4.1	3	33.3	6	66.7		
3. Have an abortion	7	3.3	3	42.9	4	57.1		
4. Consider adoption	7	3.3	2	28.6	5	71.4		
5. Adopt a child	4	1.9	3	75.0	1	25.0		
6. Decide to have children	15	6.9	6	40.0	9	60.0		
7. Decide not to have children	17	7.9	11	64.7	5	29.4	1	5.8
8. Decide to postpone children	19	8.8	14	73.7	5	26.3		
9. Decide to have 2 or more children	2	0.9			2	100.		
10. Have a tubal ligation	23	10.6	13	56.5	8	34.8	2	8.6
11. Your partner/spouse have a vasectomy	4	1.9	3	75.0			1	25.0

It is obvious that very few participants felt much influence from their CR group in this area. While over 86 percent felt the influence to be moderate or below, only 14 percent felt it to be significant or above. Perhaps the issues related in this section are ultimately too personal for even a CR group to have other than individual impact on certain women.

(See Table 5)

Any appreciable influence in this section is negligible. Of those women who moved because of a change in their job, 45 percent felt the move was influenced by the CR group.

Influence ratings:

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
No influence	193	89.8
Some influence	5	2.3
Moderate influence	8	3.7
Significant influence	7	3.3
Great influence	2	0.9

Here again, over 95 percent felt the influence to be moderate or below, showing little indication of CR group significance in this area.

(See Table 6)

Here we find the CR group exerting more influence on decisions being made in this section. Over 30 percent of the women began sharing housework and over 80 percent of those attribute it to the influence of the CR group. Although not as many began sharing other tasks, again over 80 percent attribute the change to group influence.

The greatest change was that over 47 percent of the respondents

X. Location of Residence

Table 5

!During or after your participation in a CR group did you ..

	YES		INFLUENCED BY CR GROUP					
			YES		NO		UNCERTAIN	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
1. Move to another house/apartment	67	31.2	5	7.4	50	74.6	12	17.9
2. Move to another city/town	33	15.3	11	33.3	19	57.6	3	9.0
3. Move to another part of the country	18	8.4	2	11.1	16	88.9		
4. Live in a commune	3	1.4	1	33.3	2	66.7		
5. Move because of a change in your job	22	10.2	10	45.6	12	54.5		
6. Move because of change in spouse/partner's job	15	6.9			15	100.		
7. Consider move to be successful	50	23.3	10	20.0	25	50.0	15	30.0
8. Really want to move	41	19.1	8	19.5	20	48.8	13	31.7
9. Know spouse/partner really wanted to move	18	8.3	3	16.7	11	61.1	4	22.2

XI. Household Tasks and Division of Labor:

Table 6

"During or after your participation in a CR group did you ...

	YES		INFLUENCED BY CR GROUP					
			YES		NO		UNCERTAIN	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
1. Begin sharing housework & cooking with spouse/partner	65	30.2	53	81.5	4	6.2	8	12.3
2. Begin sharing child care	37	17.2	31	83.8	2	5.4	4	10.8
3. Begin sharing auto/yard care	23	10.6	20	87.0	3	13.0		
4. Become less concerned with these above tasks	68	31.6	56	82.4	6	8.8	6	8.8
5. Gives son(s) more responsibility for upkeep	52	24.2	42	80.8	3	5.8	7	13.5
6. Give daughter(s) more responsibility for upkeep	57	26.5	42	73.6	6	10.5	9	15.8
7. Find any of above created tension or resistance in family members	58	27.0	37	63.8	8	13.8	13	22.4
8. Find any of above created guilt or tension in you	60	27.9	29	48.3	14	23.3	17	28.3
9. Conclude that the work & responsibility of your household should be more evenly divided	102	47.4	86	84.3	3	2.9	13	12.7
10. Become satisfied with the division of responsibility in your home	57	26.5	46	80.0	2	3.5	9	15.8

concluded that the work and responsibility of their homes should be more evenly divided and 84 percent attributed that to CR group influence. In all, the influence of the CR group showed more importance in this area.

Influence ratings are as follows.

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
No influence	86	40.0
Some influence	27	12.6
Moderate influence	42	19.5
Significant influence	38	17.7
Great influence	22	10.2

About half (47 percent) felt the group was moderate to greatly influential concerning issues in this area.

(See Table 7)

In this section we again find the CR group having considerable influence over those women making some of these changes. Over 50 percent of the participants report becoming more comfortable with and accepting of their own bodies and over 89 percent attribute this to the CR group influence. Another 47 percent have become more concerned with good health, and over 72 percent relate it to CR influence.

With the one exception of reducing standards of cleanliness which affected only 6 participants, and beginning to shave, wear make-up, etc. which affected only 8 participants, all other categories relate the CR group as having affected at least 65 to 100 percent of the changes. Certainly this is an area where the CR group seems to have a significant bearing on the behavior and attitudes of these women.

XII. Personal Appearance

Table 7

"During or after your participation in a CR group did you ..

	YES		INFLUENCED BY CR GROUP					
			YES		NO		UNCERTAIN	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
1. Become less interested in your appearance	34	15.8	27	79.4	2	5.8	6	17.6
2. Become more interested in your appearance	44	20.5	29	65.9	10	22.7	5	11.4
3. Quit shaving, wearing make-up etc.	36	16.7	27	75.0			9	25.0
4. Begin shaving, wearing make-up etc.	8	3.7	3	37.5	5	62.5		
5. Quit wearing a bra/girdle	26	12.1	24	92.3	1	3.8	1	3.8
6. Begin wearing a bra/girdle	3	1.4	3	100.0				
7. Become less concerned with hair, dress, jewelry, etc	36	16.7	30	83.3	2	5.6	4	11.1
8. Become more concerned with hair, dress, jewelry, etc	10	4.7	10	100.0				
9. Become less concerned with the way others look	72	33.5	64	88.9	1	1.4	7	9.7
10. Reduce your standard of cleanliness	6	2.8	3	50.0			3	50.0
11. Become more comfortable with and accepting of your body	111	51.6	99	89.2	3	2.7	9	8.1

	YES		INFLUENCED BY CR GROUP					
			YES		NO		UNCERTAIN	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
12. Become more concerned with good health	101	47.0	73	72.3	18	17.8	10	9.9
13. Begin exercising more	79	36.7	52	65.8	16	20.3	11	13.9
14. Alter eating or drinking habits	45	20.9	31	68.9	5	11.1	9	20.0

Influence ratings were.

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
No influence	69	32.1
Some influence	49	22.8
Moderate influence	33	15.3
Significant influence	51	23.7
Great influence	13	6.0

Here again, based on the total group of 215 respondents, over 54 percent express some or no influence, while 45 percent express moderate to great influence.

(See Table 8)

Here, in this section on relationships to the self and other women and in the next section on relationships with men, are where we find women reporting the most significant of the changes made and the greatest influence of the CR group. In this section the item of change listed by the greatest number of women, over 83 percent, is that they became more understanding of the problems women face. Also over 96 percent of those attribute the change to the CR group. Of the 172 women (80 percent) who found that they could be more open and honest with other women, over 95 percent felt this was due to their CR group.

The third most important factor was that 168 or over 78 percent found that they developed close friendships with women and 94 percent attribute this to CR influence.

The fourth factor relates back to the section on the relationship between CR and Therapy in Chapter Two (pp. 13 - 78) which discusses the therapeutic value of increased self esteem. In this study, 160 women (over 74 percent) found that they have more self confidence and 78 percent of those attribute it to CR while another 21 percent are uncertain as

XIII. Relationship to Self and Other Women

Table 8

"During or after your participation in a CR group did you ...

	YES		INFLUENCED BY CR GROUP					
			YES		NO		UNCERTAIN	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
1. Alter your views of other women	156	72.6	147	94.2			9	5.7
2. Develop close friendships with women	168	78.1	158	94.0	3	1.8	7	4.2
3. Become more understanding of the problems women face	179	83.3	172	96.1	1	0.6	6	3.4
4. Find you seek the company of women more	146	67.9	139	95.2	3	2.1	4	2.7
5. Find you can be more open and honest with other women	172	80.0	164	95.3	4	2.3	4	2.3
6. Find women more intelligent and sensitive than previously thought	92	42.8	86	93.5	5	5.4	1	1.1
7. Find you had more in common with women than before	122	56.7	118	96.7	2	1.6	2	1.6
8. Feel freer to do things and go places with other women	140	65.1	130	92.9	6	4.3	4	2.9
9. Feel freer to do things and go places alone	106	49.3	92	86.8	8	7.5	6	5.7

	YES		INFLUENCED BY CR GROUP					
			YES		NO		UNCERTAIN	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
10. Enjoy being alone more	97	45.1	52	53.6	21	21.6	24	24.7
11. Find that you choose to spend time more frequently with women	114	53.0	107	93.9	3	2.6	4	3.5
12. Become a lesbian	0		0		0		0	
13. Become Bi-sexual	14	6.5	11	78.6	0		3	21.4
14. Begin to feel better about yourself	152	70.7	117	77.0	6	3.9	29	19.1
15. Find you have more self confidence	160	74.4	125	78.1	7	0.6	34	21.3

to where the feeling came from. Another 72 percent of the respondents felt they had altered their previous views of women and over 94 percent attributed that to the group influence.

Turning to the other end of the chart, we find that no women report becoming lesbians but that 14 (6.5%) have become bi-sexuals, 11, or over 78 percent attribute it to their CR group experience and 3 or 21 percent are uncertain.

Another item least listed was the one that asked if the respondent found women more intelligent and sensitive than they had previously thought. While 92 or 42 percent reported that they had, and over 93 percent of those found this influence in the CR group, a number of other women commented on their questionnaires that they already knew women were intelligent and sensitive and, therefore, this was no change.

The other two items that received comparatively low response were the ones on enjoying being alone and feeling freer to do things and go places alone. Here again a question arises about the fact that it is likely that the women participating in this study, considering their educational and occupational statistics, were already more independent than the average.

In summary, the results present a picture of a CR group as being primarily the place where women learn to know, understand, love and care about other women and themselves. The results on the influence chart support this:

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
No influence	11	5.1
Some influence	12	5.6
Moderate influence	18	8.4
Significant influence	75	34.9
Great influence	99	46.0

Here we see that over 80 percent found significant or great influence and only 10 percent found some to none. Certainly this is the most significant of the influence charts.

(See Table 9)

In terms of relationships to men, we find the CR group exerting its second strongest influence. The item which received the greatest number of yes responses (139 or 64.7 percent) was that women now tend to speak up more and let their opinions be known. Over 82 percent report that this increased behavior was influenced by the CR group, that CR is a place where women can form opinions, explore new ideas, have a chance to be heard as they express opinions and feelings and learn to articulate what they know and feel. This result confirms some of the theories expressed in Chapter Two (pp. 13 - 78).

A second important finding was that women believe that they are becoming less dependent on a man or men. This would certainly seem to directly relate to the previous section where women are seemingly becoming closer to each other. It would seem as if human relationships are important for any person, but it is becoming more true for women that those relationships can be with other women now in a way never before possible. In conjunction with this finding is another -- that 100 women, 46 percent, reported that their moods were now less dependent on a man or men. Here again is support for the fact that they seem to be finding alternative relationships or are becoming more independent.

Two other results seem important: first, that 104 women reported that they have become more willing to initiate relationships, and second that 92 women report that they have become more sexually aggressive. Here again we see women reporting themselves as taking more control,

XIV. Relationships With Men

Table 9

"During or after your participation in a CR group did you ...

	YES		INFLUENCED BY CR GROUP					
			YES		NO		UNCERTAIN	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
1. Become more competitive	69	32.1	47	68.1	4	5.8	18	26.1
2. Become less dependent on a man or on men	127	59.1	98	77.2	6	4.7	23	18.1
3. Become more comfortable around men	81	37.7	45	55.6	5	6.2	31	38.3
4. Tend to speak up more and let your opinions be known	139	64.7	114	82.0	6	4.3	19	13.7
5. Become more willing to initiate relationships	104	48.4	86	82.7	9	8.7	9	8.7
6. Become more sexually aggressive	92	42.8	70	76.1	5	5.4	17	18.5
7. Find you were being treated differently by men	81	37.7	64	79.0	5	6.2	12	14.8
8. Develop a closer relationship with your primary partner	85	39.5	62	73.0	2	2.4	21	24.7
9. Develop close relationships with more than one man	50	23.3	29	58.0	4	8.0	17	34.0
10. Find your moods less dependent upon masculine attention	100	46.5	64	64.0	8	8.0	28	28.0

exerting themselves more frequently and coupling that with increased feelings of self-esteem and self-reliance they are able to initiate relationships more comfortably. It would certainly seem to be that participation in CR has primarily an effect on the way a woman feels about herself, feels about other women and therefore it affects the way she interacts and develops relationships with other persons.

Supporting these findings are the results of the influence chart which are:

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
No influence	32	14.9
Some influence	25	11.6
Moderate influence	54	25.1
Significant influence	68	31.6
Great influence	36	16.7

Here we can note that while over 48 percent found the groups significant or greatly influential only 26 percent found only no or some influence.

These are the basic findings of the responses to the questionnaire. For a summary of the CR group influence rating factors see Table 10.

Table 10, which summarizes the influence charts at the end of each section, demonstrates that the CR groups average out as having relatively little influence. While 41 percent report no group influence, it should be clear from the chart that this figure is considerably weighted by the two factors of location of residence and children and family.

What becomes most obvious from looking at Table 10 is that the CR group's influence differs greatly according to the issue being dealt with and that while CR has virtually no influence on some types of behavioral or attitudinal changes, it can be quite influential on others.

	INFLUENCE									
	NO		SOME		MODERATE		SIGNIFICANT		GREAT	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
1. Marital & Living Arrangements	61	28	33	15	45	21	55	26	21	10
2. Job - Occupation - School	77	36	45	21	39	18	41	19	13	6
3. Financial Responsibilities	97	45	26	12	42	20	26	12	24	11
4. Children and Family	166	77	10	5	9	4	19	0	11	5
5. Location of Residence	193	90	5	2	8	4	7	3	2	1
6. Household Tasks & Division of Labor	86	40	27	13	42	19	38	18	22	10
7. Personal Appearance	69	32	49	23	33	15	51	24	13	6
8. Relationships to Women and self	11	5	12	6	18	8	75	35	99	46
9. Relationship to Men	32	15	25	11	54	25	68	32	36	17
TOTALS	792	41	232	12	290	15	380	20	241	12

Like any interpersonal small group phenomena, CR is a highly personal matter and broad generalizations are frequently difficult.

These then are the results of all the sections and questions of the questionnaire. At this time let us turn our attention to some of the items of correlation that have proved to be interesting in their relationship.

XV, Correlations of Information Items and Reported Changes:

It was felt that some useful insights could be gained concerning the kinds of behavioral and attitudinal changes as they relate to the basic information items by running a Pearson Correlation Coefficient on the data.

Information items from the first five sections of the questionnaire were selected on the basis of factors that in a fundamental way can influence a person's behavior. For this study the following were selected for correlation:

1. Activity in a CR group and the women's movement
2. Income
3. Age
4. Number of children
5. Living arrangement and marital status
6. Relationship to parents
7. Degree, schooling and occupation
8. Experience in therapy
9. Religion and intensity of religious feeling

Abbreviations have been used for expediency in reporting the nine different areas of possible change:

1. Marital and Living Arrangements (MLA)
2. Job -- Occupation -- Schooling (JOS)

3. Financial Responsibility (FR)
4. Children and Family (CF)
5. Location of Residence (LR)
6. Household Tasks and Division of Labor (HTDL)
7. Personal Appearance (PA)
8. Relationship to Self and Other Women (RSOW)
9. Relationships With Men (RWM)
- A. Activity in a CR group and the Women's Movement:

Beginning with the section of the IRC on the woman's consciousness-raising group experience, two questions were correlated to all the change items that begin with item number 84 of the questionnaire. In each case all the following items are significant at the .001 level of significance.

In answer to the questions of how long did a women participate in a CR group and how long had she been out of a CR group, correlations were found in the following areas:

- 1) MLA -- beginning an affair(s) and the degree of influence,
- 2) JOS -- changing occupational fields, increasing volunteer work in the women's movement, making a career commitment and the degree of influence,
- 3) CF -- the degree of influence,
- 4) LA -- moving to another residence,
- 5) PA -- quitting shaving, wearing make-up, etc. and degree of influence,
- 6) RSOW -- developing close friendships with women, choosing to spend more time with women and degree of influence;
- 7) RWM -- becoming more competitive with men.

Here it appears that length of CR participation has had the greatest relationship to the jobs and occupational commitments of the respondents. Also the increasing of volunteer work in the movement relates to length of CR participation.

Again, the issue of developing close relationships with other women seems greater the longer the participation in CR; an interesting corollary is that they become more competitive with men. We can speculate that this relates to occupational aspirations and more independence from men due to increased relationships with women.

Primarily it would appear that the longer a woman participates in CR, the more likely she is to become career oriented and to form closer relationships with other women.

The next group of questions deals with the woman's activity in the feminist movement. On the question: "Since CR, have you become (more/less/no change) politically active in the feminist movement?" or on the related question "Have you become (more/less/no change) politically active on "women's issues"?" or for women who have joined a national organization working for women's rights it was found that there were significant relationships to:

- 1) MLA -- beginning and ending affair(s);
- 2) JOS -- increasing volunteer work in the women's movement, changing occupational fields and degree of influence;
- 3) FR -- contributing financial support to their households and making investments in their own name;
- 4) RSOW -- feeling freer to do things and go places with other women, choosing to spend more time with women, altering their views of other women, enjoying being alone more, feeling better about

themselves, finding that they have more self confidence and the degree of influence;

5) RWM -- being more competitive with men, finding they were being treated differently by men, developing a close relationship with more than one man, finding their moods less dependent upon masculine attention and the degree of influence.

It can be speculated that as a woman becomes more politically active in the movement or on women's issues, it will obviously mean that she will increase her volunteer work in the movement. This in turn means that she will be working more closely with other women, thereby, developing closer relationships with those women. Also it is reasonable to assume that participation in such activity would have a positive effect on her self confidence and feelings of self worth.

In terms of relationships with men it would seem that the woman's increased political activity relates to their being more independent -- more financially independent, more emotionally independent at least in terms of affairs and developing close relationships with more than one man. It is, therefore, not unlikely that they would then feel that they are being treated differently by men.

In summary, it seems that women's movement activity has important effects on relationships and on the increasing independence of women.

On questions relating to a woman's personal education in the feminist movement, only two items proved to be worth reporting. Taking a course or class that dealt with the feminist movement or regularly reading feminist journals or magazines correlated significantly with:

- 1) MLA -- degree of influence;
- 2) JOS --, beginning and quitting a job, graduating from school and degree of influence;
- 3) FR -- beginning to contribute financially to their households,
- 4) HTDL -- degree of influence;
- 5) PA -- being less concerned about the appearance of others,
- 6) RSOW -- developing close friendships with women, feeling freer to go places and do things with women, choosing to spend more time with women and the degree of influence;
- 7) RWM -- more willing to initiate relationships with men, finding that they were being treated differently by men and the degree of influence.

We find again some relationships similar to the previous two -- that women are becoming more independent in terms of jobs, and here in finishing schooling, that they are making financial contributions to their households, that they are becoming closer to other women, but they are also becoming more willing to initiate relationships with men that might mean that they will find themselves being treated differently.

In summary, it would appear that the longer a woman participates in CR, the more politically active she becomes within the movement, the better educated she is about the issues of feminism, the greater will be the change in the relationship she has with other women, with men, with her occupation, resulting in financial independence.

B. Income: Personal and Family:

The second factor that correlated to more change items than any of the others was income, the personal income of the woman and the family income level. In terms of the personal income level of the

individual woman, there were found to be 26 significant correlations to.

- 1) MLA -- divorce, remarriage and beginning to live with a man;
- 2) JOS -- returning to school and decreasing volunteer work in general;
- 3) FR -- getting credit cards and accounts in her own name, taking out a loan and making investments,
- 4) CF -- deciding not to have children and the degree of influence;
- 5) LR -- moving to another residence, moving because of a change in their job, considering the move to be successful and really wanting to move;
- 6) RSOW -- altering their views of other women, finding that they seek the company of other women more, enjoying being alone more, feeling better about themselves and finding that they have more self confidence,
- 7) RWM -- finding that they are less dependent on a man or men, that they are more comfortable around men, that they were being treated differently by men, developing a close relationship with more than one man, finding their moods less dependent upon masculine attention and the degree of influence.

This information certainly lends support to much of the material that indicates that as women gain economic independence they also gain the ability to be independent in the marital relationship, mobility, the crucial decision of whether or not to have children, feelings about herself and other women and her relationships to men generally, besides the obvious benefit of financial stability and security. This is an interesting statement in light of the personal concerns expressed by women and discussed earlier in this chapter (pp. 119 - 122).

In terms of family income, there were 13 items of significant correlation.

- 1) MLA -- beginning living with a woman, stop living with a man and beginning and ending affair(s),
- 2) JOS -- quitting working and changing occupational fields,
- 3) CF -- having an abortion;
- 4) LR -- moving to another residence,
- 5) HTDL -- giving sons more responsibility for the upkeep of themselves and the residence,
- 6) RSOW -- becoming close friends with women, seeking the company of women more, enjoying being alone more;
- 7) RWM -- developing a closer relationship with your primary partner.

In the income section there is no significant correlation factor with any of the personal appearance items and factors related to relationships with the self and with other women.

C. Age: Currently and when First Began in CR.

The third factor with the highest number of significant correlations was that of age -- both the age at which the woman first began in CR and the age she is currently. The factors that relate to these items are:

- 1) MLA -- stop living with a man, beginning living with a woman, beginning an affair and ending an affair, and the degree of influence;
- 2) JOS -- making a career commitment, graduation from school, and the degree of influence;
- 3) CF -- the decision to postpone having children, the decision to have children, having an abortion, and the degree of influence,
- 4) LR -- moving to another city or town,

5) HTDL -- giving both sons and daughters more responsibility in the upkeep of themselves and the home;

6) PA -- becoming more comfortable with and accepting of your body, becoming more concerned with good health, begin exercising more and the degree of influence factor,

7) RSOW -- the degree of influence;

8) RWM -- becoming more comfortable around men, becoming more sexually aggressive, more willing to initiate relationships, and the degree of influence.

Here we find age having a high degree of relationship with the factors of children and family -- particularly in the important areas of whether or not to have children, when to have them and the abortion question. The other significant area is that of personal appearance where women indicate more interest in good health, exercise and becoming more comfortable with their bodies.

Relationships with men are also related in terms of affairs, feeling comfortable, becoming more sexually aggressive and willing to initiate relationships.

It is in relation to the age factor that the generally high correlations to other women and the self are not as apparent.

D. Number of Children:

Even though over 82 percent of the respondents in this study have from zero to two children and that this likely means that we are dealing with a skewed or atypical group of women, we find that the number of children a woman has gives us the fourth greatest number of correlations. They are found in the following:

- 1) MLA -- beginning and ending an affair(s);
- 2) JOS -- making a career commitment and decreasing volunteer work;
- 3) CF -- deciding to postpone having children;
- 4) LR -- moving to another residence, to another city, moving because of a change in her job, considering the move to be successful and really wanting to move,
- 5) HTDL -- giving sons and daughters more responsibility and being satisfied with the division of labor in their home;
- 6) RSOW -- enjoying being alone more, feeling better about themselves and finding they have more self confidence;
- 7) RWM -- becoming more comfortable around men and the degree of influence.

Considering that the location of residence and moving was listed so seldom in this survey as a factor of any importance to women in CR groups, it is significant that so many residence factors relate highly to the number of children. It would suggest that increased mobility does seem to be related to the number of children in a family.

E. Living Arrangement and Marital Status:

The fifth factor that correlates significantly to a relatively high number of change items is that of the living arrangement and then of the marital status of the respondent -- both when she began in CR and currently. Significant correlations were found in:

- 1) MLA -- beginning and ending affair(s), remarriage and reuniting with a spouse or partner;
- 2) JOS -- increasing other volunteer work and degree of influence;

- 3) FR -- establishing their own checking and savings accounts and taking out their own loan;
- 4) CF -- considering adoption;
- 5) LR -- moving to another residence, moving because of a change in her job, really wanting to move and degree of influence,
- 6) HTDL -- sharing of child care, giving sons and daughters more responsibility and being satisfied with the division of labor in their home;
- 7) PA -- beginning shaving, wearing make-up, etc.;
- 8) RSOW -- enjoy being alone more and finding that they have more self confidence;
- 9) RWM -- becoming more sexually aggressive;

In the factor of marital status and living arrangements there are correlations to remarriage and reuniting, but not with separation or divorce. Also beginning and ending affairs could relate to becoming more sexually aggressive.

We also find women becoming more financially independent and more personally independent in terms of being alone and having self confidence.

Also noteworthy is the finding that marital status and living arrangement has the effect of the woman taking more of an interest in her personal appearance, in beginning to share child care with her spouse and in giving more responsibility to children.

F. Relationship to Parents:

The sixth factor that provides some unique correlations is the relationship that the woman has to her parents. Remembering that earlier in this chapter it was noted that the basic relationship with parents was weighted to the negative side -- they were at best average and mostly below average. (See pp. 104 - 105)

Relationships to the mother correlate as follows:

- 1) JOS -- making a career commitment and graduating from school,
- 2) FR -- contributing to the financial support of the household,
- 3) LR -- moving to another residence, to another city, considering the move to be successful, really wanting to move and the degree of influence;
- 4) HTDL -- beginning sharing housework and cooking with spouse/partner.

Relationships to father correlate to:

- 1) JOS -- the degree of influence;
- 2) CR -- having a baby and postponing having children;
- 3) LR -- moving because of a change in your job,
- 4) RSOW -- the degree of influence.

The father relationship correlates more closely to issues of children and family, while the mother relationship relates more to the career, schooling and residence of the woman.

G. Degree, Schooling and Occupation

A seventh group of factors that are closely related are those of years of school completed, degree obtained and occupation of the respondent. Those factors significantly correlated to the degree held by the respondent and the factors related to years of schooling completed are:

- 1) JOS -- returning to school and graduating from school;
- 2) FR -- obtaining credit cards and accounts;
- 3) CF -- degree of influence;
- 4) LR -- moving to another city or town, moving because of a change in her job, and the degree of influence;

5) PA -- more concern with good health,

6) ROSW -- find they were seeking the company of women more and enjoying being alone more.

7) RWM -- becoming more competitive with men.

Here again it must be recognized that we are dealing with an atypical population -- that the educational level of these women is far above the average. Thus, it is not surprising that the greatest correlations existed in the areas of schooling and the mobility of the women to move because of a change in her job.

The occupation of the respondent correlated significantly to

1) MLA -- marriage, divorce and quitting working,

2) FR -- getting their own credit cards and taking out a loan in their own name,

3) LR -- moving to a new residence and moving because of a change in her job;

4) PA -- quitting shaving and wearing make-up, etc.

Here again the trend seems to be toward increased mobility in residence, in returning and graduating from school, in financial independence and in the ability to alter the marriage relationship by either marriage or divorce.

H. Therapy

While not many factors related to whether or not a woman had been in therapy, the ones that did were interesting. Therapy significantly correlated to:

1) MLA -- divorce,

2) LR -- moving to another part of the country,

3) HTDL -- becoming less concerned with such tasks as housework, child care, auto and yard care;

4) PA -- quitting shaving and wearing make-up, etc., and quitting wearing a bra or girdle.

In looking to the "stress" theories first published by Drs. T.H. Holmes and R.H. Rahe, it is found that they rate divorce as the second greatest stress factor possible and moving and changing residence (i.e. moving to another part of the country) along with such changes as schools, recreation, church and social activities, separation from friends and family, etc. as also great stress factors. Then perhaps the relationship of therapy to the above items is not so unexpected.

The correlative relationship with therapy is the only reference to becoming less concerned with household tasks and care or with becoming less concerned with personal appearance or with quitting wearing a bra or girdle.

I. Religion and Intensity of Religious Feeling:

The final factor was religion and intensity of religious belief. These correlated significantly to:

- 1) MLA -- divorce,
- 2) JOS -- graduating from school;
- 3) LR -- moving both to another residence and to another city.

These first two seem not unexpected, the latter perhaps irrelevant.

In summary, two points need to be made. First, many of the correlations seen are what might reasonably be expected -- i.e., the longer a woman is involved in CR the more likely she is to become an active feminist, to be more career-minded, to become closer to other women and be more independent. Also, similar changes occur as a woman

economically independent. Age, as might be expected, relates more closely to family decisions, career plans and relationships with men. In short, the point being that the correlations that have been found were not really unexpected, and provided no new or unique data.

The second point is that perhaps this particular type of analysis was unnecessary. It has been useful in that some areas that might be fruitful for future exploration have been uncovered, but this data is too general to draw other than the most global sorts of conclusions.

One area for future research might be to correlate information in smaller units. For example, break the age category down into its seven sub-categories and correlate each of those with change items. Useful data, for example, might show us if women in the age category of 20-24 are getting divorced, or if it's women aged 40-45. Breaking correlations into small units such as these has great possibility for finding out more specifically the nature of these women and the nature of the CR influence.

XVI. Summary of the Study

The purposes of this study have been 1) to examine the personal backgrounds of the women who participate in CR, 2) to determine the reasons for joining a CR group, what that CR experience is like, and what kinds of feminist activity is being participated in by the respondents, and 3) to examine the various ways their CR group might have influenced.

The Inventory of Raised Consciousness (IRC), a survey questionnaire, was designed and mailed to a random sample of 500 women who had participated in consciousness-raising in the Greater Washington, D.C. Area. A return of 43 percent (215 questionnaires) was received. The information

from them was coded, and tabulations and correlations were made. From these respondents the following summary of results is taken

1. Personal Background of the Respondents

In terms of age, we find that while the range is from 20 to 67, 67 percent of the respondents are between the ages of 26 and 40, 18 percent are over 40 and 15 percent are under 25. Almost half, or 49 percent are married, and another 10 percent are remarried, 20 percent are single and 21 percent are separated or divorced. Of the 173 respondents who had been married, 79 percent had been married once, 19 percent twice, and one percent three and four times. About 27 percent of these women live alone, the rest live with spouse, partner, children or roommates.

In terms of occupations, about 47 percent could be classified as professionals, 12 percent as secretarial or sales, two percent as technicians or crafts persons, 15 percent as housewives and 14 percent as students. Over 71 percent of the women in this study are in the labor force, certainly over the average of 51 percent of the women between the ages of 18 and 65 who are working.

In average annual family income categories, 46 percent of the respondents' families earned \$16,000 to \$30,000 per year, over 32 percent below \$15,000 and about 22 percent above \$30,000. Forty-four percent of the women themselves have annual incomes between \$8,000 and \$20,000, nine percent earn \$21,000 or over, and 48 percent have incomes below \$7,000. Included in this lower percentage are those who are housewives and do not have incomes.

The largest percentage (35%) of women preferred no religion, 24 percent were Protestant, 20 percent Jewish, 11 percent Unitarians,

seven percent Catholic and four percent other. In contrast to this, 49 percent felt they were religious or very religious, 38 percent were average in religious conviction, 13 percent slightly non-religious or anti-religion. So even though 34 percent are involved in no religion, only 13 percent believe themselves to be below average in religious conviction.

Although only 42 respondents were single, 93 had no children, and small families were the norm. Forty-three percent had no children, 11 percent had one, 28 percent had two and the remainder ranged from 10 percent with three, to 0.5 percent with eight. These figures are interesting when related to the fact that 85 percent of these women are over 26 years of age, the age at which the "average" American woman has had her last child.

Women in this study are far better educated than the average. Over 64 percent have a college degree or graduate work, and 29 percent have an M.A. or above.

One unique finding was that 47 percent, almost half these CR group participants, had been in either group or private therapy; 11 percent for less than 6 months, 21 percent from 7 months to two years and 14 percent for over two years.

Another interesting discovery concerned relationships to parents. Fifty-five percent characterized their relationship with their mothers as below average to bad, and 45 percent had the same relationship with their fathers. Over 80 percent felt the relationship with their mothers to be average to very bad, and 71 percent had similar feelings toward their fathers. While 32 percent had no sisters, 42 percent had no brothers, 43 percent had one sister and 35 percent one brother, and 47 percent of the respondents were the oldest child.

The basic demographic material for this group of 215 respondents fit general population data concerning marital status, age and general living conditions, however, they are better educated, more inclined to be in the labor force, have fewer children, and are more affluent. They also have a high rate of therapy participation, have generally negative relationships with their parents and are frequently the oldest child in their family. With this background on the personal characteristics of this group of women, let us examine the reasons why they joined a CR group and what that experience was like.

2. Reasons for Joining and the CR Experience

The questionnaire listed fifteen possible reasons for joining a CR group, and each respondent was asked to rank order those applied to her. According to the mean averages, the most important reasons for joining a CR group, in order, were: 1. I was curious about consciousness raising. 2. I was interested in the women's movement. 3. I wanted a way to get involved in the women's movement. 4. I wanted to talk about myself and my life. 5. I thought it might be a place where I could work through some of my personal problems. While these were the top five according to mean averages, the two statements which received the largest number of top rankings were: 1. I wanted to meet new people and make new friends. 2. My life was at a turning point. In many ways these responses confirm what feminists generally believe that the CR group is the best and safest way to become involved in the women's movement.

In terms of general CR group experience it was found that most women have participated in only one CR group, joined a CR group between the ages of 21 and 40, about a third of them have dropped out of a group usually because the group dissolved, most were married when they joined CR, but

that since CR seven women married, 17 divorced, and 22 remarried (in total figures 131 women were married before CR and 127 after CR). Most groups lasted from seven months to two years, and most of the women had been out of their groups at least a year. Most groups met in members' homes, met weekly, had six to ten members who knew either none or only one other group member prior to joining. Most groups picked topics to discuss, did not limit the number of times or the length of time a member could speak, and did not have a designated leader. Meetings lasted from two and a half to three hours, and members were similar in terms of race, education and economic status, but not in age.

Most groups had personality conflicts, but these were usually not perceived to be harmful, and groups generally did not confront persons causing problems. Slightly over half the groups had an outside leader to help the group get started, and few ever did verbal or physical exercises. It is found that the CR groups fit the norms generally described in the popular literature.

Questions were asked concerning the political activity of the respondent and about her personal education in the women's movement on feminist issues. While 43 percent said that they had become more active in the movement since CR, 50 percent listed no change. Some 58 percent have joined a national organization that is working for women's rights, NOW being mentioned most often and FEW second. While most CR groups were not politically active, 59 percent of the women had written individually to legislators concerning women's issues. Only 18 percent had taken any classes or courses concerning the movement, but over 83 percent had read books, the most frequently mentioned being the Feminine Mystique. Another 55 percent had read materials on the early suffrage movement,

and over 82 percent regularly read a feminist magazine or journal.

In asking what issues were discussed by their CR group, the answers overwhelmingly dealt with the area of relationships -- relationships with men and spouse, family and children, parents, other women and their relationship with themselves in terms of self-confidence, worth, esteem, responsibility, growth, respect awareness and image. Also important were issues of sexuality, sex, celibacy, marriage, bodies, beauty, appearance and general discrimination. To a lesser extent the groups were also concerned with such issues as anger, frustration, assertiveness, aggression, aging, dependency, power, sex role stereotyping and socialization, life goals, trust, and negative male attitudes about women. These issues provide an interesting contrast to the issues that each woman said most concerned her personally. Those public issues were overwhelmingly abortion, equal job opportunities, employment, discrimination, equal pay, ERA, credit, money, social security, rape, self defense, divorce and child care. It strikes me that the issues concerning the group are the private and personal issues of relationships to others, but the issues which concern women as individuals are the public issues which tend to be basic survival needs of women who are realizing that they must provide for themselves or be at least prepared to provide for themselves in an uncertain world.

With this background on the CR group experience, we can turn our attention to the question of influence and examine the ways these respondents report having been influenced by their CR groups.

3. Influence of the CR Group:

When asked if they felt that their CR groups pressured them to change behavior or attitudes, the response was negative. Over 42 percent felt

no pressure, 26 percent felt some pressure and 20 percent felt moderate pressure. Only 12 percent felt significant or great pressure to conform to the CR group.

When asked to rank order ways the CR group might have influenced them, the rankings according to mean were: 1. Talking openly about their feelings and their lives. 2. Suggesting alternatives I had not previously considered. 3. Presenting new information which changed some of my ideas. 4. Providing emotional support which made me feel better about myself. The CR groups it would seem exert the greatest influence by allowing open talking, honesty, suggesting new alternatives, presenting new information and providing emotional support.

From this point on the questionnaire was divided into nine sections, each dealing with a different aspect of a woman's life, asking if certain changes had been made, and, if they had, was this change influenced by the CR group.

1. Marital and Living Arrangement -- In this section it was found that the CR group reportedly had no influence on such steps as marriage, engagement or remarriage. It did, however, have an influence on divorce, separation, reuniting with a spouse or partner and beginning and ending affairs. Over 31 percent of the women reported that they had begun working for an "open marriage," and over 82 percent of those reported the CR group as an influence. Most significant was the finding that 65 percent of the women reported that they had changed their concept of what a marriage or partnership should be, and 88 percent of these said this was influenced by their CR group experience.

2. Job -- Occupation -- School -- In this section most women reported changes in the areas of beginning working at a paid job, making

a career commitment, increasing volunteer work in the women's movement and returning to school. In terms of the influence of the CR group, 90 percent reported that the group was most influential in making a career commitment. Another 82 percent reported the CR group as being influential in causing them to increase their volunteer work, and 68 percent found the group influential in their returning to school.

3. Financial Responsibility -- In this area women reported moderate change in establishing separate checking or savings accounts, getting credit cards in their own names, and in changing their mind about financial responsibility for their families, from 63 to 72 percent report the CR group as being influential in those decisions. Most significantly, over 43 percent said that they had begun working toward financial independence, and 78 percent reported that the CR group was influential in this decision.

4. Children and Family -- Here we find few women making changes and little significant CR group influence. The CR experience had little influence on pregnancy, having a baby, abortion, or adoption. Most significant was that although only 17 women decided not to have children, 65 percent report the CR group as influential in that crucial decision. Another 19 women decided to postpone children and the CR group was influential in 74 percent of those decisions. Most change occurred in the number of women having a tubal ligation, and 57 percent said that this was due to CR group influence. In general, however, the changes being made in this area were small.

5. Location of Residence -- In terms of any appreciable influence, this section is negligible. Of the women (22) who moved because of a change in their job, 46 percent felt it was influenced by the CR group.

6. Household Tasks and Division of Labor -- Some 30 percent of the respondents began sharing housework and cooking with their spouse or partner, and 82 percent reported CR group influence. Another 31 percent became less concerned with household up-keep tasks, and 82 percent reported this as being influenced by the group. The most significant change was that over 47 percent concluded that the work and responsibility of their households should be more evenly divided, and over 84 percent said that this change was influenced by their CR group. In this section we do find the CR group exerting considerable influence.

7. Personal Appearance -- Although the numbers are not large we find that women have become more interested in their personal appearance than less interested; although the 66 percent who became more interested attribute it to the group, the 79 percent of those who became less interested also attribute it to CR group influence. Most significant changes were in becoming less concerned with the way others look reported by 89 percent as being influenced by the CR group, beginning exercising more with a 65 percent report of influence and the most frequent change was greater concern for good health. Over 72 percent report having been influenced in this category by the CR group.

8. Relationship to Self and Other Women -- Here is where we find women reporting the most changes made and the greatest influence of the CR group. Over 83 percent of the respondents found that they became more understanding of the problems that women face, and 96 percent attribute this to CR group influence. Another 80 percent found that they could be more open and honest with other women, and 95 percent felt this was due to their CR group. Over 78 percent found that they developed close friendships with women and 94 percent attribute this to

CR influence. It was also found that over 74 percent reported having more self confidence and 78 percent attribute it to CR, another 72 percent felt they had altered their previous views of women, and over 94 percent felt that it was influenced by CR. No women reported becoming lesbians, but 14 (6.5%) did report becoming bi-sexuals and 11, or over 78 percent felt the CR group influential in that decision. The other 21 percent were uncertain. This was certainly the area where women showed the greatest number of changes and also where the CR group was found to have had the most influence. It confirms many of the feelings held by feminists that CR is a place for women to learn to care for other women and themselves.

9. Relationships With Men -- In the final section on the relationships the respondents have with the men in their lives, the greatest change was made in the area of speaking up more and letting their opinions be known, over 64 percent made this change, and 83 percent felt it was due to CR group influence. Another 59 percent reported that they were becoming less dependent on a man or on men, and over 77 percent found the group influential in this undertaking. Another 68 percent found the group influential in their becoming more competitive with men, and another 64 percent found that their moods were less dependent upon masculine attention.

Throughout much of the IRC, but particularly in the last two sections, we find some very real, occasionally dramatic and generally consistent changes, particularly in the area of relationships to the self and to others. In many ways this finding confirms in concrete fashion much of the writing and development of theory examined in Chapters One and Two. By the early 1970s such feminists as Janet Harris (1971), Ronnie Lichtman

(1970), Shulamith Firestone (1970), Jo Freeman (1974), and Lucy Komisar (1971) were writing of the ways in which the CR group experience had changed the lives and relationships of the women involved. This study has confirmed their observations, and helps establish as accurate their intuitive understandings, of the value of the small group process to the feminist movement.

The historical chronicle of that period, Rebirth of Feminism (Hole and Levine, 1973) supports this same conclusion: that women who participate in the small interactive, supportive group will learn about themselves and will grow in their relationships with others.

This finding should be nothing new to persons working and participating in the field of interpersonal communication and communication theory. Elizabeth Janeway in her book Man's World, Women's Place (1971) makes the point that at last women have left the isolation of their lives and are beginning to touch reality, the real world, in ways never before needed or even thought possible. This strikes me as being the same ultimate experience that is found in the small, human relations group focused on personal growth through interaction. Kim Giffin and Bobby R. Patton have stated

...there still exists a great opportunity for personal heroism. Today's challenge lies in the area of growth and development in interpersonal relations. There is a tremendous challenge in the area of personal living. The quest for increased self-understanding and self-improvement can still be an adventure of heroic proportions. (Giffin and Patton, 1974)

Perhaps it is true that the worlds left to conquer and that great possibilities of "heroism" lie mostly deep inside each individual and will be discovered only as each person attempts to develop his/her human potential. This reality comes when we realize that the path to self growth is primarily

through interaction with others.

But interaction alone is not enough; there must be the kind of interaction found within the context of a small group of persons who can build foundations of trust, caring and then of openness and sharing of the self. For many communication theorists, openness and self-disclosure "... are so entwined with personal communication that they are virtually synonymous." (Giffin and Patton, 1974) For many of us who have learned first hand that the path to self-awareness and self-discovery is through open, honest and trusting communication with others, also fully understand that the feminist consciousness-raising group is directly in the mainstream of that particular form of personal growth.

While growth can occur in many types of group situations, it seems at this particular period it was necessary for women to be alone and to ban together to begin their voyage into the reality that men always have had. It was first necessary for us to discover the strengths and supports within ourselves before we would be able to survive the new world facing all humans. Ultimately, I believe that the small feminist consciousness-raising group will have served its purpose, that its form will change and that as women become more reality grounded, their needs will change. Perhaps the great days of CR are over, but it is still going to be true that where people ban together with a desire to learn, to grow and to love, the small group -- feminist, masculinist, or humanist will provide a core of strength for personal change.

Chapter Five

"Where Do We Go From Here " Directions for CR

I The Basic CR Needs

Question 60 of the Inventory of Raised Consciousness (IRC) asked "What were some of the more important issues or topics that concerned your group?" One respondent answered "Where do we go from here?" That issue is, I believe, a crucial consideration for the women's movement in general and for consciousness-raising in particular

As early as 1971, feminists were saying that the early euphoric days of consciousness-raising had passed and that the real work was only beginning. From 1971 until the middle of 1975, most of that work has centered around legislative reform -- the passing of laws and the testing of them in court. As soon as the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) becomes a part of the Constitution and the forced pregnancy amendments to legislation are defeated, most feminists agree that the important legislation will have been passed. While the continuing hard work of legislation, research and lobbying will be going on for years to come, there has been a change in the atmosphere surrounding the women's movement, the types of women involved and the work needed to be accomplished

As a result the needs that women bring to a CR group have changed. Thus it is that the question that forms the title of this chapter

is a most necessary one. At the end of the questionnaire respondents wrote about the interfacing of their lives with their CR group experience. Looking at these comments can give some suggestion as to what is most important to keep in CR, as well as to possible new directions for CR needs of women.

A CR as Learning

From several of the responses it seems that it is still important that CR continue as a device for learning about one's self and others. As one woman wrote "While active in CR I managed to get my head really together. I developed an even stronger sense of independence, self-reliance, and positive self image." This was typical of the sort of remark made. The positive (frequently newly positive) feelings toward the self were exciting. "I wish that all women could have their C's R'd. My self-esteem has made giant steps forward instead of the used-to-be backwards. I hope to find my real potential as a woman." With this new affirmation of herself it is more likely than ever that she will find her real potential which is, after all, one of the basic tenants of feminism.

Other women centered in on more specific personal learnings.

I expect the major effect the group has had on me is that I am making attempts to become more assertive and talking more about my feelings (both in and out of the group) rather than expecting people to know what I'm feeling without telling them.

And once again the question of honesty was brought up when one commented, "Most important thing I got out of CR was learning to be honest."

Another important form of learning centers around a new awareness of the self in relationship to men and to other women. Typical of reactions to men was the following

I also discovered that although I still like men, I'm not willing to settle for poor quality or poor attitudes towards women. I learned to live alone (with children) and like it - and found myself unwilling to compromise my principles and ideas for the sake of a man or because of social pressures.

Another respondent struggling with the issues of relationships to men and other women made the following troubled comments: "I have become less comfortable around men since I have found how easy it is to relate to women," and "I have become less sexually aggressive since I have learned from my experience and other women's how badly men take it. I resent stifling myself, though."

In other ways resentment was shown toward male attitudes about women and to the effect that these attitudes had on their feelings. Remembering from Chapter Four that women expressed concern about such attitudes and that others expressed the hope of a change in attitudes regarding women, one response is particularly to the point.

I feel much of the problem faced by liberated women is the area of men's expectations of women [which] are so pervasive in our society and so deep rooted in men by virtue of their upbringing that these attitudes will be very hard to change and take a long time to change. Men seem to me to be very stereotyped in their thinking and feeling about women - perhaps they are really unable to respond with human warmth to women unless they are sexually attracted and hopeful of, or actually obtaining their objectives through women. Still, I do not believe that this trend in men is necessarily instinctual, though that might be argued - in most societies, men and women make enough intimate contacts so that children are produced; but it seems to me that women in our society are trying to get enjoyable contacts regularly with men, and deep lasting intimacy with one or a few, as well as developing themselves as persons and citizens.

Here again is the same problem expressed in Chapter Four, how might a woman strike a balance between the need for autonomy and control of herself as a person and her need/desire for healthy relationships with men. For some

women it is doubtless possible. Others express their frustrations as does this one:

After living with a man for three years then deciding it was okay to sleep with another man I was attracted to I found myself falling into my old habit or "trap" of pursuing the man and having to deal with rejection, game playing, etc. I'm disappointed that I haven't grown more in that way, however, it was a good test. Have noticed that relationships with myself and other women is the primary area in which I feel growth.

Echoing this final sentiment, as was clearly seen in the results of the questionnaire is that most women feel their relationships to other women are the most important learning gained from CR. One woman who participated in CR for only a month has written.

My experience with a formal CR group as such was very short and limited, however, I feel that my consciousness was raised considerably through many informal and spontaneous talks with several women whom I befriended shortly before beginning CR. My limited involvement in the CR group and with the women's movement did cause me to become more open with other women which no doubt opened the way for developing some close friendships.

Another woman expresses confusion as to what caused her changes, however, the point concerning her relationships to other women is clear.

It's almost impossible to evaluate the specific impact of the CR experience in the midst of divorce, career development, therapy, moving, children's problems and remarriage. Most clear influence is definitely acknowledging the importance of friendships and working relationship with women.

Finally, one mature participant expresses her feelings thus:

The value of the group has been in its actually tacit approval of me as an individual - an attitude I extend to my sisters. I appreciate their sharing, their thoughtfulness and their wanting/willingness to understand me and each other.

These questions about the self and about relationships with men and women form a large percentage of the issues covered in depth by CR groups. From the above statements, this learning is and should remain an essential component of a CR group.

B. CR as Support:

A second way in which the CR group appears to be most significant is that it provides a place where a woman can receive support for changes she has made, in life, is in the process of making or is planning on making. "I think most of my current personal growth and growing independence might have come about without CR as though I were now ready for it and were aware of where I want to go," is not unlike several of the responses in this category. As one expressed it: "... what I'd started the CR supported me in, but they had nothing to do with those decisions." Or another: "It is difficult to determine how CR may, or may not, have influenced me. I do think it greatly helped me firm up many attitudes and opinions that were already within me, and gave me some needed strength to stand firm on my convictions."

While some women had made changes in their lives and then used CR as support, others are quick to admit the need for the support when they were ready to make changes. "I believe I was ready to make changes but needed support, and found that many women face similar problems, and this gave me the courage to change my way of life." Another 29 year old woman with a two year old child expressed more specific sentiments as to the influence of her CR group:

The CR was an influence in my decision to have one child. They were supportive of my feelings to have only one child.

The CR was an influence in my decision to have an abortion in the event I would become pregnant. The situation came up when I thought I was pregnant so my husband and I had to decide what we would do.

I would say that the CR group I was in was a good, supportive experience for me. They were helpful in verbalizing a lot of

feelings and thoughts I had. In doing this I felt comfortable with the group. It was definitely a positive year and a half.

On the other hand, one woman who participated in CR for a very short period of time (two months) wrote of the ways in which she made changes and then expressed the desire for the support that CR does provide.

It is very difficult for me to separate out the causes of many of the changes I have gone through. I think the changes caused me to get into the last CR group. The CR group itself was disappointing - I felt I gained more from reading, talking and research outside the group. I have, however, gotten into a new CR group which I hope will be good. I also feel like I'm at a very high level of awareness so that the effect of the group can't go much higher - yet it can provide support.

Finally there was one woman who had also participated in CR only a short time but who wrote of the determined and analytical way in which she set about raising her own consciousness and in making important life changes.

In the past year I feel my consciousness regarding Women's status and the male-oriented society's treatment of women has heightened considerably although I have not been involved in the movement in an "active" way (i.e. CR group membership in NOW, etc). I attribute my changes in attitude to my determination to become more self reliant, my refusal to accept the status quo, and my increased introspection (analyzing why I feel I am excluded, believed inferior, and otherwise prejudiced against by men, why I lack confidence in myself as a human being, and analyzing my conditioning by family and society.) The major reason for deciding to change my life was 1) the realization of my lack of confidence and 2) my rejection of my dependence on an ex-boyfriend as a result of a nervous breakdown I experienced 14 months ago. Influenced by feminist literature, I wish to become actively involved in the movement.

Here again is expressed the desire to gain control of her own life and to become, as she says, "more self reliant."

Ultimately the CR group must remain a support vehicle for the kinds of serious life changes being felt and lived by women everywhere. Very few people can overcome a life-time of careful social conditioning without systematic forms of support or positive reinforcement. While it is certainly

true of some women -- as it was of the one who made that last statement -- that they can make important changes by determination and, as in her case, an understanding of her situation through feminist literature, most women will desire the more direct support that they receive from interaction with other women who are going through similar struggles.

C. CR as a Path to Social Action:

Less frequently mentioned but still a third important function of CR is that it provides an entree into the women's movement and social action. Several women mentioned this specifically. One writes:

I have found that being in CR did not change my attitude since I have felt somewhat liberated and have a good relationship with my spouse re: women's roles. It was because of my "freer" attitudes about women that lead me to CR discussion. I've enjoyed the discussions with bright verbal women and that has proved stimulating. I am hoping CR will lead to more social action.

The second writes: "I have become involved in NOW because I know that my experiences were not isolated and that something will only be done as a result of our working on it." A third woman even mentions this survey as being an impetus to her becoming more involved when she says: "A meaningful survey! , Reinforces my intention to participate more actively in the movement -- seeing in black and white how little I'm presently doing."

In Chapter Four we discussed why women join CR groups. One frequently given reason was that women are looking for a way to become involved in the women's movement. Finding out where you stand on feminist issues and becoming articulate in expressing yourself on those issues are first steps to becoming involved in social action. Certainly the CR group will remain as the best place for analysis, exploration of personal feelings and articulation of positions.

D. CR as a Developmental Life Experience:

The final way that women express the importance of CR is difficult to clearly define. Broadly speaking it is that CR is an important part of their total life experience. While CR has varying kinds of influences, it is a significant "life event," "life process," or "developmental experience" for most participants. At the same time many women involved in CR are going through numerous life change and growth experiences. Thus the place of CR within this totality of experience is an issue being dealt with by many women.

One woman expresses this uncertainty in the following manner: "Thank you for sharing this with me. I felt some questions were neither 'yes' or 'no' but, in between. With a combination of CR, NOW, Gestalt, private therapy its difficult to separate and give or not give credit to a single growth area."

A NOW CR Coordinator even expresses similar sentiments:

My uncertainty about the degree of influence the CR group had upon my behavior and/or attitudes comes from the fact that during and after my involvement in it, I had a growing involvement with the woman's movement, and, although I see changes as related to both the above I can not always distinguish between the two as the source for those changes. I tend to think it was the work in the women's movement, the women I met there, and the experiences I had there, that were the greater influences. However, it may be of special interest that CR was a major area of interest in that work in the movement. In continually meeting with new groups and talking with women interested in CR, I felt sometimes I was in one long, ongoing CR process of my own.

Or another:

Since all of this took place at a time I was in therapy due to depression much of these same things were being stressed and encouraged. I have recently in group therapy been accused of becoming more harsh and hard - as a result of joining the women's movement. Joining the women's movement is the first thing I've joined and enjoyed and fully participated in on my own without pressures or guilt feelings. ... It's really hard to tell where

my neurosis stops and my women's movement ideas start. In essence I have always been a feminist.

While the women's movement, therapy and change in marital status are all other important influences accompanying CR, one woman writes of still another significant influence which she finds difficult to separate from her CR experience:

First of all, I am delighted to take part in your inventory. Secondly, you will find most of my check marks in the ??? column. This is simply because I have had another relationship in my life which started long before I joined the CR group. The growth of this relationship coincided with being in the group and has also proved to be a marvelous learning experience too, and I would not want to give up going to meetings and participating in any way. However, credit must be two fold. I am most grateful for the group.

Whether it is a single personal relationship or a rather complete involvement in feminism as a combination of influence, the importance of the CR group as a part of these developmental experiences is constantly reinforced. One fifty year old woman with a several year involvement in the women's movement expresses it thus:

The CR group that I joined was in San Jose, Cal. while I was a member of NOW and was finishing up my studies in Behavioral Science for a BA degree. Due to my studies (which included sociology, psychology and social psych.) and due to my life experiences, I was already very much aware of women's inferior status and had been raising my children for years as non-sexist as possible and had been a cry in the wilderness whenever I did speak out. My CR experience was valuable and I was no longer feeling alone and weird for my anger and sporadic depressions, especially with each family move (5 in all) to another part of the country where I was expected to function like a machine with no past or future. This Sisterhood that I experienced also through NOW did instill in me a dedication to work for the women's movement and I am now applying for acceptance into the GWU [George Washington University] Women's Studies program and am hoping to support myself and to share the household work.

While the above statement is relatively typical of the sort of experiences many women have had, others have lived through far more dramatic life changes as a result of their CR experiences. One respondent relates such an experience:

CR cured, or at least greatly improved, a neurotic/obsessive thought pattern I had about a traumatic experience that happened about 10 years ago. I learned to trust again, and to relate to people - especially other women. I no longer thought I had to move away. I began to enjoy being alive again.

For a CR group to have had this kind of influence on a ten year pattern of life habits is certainly eloquent testimony to the effect that CR can have on the life and developmental experiences of participants.

While most of the comments were based on concrete experiences, there were also those who wrote of their CR experience in euphoric terms. For example:

For me my CR group was the most beautiful experience I have ever had. The eight of us developed love and understanding for women that we never had before. We went for a weekend at the beach and shared with each other problems that are difficult to share with anyone.

It is a combination of all these feelings and experiences that make up a large part of the value and importance of CR. The need for CR as a learning process, as support, as a path to social action and as an important part of a total life experience, is sufficient reason for its further development and refinement as a tool for assisting women in answering the question of "where do we go from here."

II. New Developments in Consciousness-Raising:

In examining the recent developments of CR and in attempting to chart some new directions for CR, it is necessary to articulate some basic assumptions about the women beginning in consciousness-raising groups in 1975.

To begin with, women -- even those we might think of as being "traditional housewives," -- are more knowledgeable about the social issues that concern them. They have become aware of the problems that they will face as women in a rapidly changing society whether they choose to work, stay home, divorce, remain single or become widows.

Second, these women are becoming more articulate, outspoken and forceful in describing the changes they see as being needed in order that they not be denied full citizenship. Whether it is a group of middle aged women lobbying for changes in biased social security laws, or young women attempting to enforce equal employment legislation, women are becoming an organized political force to be reckoned with.

Third, we generally find that many women are beginning to take far more responsibility for themselves and their lives. There is no longer the assumption that they will be "taken care of" by someone for even a majority of their lives.

Finally, women in 1975 are bringing to a CR group a far clearer understanding of where they want and need to go in terms of their own personal growth, development and change. Thus it is likely that the structures and norms laid down by women working in CR in 1968 and 1969, are not applicable to today's CR needs. The next question then becomes: what new structures and norms are currently being developed and used, and what does "CR-1975" look like?

A. An Example: Los Angeles NOW Consciousness Raising Handbook:

Many articles have been written about CR as was evident in Chapter Two. Just recently, however, the Los Angeles Chapter of NOW, Consciousness-Raising Committee has published a "Consciousness Raising Handbook." (1974) The collective work of fifteen women, this Handbook charts a radically new course for CR and develops new structures which address themselves to current CR needs. There are two important new developments that should be explored: 1) the use of a trained leader for the group, and 2) the careful selection and development of topics.

Probably the most radically different precept of the L.A. NOW Handbook is that it advocates a trained leader for each CR group. For them, "the ideal leader would be the ultimate role model for women." (1974) Since there are few of those, they have chosen warm, hard working feminists and these have been trained for leadership positions.

There are numerous qualities considered necessary for a good CR leader:

1. She has to have an "... informed, honest, gut-level commitment to feminism which includes a dedication to the goal of sisterhood." (1974)

2. She must have a "... sound theoretical knowledge and sufficient political-organizational experience to be able to relate the personal to the political."

3. She should be "... ready for deep involvement in CR, not only in her own group, but also in the committee which operates the CR program ..."

4. She must be "... aware that her personal bias may be upsetting to the group. Any kind of prejudice, expressed or not, cannot be tolerated in a leader."

5. She must be ready to accept many responsibilities, one of the most difficult being "... the whole matter of being an authority figure." The committee is clear about the fact that they "... believe the group prospers when women feel secure about the leader's role, are aware that she is in charge, and that she knows what she is doing." They are, however, careful to distinguish leadership from authoritarianism. "The authoritarianism manages and pushes people into her choices; the responsible authority uses her role to help people operate comfortably toward their goals." They also recognize that in the successful CR group "... the leader's role progressively diminishes ..." (1974)

Besides these personal qualities, the CR group leader has very specific tasks. She must be well prepared for every meeting, have a "... preconceived goal in terms of a lesson to be learned," be willing to be as vulnerable a participant as any other member, be constantly aware of the non-verbal messages she is sending, be "... accepting and strong," be able to cope with problems of silent, dominant or seriously disturbed women and, finally, be able to help "... each woman find her own way to a feminist understanding." (1974)

In short, this Handbook advocates a strong, knowledgeable and well trained leader for every CR group -- certainly a departure from earlier norms.

The second way in which the L.A. NOW Handbook differs from other previous materials is that it insists that each of its group leaders select and develop topics according to very strict criteria.

To begin with, the committee believes that since feminism is such a complete revolution in thought, it can be difficult to sort out the issues and problems. Well chosen topics, they believe, "... form first a common basis for discussion through which women find their commonality ... know that their problems have similar source and ... a political solution." Thus topics should be chosen for "... their feminist consciousness raising potential and developed toward that goal." (1974) It is also the responsibility of the leader to phrase and develop a topic (chosen by the group) in such a way that these goals will be met.

In choosing a topic the group may wish to discuss something like marriage. It is then up to the leader to phrase the subject into a question in such a way that the feminist ramifications as well as personal feelings can be

expressed. One L.A. leader phrased the above topic as" "Is Marriage a Sexist Plot?" which focused on the issue, "... has a goal and provides a feminist context in which women can discuss marriage." (1974)

Once the topic is set, the leader is then expected to research the question -- first by listing all the issues she can think relating to the question and then by researching feminist literature. On the above topic such authors as Shulamith Firestone, Simone DeBeauvoir, Jesse Bernard and Germaine Greer were all valuable resources. Note is made of relevant and interesting quotations.

After the research, the leader prepares a topic outline in which she phrases questions related to the materials and issues. Always foremost in her mind should be the relating of the topics to the political condition of women. "These should be questions that lead women to probe deeper and deeper into their conditioning." (1974)

After the questions are phrased they are arranged in logical order. Then, during the CR session, the outline can be used in any way that helps the leader make the most of the meeting. With this preparation, she should be ready for any questions that might arise and there should be no lag in the discussion. While the discussion should be spontaneous and the leader flexible, the outline can provide the best for a goal directed discussion. For an example of the type of outline actually used, see Appendix D.

With the use of the leader and the carefully constructed goal directed topic outline, a different form of CR is emerging in 1975. While this particular Handbook is the product of the experience of only one CR Committee, it is a Handbook that is fast gaining widespread recognition and use by feminists throughout the country. It is a move toward the use of definite structure in consciousness-raising, which for years has prided itself in its

lack of assigned leadership and overt structure. The reasons for this change ultimately go back, I believe to the basic assumptions about women discussed on pp. 179-180. If it is true that women are more knowledgeable, articulate, politically minded and are taking more personal responsibility for the direction of their lives, then it is quite possible that the directed and goal oriented CR format will provide them with more satisfaction than the fumbling and searching of the earlier days of CR.

It is also true, however, that women still have a lot of searching to do and the finding of the paths that will lead them to their own personhood may certainly not be as well structured as the L.A. NOW suggestions.

In any final analysis, CR is a highly personal experience and must fit the needs and temperaments of the individual women involved. While there still must be some basic rules and structures, it is also true that each group will have to find its own style -- there are simply no universal answers.

III. Summary and Conclusions:

One of the original purposes of this study was to find out something about the women who participate in consciousness-raising groups. Aware of all the limitations of geographic region and sample size, we found that in terms of basic demographic factors, this group of 215 women were remarkably similar to the general population of American women. Of course, there are the notable exceptions and, therefore, biases -- the most obvious being the educational level, the participation in the labor force and women who have in one way or another turned to others (therapist or CR group) as a way of working through

personal problems and situations.

The major purpose of this study was to find out what kinds of behavioral and attitudinal changes women report as having made since participating in a CR group, and then to discover whether or not they believe the CR group to have influenced those changes. In any final analysis there is no simple "yes" or "no" answer to the question of influence. In such areas as location of residence and decisions in relation to children and family, the group had virtually no influence -- or at best very minor influence. On such issues as marital and living arrangements, personal appearance, financial responsibility and household tasks and division of labor there appears to be moderate influence. It is not until you get to the crucial (at least for CR) issues of relationships to men, to self and other women that you find the CR group exerting significant influence. Certainly this is as it should be. If CR is the place where women come to learn to love and like themselves and each other, and then to learn to translate this love to relationships with others, the CR group is fulfilling its basic function -- that of providing a woman with a "feminist" understanding of herself, her life, her important relationships and the society in which she must function.

Another conclusion to be drawn from this study is that it seems to demonstrate many of the basic principles of small group communication. When people can come together in a group where caring, trusting, and support are norms, then human growth becomes possible.

It seems apparent that the CR values of being open, honest, trusting, non-judgmental and non-confrontive have much the same benefits as the similar sorts of values held by the advocates of the small, personal interactive group experience.

If personal growth, self-awareness, the ability to increasingly love and trust yourself and others are important values in the small human relations training group, then consciousness-raising as it is currently being practiced by women, is a part of the mainstream of the current human relations group phenomenon.

Like almost all small group study, an investigation of the ways in which people interact and influence each other is enormously complex. The consciousness-raising group is certainly a small group phenomenon that is ripe for study and analysis. This survey is only a beginning, others will follow soon (Anderson, et al., 1975) and the entire field of men's consciousness-raising, which is fast growing, and of people's CR, are all available for future investigation. (Farrell, 1971 and 1974)

While absolute conclusions on the influence of consciousness-raising cannot be drawn from this study, certainly it is a beginning of knowledge about the movement which will, I also believe, prove to be that "greatest of all human revolutions."

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APPENDIX A
INVENTORY OF RAISED CONSCIOUSNESS
AND
ACCOMPANYING LETTERS

INVENTORY OF RAISED CONSCIOUSNESS

I. PERSONAL BACKGROUND

1. SEX M F
2. AGE 15-20 21-25 26-30 31-35 36-40 41-45 OVER
3. MARITAL STATUS SINGLE MARRIED SEPARATED
DIVORCED REMARRIED
4. NUMBER TIMES MARRIED 0 1 2 3 4 5 OVER
5. LIVING ARRANGEMENT ALONE WITH ADULT MALE/S
WITH ADULT FEMALE/S WITH CHILD/CHILDREN
6. OCCUPATION _____
7. AVERAGE ANNUAL FAMILY INCOME (IN THOUSANDS) 0-5
6-10 11-15 16-20 21-30 31-40 41-50 OVER
8. YOUR AVERAGE ANNUAL INCOME NONE 0-3 4-7 8-11
12-15 16-20 21-25 26-30 31-35 36-40 OVER
9. RELIGION CATH JEW PROT UNIT NONE OTHER
10. ON THE FOLLOWING SCALE, WOULD YOU SAY YOU ARE
VERY RELIGIOUS 5 4 3 2 1 ANTI-RELIGION
11. NUMBER OF CHILDREN _____ AGES _____
12. YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED ELEMENTARY HIGH-SCHOOL
SOME COLLEGE BACHELOR DEGREE GRADUATE WORK
13. HIGHEST ATTAINED DEGREE _____
14. HAVE YOU EVER BEEN IN THERAPY OR PSYCHOANALYSIS YES
NO GROUP PRIVATE HOW LONG _____
15. HOW WOULD YOU CHARACTERIZE YOUR RELATIONSHIP WITH YOUR
MOTHER VERY GOOD 5 4 3 2 1 VEY BAD
16. HOW WOULD YOU CHARACTERIZE YOUR RELATIONSHIP WITH YOUR
FATHER VERY GOOD 5 4 3 2 1 VERY BAD
17. NUMBER OF SISTERS _____ BROTHERS _____
18. RANK IN FAMILY OLDEST MIDDLE YOUNGEST

II. REASONS FOR JOINING A CR GROUP

PLEASE RANK YOUR REASONS FOR JOINING A CR GROUP. GIVE THE REASON MOST IMPORTANT A 1, THE SECOND MOST IMPORTANT A 2, ETC. DO NOT RANK THOSE THAT DO NOT APPLY.

19. I WANTED TO MEET NEW PEOPLE AND MAKE NEW FRIENDS.
20. MY LIFE WAS AT A TURNING POINT.
21. I WANTED AND NEEDED EMOTIONAL SUPPORT.
22. A PERSON I TRUSTED TOLD ME I WOULD LIKE CR.
23. I WAS INTERESTED IN THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT.
24. I WAS CURIOUS ABOUT CONSCIOUSNESS-RAISING.
25. I WANTED A WAY TO GET INVOLVED IN THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT.
26. I WANTED TO LEAVE MY HUSBAND/BOYFRIEND AND I THOUGHT THIS MIGHT GIVE ME THE COURAGE.
27. I WANTED TO TALK ABOUT MYSELF AND MY LIFE.
28. NOW THAT MY CHILDREN ARE GONE, I NEEDED SOMETHING TO DO WITH MY LIFE.
29. I FELT IT WAS TIME FOR ME TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT MYSELF.
30. I THOUGHT IT MIGHT BE A PLACE WHERE I COULD WORK THROUGH SOME OF MY PERSONAL PROBLEMS.

31. A GROUP WAS BEING FORMED IN MY NEIGHBORHOOD.
32. I WAS HAVING PROBLEMS WITH MY RELATIONSHIP/S WITH A MAN/MEN.
33. I REALLY DIDN'T KNOW WHY I WANTED TO JOIN, I JUST KNEW THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT I DO IT.

III. YOUR CONSCIOUSNESS-RAISING GROUP EXPERIENCE

34. HAVE YOU PARTICIPATED IN MORE THAN ONE GROUP YES NO
35. IF YES, HOW MANY 2 3 4 5 6 7 OVER
36. ARE YOU CURRENTLY IN A GROUP YES NO
37. IF YES, HOW LONG HAVE YOU BEEN PARTICIPATING _____
38. AGE WHEN YOU FIRST JOINED A CR GROUP _____
39. MARITAL STATUS WHEN YOU FIRST BEGAN IN CR SINGLE
MARRIED SEPARATED DIVORCED REMARRIED
40. DID YOU EVER DROP OUT OF A CR GROUP YES NO
41. IF YES, WHY _____

(THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS SHOULD RELATE TO YOUR MOST SIGNIFICANT CR GROUP EXPERIENCE.)

42. HOW LONG DID YOU PARTICIPATE IN THAT GROUP _____
43. HOW LONG DID THE GROUP CONTINUE TO MEET REGULARLY _____
44. HOW LONG HAVE YOU BEEN OUT OF THAT GROUP _____
45. DID YOUR GROUP MEET IN MEMBERS' HOMES YES NO
46. HOW OFTEN DID YOU MEET _____
47. HOW MANY MEMBERS WERE THERE (AVERAGE) _____
48. HOW MANY DID YOU KNOW BEFORE THE GROUP STARTED _____
49. DID YOU PICK TOPICS TO DISCUSS YES NO SOMETIMES
50. DID YOU LIMIT THE NUMBER OR LENGTH OF TIMES EACH PERSON COULD SPEAK YES NO SOMETIMES
51. DID YOU HAVE A DESIGNATED LEADER YES NO SOMETIMES
52. HOW LONG WAS A AVERAGE MEETING _____
53. WAS YOUR GROUP SIMILAR IN THE FOLLOWING CATEGORIES
AGE YES NO
RACE YES NO
EDUCATION YES NO
ECONOMIC STATUS YES NO
54. WERE THERE PERSONALITY CONFLICTS IN THE GROUP YES NO
55. IF YES, WERE THEY SERIOUS ENOUGH TO CAUSE DAMAGE YES NO
56. DID THE GROUP EVER CONFRONT PERSONS CAUSING PROBLEMS
YES NO
57. DID YOU HAVE AN OUTSIDE "LEADER" TO HELP THE GROUP GET STARTED YES NO
58. DID YOU EVER DO PHYSICAL EXERCISES (YOGA, DANCE) YES NO
59. DID YOU EVER DO VERBAL/MENTAL EXERCISES OR GAMES YES NO
60. WHAT WERE SOME OF THE MORE IMPORTANT ISSUES OR TOPICS THAT CONCERNED YOUR GROUP _____

IV. FEMINIST MOVEMENT ACTIVITY AND EDUCATION

61. SINCE, CR HAVE YOU BECOME MORE/LESS POLITICALLY ACTIVE IN THE FEMINIST MOVEMENT MORE LESS NO CHANGE
62. HAVE YOU BECOME MORE/LESS POLITICALLY ACTIVE ON ANY "WOMEN'S ISSUES " MORE LESS NO CHANGE
63. HAVE YOU JOINED A NATIONAL ORGANIZATION WORKING ON/FOR WOMEN'S ISSUES AND CONCERNS YES NO
64. IF YES, WHICH ONE(S) NOW WEAL WPC LWV FEW BPW OTHERS _____
65. HAVE YOU JOINED A RADICAL FEMINIST GROUP YES NO
66. IF YES, WHICH ONE(S) _____
67. HAS YOUR CR GROUP WORKED OR LOBBIED FOR ANY FEMINIST ISSUES YES NO
68. HAVE YOU EVER WRITTEN TO YOUR CONGRESSPERSON OR SENATOR CONCERNING A FEMINIST ISSUE OR LEGISLATION CONCERNING WOMEN YES NO
69. HAVE YOU DONE ANY TESTIFYING OR LOBBYING FOR A WOMEN'S ISSUE YES NO
70. WHICH WOMEN'S ISSUES PARTICULARLY CONCERN YOU _____
71. HAVE YOU TAKEN ANY COURSES OR CLASSES THAT DEALT WITH THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN SOME DEPTH YES NO
72. HAVE YOU READ BOOKS CONCERNING THE FEMINIST MOVEMENT YES NO
73. IF YES, WHICH WERE MOST IMPRESSIVE/IMPORTANT TO YOU _____
74. HAVE YOU READ MATERIALS CONCERNING THE EARLY SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT YES NO WHAT _____
75. DO YOU SUSCRIBE TO OR REGULARLY READ ANY FEMINIST JOURNALS OR MAGAZINES YES NO WHICH ONE(S) _____

V. INFLUENCE OF YOUR CR GROUP

76. CIRCLE THE DEGREE OF PRESSURE TO CHANGE BEHAVIORS AND/OR ATTITUDES EXERTED BY YOUR CR GROUP
- NO PRESSURE 1 2 3 4 5 GREAT PRESSURE
- PLEASE RANK THE WAYS YOUR GROUP MIGHT HAVE INFLUENCED YOU. GIVE THE TYPE MOST IMPORTANT A 1, THE SECOND MOST IMPORTANT A 2, ETC. OMIT ANY FORMS OF INFLUENCE THAT DID NOT APPLY
- "MY GROUP INFLUENCED ME BY ...
77. PROVIDING EMOTIONAL SUPPORT WHICH MADE ME FEEL BETTER ABOUT MYSELF.
78. PRESENTING NEW INFORMATION WHICH CHANGED SOME OF MY IDEAS.
79. BUILDING PRESSURE TO CONFORM TO THE GROUP'S WAY OF THINKING AND ACTING.
80. SUGGESTING ALTERNATIVES I HAD NOT PREVIOUSLY CONSIDERED
81. THREATENING LOSS OF MEMBERSHIP OR FRIENDSHIP IF I DID NOT CHANGE.

82. TALKING OPENLY ABOUT THEIR FEELINGS AND THEIR LIVES
83. OTHER _____

INSTRUCTIONS IF YOUR ANSWER TO THE QUESTION IS NO OR NOT APPLICABLE, LEAVE IT BLANK. IF YOUR ANSWER IS YES, CHECK THE FIRST COLUMN, THEN ALSO CHECK WHETHER OR NOT YOU BELIEVE THAT YOUR DECISION OR CHANGE WAS INFLUENCED BY YOUR PARTICIPATION IN A CR GROUP. IN EACH CASE THE QUESTION BEGINS "DURING OR AFTER YOUR PARTICIPATION IN A CR GROUP DID YOU...

VI. MARITAL AND LIVING ARRANGEMENTS

- | | YES | YES | NO | ?? |
|---|-----|-----|----|----|
| 84. BECOME ENGAGED | | | | |
| 85. MARRY | | | | |
| 86. DIVORCE | | | | |
| 87. REMARRY | | | | |
| 88. SEPARATE FROM SPOUSE/PARTNER | | | | |
| 89. REUNITE WITH SPOUSE/PARTNER | | | | |
| 90. BEGIN LIVING WITH A MAN | | | | |
| 91. BEGIN LIVING WITH A WOMAN | | | | |
| 92. STOP LIVING WITH A MAN | | | | |
| 93. STOP LIVING WITH A WOMAN | | | | |
| 94. BEGIN AN AFFAIR/S | | | | |
| 95. END AN AFFAIR/S | | | | |
| 96. WORK FOR AN "OPEN MARRIAGE" | | | | |
| 97. CHANGE YOUR CONCEPT OF WHAT MARRIAGE/PARTNERSHIP SHOULD BE | | | | |
| 98. CIRCLE THE DEGREE OF INFLUENCE YOUR CR GROUP HAD ON YOU RELATING TO ISSUES DEALT WITH IN THIS SECTION | | | | |
| NO INFLUENCE 1 2 3 4 5 GREAT INFLUENCE | | | | |

VII. JOB -- OCCUPATION -- SCHOOL

- | | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|--|
| 99. BEGIN WORKING AT A PAID JOB | | | | |
| 100. QUIT WORKING AT A PAID JOB | | | | |
| 101. CHANGE OCCUPATIONAL FIELDS | | | | |
| 102. BEGIN JOB HUNTING | | | | |
| 103. MAKE ANY CAREER COMMITMENTS | | | | |
| 104. MAKE A COMMITMENT NOT TO BECOME INVOLVED IN A CAREER AT THIS TIME | | | | |
| 105. RETURN TO SCHOOL | | | | |
| 106. LEAVE SCHOOL | | | | |
| 107. GRADUATE FROM SCHOOL | | | | |
| 108. INCREASE VOLUNTEER WORK IN THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT | | | | |
| 109. INCREASE OTHER VOLUNTEER WORK | | | | |
| 110. DECREASE VOLUNTEER WORK | | | | |
| 111. CIRCLE THE DEGREE OF INFLUENCE YOUR CR GROUP HAD ON YOU RELATING TO ISSUES DEALT WITH IN THIS SECTION | | | | |
| NO INFLUENCE 1 2 3 4 5 GREAT INFLUENCE | | | | |

"DURING OR AFTER YOUR PARTICIPATION IN A CR GROUP DID YOU . . .

VIII. FINANCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

	INFLUENCED BY CR					
	YES	YES	NO	???		
112. CHANGE YOUR MIND ABOUT FINANCIAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR YOUR FAMILY	___	___	___	___		
113. BEGIN CONTRIBUTING FINANCIAL SUPPORT TO YOUR HOUSEHOLD	___	___	___	___		
114. GET CREDIT CARDS/ACCOUNTS IN YOUR OWN NAME	___	___	___	___		
115. ESTABLISH SEPARATE CHECKING OR SAVINGS ACCOUNTS	___	___	___	___		
116. TAKE OUT YOUR OWN LOAN	___	___	___	___		
117. MAKE ANY INVESTMENTS IN YOUR OWN NAME	___	___	___	___		
118. WORK TOWARD FINANCIAL INDEPENDENCE	___	___	___	___		
119. CIRCLE THE DEGREE OF INFLUENCE YOUR CR GROUP HAD ON YOU RELATING TO ISSUES DEALT WITH IN THIS SECTION						
NO INFLUENCE	1	2	3	4	5	GREAT INFLUENCE

IX. CHILDREN AND FAMILY

	INFLUENCED BY CR					
	YES	YES	NO	???		
120. GET PREGNANT	___	___	___	___		
121. HAVE A BABY	___	___	___	___		
122. HAVE AN ABORTION	___	___	___	___		
123. CONSIDER ADOPTION	___	___	___	___		
124. ADOPT A CHILD	___	___	___	___		
125. DECIDE TO HAVE CHILDREN	___	___	___	___		
126. DECIDE NOT TO HAVE CHILDREN	___	___	___	___		
127. DECIDE TO POSTPONE HAVING CHILDREN	___	___	___	___		
128. DECIDE TO HAVE TWO OR MORE CHILDREN	___	___	___	___		
129. HAVE A TUBAL LIGATION	___	___	___	___		
130. YOUR SPOUSE/PARTNER HAVE VASECTOMY	___	___	___	___		
131. CIRCLE THE DEGREE OF INFLUENCE YOUR CR GROUP HAD ON YOU RELATING TO ISSUES DEALT WITH IN THIS SECTION						
NO INFLUENCE	1	2	3	4	5	GREAT INFLUENCE

X. LOCATION OF RESIDENCE

	INFLUENCED BY CR					
	YES	YES	NO	???		
132. MOVE TO ANOTHER HOUSE/APARTMENT	___	___	___	___		
133. MOVE TO ANOTHER CITY/TOWN	___	___	___	___		
134. MOVE TO ANOTHER PART OF THE COUNTRY	___	___	___	___		
135. LIVE IN A COMMUNE	___	___	___	___		
136. MOVE BECAUSE OF CHANGE IN YOUR JOB	___	___	___	___		
137. MOVE BECAUSE OF CHANGE IN SPOUSE/PARTNER'S JOB	___	___	___	___		
138. CONSIDER MOVE TO BE SUCCESSFUL	___	___	___	___		
139. REALLY WANT TO MOVE	___	___	___	___		
140. KNOW YOUR SPOUSE/PARTNER REALLY WANTED TO MOVE	___	___	___	___		
141. CIRCLE THE DEGREE OF INFLUENCE YOUR CR GROUP HAD ON YOU RELATING TO ISSUES DEALT WITH IN THIS SECTION						
NO INFLUENCE	1	2	3	4	5	GREAT INFLUENCE

XI. HOUSEHOLD TASKS AND DIVISION OF LABOR

142. BEGIN SHARING HOUSEWORK AND COOKING WITH SPOUSE/PARTNER	___	___	___	___
--	-----	-----	-----	-----

INFLUENCED BY CR

	INFLUENCED BY CR					
	YES	YES	NO	???		
143. BEGIN SHARING CHILD CARE	___	___	___	___		
144. BEGIN SHARING AUTO/YARD CARE	___	___	___	___		
145. BECOME LESS CONCERNED WITH THESE ABOVE TASKS	___	___	___	___		
146. GIVE SON(S) MORE RESPONSIBILITY FOR UPKEEP OF THEMSELVES THE RESIDENCE	___	___	___	___		
147. GIVE DAUGHTER(S) MORE RESPONSIBILITY FOR UPKEEP OF THEMSELVES THE RESIDENCE	___	___	___	___		
148. FIND ANY OF ABOVE CREATED TENSION OR RESISTANCE IN FAMILY MEMBERS	___	___	___	___		
149. FIND THAT ANY OF ABOVE CREATED GUILT OR TENSION IN YOU	___	___	___	___		
150. CONCLUDE THAT THE WORK AND RESPONSIBILITY OF YOUR HOUSEHOLD SHOULD BE MORE EVENLY DIVIDED	___	___	___	___		
151. BECOME SATISFIED WITH THE DIVISION OF RESPONSIBILITY IN YOUR HOME	___	___	___	___		
152. CIRCLE THE DEGREE OF INFLUENCE YOUR CR GROUP HAD ON YOU RELATING TO ISSUES DEALT WITH IN THIS SECTION						
NO INFLUENCE	1	2	3	4	5	GREAT INFLUENCE

XII. PERSONAL APPEARANCE

	INFLUENCED BY CR					
	YES	YES	NO	???		
153. BECOME LESS INTERESTED IN YOUR APPEARANCE	___	___	___	___		
154. BECOME MORE INTERESTED IN YOUR APPEARANCE	___	___	___	___		
155. QUIT SHAVING, WEARING MAKE UP, ETC.	___	___	___	___		
156. BEGIN SHAVING, WEARING MAKE UP, ETC.	___	___	___	___		
157. QUIT WEARING A BRA OR GIRDLE	___	___	___	___		
158. BEGIN WEARING A BRA OR GIRDLE	___	___	___	___		
159. BECOME LESS CONCERNED WITH HAIR, DRESS, JEWELRY, ETC.	___	___	___	___		
160. BECOME MORE CONCERNED WITH HAIR, DRESS, JEWELRY, ETC.	___	___	___	___		
161. BECOME LESS CONCERNED WITH THE WAY OTHER PEOPLE LOOK	___	___	___	___		
162. REDUCE YOUR STANDARDS OF CLEANLINESS	___	___	___	___		
163. BECOME MORE COMFORTABLE WITH AND ACCEPTING OF YOUR BODY	___	___	___	___		
164. BECOME MORE CONCERNED WITH GOOD HEALTH	___	___	___	___		
165. BEGIN EXERCISING MORE	___	___	___	___		
166. ALTER YOUR EATING OR DRINKING HABITS	___	___	___	___		
167. CIRCLE THE DEGREE OF INFLUENCE YOUR CR GROUP HAD ON YOU RELATING TO ISSUES DEALT WITH IN THIS SECTION						
NO INFLUENCE	1	2	3	4	5	GREAT INFLUENCE

XIII. RELATIONSHIP TO SELF AND OTHER WOMEN

168. ALTER YOUR VIEWS OF OTHER WOMEN	___	___	___	___
169. DEVELOP CLOSE FRIENDSHIPS WITH WOMEN	___	___	___	___
170. BECOME MORE UNDERSTANDING OF THE PROBLEMS WOMEN FACE	___	___	___	___
171. FIND YOU SEEK THE COMPANY OF WOMEN MORE	___	___	___	___

		INFLUENCED BY CR			
	YES	YES	NO	???	
172. FIND YOU CAN BE MORE OPEN AND HONEST WITH OTHER WOMEN	___	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
173. FIND WOMEN MORE INTELLIGENT AND SENSITIVE THAN PREVIOUSLY THOUGHT	___	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
174. FIND YOU HAD MORE IN COMMON WITH WOMEN THAN BEFORE	___	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
175. FEEL FREER TO DO THINGS AND GO PLACES WITH OTHER WOMEN	___	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
176. FEEL FREER TO DO THINGS AND GO PLACES ALONE	___	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
177. ENJOY BEING ALONE MORE	___	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
178. FIND THAT YOU CHOOSE TO SPEND TIME WITH WOMEN MORE FREQUENTLY	___	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
179. BECOME A LESBIAN	___	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
180. BECOME BI-SEXUAL	___	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
181. BEGIN TO FEEL BETTER ABOUT YOURSELF	___	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
182. FIND YOU HAVE MORE SELF CONFIDENCE	___	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
183. CIRCLE THE DEGREE OF INFLUENCE YOUR CR GROUP HAD ON YOU RELATING TO ISSUES DEALT WITH IN THIS SECTION					
NO INFLUENCE	1	2	3	4	5 GREAT INFLUENCE

XIV. RELATIONSHIPS WITH MEN

		INFLUENCED BY CR			
	YES	YES	NO	???	
184. BECOME MORE COMPETITIVE	___	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
185. BECOME LESS DEPENDENT ON A MAN OR ON MEN	___	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
186. BECOME MORE COMFORTABLE AROUND MEN	___	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
187. TEND TO SPEAK UP MORE AND LET YOUR OPINIONS BE KNOWN	___	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
188. BECOME MORE WILLING TO INITIATE RELATIONSHIPS	___	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
189. BECOME MORE SEXUALLY AGGRESSIVE	___	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
190. FIND YOU WERE BEING TREATED DIFFERENTLY BY MEN	___	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
191. DEVELOP A CLOSER RELATIONSHIP WITH YOUR PRIMARY PARTNER	___	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
192. DEVELOP CLOSE RELATIONSHIPS WITH MORE THAN ONE MAN	___	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
193. FIND YOUR MOODS LESS DEPENDENT UPON MASCULINE ATTENTION	___	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
194. CIRCLE THE DEGREE OF INFLUENCE YOUR CR GROUP HAD ON YOU RELATING TO ISSUES DEALT WITH IN THIS SECTION					
NO INFLUENCE	1	2	3	4	5 GREAT INFLUENCE

MANY THANKS FOR YOUR HELP!

ANY COMMENTS?

PLEASE SEND A SUMMARY COPY OF THE RESULTS TO

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

RETURN WITH QUESTIONNAIRE OR CLIP AND SEND SEPARATELY



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON, D C 20401

Dear

Will you do me a favor?

I am conducting an area-wide survey among women who have participated in a consciousness-raising group. The purpose of this research is to study the effects that consciousness-raising has had on women like you and me.

As a former member of a CR group, you are probably aware that most of the writing in the field has been of a "personal incident" nature. This new study hopes to broaden our understanding of the women who have participated and the changes in their lives that have resulted from CR.

Your name has appeared as the result of an extensive search for women who have participated in CR and was then further selected from a scientifically determined random sample. Your answers are very important to the accuracy of my research. I also feel that you might learn some interesting things about yourself from filling out the questionnaire.

The enclosed questionnaire will take about 15 minutes to fill out. Then it only needs to be returned in the envelope provided.

In the upper right hand corner is a number which is being used to determine replies received. This will help to maintain accuracy in the reporting of the study. As soon as your reply is received, the number will be removed. You have my word that all answers will be completely anonymous and used only as sets of compiled data.

For those of you who wish it -- I will be happy to send you a summary of the results. Just fill in the enclosed label and return it with the questionnaire, or mail it in separately.

If you have any questions or would like to talk further about this study, please feel free to call me.

My thanks and great appreciation for your help with this project.

In sisterhood,

365-5023 (home)
541-2748 (work)

Quincalee Striegel
Federal Women's
Program Coordinator





UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON, D C 20401

February 1975

Dear

A few weeks ago a questionnaire concerning a consciousness-raising study was mailed to you. In the hurry of the holiday season, it is quite possible that it was mislaid.

Since your participation is important to the accuracy of the study I would be most grateful if you could find a few minutes to fill out this questionnaire and return it to me.

If you have already returned the questionnaire, please consider this letter a "Thank You" for your valuable help.

Remember that these questionnaires are anonymous and will be used only as compiled sets of data. Also, I will be happy to send you a summary of the results of the study if you so indicate. Because of time constraints, however, I must make the cut-off date for returns February 18.

My very great thanks for any help you might be able to give.

Sincerely,

Quincalee Striegel



APPENDIX B

INVENTORY OF RAISED CONSCIOUSNESS

FIRST FORM

CONSCIOUSNESS-RAISING QUESTIONNAIRE

I. Personal Background

1. Your sex M F
2. Your age. 15-20 21-25 26-30 31-35 36-40 41-45 over
3. Are you single married separated divorced remarried
4. How many times have you been married 0 1 2 3 4 5 more
5. Employment. _____
6. Other interests, activities. _____

7. Past employment. _____
8. Average annual family income. 0-5,000 6-10,000 11-15,000
16-20,000 21-30,000 31-35,000 36-40,000 41-45,000 over
9. Your average annual income none 0-2,000 3-5,000 6-8,000
9-11,000 12-15,000 16-20,000 21-25,000 26-30,000 over
10. Your religious preference _____
11. Do you attend church/synagogue. regularly usually occasionally
rarely never
12. Would you say you are very religious somewhat religious
moderately religious indifferent to religion anti-religion
13. Number of children _____ Their ages _____
14. Number of step children _____ Their ages _____
15. Number of years of school you have completed. 8 9 10 11 12
13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21
16. Highest attained degree _____
17. Have you ever been in therapy: yes no group private
18. Have you ever been in psychoanalysis. yes no How long. _____
19. On the following scale, how would you characterize your relationship with your mother:
very good 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 very bad

20. How would you characterize your relationship with your father.

very good 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 very bad

21. Number of brothers _____ sisters' _____

22. Where do you rank in your family in terms of age' oldest middle youngest

II. Consciousness-Raising Group Experience

23. Your age when you joined your first CR group _____

24. Are you currently in a CR group yes no

25. If yes, how long have you been participating' _____

26. If no, how long did you participate. _____

27. If no, how long did your CR group continue to meet regularly _____

28. If no, how long have you been out of your CR group. _____

29. Have you participated in more than one CR group yes no

30. If so, how many _____

31. Marital status when you began in CR single married divorced
separated remarried

32. Did you ever drop out of a CR group yes no

33. If yes, could you explain why. _____

III. Reasons for Joining A CR Group

The following have been given by women as reasons for joining a CR group.

Please check the ones you feel apply to you.

_____ 34. I wanted to make new friends.

_____ 35. I wanted to meet new people.

_____ 36. My life was at a turning point and I wanted to talk about it.

- _____ 37. My life was a mess and I wanted to be with people who would understand and be supportive of me.
- _____ 38. I wanted and needed emotional support.
- _____ 39. I was interested in the women's movement.
- _____ 40. I was curious about consciousness-raising.
- _____ 41. A person I trusted told me I would like CR.
- _____ 42. I wanted a way to get involved in the women's movement.
- _____ 43. I wanted to leave my husband/boyfriend and I thought this might give me the courage.
- _____ 44. I was considering making a real change in my life and I wanted to talk about it.
- _____ 45. Now that my children are gone, I need something to do with my life.
- _____ 46. I felt it was time for me to do something about myself.
- _____ 47. I thought it might be a place where I could work through some of my personal problems.
- _____ 48. I needed support for what I wanted to do.
- _____ 49. My basic problem stemmed from my relationship with a man.
- _____ 50. I was having a problem with my relationships with men.
- _____ 51. I really didn't know why I wanted to join, I just knew that it was important that I do it

Any reasons of your own _____

Instructions for remainder of questionnaire. If your answer to the question is no or not applicable, leave it blank. If your answer is yes, then also check whether or not you believe that your decision or change was influenced by your CR group.

IV. Marital and Living Arrangements

During or after your participation in a CR group did you

	Yes	Decision Influenced by Group		
		Yes	No	Uncertain
Get engaged	_____	_____	_____	_____
Get divorced	_____	_____	_____	_____
Get married	_____	_____	_____	_____
Remarry	_____	_____	_____	_____
Decide to separate	_____	_____	_____	_____
Separate from spouse	_____	_____	_____	_____
Reunite with spouse	_____	_____	_____	_____
Begin living with a man	_____	_____	_____	_____
Begin living with a woman	_____	_____	_____	_____
Quit living with a man	_____	_____	_____	_____
Quit living with a woman	_____	_____	_____	_____
Begin an affair	_____	_____	_____	_____
End an affair	_____	_____	_____	_____
Decide to have an affair	_____	_____	_____	_____
Decide to end an affair	_____	_____	_____	_____

Make any other substantive decision concerning any of the above. If yes, please explain: _____

V. Job - Occupation - School

During or after your participation in a CR group did you

		Decision Influenced by Group		
	Yes	Yes	No	Uncertain
Begin working at a paid job	_____	_____	_____	_____
Quit working at a paid job	_____	_____	_____	_____
Change jobs	_____	_____	_____	_____
Change occupational fields	_____	_____	_____	_____
Return to school	_____	_____	_____	_____
Quit going to school	_____	_____	_____	_____
Graduate from school	_____	_____	_____	_____
Make any career commitments	_____	_____	_____	_____
Make any commitment not to become involved in a career at this time	_____	_____	_____	_____
Decide to return to work	_____	_____	_____	_____
Start looking for a job	_____	_____	_____	_____
Decide to return to school	_____	_____	_____	_____
Make any substantive decision concerning any of the above. If yes, please explain. _____				

VI. Children and Family

During or after your participation in a CR group did you.

		Decision Influenced by Group		
	Yes	Yes	No	Uncertain
Get pregnant	_____	_____	_____	_____
Have a baby	_____	_____	_____	_____
Have an abortion	_____	_____	_____	_____
Have a miscarriage	_____	_____	_____	_____

	Decision Influenced by Group			
	Yes	Yes	No	Uncertain
Decide to adopt a child	_____	_____	_____	_____
Adopt a child	_____	_____	_____	_____
Decide not to have children	_____	_____	_____	_____
Decide to have children later	_____	_____	_____	_____
Decide to have only one child	_____	_____	_____	_____
Decide to have and adopt	_____	_____	_____	_____
Decide to have two children	_____	_____	_____	_____
Decide to have three children	_____	_____	_____	_____
Decide you want a large family	_____	_____	_____	_____
Have a tubal ligation	_____	_____	_____	_____
Decide to have a ligation	_____	_____	_____	_____
Husband have a vasectomy	_____	_____	_____	_____
Decide to have a vasectomy	_____	_____	_____	_____
Make any substantive decision concerning any of the above. If yes, please explain: _____				

VII. Location of Residence -- Moving

During or after your participation in a CR group did you:

	Decision Influenced by Group			
	Yes	Yes	No	Uncertain
Move to another house/apartment	_____	_____	_____	_____
Move to another city/town	_____	_____	_____	_____
Move to another part of the country	_____	_____	_____	_____

	Decision Influenced by Group			
	Yes	Yes	No	Uncertain
Move into a commune	_____	_____	_____	_____
Move out of a commune	_____	_____	_____	_____
Decide to move in the future	_____	_____	_____	_____
Move because of change in your job	_____	_____	_____	_____
Move because of change in spouse's or partner's job	_____	_____	_____	_____
Has move been successful	_____	_____	_____	_____
Did you want to move	_____	_____	_____	_____
Did spouse want to move	_____	_____	_____	_____
Make any substantive decision concerning any of the above. If yes, please explain: _____				

VIII. Household Tasks and Division of Labor

During or after your participation in a CR group did you:

	Decision Influenced by Group			
	Yes	Yes	No	Uncertain
Begin sharing housework with spouse/partner	_____	_____	_____	_____
Begin sharing child care with spouse/partner	_____	_____	_____	_____
Begin sharing cooking with spouse/partner	_____	_____	_____	_____
Begin sharing yard/auto care with spouse/partner	_____	_____	_____	_____
Become less concerned with the above tasks	_____	_____	_____	_____

	Decision Influenced by Group			
	Yes	Yes	No	Uncertain
Become less concerned with the appearance of residence	_____	_____	_____	_____
Give son(s) more responsibility for upkeep of.				
themselves	_____	_____	_____	_____
the residence	_____	_____	_____	_____
Give daughter(s) more responsibility for upkeep of.				
themselves	_____	_____	_____	_____
the residence	_____	_____	_____	_____
Did any of above create tension or resistance in spouse/partner	_____	_____	_____	_____
Did any of above create tension or guilt in you	_____	_____	_____	_____
Did this create conflict	_____	_____	_____	_____
Do you believe that the work and responsibility of your household is evenly divided	_____	_____	_____	_____
Are you satisfied with the division of responsibility in your home	_____	_____	_____	_____

Make any substantive decision concerning any of the above. If yes, please explain _____

IX. Financial Responsibility

During or after your participation in a CR group did you*

	Decision Influenced by Group			
	Yes	Yes	No	Uncertain
Alter any of your assumptions concerning financial responsibility for your family. If yes, explain below --	_____	_____	_____	_____
Begin contributing financial support to your household	_____	_____	_____	_____
Establish separate retail credit accounts (get credit cards in your own name)	_____	_____	_____	_____
Establish separate checking accounts	_____	_____	_____	_____
Establish separate savings accounts	_____	_____	_____	_____
Take out a loan in your own name	_____	_____	_____	_____
Buy a car in your own name	_____	_____	_____	_____
Make any investments in your own name	_____	_____	_____	_____
Work toward becoming financially independent	_____	_____	_____	_____

Make any substantive decision concerning any of the above. If yes, please explain: _____

X. Personal Appearance

During or after your participation in a CR group did you

	Decision Influenced by Group			
	Yes	Yes	No	Uncertain
Become less concerned with your appearance	_____	_____	_____	_____
Quit shaving your legs	_____	_____	_____	_____
Quit shaving your underarms	_____	_____	_____	_____
Quit using make up	_____	_____	_____	_____
Quit styling your hair	_____	_____	_____	_____
Quit wearing jewelry	_____	_____	_____	_____
Alter your style of dress	_____	_____	_____	_____
Become less concerned with the way other people looked	_____	_____	_____	_____
Alter your standards of cleanliness	_____	_____	_____	_____
Become more comfortable with your physical self	_____	_____	_____	_____
Become more accepting of your size and shape	_____	_____	_____	_____
Stop trying to loose weight	_____	_____	_____	_____
Work at getting your-self in better condition	_____	_____	_____	_____
Become more concerned with good health	_____	_____	_____	_____
Change your eating or drinking habits	_____	_____	_____	_____

Make any substantive decision concerning any of the above. If yes, please explain. _____

XI. Relationship to Other Women and Yourself

During or after your participation in a CR group did you:

	Decision Influenced by Group			
	Yes	Yes	No	Uncertain
Alter you perceptions of other women	_____	_____	_____	_____
Become closer to more women	_____	_____	_____	_____
Develop more close women as special friends	_____	_____	_____	_____
Become more compassionate about the problems women face	_____	_____	_____	_____
Find you enjoy the company of women more	_____	_____	_____	_____
Find yourself seeking out other women at gatherings more often	_____	_____	_____	_____
Feel that you can be more open and honest when you talk to other women	_____	_____	_____	_____
Find women more intelligent than you had previously thought	_____	_____	_____	_____
Find women more sensative than you had previously thought	_____	_____	_____	_____
Find that you had more in common with other women than you had previously thought	_____	_____	_____	_____
Feel free to do things and go places by yourself	_____	_____	_____	_____
Feel free to do things and to places with other women	_____	_____	_____	_____
Find that you would rather be with a woman/women than a man on occasion	_____	_____	_____	_____
Have you altered your sexual preference	_____	_____	_____	_____
What was your previous preference:	straight	bi-sexual	lesbian	
What is your present preference:	straight	bi-sexual	lesbian	

If you have made any substantive decision concerning any of the above, please explain: _____

XII. Political Activity in the Feminist Movement

During or after your participation in a CR group did you

	Decision Influenced by Group			
	Yes	Yes	No	Uncertain

Become more politically active in the feminist movement	_____	_____	_____	_____
---	-------	-------	-------	-------

Become more politically active on certain women's issues	_____	_____	_____	_____
--	-------	-------	-------	-------

Join a national organization working on women's issues	_____	_____	_____	_____
--	-------	-------	-------	-------

If yes, which one(s) · NOW WEAL FEW LWV WPC BPW

Other(s) _____

Join a radical feminist group	_____	_____	_____	_____
-------------------------------	-------	-------	-------	-------

If yes, which one(s) _____

Work or lobby in your CR group for any feminist issues	_____	_____	_____	_____
--	-------	-------	-------	-------

Have you ever written to your Congressperson or Senator concerning a feminist issue or legislation concerning women	_____	_____	_____	_____
---	-------	-------	-------	-------

Have you done any testifying or lobbying for a women's issue	_____	_____	_____	_____
--	-------	-------	-------	-------

Which women's issues are you particularly interested in. _____

XIII. Personal Education Concerning the Feminist Movement

Have you read books concerning the feminist movement yes no

If yes, which ones were most impressive/important to you. _____

Have you read magazine articles about the feminist movement yes no

Have you read materials concerning the early suffrage movement: yes no

Do you subscribe to any feminist magazines or journals yes no

If yes, which one(s) _____

Thank you for your assistance with this questionnaire.

APPENDIX C

INVENTORY OF RAISED CONSCIOUSNESS

SECOND FORM

INVENTORY OF RAISED CONSCIOUSNESS

I. PERSONAL BACKGROUND

1. Sex. M F
2. Age 15-20 21-25 26-30 31-35 36-40 41-45 over
3. MARITAL STATUS SINGLE MARRIED SEPARATED DIVORCED
REMARRIED NUMBER TIMES MARRIED 0 1 2 3 4 5
4. LIVING ARRANGEMENT. ALONE WITH MALE/S
 WITH FEMALE/S WITH CHILD/CHILDREN
5. EMPLOYMENT _____
6. PAST EMPLOYMENT _____
7. OTHER INTERESTS _____
8. AVERAGE ANNUAL FAMILY INCOME (IN THOUSANDS) 0-5 6-10
 11-15 16-20 21-30 31-40 41-50 51-60 61-70 over
9. YOUR AVERAGE ANNUAL INCOME NONE 0-2 3-4 5-6 7-8
 9-10 11-12 13-15 16-18 18-20 21-25 26-30 over
10. RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE CATH PROT JEW NONE OTHER
11. ATTENDANCE AT CHURCH/SYNAGOGUE REGULARLY USUALLY
 OCCASIONALLY RARELY NEVER
12. ON THE FOLLOWING SCALE, WOULD YOU SAY YOU ARE
 VERY RELIGIOUS 5 4 3 2 1 ANTI-RELIGION
13. NUMBER OF CHILDREN _____ AGES _____
14. NUMBER OF STEP CHILDREN _____ AGES _____
15. YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED ELEMENTARY HIGH-SCHOOL
 SOME COLLEGE BACHELOR DEGREE GRADUATE WORK
16. HIGHEST ATTAINED DEGREE _____
17. HAVE YOU EVER BEEN IN THERAPY OR PSYCHOANALYSIS YES
 NO GROUP PRIVATE How LONG _____
18. HOW WOULD YOU CHARACTERIZE YOUR RELATIONSHIP WITH YOUR
 MOTHER VERY GOOD 5 4 3 2 1 VERY BAD
19. HOW WOULD YOU CHARACTERIZE YOUR RELATIONSHIP WITH YOUR
 FATHER VERY GOOD 5 4 3 2 1 VERY BAD
20. NUMBER OF SISTERS _____ BROTHERS _____
21. RANK IN FAMILY OLDEST MIDDLE YOUNGEST

II. CONSCIOUSNESS RAISING GROUP EXPERIENCE

22. AGE WHEN YOU FIRST JOINED A CR GROUP _____
23. ARE YOU CURRENTLY IN A CR GROUP YES NO
24. IF YES, HOW LONG HAVE YOU BEEN PARTICIPATING _____
25. IF NO, HOW LONG DID YOU PARTICIPATE IN CR _____
26. IF NO, HOW LONG DID YOUR GROUP MEET REGULARLY _____
27. IF NO, HOW LONG HAVE YOU BEEN OUT OF YOUR GROUP _____
28. HAVE YOU PARTICIPATED IN MORE THAN ONE GROUP YES NO
29. IF YES, HOW MANY _____
30. MARITAL STATUS WHEN YOU BEGAN IN CR SINGLE MARRIED
 SEPARATED DIVORCED REMARRIED
31. SEXUAL ORIENTATION BEFORE JOINING A CR GROUP STRAIGHT
 BISEXUAL LESBIAN HOMOSEXUAL
32. SEXUAL ORIENTATION AFTER CR STRAIGHT BISEXUAL
 LESBIAN HOMOSEXUAL
33. DID YOU EVER DROP OUT OF A CR GROUP YES NO
34. WHY DID YOUR CR GROUP END _____

III. REASONS FOR JOINING A CR GROUP

THE FOLLOWING HAVE BEEN GIVEN AS REASONS FOR JOINING A CR GROUP. PLEASE CHECK THE ONES YOU FEEL APPLY TO YOU.

- _____ 35. I WANTED TO MAKE NEW FRIENDS.
- _____ 36. I WANTED TO MEET NEW PEOPLE.
- _____ 37. MY LIFE WAS AT A TURNING POINT AND I WANTED TO TALK ABOUT IT.
- _____ 38. MY LIFE WAS A MESS AND I WANTED TO BE WITH PEOPLE WHO WOULD BE SUPPORTIVE AND UNDERSTANDING.
- _____ 39. I WANTED AND NEEDED EMOTIONAL SUPPORT.
- _____ 40. A PERSON I TRUSTED TOLD ME I WOULD LIKE CR.
- _____ 41. I WAS INTERESTED IN THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT.
- _____ 42. I WAS CURIOUS ABOUT CONSCIOUSNESS-RAISING.
- _____ 43. I WANTED A WAY TO GET INVOLVED IN THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT.
- _____ 44. I WANTED TO LEAVE MY HUSBAND/BOYFRIEND AND I THOUGHT THIS MIGHT GIVE ME THE COURAGE.
- _____ 45. I WAS CONSIDERING MAKING A CHANGE IN MY LIFE AND I WANTED TO TALK ABOUT IT.
- _____ 46. NOW THAT MY CHILDREN ARE GONE, I NEEDED SOMETHING TO DO WITH MY LIFE.
- _____ 47. I FELT IT WAS TIME FOR ME TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT MYSELF.
- _____ 48. I THOUGHT IT MIGHT BE A PLACE WHERE I COULD WORK THROUGH SOME OF MY PERSONAL PROBLEMS.
- _____ 49. I NEEDED SUPPORT FOR WHAT I WANTED TO DO.
- _____ 50. I WAS HAVING PROBLEMS WITH MY RELATIONSHIP/S WITH A MAN/MEN.
- _____ 51. I REALLY DIDN'T KNOW WHY I WANTED TO JOIN, I JUST KNEW THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT I DO IT.

IV. CHARACTERISTICS OF YOUR CR GROUP

52. WHERE DID YOUR GROUP MEET _____
53. HOW OFTEN DID YOU MEET _____
54. HOW LONG WAS AN AVERAGE MEETING _____
55. HOW MANY MEMBERS WERE THERE _____
56. HOW MANY DID YOU KNOW BEFORE THE GROUP STARTED _____
57. DID YOUR GROUP PICK TOPICS TO DISCUSS YES NO
58. DID YOU LIMIT THE NUMBER OR LENGTH OF TIMES EACH PERSON COULD TALK YES NO
59. DID YOU HAVE A DESIGNATED LEADER YES NO
60. WAS YOUR GROUP MAINLY HOMOGENIOUS HETEROGENIOUS
61. WERE THERE PERSONALITY CONFLICTS IN THE GROUP YES NO
62. IF YES, WERE THEY SERIOUS ENOUGH TO CAUSE DAMAGE TO THE GROUP YES NO
63. DID YOUR GROUP EVER CONFRONT PERSONS CAUSING PROBLEMS YES NO
64. DID YOU HAVE AN OUTSIDE "LEADER" TO HELP THE GROUP GET STARTED YES NO
65. WHAT WERE SOME OF THE MORE IMPORTANT ISSUES OR TOPICS THAT CONCERNED YOUR GROUP _____

INSTRUCTIONS IF YOUR ANSWER TO THE QUESTION IS NO OR NOT APPLICABLE, LEAVE IT BLANK. IF YOUR ANSWER IS YES, CHECK THE FIRST COLUMN, THEN ALSO CHECK WHETHER OR NOT YOU BELIEVE THAT YOUR DECISION OR CHANGE WAS INFLUENCED BY YOUR PARTICIPATION IN C-R. IN EACH CASE THE QUESTION BEGINS "DURING OR AFTER YOUR PARTICIPATION IN A CR GROUP DID YOU . . .

V. <u>MARITAL AND LIVING ARRANGEMENTS</u>		INFLUENCED BY CR				INFLUENCED BY CR			
						YES	YES	NO	???
66. BECOME ENGAGED		—	—	—	—	100. WORK TOWARD FINANCIAL INDEPENDENCE	—	—	—
67. MARRY		—	—	—	—	VIII. <u>CHILDREN AND FAMILY</u>			
68. DIVORCE		—	—	—	—	101. GET PREGNANT	—	—	—
69. REMARRY		—	—	—	—	102. HAVE A BABY	—	—	—
70. SEPARATE FROM SPOUSE/PARTNER		—	—	—	—	103. HAVE AN ABORTION	—	—	—
71. REUNITE WITH SPOUSE/PARTNER		—	—	—	—	104. HAVE A MISCARRIAGE	—	—	—
72. BEGIN LIVING WITH A MAN		—	—	—	—	105. ADOPT A CHILD	—	—	—
73. BEGIN LIVING WITH A WOMAN		—	—	—	—	106. DECIDE TO HAVE CHILDREN	—	—	—
74. STOP LIVING WITH A MAN		—	—	—	—	107. DECIDE NOT TO HAVE CHILDREN	—	—	—
75. STOP LIVING WITH A WOMAN		—	—	—	—	108. DECIDE TO POSTPONE HAVING CHILDREN	—	—	—
76. BEGIN AN AFFAIR/S'		—	—	—	—	109. DECIDE TO HAVE TWO OR MORE CHILDREN	—	—	—
77. END AN AFFAIR/S		—	—	—	—	110. HAVE A TUBAL LIGATION	—	—	—
78. WORK FOR AN "OPEN MARRIAGE"		—	—	—	—	111. YOUR SPOUSE/PARTNER HAVE A VASECTOMY	—	—	—
79. ALTER YOUR CONCEPT OF MARRIAGE/PARTNERSHIP		—	—	—	—	IX. <u>LOCATION OF RESIDENCE</u>			
VI. <u>JOB -- OCCUPATION -- SCHOOL</u>						112. MOVE TO ANOTHER HOUSE/APARTMENT	—	—	—
80. BEGIN WORKING AT A PAID JOB		—	—	—	—	113. MOVE TO ANOTHER CITY/TOWN	—	—	—
81. STOP WORKING AT A PAID JOB		—	—	—	—	114. MOVE TO ANOTHER PART OF THE COUNTRY	—	—	—
82. CHANGE JOBS		—	—	—	—	115. MOVE INTO A COMMUNE	—	—	—
83. CHANGE OCCUPATIONAL FIELDS		—	—	—	—	116. MOVE OUT OF A COMMUNE	—	—	—
84. DECIDE TO BEGIN LOOKING FOR A JOB		—	—	—	—	117. DECIDE TO MOVE IN THE FUTURE	—	—	—
85. MAKE ANY CAREER COMMITMENTS		—	—	—	—	118. MOVE BECAUSE OF CHANGE IN YOUR JOB	—	—	—
86. MAKE A COMMITMENT NOT TO BECOME INVOLVED IN A CAREER AT THIS TIME		—	—	—	—	119. MOVE BECAUSE OF CHANGE IN SPOUSE/PARTNER'S JOB	—	—	—
87. RETURN TO SCHOOL		—	—	—	—	120. CONSIDER MOVE TO BE SUCCESSFUL	—	—	—
88. LEAVE SCHOOL		—	—	—	—	121. REALLY WANT TO MOVE	—	—	—
89. GRADUATE FROM SCHOOL		—	—	—	—	122. KNOW YOUR SPOUSE/PARTNER REALLY WANTED TO MOVE	—	—	—
90. INCREASE VOLUNTEER WORK IN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT		—	—	—	—	X. <u>HOUSEHOLD TASKS AND DIVISION OF LABOR</u>			
91. INCREASE OTHER VOLUNTEER WORK		—	—	—	—	123. BEGIN SHARING HOUSEWORK AND COOKING WITH SPOUSE/PARTNER	—	—	—
92. DECREASE VOLUNTEER WORK		—	—	—	—	124. BEGIN SHARING CHILD CARE	—	—	—
VII. <u>FINANCIAL RESPONSIBILITY</u>						125. BEGIN SHARING AUTO/YARD CARE	—	—	—
93. ALTER YOUR ASSUMPTIONS CONCERNING FINANCIAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR YOUR FAMILY		—	—	—	—	126. BECOME LESS CONCERNED WITH THESE TASKS ABOVE TASKS	—	—	—
94. BEGIN CONTRIBUTING FINANCIAL SUPPORT TO YOUR HOUSEHOLD		—	—	—	—	127. GIVE SON(S) MORE RESPONSIBILITY FOR UPKEEP OF THEMSELVES THE RESIDENCE	—	—	—
95. GET CREDIT CARDS/ACCOUNTS IN YOUR OWN NAME		—	—	—	—	128. GIVE DAUGHTER(S) MORE RESPONSIBILITY FOR UPKEEP OF THEMSELVES THE RESIDENCE	—	—	—
96. ESTABLISH SEPARATE CHECKING OR SAVINGS ACCOUNTS		—	—	—	—	129. FIND ANY OF ABOVE CREATED TENSION OR RESISTANCE IN SPOUSE/PARTNER/CHILDREN	—	—	—
97. TAKE OUT YOUR OWN LOAN		—	—	—	—	130. FIND THAT ANY OF ABOVE CREATED GUILT OR TENSION IN YOU	—	—	—
98. PUT A CAR TITLE IN YOUR NAME		—	—	—	—	131. CONCLUDE THAT THE WORK AND RESPONSIBILITY OF YOUR HOUSEHOLD SHOULD BE MORE EVENLY DIVIDED	—	—	—
99. MAKE ANY INVESTMENTS IN YOUR OWN NAME		—	—	—	—				

	INFLUENCED BY CR			
	YES	YES	NO	???
132. BECOME SATISFIED WITH THE DIVISION OF RESPONSIBILITY IN YOUR HOME	___	___	___	___
XI. <u>PERSONAL APPEARANCE</u>				
133. BECOME LESS CONCERNED WITH YOUR APPEARANCE	___	___	___	___
134. BECOME MORE CONCERNED WITH YOUR APPEARANCE	___	___	___	___
135. QUIT SHAVING	___	___	___	___
136. QUIT WEARING A BRA/GIRDLE OR OTHER FOUNDATIONS	___	___	___	___
137. QUIT WEARING MAKE-UP	___	___	___	___
138. BECOME LESS CONCERNED WITH HAIR, DRESS, JEWELRY	___	___	___	___
139. ALTER YOUR STYLE OF DRESS	___	___	___	___
140. BECOME LESS CONCERNED WITH THE WAY OTHER PEOPLE LOOK	___	___	___	___
141. ALTER YOUR STANDARDS OF CLEANLINESS	___	___	___	___
142. BECOME MORE COMFORTABLE WITH AND ACCEPTING OF YOUR BODY	___	___	___	___
143. BECOME MORE CONCERNED WITH GOOD HEALTH	___	___	___	___
144. BEGIN EXERCISING MORE	___	___	___	___
145. ALTER YOUR EATING OR DRINKING HABITS	___	___	___	___
XII. <u>RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER WOMEN AND YOURSELF</u>				
146. ALTER YOUR PERCEPTIONS OF OTHER WOMEN	___	___	___	___
147. DEVELOP MORE CLOSE FRIENDSHIPS WITH WOMEN	___	___	___	___
148. BECOME MORE UNDERSTANDING OF THE PROBLEMS WOMEN FACE	___	___	___	___
149. FIND YOU SEEK OUT AND ENJOY THE COMPANY OF WOMEN MORE OFTEN	___	___	___	___
150. FEEL THAT YOU CAN BE MORE OPEN AND HONEST WHEN YOU TALK TO OTHER WOMEN	___	___	___	___
151. FIND WOMEN MORE INTELLIGENT AND SENSITIVE THAN YOU HAD PREVIOUSLY THOUGHT	___	___	___	___
152. FIND THAT YOU HAD MORE IN COMMON WITH OTHER WOMEN	___	___	___	___
153. FEEL FREER TO DO THINGS AND GO PLACES WITH OTHER WOMEN	___	___	___	___
154. ENJOY BEING ALONE MORE	___	___	___	___
155. FIND THAT YOU WOULD CHOOSE TO BE WITH A WOMAN/WOMEN THAN WITH A MAN/MEN MORE FREQUENTLY	___	___	___	___
156. FEEL FREE TO DO THINGS AND GO PLACES BY YOURSELF	___	___	___	___
XIII. <u>RELATIONSHIPS WITH MEN</u>				
157. BECOME MORE COMPETITIVE	___	___	___	___
158. BETTER UNDERSTAND THE PROBLEMS OF BEING A MALE	___	___	___	___
159. BECOME LESS DEPENDENT ON A MAN OR MEN	___	___	___	___

	INFLUENCED BY CR			
	YES	YES	NO	???
160. BECOME LESS INHIBITED AROUND MEN	___	___	___	___
161. TEND TO SPEAK UP MORE AND LET YOUR OPINIONS BE KNOWN	___	___	___	___
162. BECOME MORE SEXUALLY AGGRESSIVE	___	___	___	___
163. BECOME MORE WILLING TO INITIATE RELATIONSHIPS	___	___	___	___
164. FIND YOU WERE BEING RESPONDED TO DIFFERENTLY	___	___	___	___
165. DEVELOP A CLOSER RELATIONSHIP WITH YOUR PRIMARY PARTNER	___	___	___	___
166. DEVELOP CLOSE RELATIONSHIPS WITH MORE THAN ONE MAN	___	___	___	___
XIV. <u>POLITICAL ACTIVITY IN THE FEMINIST MOVEMENT</u>				
167. SINCE CR, HAVE YOU BECOME MORE POLITICALLY ACTIVE IN THE FEMINIST MOVEMENT	YES	NO		
168. SINCE CR, HAVE YOU BECOME MORE POLITICALLY ACTIVE ON ANY "WOMEN'S ISSUES"	YES	NO		
169. HAVE YOU JOINED A NATIONAL ORGANIZATION WORKING ON/FOR WOMEN'S ISSUES AND CONCERNS	YES	NO		
170. IF YES, WHICH ONE(S)	NOW	WEAL	FEW	LWV WPC BPW OTHERS
171. HAVE YOU JOINED A RADICAL FEMINIST GROUP	YES	NO		
172. IF YES, WHICH ONE(S)	_____			
173. HAS YOUR CR GROUP WORKED OR LOBBIED FOR ANY FEMINIST ISSUES	YES	NO		
174. HAVE YOU EVER WRITTEN TO YOUR CONGRESSPERSON OR SENATOR CONCERNING A FEMINIST ISSUE OR LEGISLATION CONCERNING WOMEN	YES	NO		
175. HAVE YOU DONE ANY TESTIFYING OR LOBBYING FOR A WOMEN'S ISSUE	YES	NO		
176. WHICH WOMEN'S ISSUES PARTICULARLY CONCERN YOU	_____ _____ _____			
XV. <u>PERSONAL EDUCATION CONCERNING FEMINIST MOVEMENT</u>				
177. HAVE YOU TAKEN ANY COURSES OR CLASSES THAT DEALT WITH THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN SOME DEPTH	YES	NO		
178. HAVE YOU READ BOOKS CONCERNING THE FEMINIST MOVEMENT.	YES	NO		
179. IF YES, WHICH WERE MOST IMPRESSIVE/IMPORTANT TO YOU	_____ _____ _____			
180. HAVE YOU READ MATERIALS CONCERNING THE EARLY SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT	YES	NO	WHAT	_____
181. DO YOU SUSCRIBE OR REGULARLY READ ANY FEMINIST JOURNALS OR MAGAZINES	YES	NO		
182. IF YES, WHICH ONE(S)	_____ _____ _____			
183. WOULD YOU LIKE THE RESULTS OF THIS STUDY MAILED TO YOU	YES	NO		

THANK YOU FOR YOUR HELP

APPENDIX D

LOS ANGELES NOW

CONSCIOUSNESS RAISING HANDBOOK

TOPIC OUTLINE "IS MARRIAGE A SEXIST PLOT"

Is Marriage a Sexist Plot?

The purpose of this CR is to examine the effects of love and marriage (either as actually practiced or as concepts) on our lives as women.

-- The concepts of love and marriage are, because of conditioning, integral to the psychology of women impelling them toward traditional marriage.

-- A woman doesn't have to have been involved with a man to have felt the pressures to fall in love and get married.

-- Women are so conditioned to look upon marriage as a sublime goal that any other choices they may make either become secondary or are altogether precluded.

-- Women are conditioned to think of marriage as important to their well being, when actually it is more beneficial to society since married women serve as unpaid labor in the areas of child care and housekeeping and volunteer work, as a reserve force (WW II), maintain the emotional stability of men who are society's prime producers, and provide society with future populations.

-- Love and marriage effectively condition women from making any significant contributions to culture in their own right since all of their energies are used for the catching and keeping of The Man.

What were your childhood fantasies about marriage? How are they different from reality?

What is the relationship between the romantic myths and marriage?

What does falling in love do for the individuals involved?

Shulamith Firestone makes the point that men have a need for love, yet deny it. Why do you feel this might be so?

Is love necessary to marriage?

What are some inherent characteristics of marriage? What is necessary for marriage to be defined as marriage?

Why do men marry? Why do women marry?

Why does marriage seem to be so necessary?

What brings adult standing to the male? To the female?

What are some of the customs within marriage that reinforce the wife's subjugation?

As a married woman, what advantages/disadvantages do you feel you have?
As a single woman?

Who benefits from marriage the most? The least? How?

What would be the reasons for socializing female human beings to want marriage?

What functions does marriage serve in society?

How is marriage different for women than for men?

Why do women give so much validation to the romantic myth when there are so many discrepancies between the myth and reality?

Why are there no men's magazines directed at how to keep your wife happy, how to maintain a happy family life, how to catch a woman, how to be a good father, etc.?

If we believe marriage is a sexist plot, how do we explain "happy" marriages?

How do some women escape the conditioning to want marriage? Do they?

What are the ramifications of marriage as an institution for the Women's Movement?