

Lindenwood University

Digital Commons@Lindenwood University

---

Theses

Theses & Dissertations

---

1-1981

## Background and Philosophical Statement on the Problems and Issues Related to the Oppression of Women and Political Process of the Equal Rights Amendment

Linda Ortmeyer Kanagawa

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.lindenwood.edu/theses>



Part of the [Feminist, Gender, and Sexuality Studies Commons](#)

---

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

BACKGROUND AND PHILOSOPHICAL STATEMENT ..... 1

ON THE PROBLEMS AND ISSUES RELATED TO THE

OPPRESSION OF WOMEN

and

POLITICAL PROCESS

OF THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

Historical Background..... 17

Men and Women's Spheres..... 24

Education..... 24

Religion..... 28

Marriage and Family..... 31

Activities..... 34

Bibliography..... 38

Linda Ortmeyer Kanagawa

January, 1981

Lindenwood 4

Dr. Bernard LaFayette

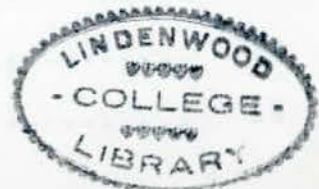


TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Introduction.....	I
Part I	
BACKGROUND AND PHILOSOPHICAL STATEMENT ON THE PROBLEMS AND ISSUES RELATED TO THE OPPRESSION OF WOMEN	
Oppression of Women.....	1
Beginnings of Feminist Movement.....	9
Historical Background.....	13
Men and Women's Spheres.....	14
Education.....	14
Religion.....	18
Marriage and Family.....	21
Footnotes.....	32
Bibliography.....	35
Part II	
THE POLITICAL PROCESS OF THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT	
Levers of Change in American Society.....	1
The Issue and the Conflict.....	2
Background of the Equal Rights Amendment.....	2
Redistribution of Power.....	6
Litigation of Interest Groups.....	7
NOW's Boycott Suit.....	11
Ambiguity of the Amendment.....	12
Social Significance.....	13
Temporal Relevance.....	14
An Unnecessary Amendment.....	16

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Introduction.....	I
Part I	
BACKGROUND AND PHILOSOPHICAL STATEMENT ON THE PROBLEMS AND ISSUES RELATED TO THE OPPRESSION OF WOMEN	
Oppression of Women.....	1
Beginnings of Feminist Movement.....	9
Historical Background.....	13
Men and Women's Spheres.....	14
Education.....	14
Religion.....	18
Marriage and Family.....	21
Footnotes.....	32
Bibliography.....	35
Part II	
THE POLITICAL PROCESS OF THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT	
Levers of Change in American Society.....	1
The Issue and the Conflict.....	2
Background of the Equal Rights Amendment.....	2
Redistribution of Power.....	6
Litigation of Interest Groups.....	7
NOW's Boycott Suit.....	11
Ambiguity of the Amendment.....	12
Social Significance.....	13
Temporal Relevance.....	14
An Unnecessary Amendment.....	16

	Page
Community Conflict Model.....	17
Contending Parties.....	26
Interest Groups.....	26
Group Solidarity.....	30
The Logic of Collective Action.....	30
Conclusion.....	42
Footnotes.....	44
Bibliography.....	47

## INTRODUCTION

I began my project intending to write about the politics of the ratification process of the Equal Rights Amendment using it as a case study to understand the context of a social protest movement. I intended it to be an investigation of means of transmitting a social demand to the formal agenda. As I progressed in my readings questions kept coming to the surface. What were the causes of the explosive emergence of the women's movement in the 1960's which resulted in the proposed amendment? Why was there such a violent reaction to the seemingly simple concept? Would the amendment rectify the unequal status of women?

I soon found myself with histories of women and the women's movement and finally with the rich contemporary literature of feminism which questioned the attitudes of society toward women and the attitude of women toward society. Feminism seemed such a radical concept, but the dictionary definition was surprisingly simple and adequate: "The Theory, cult, or practice of those who advocate such legal and social changes as will establish political, economic and social equality of the sexes." It seemed inadequate to write of the amendment without putting it into its historical and philosophical context. Hence, two distinct questions emerged. First how does an oppressed group attempt to conceptualize the causes of its oppression in order to make a formal demand. Second, after a demand is placed on a formal agenda, what political considerations make it acceptable or unacceptable to the public.

Several limitations were placed on me in my research. Because the ERA is such a contemporary issue, much of the material must come from newspapers, journals, interviews, oral history, etc. of which I did not have access. Therefore, I had to develop a more theoretical paper than I first intended. There were other cultural limitations in my conclusions. I approached the subject from a conservative, white middle-class feminist point of view, because I did not have enough experience with the black female point of view, the lower economic point of view or the male point of view. Direct experience with any of these other viewpoints probably would have altered some of my conclusions.

The paper begins with an analysis of terms of conflict, minorities and oppression. Understanding the concept of oppression and potential conflict is both difficult and necessary in an era of the seeming liberated woman with her credit card, W-2 form, car key, and tennis racquet. Modern woman is too defined by the public media and traditional myths to be taken seriously.

The beginnings of the feminist movement is important in order to realize the degree of oppression women in 1840 suffered and to appreciate the astuteness, courage, and persistence of the first feminists. The changes these women advocated would even be considered radical 120 years later. We often see the history of the United States as a gradual unfolding of progress, overlooking the fact that periods of dramatic change in politics, culture, and economics are interspersed with periods of gradual change.

So that the reader could understand the intensity of discrimination women have faced, I used as examples the areas of education, religion, marriage and family to illustrate that problems of the early women's movement are still evident today. Using contemporary quotations of various eras brings a certain reality to the situation. Examples could have been given in other areas, such as, work, economics, labor, politics, motherhood, professions, judicial decisions.

The awareness of oppression is the first step toward social protest and social change. In examining the causes of different types of oppression, the feminist evidently floundered. It is one thing to know of one's oppression and quite another to know the best ways to remedy it. The first feminist movement finally mistakenly "put all its eggs in one basket," that of suffrage, achieved it and went home to relish the victory. For fifty years the feminist cause languished only to emerge explosively as early movement with ineffectual attempts to make statements denouncing restrictive dress, lower wages, marriage laws, and sex mores.

The second part of the project involves a case study of an attempt at legal equality, the Equal Rights Amendment. The section starts with the background of attempts at legal equality, followed by an analysis of the issue and the conflict and discussion of the contending parties and interest group politics.

The project is an intentionally broad one. Rather than focusing on one aspect of the amendment, I attempted to understand and explain the various problems involved in changing



the status quo of a culture. The Equal Rights Amendment has generated such controversy from "Why should it be," to "Why isn't it" that it seemed important to achieve a more comprehensive view of its past as well as to examine the political process.

Part I

BACKGROUND AND PHILOSOPHICAL STATEMENT  
OF THE PROGRAM AND ISSUES RELATED  
TO THE CONSTITUTION OF WOMEN

Part I

BACKGROUND AND PHILOSOPHICAL STATEMENT  
ON THE PROBLEMS AND ISSUES RELATED  
TO THE OPPRESSION OF WOMEN

Sex class is so deep as to be invisible. Or it may appear as a superficial inequality, one that can be solved by merely a few reforms, or perhaps by the full integration of women into the labor force. But the gut reaction of the common man, woman and child is that this condition cannot change. We are talking about this gut reaction - that, even when they don't know about it, feminists are talking about changing a fundamental biological condition - is an honest one. That so profound a change cannot be easily fit into a traditional category of thought e.g. "political," is not because these categories do not apply but because they are not big enough: radical feminism bursts through them. If there were another word more embracing than revolution we would use it.<sup>1</sup>

As a majority of humankind, women clearly comprise the largest "group" in the world. Yet they also participate in nearly every other group within society. This simultaneous oneness and diversity has confounded almost everyone who has tried to come to grips with it. Although most anthropologists and sociologists agree that some activities and attributes are characteristics of women universally, there are obvious dangers in generalizing about people who share in every racial, class, ethnic, religion and regional alignment. To make the problem even more difficult, women constitute the only group which is treated unequally as a whole, but whose members live in greater intimacy with their "oppressors" than with each other.<sup>2</sup>

The first and most basic question is how we define women as a group. In one of the most frequent responses to that

question scholars have compared women to ethnic minorities. More than thirty years ago Louis Wirth defined a minority as a "group of people who, because of their physical or cultural characteristics, are singled out from others in society in which they live, for differential and unequal treatment."<sup>3</sup> Wirth noted that minorities could not be judged by numbers alone, because on occasion they constituted a numerical majority. Rather, they were distinguished by their exclusion from full participation in society, their debarment from certain economic, political and social opportunities, the restricted scope of their occupational and professional advancement, "and the general tendency to treat them as members of a category, irrespective of their individual merits." There seems little question that on the basis of these characteristics, women qualify as a minority group.<sup>4</sup>

One of the chief virtues of this definition lies in the additional conceptual challenges it raises for women's history. Do women, for example, have their own separate culture as in the case of Jews, Italians, or Poles? Is the shared relationship of women to men and the social system sufficient to give them a common repository of values, ideas, and modes of living, despite their participation in diverse ethnic, racial and economic groups? Is it possible that their socialization as a group marginal to power and conditioned to accept certain roles may have created the basis for a subculture? And if a strong sense of cultural identity has been essential to the success of other minority groups such as Jewish Americans, what is their implication for that fact for women and their

quest for freedom?<sup>5</sup>

One of the abiding controversies, of course, is whether a distinctive women's culture - if it exists - represents an autonomous expression of a generically female experience, or is of a product of, and a reaction to, male domination - hence partly derivative in nature. There is evidence that a strong sense of separate identity, together with institutions that contribute to pride and self-sufficiency, has facilitated the adaptation of ethnic minorities to the dominant society. If a group has control over its own life, it can interact with others from a position of strength and seek accommodation, at least in part, on its own terms. Exclusion from a particular institution because of minority status and fighting that exclusion will be less difficult if a group has an institution of equal or greater value. The absence of group institutions and a distinctive sense of separate identity, on the other hand, leaves control of the situation in the hands of the dominant group and invites a strategy of divide and conquer which places the oppressed population at the mercy of its oppressor.<sup>6</sup>

The relationship of the oppressed and the oppressor is inherently unpeaceful. Even in the absence of overt hostility, unpeacefulness is a situation in which human beings are impeded from achieving full development either because of their own internal relations or because of their relationship between themselves (either as a group or as an individual) and other persons or groups. Galtung maintains violence as

unpeacefulness exists whenever an individual's potential development, mental or physical is held back by the conditions of a relationship. Unpeacefulness is the relationship in which, where there may be no overt conflict behavior, damage is done to human potential and the seeds of the future open conflict or personal violence are sown.<sup>7</sup> This definition neatly ties in with Wirth's definition of a minority.

Throughout women's history women have been impeded in their opportunities to reach their full potential whether it be in mental development as was the case of nineteenth century American women who were refused admission to higher education or physical development of Chinese women who had bound feet which restricted their mobility.

Conflict between groups can be defined as incompatibility. Conflict in these instances can occur when one group desires something that can be obtained only at the expense of what another group also desires.

The discussion of oppressed and oppressor especially in regard to the relationship between man and woman is one which involves a value judgment. If one holds that relationships that impede human development are unpeaceful, it follows that one holds an objectivist view of conflict. It is a question not of perception but of fact. Thus if one group gains what another loses even if the loser does not understand what is happening, there is conflict.<sup>8</sup>

Those who hold other values disagree. Even though there is an unequal distribution of power, if the relationship is benevolent, they might say the relationship is in harmony.

However, it is true that in the situation of the oppressed and oppressor, there are certain privileges and possibilities not open to the oppressed. The fact remains that his, the oppressed, existence is narrowed by social factors rather than by his own personal qualities, and the relationship is in harmony only as long as the oppressed is unaware of the incompatibility of desires. For this reason, it would be hard to deny that, in situations where conflict is absent only because of low awareness, there is at least latent or potential conflict.<sup>9</sup>

But another question of values emerges. By what right do we interfere? There is value in deprivation. Want can produce creativity; rejection can produce perseverance; segregation can strengthen bonds of kinship. Perhaps subordination of a group can be beneficial in the realization of potential attributes of the oppressed. For the purpose of this paper, however, I am assuming that it is right to try to attempt to change the condition or at least change the awareness of the condition of the oppressed.

Adam Curle in his book Making Peace explores the subject of oppressor and oppressed, peaceful and unpeaceful, balance of power and imbalance of power. It seems as though the idea of peace in relationships has many applications in suppression of many types of minorities, not only in race or ethnic relations, sex class, but also in the many subcultures of our world - the handicapped, students, children, business, etc. By understanding his terminology and using his concepts, we can gain greater understanding of the dynamics of power and oppression.<sup>10</sup>

He designates relationships in terms of balance of power and imbalance of power. Balance of power does not refer to necessarily similarities of the types of power, but rather a more or less equal division of power. He also goes into mental and emotional characteristics of the participant designating the degrees of awareness of conflict in the participants. What does all this have to do with the study of feminism? It can explain quite a bit of the dynamics of the women's movement, the actions, the reactions, the counteraction, the periods of calm and the periods of revolution.

Modern women's history has had waves of actions and periods of complacency. When we relate Curles concepts of awareness of conflict by the oppressed it is easier to understand why the pattern of liberation has not been a steady movement toward power and freedom. In describing imbalance of power with a low awareness of conflict, he is describing the condition of women in the Revolutionary Days. When Abigail Adams, one of the earliest feminists, complained to a friend about her husband's mocking attitude about her conception of political equality for women, Mercy Warren took the more conventional view that the disabilities women faced were the result of shortcomings of the female character. This state practically precludes hope of the oppressed in reaching a state of equality, for they cannot even imagine themselves as worthy to wield the power the oppressor has.

One step away, is an unbalanced relationship with a considerable awareness of conflict. This is one of the most unpeaceful relationships. The one with power undermines the



other's autonomy in sometimes subtle, sometimes harshly crude means; he does much to stunt the development of normal maturity. Often the relationship is broken by rebellion and insurrection. Yet even in more benevolent circumstances the symptoms only become more subtle: lack of cooperation, self damaging withdrawal, personal quarrels, self-doubt, lack of trust, anxiety. The effect is one in which people fail to develop or use their capacities to the full. Perhaps this awareness of the imbalance is what is causing the breakdown of the family today.<sup>11</sup>

Another state he describes which has important implication in women's history is the pseudo-balanced relationship with low awareness of conflict. This occurs when a dominant group attempts to placate a less dominate group by creating a superficial appearance of balance. Betty Friedan describes this pseudo-balance in her attack on the feminine mystique.<sup>12</sup>

What is a peaceful relationship, ironically and almost predictably, Adam Curle, in one of his most eloquently stated ideas, falls into the masculine mode of assuming that the world is made up of men and not people:

"If two men can find common ground and live together without destroying each other, they may begin to learn to work with and for each other, this is the quality of development that typifies positive peace."<sup>13</sup>

Subtle as it may seem, the idea that humankind is really mankind has in actuality plagued feminists from the failure of abolitionists movement to the civil rights movement in securing women's rights. Time after time women have fought for the oppressed, only to be forgotten in the success of the movements. One can easily imagine two men sitting at the

peace table discussing terms of peace while women are in the background making coffee.

In the midst of the Great Depression, Margaret Mead commented on the dilemma facing women who wished to pursue a career. A female had two choices, she declared. Either she proclaimed herself "a woman, and therefore less an achieving individual, or an achieving individual and therefore less a woman." Mead's observation speaks directly to the complexity of women's history. At any given moment, the experience of women grows out of a complicated web of cultural values, specific social and economic circumstances and the response of individual women to both.<sup>14</sup>

Women throughout most of history have been an oppressed group controlled by a patriarchal society. Even today the seemingly liberated American women are more controlled by male values and policies than most are even aware. The female reproduction system is defined by male gynecologists, laws are made by male politicians and interpreted by male judges, media is controlled by a predominantly male culture, and money is controlled by male economists.

How does an oppressed group achieve equality? The question has been asked by groups time after time and will probably never be answered. The frustration of knowing that one is not free to control her own destiny, and the frustration of trying to find the reasons, but the courage to ask the question and the struggle to find an answer is perhaps the first step in the process. Awareness of the subordinant condition and a desire to make a change is not a simple step.

### Beginnings of Feminist Movement

The movement for equality of women in this country began formally at the Seneca Falls Convention held in 1848. The declarations made and resolutions passed at the convention were among the most radical ever passed by a group of women. A look at the preceding events and the social culture of the time will better explain this radical break with the customs of the times.

Before the Seneca Falls Convention there were a few independent thinkers commenting on the condition and rights of women. Abigail Adams, whose husband John Adams commented more than once that Abigail had the quality of mind to make a superior statesman, would have liked to make her sentiments public. In March, 1776, Mrs. Adams spelled out her grievances with the male power structure.

"By the way, in the new code of laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make, I desire you would remember the ladies and be more generous and favorable to them than your ancestors! Do not put such unlimited power in the hands of husbands. Remember all men would be tyrants if they could. If particular care and attention is not paid to the ladies, we are determined to foment a rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound by any laws in which we have no voice or representation.<sup>15</sup>

Mrs. Adams, being disappointed with her husband's mocking response, complained to a friend Mercy Warren. Warren, however, took the more conventional view that the disabilities women faced were the result of shortcomings in the female character. Abigail Adams was nearly alone in her outspoken insistence that men misused their political power when they denied women equal rights as citizens.<sup>16</sup>

Living at the time of the American Revolution, Mary Wollstonecraft of England believed the much discussed rights of man should be extended to include women. Her pioneering essay, A Vindication of the Rights of Women (1792) was known throughout the 1800's as the "feminist bible". She began The Rights of Women by asserting that as it was not God's intention for men to be enslaved by tyrants, so too, it was not God's intention for women to be enslaved by men. She blamed conditions and education as part of the causes of women's condition. Her work was the first serious political and social manifests to address the condition of woman and linked feminism to fundamental principles. Her sociological approach to concepts of masculine and feminine helped to undermine popular, quasi-religious beliefs about what a woman was and what a woman could and could not do.<sup>17</sup>

Women's participation in the anti-slavery movement prepared them to fight for their own rights. As abolitionists, women learned to defy public opinion, to organize, petition, raise funds, and persevere. The southern-born Grimke sisters became leading figures in this rising movement. Sarah Grimke overcame religious objections to women's participation in the abolition movement because "whatsoever it is morally right for a man to do, it is morally right for a woman to do." Her Letters on the Equality of the Sexes (1837) foreshadowed many of the demands that the later feminists would bring into open debate, drew an analogy between the conditions of the women and the slave and insisted on equality for all under the law.

One event in the abolitionists' movement did much to precipitate the Seneca Falls Convention. The call for the 1840 World's Anti-Slavery Convention in London invited delegates from all Anti-Slavery organizations. Accordingly several American societies saw fit to send women as delegates to represent them. After traveling three thousand miles to attend a World's Convention, it was discovered that women formed no part of the constitutional elements of the moral world. The American clergy who had landed a few days before had been busily engaged in fanning the English prejudice into active hostility against the admission of these women to the Convention. After an entire day of debate the Convention voted overwhelmingly to exclude them from the proceedings and to seat them behind a screen in the meeting. The clergy with few exceptions were bitter in their opposition. Although as abolitionists, they had been compelled to fight both Church and Bible to prove the black man's right to liberty, conscience forbade them to stretch those sacred limits far enough to give equal liberty to women. That night Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton agreed to hold a women's rights convention on their return to America.<sup>18</sup>

In July, 1848, a call for a women's convention was made by Lucretia Mott, her sister Martha C. Wright, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Mary Ann McClintock. The women, having difficulty writing declarations and resolutions, went through the reports of Peace, Temperance, and Anti-Slavery Convention but these all seemed too tame for the convention. They all knew women had wrongs, but how to state them was the difficulty, and this

difficulty was increased by the fact that they were not conditioned to reject many of the contemporary assumptions of the incapacibilities of women. While they had felt the insults incident to sex, in many ways, in the laws, religion, literature of the world and degrading sentiments and customs of all nations, yet they had not in their own experience endured the courser forms of tyranny resulting from unjust laws, or association with immoral and unscrupulous men. Surprisingly, this rebellion grew out of Quaker associations.

What followed was a radical plan for the end of discrimination against women in every sphere of existence. Based on the Declaration of 1776 the grievances attacked the most basic assumptions of the culture. They recognized almost all the customs which subjugated women - lack of vote, lack of rights as a citizen, loss of property rights and wages, denial of education and divorce rights, lack of admission into profitable trades, taxation without representation.<sup>19</sup>

The Declaration and Resolution demanded all that the most radical friends of the movement have now claimed such as rights to complete equality of marriage; right to personal freedom, property, wages, children; right to make contracts, to be sued and to sue; to testify in courts; equal rights in universities, in trades and professions; the right to vote; to share in political offices. At this time the conditions of married women under Common Law was nearly as degraded as that of the Southern slave.

When a group is so openly oppressed, so completely, the

difficulty of identifying the causes of oppression seems overwhelming. Is the basis physical, mental, religious, political? Questioning basic assumptions of the inferiority of women produced unsparing ridicule by the press and denunciations by the pulpit, much to the surprise and chagrin of the women.

This early beginning of women, joined in protest for the first time, did not involve a large number of people, but their perceptions were acutely radical. Coming out of a movement (Abolition) which itself represented angry disillusionment with the customs of the society, the beginning of the Women's rights campaign challenged almost every conventional assumption about women's "place" and called for a thoroughgoing revolution that not only have given the women the vote, but also eliminated the double standard in morality education, and the economy.<sup>20</sup>

#### Historical Background

The background of the beginning of the movement is important to understand. The industrial revolution provided the first collective assault on traditional ideas about women's "place". The American and French Revolutions brought forth the concept of natural rights. Rarely in the nation's history has there been a period of greater ferment than that which occurred in 1830's and 1840's. The movement to the frontier, creation of new modes of transportation, the extension of political democracy, and the development of new economic institutions prompted a society-wide upheaval. It was a period when existing

structures no longer seemed adequate and replacements had to be formed. People looked with new perspectives on the values and direction of their society. It was a time of religious revivalism, utopian experiments, new efforts to move the society closer to the promises of its founders. People gathered together to encourage temperance; create public educational systems, develop new and better facilities to care for delinquent and insane, work for abolition of slavery.

Thoreau was experimenting at Walden; Elizabeth Blackwell enrolled in medical school; Emerson established the utopian Brook Farm. Young native-born women were being recruited for the mills of New England and were controlling their wages for the first time; first attempts at organizing labor unions were made; a whole continent was open for expansion; and the rush for gold was only a year away.

#### MEN'S AND WOMEN'S SPHERE

##### Education

For middle class women in this period, sex roles were fairly clear. Although women were being provided access to intellectual training and discourse, education was being directed for domestic uses for the private services of husbands and especially children. Abigail Adams had often spoken to her husband about women's education. If, she said, we mean to have heroes, statesmen, and philosophies, we should have learned women.<sup>21</sup>

Although Oberlin College admitted females and blacks, true sexual equality did not exist. Even after admission a



woman had to demonstrate her individual ability to enroll in courses routinely open to men. Washing men's clothes, caring for their rooms, serving them at table, listening to their orations but themselves remaining respectfully silent in public assemblies, the Oberlin coeds were being prepared for intelligent motherhood and a properly subservient wifedom.<sup>22</sup>

Vassar opened its doors in 1865 with the blessing of its founder, Matthew Vassar, who insisted "women having received from her Creator the same intellectual constitution as man, has the same right as man to intellectual culture and development." Immediately the school was confronted with a barrage of medical warnings about women's infirmities. Instead of a school devoted to instilling in well-bred girls the correct female graces or two year teacher training, Vassar determined to give all women an education identical to men.<sup>23</sup> The prevailing medical thought of the time was that during adolescence the physical organization and function of woman naturally disqualify her for severe study, and that an education essentially popular and largely ornamental is alone suited to her sphere. It was common belief that the brain and reproductive system could not mature simultaneously, that one would develop at the expense of the other. Dr. E. Clark's book, Sex in Education in 1873 argued that higher education of women could only be accomplished at the expense of their reproductive capabilities. The alternatives were an unlettered womanhood or race suicide. Cases of hysteria and nervous breakdowns were attributed to the study of Latin and higher mathematics.<sup>24</sup>

Because of the controversy extreme attention was paid by Vassar to physical education and sanitation in the school. Statistics which provide today documentation on the health, marital status, and number of children of the students were kept in order to dissuade belief that women could not cope with higher education. M. Carey Thomas president of Bryn Mawr looked back in 1908 to the early battles and confessed that "we did not know whether colleges might produce a corps of invalids. Doctors insisted they would. Now we have tried it, and tried it for a generation, and we know that college women are not only not invalids but they are better physically than other women in their own class of life."<sup>24a</sup>

Despite this success, colleges did not provide women with an intellectual education equal to that of men. In responding to so-called female frailty they devised a system that was both separate and unequal. They answered the doctors, but did not challenge the notion of the women's traditional sphere. The colleges were ever mindful that the intellectual process was not enough for women; she had to learn the morals and graces of ladies. They would not provide women with the type of education that would encourage many of them to enter men's professions or businesses.<sup>25</sup>

As more women attended college a new problem appeared. Other than educating women to be better wives and mothers, opportunities after graduation did not open up for women as they did for men. By 1920, women made up 40 per cent of the college graduates but only 15 per cent of the Ph.D's.

The hardest time for women came after college. Graduation was often a traumatic experience for these women who had been educated to fill a place that did not exist. Their liberal education did not prepare them to do anything in particular except to teach, and the carefully edited view of life gave them little view of the actual world. Jane Addams wrote "I have seen young girls suffer in the first years after they leave school. She finds life so difficult from what she expected it to be. She does not understand this apparent waste of herself, this elaborate preparation if no work is provided her."<sup>26</sup>

"I want to go and see something better than I have ever known," Cornelia Philips, one well-educated woman wrote in the 1870's. "I want to go, to take wings and fly and leave these sordid occupations. I think it is sometimes cruel to cultivate tastes that are never to be gratified in this world."<sup>27</sup>

This line of thought continued in the 20th century. Helene Deutch in her 1944 publication The Psychology of Women - A Psychoanalytical Interpretation, said "Women's intellectuality is to a large extent paid for by the loss of valuable feminine qualities. All observations point to the fact that the intellectual woman is masculinized; in her, warm intuitive knowledge has yielded to cold unproductive thinking."<sup>27</sup>

And Lynn White, an educator, comments

"Would it be impossible to present a beginning course in foods as exciting and as difficult to work up after college, as a course in post-Kantian philosophy would be? Why not study the theory and preparation of a Basque Paella, lamb kidneys sauteed in sherry, the use of herbs, even in such simple sophisticated as serving cold artichokes with fresh milk?"<sup>28</sup>

Even in 1974 a psychology student recounts her first day at Harvard "The entering graduate students had lunch with the chairman of the department. After lunch, he leaned back in his chair and puffed; 'Women don't belong in graduate school.' And the male graduate students then leaned back in their chairs, puffed on their newly-bought pipes, and cheered and noted, 'Yeah, no man is going to want you. No man wants a woman who is more intelligent than he is. Of course, that's not a real possibility, but just in case. You are out of your natural role; you are no longer feminine. You belong at home' Etc."<sup>29</sup>

### Religion

Anne Hutchison, daughter of a famous Puritan preacher, was a victim of a conservative scriptural attitude toward women. She held evening prayer meetings and became a lay preacher of great influence and soon had the ire of the orthodox clergy who accused her of heresy. From transcripts of the trial, it is clear that the crime of not conforming to her sexual role was the felony most despised by her judges. She was accused of provoking other women "to be rather a husband than a wife." John Cotton reported that her doctrine of individualism was so depraved that he did not think "you had been unfaithful to your husband yet, that will follow upon it." Cotton's statement highlights the state of mind of the colony's leaders. Though sexuality had nothing to do with Hutchison's rebellion, the fact that she was a woman made them view her crimes in sexual terms.<sup>30</sup>

Religion formed the cornerstone of the case against feminine equality. Sarah Grimke's Letters on the Equality of the Sexes and The Condition of Women (1838) was directed against those clergymen who believed God had ordained women's inferior state. Miss Grimke was admonished by the clergy for her anti-slavery lectures and directed to refrain from any public works save only leading souls to pastors. Miss Grimke responded, "I have suffered too keenly from the teaching of man to lead anyone to him for instruction. More souls have probably been lost by trusting in man in the early stages of religious experience, than by any other error."<sup>31</sup> Man "has done all to debase her mind; and now he looks triumphantly on the ruin he has wrought and says the being he has thus deeply injured is his inferior."<sup>32</sup>

According to the ministers, God had meant women to be conscious of their weakness so they could turn to men for protection. But Sarah Grimke had another response: "All I ask of our brethren is that they will take their feet from off our necks, and permit us to stand upright on the ground which God has designed us to occupy."<sup>33</sup> Miss Grimke deserves some credit for the changes that finally made the Protestant Clergy more sympathetic to women's emancipation than any other professional group.

Less successful was the direct assault on Christian doctrine launched by Elizabeth Cady Stanton. She believed that religious law rather than common law was responsible for keeping women in bondage. Mrs. Stanton capped her long

campaign against the clergy with the Woman's Bible, a reinterpretation so embarrassing to orthodox feminists that it was officially disowned by her own suffrage association. She believed that the Bible was a human, not divine, document. Of the Old Testament in general Stanton wrote that it makes woman a mere afterthought in creation; the author of all evil; cursed in her maternity; a subject in marriage and all female life, animal and human, unclean.<sup>34</sup>

"The Bible teaches that woman brought sin and death into the world, that she precipitated the fall of the race, that she was arraigned before the judgment seat of heaven, tried, condemned and sentenced. Marriage for her was to be a condition of bondage, maternity a period of suffering and anguish, and in silence and subjection, she was to play the role of a dependent on man's bounty for all her material wants, and for all information she might desire on the vital questions of the hour, she was commanded to ask her husband at home."<sup>35</sup>

The religious movement for equality emerged in 1974 when eleven Episcopal women were ordained to the priesthood without their churches blessing. They were soon joined by Catholic women, and in 1979 Sister Theresa Kane stood publicly before the Pope and asked him to consider the possibility of women as persons being included in all ministries of the Church. Now 9,000 of some 128,000 American nuns belong to organizations calling for equality. Some Orthodox Jewish women have joined the movement and literature on women and religion has multiplied like fishes and loaves.<sup>36</sup>

In 1979 Sonia Johnson was excommunicated from the Mormon Church. The Church said she was teaching that missionaries shouldn't be invited into people's homes, stating that Church leaders have a savage misogyny, teaching that the Church is

dedicated to imposing the prophets' moral directives on all Americans, and showing she is not in harmony with Church doctrine on the nature of God and the way He directs His Church. The circle back to Anne Hutchinson is almost complete.

### Marriage and Family

Under common law which prevailed at the opening of the woman's movement, a woman underwent civil death upon marriage, forfeiting what amounted to every human right, as felons do upon entering prison. She lacked control over her earnings, was not permitted to chose her domicile, could not manage property legally her own, sign papers, or bear witnesses. All that the wife acquired by her labor and service became the legal property of the male. Her husband became something of a legal keeper, as by marrying she succumbed to a mortifying process which placed her in the same class with lunatics or idiots, who were also dead under the law.

No matter how irresponsible an individual a husband might be, now how careless of the welfare of his children, he was legally entitled to demand and receive the wife's wages at any moment, even to the peril of his dependent's lives. As head of the proprietary family, the husband was the sole "owner" of wife and children, empowered to deprive the mother of her offspring who were his legal possession should it please him to do so upon divorcing or deserting her.<sup>37</sup>

A woman tells of her struggles during the depression:

"They won't let me work on the WPA. I have to fight. The place where I put in my application, they tell me I cannot work because I'm not citizen. I say, 'How come I

not citizen? I born and raised here and my father and mother. What else do you want?"

"The lady called a man who say, 'But you lost your citizenship when you married your husband. He is a citizen of Mexico.'"

"I ask him, 'You mean I get job only if I divorce him? What am I to be, and what are my kids to be? Give me paper to explain to judge why I divorce this man, because he is not citizen.'"

"And the man says, 'I can't do that.'"

"I am mad and I say back to him: 'Then explain it to me how my kids gonna eat? How I'm gonna feed them?'"

Later she adds: "I was real lucky thanks to God. That's one thing I don't have to say that I was so poor I had to go on welfare...never had to sign for no kind of help."38

And into the 70's

"I worked by my husband, Floyd, for 33 years. Together we'd built up a ranch of 3,400 acres and 120 cows. I'd done everything on the ranch, feeding the pigs, milking the cows, driving the tractor. Two years before he died, Floyd was all crippled up so I had to do everything. Then Floyd died in 1974, and I found out I had to pay \$23,000 in inheritance tax for my own ranch. We were already in debt about \$40,000 and it's getting worse. If I had died instead of Floyd, he wouldn't have to pay tax. They told me because I didn't make any monetary contribution to the ranch I had to pay inheritance tax. I didn't get any credit for my work on the ranch all those years. Why should that be worth less than going to town and getting a job?"39

When the Victorians transformed the family from a loosely organized unit into a strictly defined nuclear unit at the very core of social life, the Victorian laid a burden on women, which many of them could or would not bear. The Victorians had attempted, moreover, to compensate women for their increased domestic responsibilities by enveloping them in a mystique which asserted their higher status while at the same time guaranteeing their actual inferiority. Therefore,



there were the endless polemics on the moral purity and spiritual genius of women which found their highest expression in the home, but which had to be safeguarded at all costs from the corrupting effects of the man-made world beyond the domestic circle. By shutting women out of control of money, politics, work, and other man-made institutions men effectively gained control over women's lives.<sup>40</sup>

For a long time it was believed that the Victorian family (known to its critics as the patriarchal family) was of ancient lineage predating the Christian era. Now research<sup>41</sup> seems to indicate that the modern conjugal family emerged quite recently. Following the Revolutionary War and in the first decades of the 1800's a new middle class emerged in the Northeast. While the majority of Americans continued to live on farms, members of this middle class began accumulating wealth from commerce and began investing in industry.

The business of business took middle class men away from their homes, leaving women alone in them. Women of the middle class were isolated from the world of men and commerce. Family membership had always been women's most important affiliation. In the past it had always been an affiliation shared with men. In farm and home industry labor of both sexes was necessary and men and women were partners.<sup>42</sup> Among the emerging middle class, however, such was not the case. While women continued working in the home, cooking, making household goods, caring for children, it was not considered real work because unlike men they earned no money. As industrialization gradually

replaced the home as the major producer of goods, women's work was further devalued.

And the devaluation of women's work went hand in hand with the closing off of other economic opportunities.

Male and female authors wrote at length on what they called "man's sphere" and "woman's sphere". An entire theory of human personality evolved, based on the belief that branches of humankind were very different - that women, for example, were dependent and soft, while men were independent and tough. Qualities of mind and character were seen as applying to one sex or the other almost never to both.

Thomas Dew, a well-known Southern intellectual wrote of the two spheres:

"He leaves the domestic scene, he plunges into the turmoil and bustle of an active, selfish world, in his journey thru life he has to encounter innumerable hardships which constantly beset him. His mind must be nerved against them. Hence courage and boldness are his attributes."

Of the woman:

"Her attributes are rather of a passive than active character. Her power is more emblematic of divinity. Women we behold are dependent and weak...but out of that very weakness and dependence springs an invisible power."<sup>43</sup>

Social freedom also became restricted. A whole new set of formal etiquette became the style. Dr. William Alcott's Physiology of Marriage was published in 1856 and warned against dozens of dangers. They should avoid "conversation which is too exciting;" "the presense of exciting books;" "unnecessary heat;" "impure air" "exciting drinks" (tea and coffee). "Any of these are worse," he wrote, "when taken at unseasonable hours" He considered any time after 9 o'clock unseasonable.<sup>44</sup>

As a result of the formalization in codes of behavior and women began spending more time together. Women's desire to spend time together was considered normal. Ideas about women's place in the nineteenth century forced women into very close relationships. When women were close together, they talked about their lives. Even as they comforted one another, they also complained and eventually they grew angry. When women began talking about their discontent their desire for education, their desire for work outside the home, their desire to control their own money - they found their feelings were shared. In time female friendships were transformed into political partnership through which women would challenge the assumptions that kept them at home, in the company of other women and children, cut off from the world of man and power.<sup>45</sup>

#### Awareness to Oppression

Women of the Revolutionary period often performed admirably as citizens. They functioned as spies, discoursed on equality, voted in Virginia and New Jersey, took over financial management of farms and businesses. Many followed their men into the army acting as paid or unpaid cooks; nurses, doctors, laundresses and porters. A young British officer wrote that the English underestimated the motives of the American population, male and female. Even if the British were to defeat all the men in America, they would still have to contend with the women.<sup>46</sup>

Mercy Warren corresponded with almost every major American leader discussing the projected form the government

would take. She believed only by restricting the rulers could misuse of power be avoided.

English woman Harriety Martineau observed at the end of the 1830's that "in my progress through the country I met with a greater variety and extend of female pedantry than the experience of a lifetime in Europe would afford." But she hastened to add, pedantry was not despised in an oppressed class, as it "indicates the first struggle of intellect with its restraints' and it is therefore a hopeful symptom."<sup>47</sup>

Martineau also observed in 1837 "While women's intellect is confined, her morals crushed, her health ruined, her weaknesses encouraged and her strength punished, she is told that her lot is cast in the paradise of women: and there is no country in the world where there is so much boasting of the 'chivalrous' treatment she enjoys. Indulgence is given her as a substitute for justice."<sup>48</sup>

In 1837 Queen Victoria began her reign, starting for British and American cultures a new definition of morality, social customs and creating new men's spheres and women's spheres.

At the time of the Seneca Falls Convention, women had few legal rights. Their lives in all areas were controlled by men. Legally their condition had actually worsened from the time of the Revolutionary War periods. By the 1820's womens rights pioneer Francis Wright drew on the republican tradition to extend the principles of the Declaration of Independence, which she called the "Holy Bible" of reform. Wright and her collaborators promoted sweeping changes in

public and personal life. She wanted Americans collectively to realize the promise of a democracy that know neither sex, color, nor class. She rallied against the submergence of women in marriage as a violation of natural rights and challenged the institution of marriage on the ground that it circumscribed women's individualism placing her outside true citizenship.<sup>49</sup>

It is hard for us now to appreciate the strength and courage of the early feminists who set themselves against the network of ideas, prejudices, and emotionalism that simultaneous degraded and elevated women, the cult of true womanhood which made central virtues of piety, purity, submissiveness and domesticity. Woman, it was believed, was morally and spiritually superior to man because of her highly developed intuition, refined sensibilities and especially because of her life-giving maternal powers. But woman was also physically weaker than man, inferior to him in cognitive ability, and wholly unsuited to the rough world outside.<sup>50</sup>

While the Victorian conception of women as wan, ethereal spiritualized creatures bore little relation to the real world where women operated machines, worked in fields, hand washed clothes and toiled over great kitchen stoves, it was endorsed by science and religion. Physicians, clergyman, and journalists churned out a stream of political literature in support of this thesis. Even in fashion the woman was required to wear, in everyday work, corsets, underwear, hoops weighing almost 50 lbs. in which women resembled a small unapproachable fortress. One medical professor expressed his pride in American women who preferred to "suffer the extremity of danger and pain"

rather than allow themselves to be examined by doctors. "I say it is evidence of a fine morality in our society," he concluded.<sup>51</sup>

This was the Victorian culture which the early feminists was trying to change. The most alert feminists did not accept the prevailing sentiments as final, or worry about their inherent nature. They took the inferiority of women as an existential reality and concerned themselves with bringing women to an awareness of it. Elizabeth Cady Stanton expounded on why women put up with her degraded state:

"She patiently bears all this because in her blindness she sees no way of escape. Her bondage, though it differs from that of the slave, frets and chafes her just the same."<sup>52</sup>

When women are considered to have no rights nor to deserve any, what can they do for themselves? At first, they held conventions every year after 1848. They could talk about rights they did not have. But how do women get legislators to let them keep their own earnings, or their own children after divorce when they do not even have a vote? How can they finance or organize a campaign to get the vote when they have no money of their own, nor even the right to own property.

The sensitivity to opinion which such complete dependence breeds in women made every step of their genteel prison a painful one. Still, that helpless gentility had to be overcome, in the minds of men, in the minds of other women, in their own minds. When they decided to petition for married women's rights to own property, half the time even the women slammed doors in their faces with the smug remark that they

had husbands, they needed no laws to protest them. When Susan Anthony collected 6,000 signatures in 10 weeks, the N.Y. State Assembly received her with roars of laughter.

At a meeting while men jeered at trusting the vote to women so helpless that they had to be lifted over mud puddles and handed into carriages, a proud feminist named Sojour Truth raised her black arm:

"Look at my arm! I have ploughed and planted and gathered into barns...and ain't I a woman? I could work as much and eat as much as a man - when I could get it - and bear the lash as well...I have borne thirteen children and seen most of 'em sold into slavery, and when I cried out with my mother's grief, none but Jesus helped me - and ain't I a women."<sup>53</sup>

As often happens, the revolutionary potential was recognized more clearly by those on power than it was by the crusaders themselves. From its very beginning the feminist movement posed a serious threat to the established order, its very existence and long duration testifying to fundamental equalities in a system that pretended democracy. Men of those days grasped immediately the true nature of a feminist movement, recognizing it as a serious threat to their open and unashamed power over women. They may have been forced to buy off a woman's movement with confusing surface reforms - a correction of the most blatant inequalities on the books, a few changes of dues, sex, style, all of which coincidentally benefited men. But the power stayed in their hands.<sup>54</sup>

### The Women's Movement

The early women's rights movement did not involve a large number of people, but their perceptions were acutely

radical. Coming out of the Abolitionist movement which itself represented angry disillusionment with customs of the society the women's rights campaign of the 1840's and 1850's challenged almost every conventional assumption about woman's "place" and called for a thorough-going revolution that would not only have given women the vote, but also eliminated the double standard in morality, education, and the economy.

By the late nineteenth century the theory of female superiority had become a truism of American public and private life. Native-born white women accepted without question the premise that they were members of the better sex - gentler, more virtuous, more fair-minded, more concerned for the general welfare than men. Reform became women's byword. Women sought to reform America in literally hundreds of ways. Among issues addressed were prohibition of alcoholic beverages; ending prostitution; sterilization of criminals; physical education for girls and boys; child labor; and peace.

Most of the issues with which reformers concerned themselves were political and moral, but their perception of these issues were almost always moral. Millions of women were drawn out of their homes to participate in reform work of one sort or another, through membership in women's clubs and local civic associations. The feminist movement was almost lost in the social housekeeping of the nation.

After 1900 the movement was almost exclusively directed toward woman's suffrage. Second generation suffragists were discarding the old prosuffrage argument which claimed for women nothing more or less than full equality. Women were



no longer like men, entitled to the vote; women differed from men and deserved the vote.

There is no doubt that by changing their argument on the issue of equality women speeded their victory for suffrage. By accepting the notion of the moral superiority of women, suffragists placed themselves comfortably within the camp of high Victorian social attitudes. At the same time, by proclaiming themselves better than men, they claimed the vote as a reward for being so good. This argument undermined the political strength of their movement.

After the Nineteenth Amendment was ratified the women's movement slowly ground to a halt. Alice Paul introduced the Equal Rights Amendment in 1923, but by the end of the 1920's feminism was dead. The 1930's brought the rise of socialism, the depression and protective labor laws for women and children.

Woman joined the labor force in masses during World War II but did little to further the cause of equality for women. After the war, women again lost their place in industry and an era of complacency began which lasted until the middle of the 1960's.

In 1972 women's organizations introduced the present Equal Rights Amendment, and a second wave of feminism began.

FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Shulamith Firestone, The Dialectic of Sex, (New York: Morrow and Company, 1970), p. 1.

<sup>2</sup>William Chafe, Women and Equality, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 3.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., pp. 5-8.

<sup>7</sup>Quoted in Adam Curle, Making Peace, p. 1-2.

<sup>8</sup>Adam Curle, Making Peace, p. 5.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 10-12.

<sup>12</sup>Betty Friedan, The Feminine Mystique, (New York: Dell Publishing, 1963).

<sup>13</sup>Curle, p. 15.

<sup>14</sup>Quoted in Chafe, Women and Equality, p. 15.

<sup>15</sup>Carol Hymowitz and Michaela Weissman, A History of Women in America, (New York: Bantam, Inc., 1978), p. 36.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 37.

<sup>17</sup>The Feminist Papers, ed. Alice S. Rossi, (New York: Bantam, 1973), p. 25-85.

<sup>18</sup>Stanton, Anthony, Gage, and Harper, The Concise History of Woman Suffrage, ed. Mari Jo and Paul Buhle. (University of Illinois Press: Urbana, 1978), p. 83-88.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid. p. 91-98.

<sup>20</sup>Chafe, p. 37.

<sup>21</sup>William O'Neill, Everyone Was Brave, The Rise and Fall of Feminism in America, (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969), p. 81.

- <sup>22</sup>Sheila M. Rothman, Woman's Proper Place, (New York, Basic Books, 1978), p. 30.
- <sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 27-30.
- <sup>24</sup>Hymowitz, p. 224.
- <sup>24a</sup>Ibid., p. 37.
- <sup>25</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>26</sup>Hymowitz, p. 226.
- <sup>27</sup>Friedan, p. 389-395.
- <sup>28</sup>Ibid., p. 388.
- <sup>29</sup>Impact ERA: Limitations and Possibilities, California Commission on the Status of Women, (Milbrae, California: Les Femmes Publishing, 1976), p. 271.
- <sup>30</sup>Hymowitz, p. 30.
- <sup>31</sup>Rossi, p. 12.
- <sup>32</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>33</sup>Chafe, p. 25.
- <sup>34</sup>Rossi, p. 401-405.
- <sup>35</sup>Ibid., p. 404.
- <sup>36</sup>Savy, October, 1980, p. 34.
- <sup>37</sup>Kate Millett, Sexual Politics, (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1970), p. 67.
- <sup>38</sup>Jeanne Westin, Making Do: How Women Survived the '30's. (Chicago: Follett Publishing Company, 1976), p. 231.
- <sup>39</sup>"What Happens If This Man Leaves the Picture," Common Cause Publication: Washington, 1977.
- <sup>40</sup>Hymowitz, pp. 64-76.
- <sup>41</sup>Philippe Aries, Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life (New York, 1962).
- <sup>42</sup>Hymowitz, p. 64.
- <sup>43</sup>Millett, p. 152.
- <sup>44</sup>Hymowitz, p. 238.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., p. 75.

<sup>46</sup>Hymowitz, p. 28-33.

<sup>47</sup>Rossi, p. 8.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>49</sup>A Concise History of Women's Suffrage, p. 2-3.

<sup>50</sup>Rossi, p. 7.

<sup>51</sup>Hymowitz, p. 71.

<sup>52</sup>A Concise History of Woman's Suffrage, p. 54.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., p. 104.

<sup>54</sup>Firestone, p. 25.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bernard, Jessie, Women and the Public Interest, (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1971).
- Buhle, Mari Jo and Buhle, Paul (eds.) The Concise History of Woman Suffrage, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978).
- Chafe, William H., Women and Equality, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977).
- Freeman, Jo (ed.), Women: A Feminist Perspective, (Palo Alto, California: Mayfield Publishing Company, 1979).
- Firestone, Shulamith, The Dialectic of Sex: The Case for Feminist Revolution, (New York: Morrow and Company, 1970).
- Friedan, Betty, The Feminine Mystique. (New York: Dell Publishing, 1963).
- Hymowitz, Carol and Weissman, Michael, A History of Women in America, (New York: Bantam, Inc., 1978).
- Impact ERA: Limitations and Possibilities, California Commission on the Status of Women, (Milbrae, California: Les Femmes Publishing, 1976).
- Millet, Kate, Sexual Politics, (Garden City; New York: Doubleday Company, Inc., 1970).
- O'Neill, William L., Everyone Was Brave: The Rise and Fall of Feminism in America, (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969).
- Rossi, Alice S., (ed.), The Feminist Papers, (New York: Bantam, 1973).
- Rothman, Shelia, M., Woman's Proper Place, (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1978).
- Ryan, Mary P., Womanhood in America, (New York: New Viewpoints, 1975).
- Westin, Jeanne, Making Do: How Women Survived the 30's. (Chicago: Follett Publishing Company, 1976).

Part II

THE POLITICAL PROCESS  
OF THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

Levers of Change in American Society

THE POLITICAN PROCESS  
OF THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT  
LEVERS OF CHANGE IN AMERICAN SOCIETY

The ratification process of the Equal Rights Amendment has become an emotional issue. The conflict stems from the concept of equality of the sexes, a question that has been asked of the two sexes for generations. It shakes the traditional power structures, asking first if men and women are equal, then should men and women be treated equally, and in its narrowest form asks if laws should reflect the equal treatment of men and women. These are questions which cannot be answered with reason for in the cultures most familiar to citizens of the United States, men and women have been treated unequally in terms of wealth, power, responsibilities, expectations. Equal treatment under the law has never been a reality for women. Even today in the age of the "liberated women," many laws such as divorce and inheritance laws reflect the opinion that women are unequal partners of marriage, a dependent partner unable to control her own finances. Many of these laws come under the jurisdiction of states outside the realm of federal mandates, although Social Security regulations also treat men and women in separate categories.

Even more subtle is the cultural deprivation of women in cases such as the lack of judicial representation of females in the federal court system on the grounds that women have not had the experience nor education to qualify. This is true inequality under the law.

## THE ISSUE AND THE CONFLICT

Background of the Equal Rights Amendment

In conceptualizing the issue of equal treatment for both genders, the structure taken came as a constitutional amendment whose main thrust states, "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex."

The question became whether social change, that is change in the interdependency of interrelated persons could be legislated. Most proponents of the Amendment suggest that social change cannot be legislated, but that the Amendment is a starting point for equal treatment of citizens regardless of sex. Most opponents of the Amendment seem to be saying that the sexes are different and cannot and should not be treated equally, therefore such legislation would only be detrimental to our American society.

Earlier attempts at establishing the concept of equality of sexes took different forms. During the Civil War, feminists claimed that women had proven their political abilities and importance to the nation and should receive suffrage. Republican reconstructionists, however, cared little about equal rights either for women or for the blacks. By giving blacks the right to vote, they hoped to control the South. They never seriously considered woman's suffrage. This bias was clearly revealed in section two of the Fourteenth Amendment, which specifically referred to "male inhabitants" and "male citizens" in the section dealing with the right to vote. For the first time the Constitution contained the word "male" instead of speaking



simply of "the people" or "citizens." With that word the amendment introduced the principle of discrimination by sex into the Constitution with the implication that women were not citizens.<sup>1</sup>

Before the Civil War, women were denied the vote by state law alone. With the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment, women needed another amendment to the Constitution before they would be able to vote in federal elections. "If that word 'male' be inserted now," wrote Stanton, "it will take us a century at least to get it out again."<sup>2</sup>

On the heels of the Fourteenth Amendment came the Fifteenth, stipulating that suffrage could not be denied on the basis of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude. Feminists urged that the word "sex" be included. But again, Republicans would not change their plan to give the vote to black man. In reaction, many feminists came to feel that male-legislated justice was no justice at all, and they acquired a deep and lasting distrust of politicians and political parties.<sup>3</sup>

After the Civil War, the feminist cause floundered. Second-generation suffragists took up the argument that women were no longer like men, entitled to vote; women differed from men and therefore deserved the vote. By changing their argument on the issue of equality to one of moral superiority women speeded their victory for suffrage. At the same time, by proclaiming themselves better than men, they undermined the political strength of their movement.<sup>4</sup>

Emily Newell Blair, who served as vice-chairman of the

Democratic National Committee from 1921 to 1928 wrote about the failure of the Nineteenth Amendment to promote equality for women. When women first gained the vote, male politicians feared the consequences and treated women with respect and caution. But it soon became clear not only that women would not hang together, but that they would not even support for office the best female candidates. Since there was no black vote, there was no reason for men to cater to it. All of which, she felt, resulted from the fundamental failure of suffragists to think deeply enough about what would happen when the vote was won.<sup>5</sup>

Anna Howard Shaw knew the suffragists had let their followers down in this respect. Once victory was assured, she told Mrs. Blair, "I am sorry for you young women who have to carry on the work in the next ten years, for suffrage was a symbol, and now you have lost your symbol. There is nothing for women to rally around."<sup>6</sup>

Alice Paul with the Women's Political Party introduced the first Equal Rights Amendment in 1923. However, the WPP in endorsing the amendment made two grave errors. First, it gravely underestimated the opposition a blanket amendment would meet and exaggerated its own potential strength. At the end of the 1920's the WPP had little to show for the nearly \$800,000 it had spent. The party had been involved in preparing more than five hundred individual pieces of legislation across the country, but most of them were never made into law. It had alienated itself from the mainstream of organized womanhood. From this point on the WPP grew smaller, older, and

poorer, while the current of events moved ever more strongly against it.<sup>7</sup>

Other less formal attempts were made in the protest against discrimination. In fact, the whole feminists movement was fraught with attempts to understand the position of women in society. Elizabeth Cady Stanton first introduced resolutions in 1860 to support more liberal divorce laws. Victoria Woodhull and the National Women Suffrage Association had a brief flirtation with free love in 1874. Emma Goldman and Margaret Sangor introduced the issue of social hygiene and contraceptives. Mother Jones spent a good deal of her life organizing labor, Betty Friedan attacked "the feminine mystique,"<sup>8</sup> in 1963, and Shalamith Firestore analyzed power and oppression between the sexes in 1970.<sup>9</sup>

In 1972 Congress passed the Equal Rights Amendment sending it to the states to be ratified within seven years. To supporters the ERA was to be an important but benign implement for removing legal barriers to female equality. Many opponents, however, firmly believed that those three initials stood for Evil Rules America. With the existence of two diametrically opposed interpretations of the amendment, the potential for major conflict in the states was distinct.

In order to better understand how the opponents found such fertile ground in the conflict, one must delve into the structure of the amendment and analyze its components. First, one must examine the nature of the issue and the conflict.

## Redistribution of Power

The supporters of the ERA are seeking a major redistribution of power. Redistribution involves deliberate efforts by the government to shift allocation of wealth, income, property or rights among broad classes of groups in the population. "The aim involved is not the use of property but property itself, not equal treatment, but equal possession, not behavior but being."<sup>10</sup> Redistributive policies are difficult to secure because they involve reallocation of money or power (including rights). Those who possess money or power rarely yield themselves willingly, and since money and power are good coinage in the political realm, those who possess them have the means for resistance. Redistributive policies are not only difficult to secure, they are also difficult to retain.<sup>11</sup>

In a recent article, Beverly Stephens discussed the backlash of "born-again conservatives, who like law and order and women in the home." The Republican party dropped the ERA after forty years of faithful support. Without debate it had passed a platform that put women in their place, called for a constitutional amendment outlawing abortion, wanting opposition to abortion to be a requirement in the appointment of Federal judges. "I suspect it could cost women a lot of other things, not specifically spelled out in the platform. We can look for a curtailment of social spending. And I wonder what would happen to equal opportunity employment and affirmative action plans in a 'pro-family' social climate? Would women be the last hired, first hired? Is the female executive, the managerial

women so safely ensconced that she wouldn't suffer in a climate in which women were expected to stay home?"<sup>12</sup>

Another aspect of the issue of passage of the ERA is that it is multifaceted, making the Amendment more easily attacked and more difficult to be ratified. While the first section only is concerned with the end of legal discrimination, in reality it attacks laws concerning legal, judicial, economic equality of all citizens. The opposition to the Amendment can come from many sectors of our society, insurance companies, religious groups, conservative committees. In addition the second section, "The Congress shall have the power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provision of this article" opens the door to violent objections from states' righters and also serves to reinforce the feelings of the opposition of those who believe that "we don't know what we're getting into."<sup>13</sup>

Litigation of Interest Groups

The process of extending the deadline for ratification has opened the door for litigation. The tactic is now familiar to politically aware Americans, but its use became widespread only in 1966 with the emergence of Ralph Nader as national figure. The degree of effectiveness is a matter of dispute: Are lawsuits only a delaying tactic or are they a new institution that has been added to our political system? Litigation is much more effective when it is conducted by a well-organized influential interest group than when suits are initiated by individual citizens.<sup>14</sup>

The purpose of litigation in the ERA is somewhat different in that the reasons for the litigation are not necessarily directly related to the defeat of the ERA although the effect of the litigation is delaying the ratification process.

The Mountain States Legal Foundation initiated one suit. In an article by Maxwell Miller<sup>15</sup> of the Foundation staff, the author says the Foundation is not an anti-ERA organization, but rather a proconstitution concern. When the 95th Congress extended the time period for the ratification from March, 1978, to June 1982, there were four roll call votes on the issue. The first two votes concerned whether to require a two-thirds majority in order to pass the ERA extension. These were defeated. The third, called the Fair Play Rescission Amendment would have recognized the right of states to rescinding their earlier ratification. This also lost. The fourth was to extend the deadline for ratification. This passed by a vote of 233 to 189. The Foundation based its suit on the fact that there was no clear precedent for rescissions from the other amendments to the constitution.

The Supreme Court case of Dillon v. Gloss (1921) was cited by proponents and dissenters of the motion. In Dillon, the Court held that Congress could condition a proposed constitutional amendment by fixing a reasonable time for ratification. Proponents suggest that it logically follows from Dillon that Congress can change the condition. Dissidents argue that Dillon hardly supports the proposition that Congress can amend a condition previously imposed. The Mountain States

Legal Foundation, a public interest center, concluded that Congress had usurped its authority by extending the ERA ratification deadline.

Under Article V Congress is authorized to propose amendments and to designate the mode of their ratification. Once this is done nothing in Article V gives Congress the power to interfere with the ratification process which is entrusted to the states. Proponents for extension respond by claiming that Congress as "an incident of its power to designate the mode of ratification" (*Dillon v. Gloss*) may fix a definite time period for ratification, and hence that the 95th Congress acted properly in changing the time period set by the 92nd. The trouble with the argument is that it confuses the roles of the 92nd and 95th Congresses.

The Foundation concluded that the defendant in the suit should be the Administrator of the General Services Administration, who tabulates the states' votes and when ratification is complete, to proclaim and publish an amendment as part of the Constitution. The suit would be on the rescission and extension issues.

The author states that the "impact (of the suit) is enormous. At stake is the procedure by which we amend the most fundamental of all our laws...If we sit back, we tacitly endorse the view that ends justify the means, that the rule of law can give way to the passions of men"<sup>16</sup> Such rhetoric is an indication of the emotion evolved by the ERA.

Fifty-three Arizona legislators wanted to be plaintiffs

in the lawsuit to be filed in the Federal District Court of Idaho. The Idaho attorney general had strong legislative support to mount a legal battle to validate the state recession of the amendment. The lawsuit was filed May 9, 1979. The complaint prays for a declaratory judgment that the extension is unconstitutional and that the Idaho rescission is valid. The complaint also asks for a mandatory injunction ordering the GSA to return Idaho's original adoption resolution and for a prohibitory injunction ordering the administrator to deny recognition to any state approving the ERA during the extension period.

The Foundation purposely sought a judicial review of the extension when adoption by thirty-eight states is imminent, not when ratification is complete. The effect has been a dampening on other state legislatures in completing the ratification process.

Other developments since the filing of the case are of interest. The government filed its response to complaint in September and also moved to disqualify Judge Marion J. Callister from hearing the case. Judge Callister is an elder in the Mormon Church, which has taken an official stand against the ERA on what it sees as moral ground, and the government argued that he may be prejudiced against its position. Judge Callister denied the motion to disqualify himself. He also denied a motion by the National Organization for Women to intervene in the action as a party, but allowed NOW's participation as an amicus curiae. At least thirty other groups have also been



admitted as amici.

Maxwell makes his summary:

The chance we now have to solidify basic rules of fairness in amending the constitution is unique in America's history. We believe that the legislators, state leaders, and attorneys general of the states of Arizona and Idaho represent in this lawsuit those who believe in the rule of law despite constant pressure to abandon law and conform to popular behavior. We must champion the integrity of our cherished Constitution if our freedom is to be maintained.<sup>17</sup>

### NOW's Boycott Suit

In 1977 the National Organization for Women inserted a small ad in a Los Angeles' newspaper asking that organizations supporting the ratification of the ERA not hold meetings and conventions in unratified states. The movement took hold with hundreds of organizations canceling meetings or not considering meetings in cities of unratified states. Kansas City and St. Louis felt the impact. Hotel and convention management made a loud response asking that Missouri legislature pay for the damages of vacant hotel and meeting rooms.

In 1978 Missouri's Attorney-General, John Ashcroft initiated a suit against NOW charging that the Organization's boycott was an interference with interstate commerce. NOW took on the expensive suit, which was finally judged in favor of NOW. Minimal estimates of cost of the original suit, based on salaries of staff of the Attorney-General was \$100,000. The Attorney-General appealed the motion at a cost of another \$50,000 and finally requested that it be heard by the Supreme Court, but the motion was denied. Cost to the National Organi-

zation for Women can only be speculated, but that cost and the Mountain States Legal Foundation suit seriously curtailed NOW's financial support of the ratification.

### Ambiguity of the Amendment

Probably the most striking aspect of the Amendment is its ambiguity. "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied...on account of sex." Proponents and opponents have had a heyday with this section. Although it narrows the concept to equality of rights under the law, the Amendment is obscure in how narrowly or how broadly interpretation of law will be. Janet Boles examines the interpretation of law from the viewpoint of STOP ERA and the National Association of Women Lawyers:<sup>18</sup>

#### STOP ERA

1. ERA will make every wife in the U.S. legally responsible to provide 50% of the financial support of the family.
2. ERA will wipe out a woman's present freedom of choice to take a paying job or be a full-time wife and mother supported by her husband.
3. ERA could create havoc in prisons and reform schools by preventing segregation of the sexes.
4. ERA does not guarantee women better paying jobs, promotions, or better working conditions. The Equal Employment Opportunity Act and other laws already guarantee women "equal pay for equal work: and only need to be enforced to insure women equal opportunity.

#### NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF WOMEN LAWYERS

1. ERA will require States domestic relations laws to treat women as equals; thus State laws will necessarily require either spouse to provide a home or financial support for the homemaker of his or her family.
2. ERA will not deprive any woman of her right to be a mother and/or homemaker, but will enhance the status of her position giving her equal partnership in the marriage.
3. ERA will not affect the constitutional right of privacy recognizing the need for segregation of sexes in public and school restrooms.
4. ERA will guarantee to men as well as women equal rights to equal pay for equal work and the right to equal opportunity.

### Social Significance

There are other dimensions to the issue of ratification such as the social significance which relates to whether an issue is particular to the immediate disputants or has more general significance. Social significance is similar to what Kenneth Gergen call "impact". "One can speak of issue impact to refer to the number of persons who will potentially be affected...The greater the impact the more people who will be seeking active engagement in the decision-making process."<sup>19</sup> Since the effect of passage of the ERA would mean a redistribution of power and wealth to women, it follows that it would mean a loss of power and wealth to men. Therefore everyone in the United States would potentially be affected.

One of the attacks of Phyllis Schlafly centers in area of loss of wealth. In June, 1979, The Phyllis Schlafly Report opens with:

"The Women's Lib Movement and the Federal Bureaucrats have joined together in a plan to drive all wives and mothers out of the home and into the work force. The Women's Lib Movement and the Federal Bureaucrats have joined in a plan to eliminate the Traditional Family from our society by making economic survival impossible for the traditional one-income couple where the wife is the Homemaker and the husband is the Breadwinner. The weapon to achieve these antifamily goals is the proposed changes in Social Security."<sup>20</sup>

She outlines the reasons behind the proposed changes; as (1) being the only way to increase taxes needed to pay for the growing Federal Bureaucracy, (2) Women's Lib determination to change us into a unisex society, (3) Women's Lib advocates are "green with jealousy" over the fact that Homemakers receive as much retirement as working women.

However National Organization for Women interprets the social Security reports a different way:

- A divorced woman who was married to a younger man has to wait until he reaches retirement age before she can collect her portion of his benefits.
- A divorced woman who was married to her husband less than 10 years is ineligible for any portion of his Social Security benefits.
- If a woman takes time out from the work force to have children, a zero is computed into her overall total of earnings every year up to five years. This, in effect, reduces her overall average earnings even if she returns to work and resumes paying into the system.
- Because monthly Social Security payments are based on how much has been earned during one's lifetime, working women on the average can expect to collect less benefits than men will at age 63, since women have been and are still paid considerably less than men. As of 1979, the average monthly pay for a man was \$298, compared with \$186 for women--over \$100 a month less.<sup>21</sup>

#### Temporal Relevance

Cobb and Elder<sup>22</sup> also discuss temporal relevance which denotes the extent to which an issue has short range, circumstantial relevance or more enduring fundamental relevance. Issues that are going to have implications above and beyond the resolution of the particular issue at one point in time and one level of government are temporally relevant.

One of the main arguments used by opponents of the ERA is that the Federal Government will take away power from the State Government by Section 2 of the Amendment - "The Congress shall have the power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article." The deletion of the words "and the several states (shall have the power) within their respective jurisdictions," which appeared in the resolutions considered in the 91st Congress

(1969) has been interpreted by opponents as having taken enforcement power away from the state legislatures and placed it exclusively in the federal courts. An examination of legislative history, however, indicates that this wording is that of the customary enforcement clause, taken from Section 5 of the Fourteenth Amendment. Almost identical language is also found in the Thirteenth, Fifteenth, Nineteenth, Twenty-third, Twenty-fourth and Twenty-sixth Amendments. Opponents, though, feel that it would take away many areas which are now in states' jurisdiction such as inheritance, adoption, marriage, divorce, and put it in federal jurisdiction.

Another aspect of the temporal relevance of this issue is the fact that the ERA is a U.S. Constitutional Amendment which certainly classifies it as an almost permanent, binding rule. While amendments can be repealed, the process could take longer than the ratification of the ERA. The Eighteenth Amendment was ratified in 1919 and repealed in 1933 and was in force for a generation. Consider the effect of these fourteen years:

"Not many people know what the liquor industry did after the repeal...you see, a whole generation of youngsters had been reared in the theory that the use of alcohol was illegal and not a good thing. So the brewers had to change the image, and they set about to do just that. They started what was known as the 'Home Life in America' series of advertising in family magazines. They had beautiful color pictures showing beer in the home. For example, here would come a grandmother carrying in the turkey and a tray of beer to the Thanksgiving table....And they did a good job of it. Most people began to think of beer just like they did of Coca-Cola."<sup>23</sup>

### An Unnecessary Amendment

Another opposition argument is that the ERA is an unnecessary argument. It feels that the Fourteenth Amendment, which guarantees "equal protection of the laws" suffices for constitutional redress of sex discrimination. However, the Senate Judiciary report<sup>24</sup> discusses a number of legal areas where discrimination against women still exists and concludes by pointing to the refusal of the Supreme Court in *Reed v. Reed*, 401 U.S. 71(1971), to declare that discrimination based on sex, like that based on race, is inherently "suspect" and cannot be justified in the absence of a "compelling and overriding state interest".

There were several decisions of the Supreme Court which regulate conditions under which women may labor. The prototype of the hours regulation cases is *Muller v. Oregon* (1908) in which the Supreme Court upheld an Oregon statute which limited the number of hours females (but not males) could labor. Other decisions upheld this decision as well as those which prohibited women (those working specifically in restaurants in cities) from working night hours. In *Adkins v. Children's Hospital* (1923) the Court struck down minimum wage laws which applied only to women. This decision was subsequently overturned in the 1937 decision of *West Coast Hotel v. Parrish*, when the Supreme Court upheld minimum wage laws which applied to women and children but not to men. It was not until 1973 in *Frontiero and Frontiero v. Richardson* that the Supreme Court invalidated armed services statutes which granted benefits to spouses of male members of the uniformed services while denying such benefits

to spouses of female members, unless the latter spouses received over one-half of their support from the female armed service member.<sup>25</sup>

The decisions of the Supreme Court have been characterized by a double standard of justice. Laws which have been regarded as unconstitutional infringements upon personal liberties of men have systematically been upheld when they applied to women. Compare the arguments of *Muller v. Oregon* (1908) which limited a woman's employment to 10 hours a day to *Lochner v. New York* (1903). In that decision the Court struck down a New York law which limited the maximum of hours in which a male baker could work to 60 hours with the words: "Statutes of the nature of that under review, limiting the number of hours in which grown and intelligent men may labor to earn their living, are mere meddlesome interference with the rights of the individual."<sup>26</sup>

#### Community Conflict Model

James Coleman's model of community controversy<sup>27</sup> has application in the conflict surrounding the ratification of the ERA, since his model applies to all levels of government. He approaches the study of issue conflict in terms of an initial controversy between two groups with a largely disinterested and apathetic public. The public is brought into the conflict primarily through a series of errors committed by the leaders of the community that activates the passive mass or causes a change in the popular opinion.

Coleman argues that vitriolic disputes that anticipate disruption tend to command attention. He says that organizational or group memberships affect conflict in two ways. First, multiple

group memberships cross pressure the individual and thus tend to mediate the intensity of conflict. Second, the greater the proportion of the community that is involved in various types of groups, the greater the number of people who are potentially mobilizable, and thus the greater the likelihood that issue definition can bring a larger number into the fray.<sup>27</sup>

The community conflict model has a more pluralistic bias. Those who participate in community conflicts are not necessarily members of the organized groups having regular access to the pressure group system. At its height, a community conflict will have drawn an unusually large percentage of the entire community into active participation, and at a minimum most community members will be at least aware of the conflict and its possible consequences.

The anti-ERA forces followed predictable patterns in the issue enlargement campaign. National opposition forces were formally organized and connected by pre-existing communication networks formed for other political purposes but easily channeled into anti-ERA efforts. Phylis Schlafly Reports formed a communication chain initially directed toward conservatism. She later expanded her audience and became the most widely quoted anti-ERA authority. Pro-life groups formed on the structure of the Catholic church and took up the anti-ERA call. Local opposition campaigns were buttressed by nationally prepared literature and personal appearances by national opposition leaders.

Another observation concerning the personal characteristics of leaders of community conflicts is that persons with the lowest



social status often appear to be most effective, particularly when they are seeking to block the adoption of a policy. Proponents are often better educated, better known in the community, of higher occupational status and more politically experienced than the opponents. Opponents who were least educated and least known proved to be most efficacious, perhaps they were less constrained by the political rules of the game and less hesitant to use the most dramatic, even irrational arguments. The National Association of Women Lawyers argues that ERA will require state domestic relations' laws to treat women as equals, while STOP ERA argues that men and women will have to share public bathrooms.

In a community conflict, established community leaders and organizations often withdraw from the conflict or become neutralized. Labor unions were very slow to support the ERA, and when they finally did, it occupied a very small part of their social concern. The constitutional scholars who would be considered technical experts, refuse to debate the issue. The Republican party withdrew its support.

Other participants in the community conflict are the mass media. The local media are not only significant in the initial stages of a controversy, but continue to be influential by conveying each side's own views and actions to the community as a whole.

The community conflict model suggests that, as the controversy expands, the original issues which touched off the conflict will undergo major transformations, primarily due to the efforts of the weaker side. This is most likely to occur when one side is at a

disadvantage by the definition of the issues (e.g., when the ERA is equated solely with the positive symbol "equality" but has potential strength if the debate can be extended to other topics such as the politically conservative issues of states' rights and anticommunism).

During the public hearing at Missouri's capitol, the local newspaper linked ERA with communism.

POST TRIBUNE, Jefferson City, Mo., Tuesday, January 15, 1980

JAN 15 1980 J.C. POST

## Emotional, misunderstood issue to take spotlight tonight

By BOB BAYSINGER

of the News Tribune staff

ERA will re-enter the legislative spotlight in Jefferson City tonight with proponents and opponents rehashing the emotional, controversial and seldom-understood proposed amendment to the United States Constitution.

Opponents will argue that ERA poses a threat to the family and will make a shambles of the constitution because no one knows exactly what the language "equality of rights under the law" means.

Proponents will counter that ERA is nothing more than a constitutional amendment that guarantees equal rights to all.

An analysis of the ERA, however, indicates that many of those involved in the debate have missed the main point in the argument — the origins of ERA and the ultimate goal of those who originated the idea.

As absurd as it may sound to some, ERA's origins stem from communism. And making the phrase "Equal Rights" a household word is part of a tactic used by socialists to gain control of the Soviet Union in 1917.

The Equal Rights Amendment was written by Alice Paul, a socialist who died recently. The fact that ERA's author was a socialist isn't nearly so alarming until it is compared with remarks made by Lenin at the third All-Russia Congress of the Russian Young Communist League in 1920.

Lenin said:

"...the whole point is that with the transformation of the old capitalist society, the upbringing, training and education of the new generations that will create the communist society cannot be conducted on the old lines..."

"Only by radically remoulding the teaching, organization and training of the youth shall we be able to ensure that the efforts of the younger generation will result in the creation of a society that will be unlike the old society..."

In 1971, when ERA was just getting

### Analysis

started, communist spokesmen, writing in "Political Affairs," the theoretical journal of the Communist Party, U.S.A., picked up on Lenin's theme and began explaining how to put it into force in America.

"...the first condition for the liberation of the wife is to bring the whole female sex back into public industry, and that this in turn demands the abolition of the monogamous family as the economic unit of society.

"The real emancipation of women, real communism, will begin only where and when an all-out struggle begins against this petty housekeeping, or rather when its wholesale transformation into a large-scale socialist economy begins..." one communist writer said.

Later in 1971, another article spelled out clearly how the women's liberation movement could be used to promote the communist cause.

"...The idea that 'women's place is in the home,' which women as well as men frequently accept, is a roadblock to social responsibility for the education and care of young children through the establishment of child development centers..." the article said.

"However, the oppression of women, in general, is fundamentally tied to the question of children — the way society provides for the next generation. To free woman from her dependent and unequal status, she must be released from total responsibility for the care of her young children.

"Thus it may be said that the key to the welfare of children, the freedom of women and the release of men from unbearable pressures lies in the acceptance of responsibility by society for the next generation. The process of achieving this is the joint task of men and women, and especially men and

Cont. . . .

JAN 15 1980

J.C. POST

women of the organized labor movement..."

So it appears the overall goal of the communists is to re-educate young children in day care centers across America. In conjunction with ERA, there is a movement in the United States to establish federally-financed, federally-controlled early childhood education programs.

Such an effort was barely defeated in the Missouri General Assembly last year.

Communists are masters at manipulating the masses. One tactic is to devise slogans, such as "ERA" that will create turmoil, hate and unrest.

A young Russian socialist, Arkady Kremer, devised the plan which he labeled as "revolutionary sloganeering and issue linking." He used the plan to turn Russian workers against the government prior to the Bolshevik Revolution.

By devising the popular "ERA" slogan, communists have generated a broad base of support for a cause. The main political resolution adopted by the 20th National Convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A., spells out how ERA proponents are looked upon as a means to the end.

"The movement for women's equality has emerged as a significant feature of the overall upsurge in the struggle against the evils of capitalism...Our party has been and will continue to be a factor in the overall struggle for women's equality. We strengthen these struggles by guiding them along rails that parallel and intermesh with the class struggles for social progress generally."

Louis Budenz, a former communist and former editor of the party's official publication in the U.S., "The Daily World," says any person trained to read communist literature would immediately recognize "class struggles" to mean "communist party struggles" and "social progress" to mean "advancement toward communism."

It also was noted at the communist party's 20th convention that "a recent, and extremely significant development is the National Women's Political Caucus..."

Shortly thereafter, the National Women's Political Caucus began appearing at communist-sponsored functions as well as receiving lots of publicity in communist publications.

The Women's Political Caucus along with the National Organization for Women cooperated with communist sponsors of a march for women's rights in New York City in 1971.

The Women's Political Caucus also cooperated with communist organizations, according to "The Daily World," in staging other public rallies. One such event was in 1972 when speakers were invited to speak out against the Vietnam War.

Ironically, two of the speakers at that 1972 function, according to "The Daily World," now are key supporters of ERA in the Missouri Legislature — Sen. Harriett Woods and Rep. Sue Shear.

Now, the Women's Political Caucus has an office in Jefferson City and is mobilizing support for the effort to push ERA through the General Assembly this year. The local lobbyist coordinator for the caucus is Mrs. Pam Rich, wife of Cole County Collector Skip Rich.

Budenz sums up the connection between ERA and the communist party in his book, "The Techniques of Communism." He says:

"Stalin is quite pointed on this subject. For the revolution, it is necessary 'to utilize the conflict of interest between one's enemies.' It is therefore necessary to temporize and compromise with conditional or facillating allies. It is essential at times to go in zigzags.

"In doing so, the communist takes up the championship of reforms. But he has no illusions about the matter.

"They are only the instrument to gather forces," Budenz says, "to split possible opponents and in that way to move forward to the real goal — the violent overthrow of the bourgeois government."

The article is a good example of the technique of issue expansion of the dispute to involve greater numbers in the controversy. The language in it is crucial in bringing the issue to public attention. Cobb and Elder theorize that there is a set of linkages between the type of language that is used to define an issue to outsiders and the ultimate size of the audience that will become involved in the issue.<sup>28</sup> Symbols can be separated from its meaning and while everyone does not interpret a symbol the same way and symbols do not remain static, within a particular time context, certain symbols will be salient to most people and will provoke either positive or negative reactions.

The first impression one gets from reading the article is the linkage between the symbols "ERA" and "Communism and socialism". The historical background supporting these symbols is critical to its potency. Using these symbols with historical precedence enhances the likelihood of expanding the conflict. The term communism has been utilized by groups interested in a range of problems from Vietnam to fluoridation, and communists are the principal symbolic enemy at present. The article is peppered with these symbols. "The Equal Rights Amendment was written by Alice Paul, a Socialist". "The real emancipation of women, real communism...." "The main political resolution adopted by the National Convention of the Communist Party spells out how ERA proponents are looked upon as a means to the end." "Class struggles mean communist party struggles and social progress means advancement toward communism." "The National Women's Political Caucus began appearing at communist-

sponsored functions." By this time, the reader has ample evidence that ERA and communism are intricately linked and any condition except the status quo is of communist origin.

The article is full of action words. The intent of the article is to clarify for the reader the grim reality that the community is involved in a desperate struggle to remain an independent, capitalistic, democracy, free of the restraints of Russian communism. The quotations of the communists all verify for the reader that communist dominion over the world is behind every social upheaval. "The movement for women's equality has emerged as a significant feature of the overall upsurge in the struggle against the evils of capitalism. We strengthen these struggles by guiding them along rails that parallel and intermesh with the class struggles for social progress generally." The article also alludes to the fact that current proponents of the ERA were also at a communist-sponsored meeting protesting the Vietnam war.

Practically anything that takes the woman out of the home is communist-inspired. "The first condition for the liberation of the wife is to bring the whole female sex back into public industry, and that this in turn demands the abolition of the monogamous family as the economic unit of society." "To free woman from her dependent and unequal status, she must be released from total responsibility for the care of her young children." "So it appears that the overall goal of the communists is to re-educate young children in day care centers across America."

One interesting tactic of the article is to render meaningless the time-honored symbols of the United States. "And making the phrase 'Equal Rights' a household word is part of a tactic used by socialists to gain control of the Soviet Union in 1917." "Communists are masters at manipulating the masses. One tactic is to devise slogans, such as 'ERA' that will create turmoil, hate and unrest." "By devising the popular 'ERA' slogan, communists have generated a broad base of support for a cause."

The whole purpose of the article is to inject fear into the issue of the ERA. Fear of proponents of the ERA because of the ultimate motives, fear of the changes that will be brought about, fear of a communist takeover, all these are touched upon in the article.

One aspect that might be overlooked in analyzing the column is that the author might be more right in his analysis of the situation than even he knows. Radical feminists do stress the disappor-tionment of power (money) in the class struggle and blame much of the oppression of women on the biological differences between men and women, most specifically the carrying and bearing of children. They do advocate a change in our political system and would over-throw the nuclear family for a group commitment for the nurturing of children.<sup>29</sup>

John F. Kennedy described why the strategy of the newspaper article is so effective:

"Mythology distracts us everywhere. The great enemy of the truth is very often not the lie - deliberate, contrived, and dis-

honest - but the myth, persistent, persuasive, and unrealistic. Too often we hold fact to the cliches of our forebearers. We subject all facts to a prefabricated set of interpretations. We enjoy the comfort of opinion without the discomfort of thought."<sup>30</sup>

## CONTENDING PARTIES

### Interest Groups

While formation of interest groups to influence legislation is not a new idea on the American political scene, there has been an interesting turn in the past fifteen years with the formation of what might be called public interest groups. Enthusiastic proponents of public interest groups sometimes state or imply that these groups represent an entirely new political force on the American scene. Critics of public interest groups ordinarily point to the tradition of public interest reform in American politics - the Progressives, Women's Temperance League, generations of proponents of good government - and view Common Cause, Nader, and the others as the latest manifestations of this tradition.

There are several factors which help in understanding the increase in influence of these groups: Increase in middle-class participation in politics in the 1960s and 1970s; increase in politics of issues and systems of beliefs as opposed to politics of party, identification, personality, or patronage; the growth of "civic skepticism" - the belief in the utility of existing politics and public administrative practices in solving important social



problems; skillful leadership of interest groups; technical advances in communication; and initial success bringing more success.<sup>31</sup>

Some of the reasons for categorized motivation for political acts and for voting in national elections have been party identification, attraction to personalities and issue orientation. Part of the trend toward motivation which is becoming more apparent is the vote against someone, some party or some issue. Initiative petitions and referenda are being placed on ballots more and more, taking power out of the hands of legislators and putting more decision-making into the hands of the voters, reflecting the views of an elitist interest group. The time energy, and expense involved in writing petitions, collecting signatures, etc., show enormous coordination and involvement of citizens. Disposal of nuclear wastes is one such issue superceding party lines. The issue received a great deal of attention in the past November election and reflected the views of a small number of Missourians.

In some cases initiative petitions give the citizen two votes on the issue, one on the issue itself and one on a candidate supporting or opposing the issue. One of the most visible issues involving a vote against a single-faceted issue is the Pro-Life vote. In the recent Eighth Congressional District race in which twenty candidates were running, it was impossible to categorize the candidates by party from their stands on the issue. Most candidates espoused stronger defense, stronger economy, less government bureaucracy. But in my observation, one issue on which the voter could make a definitive choice was the issue of Pro-Life--Pro-Choice.

The candidates themselves did not often bring up that particular issue, but often the question came from the voters at forums, during canvassing and interviews. Many times it seemed to be the one issue which could definitely sway the voter.

The decline in popular trust of our national political institutions as indicated by survey research is quite shocking.<sup>32</sup> The difficulty of incumbent Presidents remaining in office for two full terms might be considered another indication. However, skeptical responses to governmental institutions do not necessarily imply that people will drop out of politics. He might instead, for example, support an interest group. The skepticism can be seen as another factor in the growth of interest groups.

The link between skepticism and interest group participation can be seen in the growth of the technology of communication and mass mailings. A group of new and aggressive conservative groups formed well-funded political action committees as a prelude to the 1976 national elections. New-right PACs, unlike the business PACs formed from the ranks of a single corporation, are umbrella organizations that use sophisticated direct-mail appeals to tap small contributions from conservative voters. The money they collect is pooled and then directed at a candidate-training and support services or targeted for direct contributions to far-fight contenders. The near-hysteria they engender has been quite productive in terms of contributions. The 1980 elections saw targeted campaigns against Senators Birch, Bahy, McGovern, Eagleton and others. In 1978 Richard Viguerie, who figures predominately in direct-mail campaigns,

claimed he could raise upwards of \$30 million for right-wing causes. "If you want to raise \$100,000 that can be done for very little cost," he asserts. "If you want to raise \$1 million, that takes time and a sophisticated list."<sup>32</sup>

John Anderson was targeted in 1978. "The thing that makes the right-wing PACs so dangerous is that they can target someone they want to take out and concentrate their funds. "They must have put a dozen mass mailings into my district." Although Anderson survived, he noted that "it took the most expensive campaign I had ever run in 18 years to win."<sup>33</sup>

The National Women's Political Caucus, National Organization for Women, and other groups play an important part as interest groups in the ratification process. However, these groups see another fundamental problem in the process of gaining equality for women and that is the lack of participation of women in politics. Women do not vote because politics does not relate to their needs. Politicians do not have to consider implications of political behavior of non-voters. Thus, they do not deal with issues of concern to women and to other non-voters in society.<sup>34</sup>

Groups such as NOW and NWPC appear to have been instrumental in the increased involvement and promotion and heightened political awareness on the part of women. One writer observing the NWPC felt that there is a fairly large segment of potentially active middle-class women for whom the traditional party politics apparently did not appeal. She believes feminists' organizations are able to organize that group. Because of this potential, she predicts that

the role of WPC will have a lasting influence on political parties in the United States. The Caucus provided the first organization that allowed these women to organize around a political activity that came out of their own personal experience. Women who had previously worked for other candidates and other causes suddenly were able to work for issues that affected them very personally. Eventually some of them worked for their own candidacy as well. Thus, the women's movement is organizing women, even those who have been politically active before, differently from the way women have been organized in the past.<sup>35</sup>

#### GROUP SOLIDARITY

##### The Logic of Collective Action

When one compares the number and quality of associations which support the ERA such as associations of almost all professional women, the labor unions, religious organizations, the Democratic party, to the mass who visibly support of ERA, it seems as if there is a contradiction of numbers. Why is not there more visible support? Why is there not larger numbers in organizations dedicated to the ratification, such as NOW, NWPC?

Mansur Olson, Jr., examined this seeming discrepancy in the Logic of Collective Action. "It is often taken for granted", he writes, "that groups of individuals with common interests usually attempt to further those common interests. Groups of individuals with common interests are expected to act on behalf of their common

interests much as single individuals are often expected to act on behalf of their personal interests."<sup>36</sup>

Does a group of individuals take on characteristics of the individuals, or is the group a new entity which is characterized by its own unique personality? Olson calls these assumptions into question. "It does not follow, because all of the individuals in a group would gain if they achieve their group objective, that they would act to achieve that objective, even if they were all rational and self-interested." Except under certain conditions, "rational, self-interested individuals will not achieve their common or group interests."<sup>37</sup>

There are several aspects to this problem of organizing and maintaining large publics. The first is the cost of organization. If a large number of people is involved, it is not worthwhile for an individual, or several individuals, to form an organization and lead it into political battle, for the success will be worth less than the costs in time, money and energy of organizing. Robert Salisbury argues that the origin and growth of interest groups can better be explained if they are regarded as exchange relationships between entrepreneurs/organizers, who invest capital in a set of benefits, which they offer to prospective members at a price-membership. On the one hand, there is the proliferation hypothesis that as society becomes more differentiated and diverse, interest group organizations will arise to represent the conflicting claims of each differentiated set of interested parties. The association articulates the interest, and by organizing its adherents provides

more effective bargaining power. Thus, unorganized groups, i.e. people with differentiated but unarticulated values, are presumed to be weaker than organized groups.<sup>38</sup>

The second theory is that because the equilibrium among social groups is disturbed as a consequence of such socially disruptive factors, the disequilibrium will evoke a response from the disadvantaged sectors as they seek to restore a viable balance. A principal way of doing so is by organizing a formal association. This not only improves bargaining power, but it also helps to stabilize and strengthen relationships within the groups by increasing the mutually supportive interaction among members and thereby the range and salience of their shared values.<sup>39</sup> The third theory might also be offered. The equilibrium of social groups if disturbed, not by outside or technological influences, but by the awareness of the individual of the inequality of benefits. As awareness grows among numbers of individuals, they begin organizing for mutual networks of support.

Entrepreneurs/organizers invest capital to create a set of benefits, which they offer at a market of potential customers at a price. If, and as long as, enough customers buy or join, to make a viable organization, the group is in business. Benefits can be conceptualized as material, solidary, or purposive incentives. Clark and Wilson suggest that solidary values "derive in the main from the acts of associating and include such rewards as socializing, congeniality, in the sense of group membership and identification, the status resulting from membership, fun, conviviality, and so on."<sup>40</sup>

Purposive benefits or incentives consist of the realization of suprapersonal goals, goals of the organization or group. One can often derive benefits from expressing certain kinds of values. Opposition to poverty and affirmation of civil rights are contemporary examples of values that many people wish to express, and what is of importance, they are willing to join groups which provide mechanisms for public expression of those values. Whether the expression is instrumentally relevant to the achievement of the values in question is not at issue. The point here is that important benefits are derived from the expression itself.<sup>41</sup>

The group entrepreneur invests his capital to create a set of benefits, which he offers at a price to a market. The price is group membership. For an entrepreneur it is comparatively easy to establish a purposive or expressive group. It requires little capital to articulate a cause and go about promoting the group as guardian of that cause. On the other hand, this type of group presents high risks too. The cause may be popular enough without there being a pressing reason for people to join a group. Moreover it is likely that expressive groups are especially vulnerable to slight changes in circumstances including many over which the group has no control. A gun-control law would wipe out the need for such societies. More broadly, for most people the act of joining an expressive group is a marginal act. A slight change in the members' resources or social pressure may lend to his failure to renew membership. Organizational fees in such groups such as NOW might be the first to be eliminated from an individual's budget, if her financial resources become more limited.

Expressive groups, being cheap to organize, will abound in a political system to whatever extent there may be entrepreneurs available to organize them but they will tend to be highly transient. They will be easily established and will as easily disappear. They will utilize communications media, especially the mail, more than face-to-face contacts; they may alter their expressed position to meet changing "market conditions". But above all they are unstable organizations. Because of this, expressive group organizers may be expected to add other types of benefits into a group in order to give it solidarity.<sup>42</sup>

Olson theorized on the logic of collective action in obtaining collective goods, that is goods that all people in a group would receive, such as all farmers, as opposed to selective good, that is goods that only members of the Farm Bureau would receive. Therefore he is talking about large groups. If a group were large enough that the contributions or efforts of any one member would not make a difference in whether the group achieves its goals, why should a given member contribute? If he is not conscious of the value of the goals sought, clearly he will have no motive to contribute, but, even if he values their achievement a great deal, he still will have no self-interested reason to help. Most importantly, it is against his individual interests to pay any cost since he will enjoy the benefits produced by the group whether or not he has helped to support it. He will be individually better off pursuing his personal interests and taking an effortless, free ride while others make sacrifices for his



group interest. The rational course of action is to ignore his class or social interests and to spend his energies on his personal interests.<sup>43</sup>

The basic premise is that when individuals unite to pursue their collective interest, this cannot be construed as the logical course of action. In order to counteract the natural course of noninvolvement, there are three basic ways of handling it: through constraints, inducements, or persuasion. Constraints and inducements involve the use of negative and positive sanctions. Gamson discusses persuasion:

"There is an interesting variety of words used to describe this social control technique - some of the highly pejorative and other complimentary. The approving words include education, persuasion, therapy, rehabilitation, and, perhaps more neutrally, socialization. The disapproving words include indoctrination, manipulation, propaganda, and 'brainwashing.' The choice of words is merely a reflection of the speaker's attitude toward (the group doing the controlling)"<sup>44</sup>

As far as Olson's argument there is a strong bias about the effectiveness of persuasion. He can readily see how a group can induce members to join by means of selective, private rewards given only to those who participate. Similarly, he can understand readily enough that members can be constrained to join by threat of personal harm for not participating. But he really does not view group loyalty or solidarity as a meaningful form of control.

James Coleman addresses the general problem of why individuals are willing to invest in and sacrifice for with no tangible returns. Such investments pay intangible but directly-experienced rewards in the sense of pleasure a person experiences in being on

a winning team or the sense of well-being he experiences when his nation does well. To reap these rewards requires commitment. The greater the sacrifice and effort involved, the greater is the investment of self, and, hence, the greater the personal satisfaction (or disappointment) with the action.<sup>45</sup>

There is also a somewhat different problem - the conditions under which dissatisfied members of an organization will choose to leave or to stay and attempt to change it. Albert Hirschman argues that loyalty is at its most functional when it looks most irrational, when loyalty means strong attachments to an organization that does not seem to warrant such an attachment because it is so much like another one that is also available. Why is such loyalty so important? Because "it can neutralize with certain limits the tendency of members to be the first to exit... Thus loyalty, far from being irrational, can serve the socially useful purpose of preventing deterioration from becoming cumulative as it so often does when there is no barrier to exit".<sup>46</sup>

From Olson's argument of logic of collective action, it does not follow logically from the theory of collective goods that loyalty or solidarity will be insufficient as a means of social control. What does follow is that in order to be successful, groups must find some way of overcoming the rider-free problem. It is Olson's contention that, because of the overwhelming claim of personal interests, appeals to solidarity will not do the job adequately. Granted it may be sufficient for some few committed loyalists, but a group that asks voluntary sacrifices from all its members will not succeed.<sup>47</sup>

One other aspect of group membership that plays an important part in the women's movement is negative benefits of membership. To be associated with a dedicated group is to make sacrifices in terms of power, influence, money, social prestige. How much is an individual willing to sacrifice? There is the sacrifice of personal ideals for group ideals and this often involves more compromise than an individual is willing to give. How much negative feedback an individual is willing to take is another. Membership in causes often produces labeling of group characteristics in the individual. How willing is a woman to join NOW because she believes in the concept of equality of women when she might be labeled "radical," "bra-burner," or even "lesbian"? This is a risk many women are unwilling to take.

In 1963, when Betty Friedan wrote the Feminine Mystique, feminism was considered an outdated concept. Slowly smouldering complaints of workingwomen and restless housewives began to cohere as a platform for reform. All these concerns came together in Washington, D.C. in 1966, when women assembled for a meeting of the National Conference of Commissions on the Status of Women. After one of the meetings, in Betty Friedan's hotel room, the National Organization for Women was founded, the first explicit feminist interest group since the suffrage era.

NOW propounded a legalistic brand of feminism, demanding equality of opportunity and speaking to the concerns of the educated, relatively affluent professional women who comprised its initial constituency. The goal of the organization was to take action to bring women into full participation in the

mainstream of American society now, exercising all the privileges and responsibilities in truly equal partnership with men. The organization, not intentionally, had a white, middle-class, rather conservative bias. Membership in the organization was not especially threatening for the group. NOW sought to win an equal place for women in the male world of politics, business, and the professions by extending and strengthening a women's rights under the law. Betty Friedan was elected NOW's first president by three hundred charter members.

The organization established by the charter members reflected their characters. Women with executive abilities created a group that was both stable and flexible enough to sustain itself.

In 1967 NOW called for the repeal of all laws that restricted access to birth-control information, and more particularly the repeal of all penal laws governing abortion. This was the first time a woman's group had supported abortion as a feminist issue.

Some member considered abortion too controversial an issue, with the potential to damage the image of women's rights. The organization was predictably unstable and splinter groups began to form. Some members resigned to form their own organization, the Women's Equity Action League (WEAL), which adopted a narrow, conservative approach to women's issues. WEAL aimed to attract women in the professions and business who would exert a patient and diplomatic influence on legislation regarding the work and education of women.

As the market for women's concern increased other groups either formed or changed their goals to meet this new concern,

Federally Employed Women, YWCA, National Federation of Business and Professional Women; all joined the fight against sex discrimination. Initial successes brought more response from other women.

Then a second focus came to be called women's liberation or radical feminism. Radical feminism had its roots in the student-protest movements of the 1960s. Many of the young women who became radical feminists had traveled South in the early 1960s to campaign for the civil rights of blacks; later in the decade they demonstrated against the war in Vietnam and joined various groups of the new left. Though these movements opposed the prevailing power structure, they were organized traditionally; men ran the movements while women were expected to make coffee, type papers and provide sexual favors. Like the pioneer feminists, they discovered that men might fight for equality but they were not willing to give equal treatment to the women they worked and lived with. Radical feminists argued that male supremacy is the oldest and most basic form of domination, the model for all other forms of oppression.

These radical feminists challenged the moderate goals of the women's rights groups. Though many women believed that the legal campaigns waged by NOW and WEAL were valuable, they argued that formal rights for women were not enough. The charter members who felt that their own demands were radical were chocked at the demands of the radical feminists.

The movement also helped lesbian women to accept their sexual preference and to begin living an openly homosexual life.

Because homosexuality was listed as a crime in most states, lesbians looked to organized feminism for help in protesting the legal discrimination they faced in employment, housing, divorce, and child-custody rulings. In effect, the lesbian need for social acceptance and self-esteem went to the heart of women's liberation, raising the question of whether women in general would be allowed to decide for themselves who they were and how they would live their lives, without being told that they were less women if their choices seem unorthodox.

Yet heterosexual feminists were slow to support lesbian rights. Many of them were prejudiced against homosexuality and eager to prove that theirs was a movement of "normal" women.<sup>48</sup>

The history of modern feminism illustrates the unstable state of interest groups dedicated to social reform. Definitions of the extent of the reforms often sublimate the ideals of individual members creating difficulty in keeping the group unified. When specific reforms seem too conservative or too radical, splinter groups form, redefining the issues. The ease of organization also makes it fairly simple to organize groups resulting in many groups with less individual impact. The method of achieving goals continually is questioned. Is the answer to reforms in legal methods, social reforms or biological changes? And always present is the rider-free problem?

Knowing the instability of expressive interest groups, might not the solution to achieving a strong organization be in the form of more material gains for the membership? Insurance

plans, credit unions have been effective ways of catching and maintaining memberships.

Women's groups will continue to have difficulty in maintaining interest group membership for the demands can never be narrowed down to a workable number. The gulf between groups advocating homosexuality and groups advocating female participation in the government of the Catholic Church is simply too great to be bridged. Feminists need to approach the problem of achieving sexual equality knowing they will have to make room for all kinds of demand and to support all the efforts of all groups. Feminism can never be narrowed to only certain types of demands for the appeal of feminism is accepting individuals, men, women and children, as unique, unstereotyped humans.

## CONCLUSION

The successful formulation of social demands into acceptable public policy hinges on many elements. One of the most difficult to express is the causes of oppression. It is necessary to understand the instruments by which different groups within a population are kept in subservient positions. Several theories have been expounded by the women's movement. Sex-role socialization, or identification of traits, expectations, evaluation into masculine or feminine roles is one theory. Others include power or domination of males over females; conflicting cultures approach in which more value is placed on a patriarchal system and women are supposed to adapt their culture to that system; and finally the socialistic perspective which views the oppression of any group as benefiting a capitalistic economic system. Perhaps there should be further inquiry to find if there are other subtle means by which people are discouraged from raising questions which challenge the status quo.

After deciding the causes of oppression, there must be an analysis of institutions through which change can take place. There must also be an analysis of the forces which make possible the development of critical masses of discontented people for whom an alternative agenda becomes both a possibility and necessity. The quest of women today is one of justice not charity.

When awareness of oppression is assimilated, the social



conditions of the times need to be evaluated. Certain pre-conditions of the times are necessary in order for social protest to be successful.

When goals are actually reached, group solidarity is necessary. Feminist ideals may have failed to take into account the diversity of female experience and this failure has taken the form of destructive and painful conflict. Even the essential concept of sisterhood turns out to be unmanageably complex when tested in real life.

When placing the demand on the formal agenda, political considerations need to be made. Quality of leadership, climate of the times, interest groups, power structures have to be evaluated. These all have to take into account the quality and scope of the opposition.

The most provocative question I have in concluding this paper is that of power and influence. In a hundred and fifty years women have gone from civil and economic non-beings to office holders, newspaper publishers, bankers, etc. Where do women get their power and influence? Perhaps if we could focus on that aspect of the struggle, we could use it to better advantage.

I would like to express thanks to John McCluskey and Bernard LaFayette, whose support and help have enabled me to become a professional administrator.

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Carol Hymowitz and Michaele Weissman, A History of Women in America, (New York: Bantam, Inc., 1978), p. 156.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 157.

<sup>4</sup>William L. O'Neill, Everyone Was Brave: The Rise and Fall of Feminism in America, (Chicago: Quandrangle Books, 1969), pp. 70-76.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 238.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., pp. 276-293.

<sup>8</sup>Betty Friedan, The Feminine Mystique, (New York: Dell Publishing, 1963).

<sup>9</sup>Shulamith Firestone, The Dialectic of Sex, (New York: Morrow and Company, 1970).

<sup>10</sup>Theodore Lowi, "American Business, Public Policy, Case Studies, and Political Theory," World Politics, XVI (July, 1964), pp. 667-715, quoted in James E. Anderson, Public Policy Making, (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1975).

<sup>11</sup>Anderson, Ibid., pp. 129-133.

<sup>12</sup>Beverly Stephens, "This Couldn't Be Happening to Us," Savy, October, 1980, pp. 34-36.

<sup>13</sup>Phyllis Schlafly, "Phyllis Schlafly Reports," May, 1979.

<sup>14</sup>Anderson, Ibid., p. 18.

<sup>15</sup>Maxwell Miller, "The ERA Ratification Game: Changing the Rules at Halftime," Student Lawyer, January, 1980, p. 4.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>18</sup>Quoted in Janet Boles, The Politics of the Equal Rights Amendment, (New York: Longman, 1979), pp. 5-6.

<sup>19</sup>Kenneth Gergen, "Assessing the Leverage Points in the Process of Policy Formation," in Raymond Bauer and Kenneth Gergen, (eds.), The Study of Policy Formation, (New York: Free Press, 1968), p. 193.

<sup>20</sup>"Phyllis Schlafly Reports", June, 1979.

<sup>21</sup>Laurie Werner, "And the Bad News: How Social Security Cheats Women," Family Circle, November 18, 1980, p. 148.

<sup>22</sup>Roger Cobb and Charles Elder, Participation in American Politics: The Dynamics of Agenda-Building, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972), p. 98.

<sup>23</sup>Agnes Hayes, quoted in Jeanne Westin, Making Do: How Women Survived the '30s, (Chicago: Follett Publishing Company, 1976), pp. 270-271.

<sup>24</sup>U. S. Congress, Senate, Equal Rights for Men and Women, S. Dept. 92-689, 92d Cong., 2d sess., 1972, p. 2.

<sup>25</sup>Susan Purcell, "Ideology and the Law: Sexism and Supreme Court," in Jane S. Jaquette (ed.), Women in Politics, (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1973), pp. 131-142.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid.

<sup>27</sup>James Coleman, Community Conflict, (Glencoe: Free Press, 1957), pp. 9-22.

<sup>28</sup>Cobb and Elder, Ibid., pp. 141-147.

<sup>29</sup>Firestone, Ibid., pp. 205-239.

<sup>30</sup>The Kennedy quotation appears in William Safire, The New Language of Politics, (New York: Collier Books, 1972), p. 410.

<sup>31</sup>Andrew S. McFarland, Public Interest Lobbies: Decision Making on Energy, (Washington: American Enterprise Institute, 1976), pp. 4-24.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., pp. 13-15.

<sup>33</sup>"Why the New Right Isn't Doing Well at the Polls," Business Week, October 30, 1978, pp. 158-160.

<sup>34</sup>Mary Lou Kendrigen, "Political Equality: Its Meaning for Feminists," p. 20. Paper delivered at 1979 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid.

<sup>36</sup>Mansur Olson, Jr., The Logic of Collective Action, (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1965), p. 2.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., pp. 2-40.

<sup>38</sup>Robert Salisbury, "An Exchange Theory of Interest Groups," in Robert Salisbury, ed., Interest Group Politics in America, (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), pp. 32-63.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., p. 35.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., p. 48.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., p. 58.

<sup>43</sup>Olson, Ibid., pp. 105-106.

<sup>44</sup>William Gamson, The Strategy of Social Protest, (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1975), p. 57.

<sup>45</sup>James Coleman, "Loss of Power," American Sociological Review, February, 1973, pp. 1-17.

<sup>46</sup>Albert Hirschman, Exit, Voice, and Loyalty, (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1970), pp. 79-81.

<sup>47</sup>Olson, Ibid., pp. 15-16.

<sup>48</sup>Hymowitz, Ibid., pp. 342-373.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Anderson, James E., Public Policy Making, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1975).
- Boles, Janet, The Politics of the Equal Rights Amendment, (New York: Longman, 1979).
- Cobb, Roger and Elder, Charles, Participation in American Politics: The Dynamics of Agenda-Building, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972).
- Coleman, James, Community Conflict, (Glencoe: Free Press, 1957).
- Firestone, Shulamith, The Dialectic of Sex, (New York: Morrow and Company, 1970).
- Friedan, Betty, The Feminine Mystique, (New York: Dell Publishing, 1963).
- Gamson, William, The Strategy of Social Protest, (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1975).
- Hirschman, Albert, Exit, Voice, and Loyalty, (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1970).
- Hymowitz, Carol and Weissman, Michael, A History of Women in America, (New York: Bantam, Inc., 1978).
- Jaquette, Jane S. (ed.), Women in Politics, (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1973).
- McFarland, Andrew S., Public Interest Lobbies: Decision Making on Energy, (Washington: American Enterprise Institute, 1976).
- Olson, Mansur, Jr., The Logic of Collective Action, (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1965).
- O'Neill, William L., Everyone Was Brave: The Rise and Fall of Feminism in America, (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969).
- Salisbury, Robert, Interest Group Politics in America, (New York: Harper and Row, 1970).