

**WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN US: A STUDY ON
THE ROLE OF THE SELECTED NGO'S**

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled “Women’s Movement in US: A Study on the Role of the selected NGO’s”, submitted by Neetu Rai in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy of this University in her own work, and has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this or any other University.

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiner for evaluation.


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*Dedicated to
Maa*

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PREFACE

Women's movement in the US existed in dynamic and reciprocal relation with its organization, giving them their broad purpose, specific agenda and a supply of activist, while drawing from them a set of practices political and material resources and a supportive context within which they could carry on their lives while struggling for change.

In the United States, "Women's NGO's" maintain the responsibility in the absence of national machinery. They have created their own national machinery, increasingly effective delivery system operating at the local, state and national level. American women have become adept at using "NGO's" to work for their advancement of women in every field of endeavor. American women have repeatedly demonstrated the effectiveness of using NGOs the further their objective.

National Organization, sponsoring special workshops, distributing positions paper, or developing other educational materials and services provide a fascinating and glimpse to their contribution. Organization such as National Women's Education Fund (NWEF); National Association of Working Women (NAWW); Women's Campaign Fund (WCF); National Organization for Women (NOW). Feminist Majority and Emily's list are prominent group in promoting women's agenda.

The present study is a modest attempt to examine the role of the Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) in Women's Political Movement in US, especially the right of women and the role of the NGOs in the protection of the same.

This dissertation consists of five chapters. The first chapter deals with the historical evolution of women's movement in the US.

The second chapter attempts to discuss, contributing factor in the origin of women's organization. It gives the brief account of the selected NGO's, focusing on the ERA defeat.

The third chapter deals with the Organisational strategies and tactics and their impact on policy process. It also attempts to study, How NGO's work in Capitol Hill. What are the restraints and constraints faced by the organizations.

The fourth chapter is an attempt, How organization changed public opinion, How did they increased women's participation etc.

The last chapter contains the main finding of the study and on overall assessment of the Women's NGO's role in women's movement in US.

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CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN THE US

The history of women in America serves to highlight the ironies and contradiction of the American society. Throughout its history, the United States has granted an increasing number of groups, their basic right and freedom as Americans. However, despite American willingness to accept Blacks, immigrants, Catholics, Jews and other historically excluded people greater rights and freedom, America was reluctant to grant women their full rights and freedoms as American citizens. Unlike the issues slavery and race, women were never mentioned during the debate over the ratification of the U.S. constitution. No mention was made of the status of women, even though they were treated differently than men in every State. On almost every issue that affected the rights of the citizens, including suffrage, property, jury service and education. Women's rights were different. However, many claim that such a bias should not be accepted as the court has not used any word or noun denoting the sex of the citizen. For instance, one account claim that :

“They have always been included in all of the constitutional protection provided to all person, fully and equally, without any basis in the test for discrimination on the basis of sex.”

In the Original Constitution.... the word “man” or “male” do not occur, nor does any other noun or adjective denoting sex. By not mentioning women or men, speaking instead only of person, the constitution must mean that every right, privilege and protection afforded to person in the constitution is afforded to female person as well as male person equally.¹

¹ Robert Goldwin, *“Why Blacks, Women and Jew Are Not Mentioned in the Constitution.”* (Philadelphia : Temple University Press, 1987), p 28

Whatever the intent of the constitution may have been on the matters of women, the result of its ratification was that women lost rather than gained rights. For example, in states in which women had voted prior to the constitution, such as Massachusetts from 1691 to 1780 and in New Jersey until 1807, they lost that right. Despite the Constitutional Convention's failure to grant legal rights to women, or perhaps because of it, a visible and organized women's movement had emerged by the 1830s.²

By the 1830s and 1840s increasing effort was being made to awaken the women to ask for full enfranchisement. Paulina Wright Davis, Lucretia Mott, Lucy Stone, Ernestine Rose, Abigail Kelley Foster, and Angelina and Sarah Grimke spoke for women's rights. In 1848, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott, Martha C. Wright, and Mary Ann McClintock issued a call for a convention to discuss the rights of women. Meeting in the Wesleyan chapel at Seneca Falls, N.Y., on July 19 and 20, the convention adopted a Declaration of Principles patterned on the American Declaration of Independence.³ Signed by 68 women and 32 men the Seneca Falls declaration stated: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal.... the history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpation on the part of man towards women. Having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her...." The convention demanded for women the right of equal education and the right to preach, to teach, and to earn livelihood. It also passed a resolution stating that it is the sacred duty of the women of this

² Olive Banks, *Faces of Feminism : A Study of Feminism as a Social Movement*, (New York : St. Martin's Press, 1981), PP 34-37.

³ Ibid.

country to secure to themselves their sacred rights to the elective franchise". Thus was laid the foundation for the woman suffrage movement in the United States.

ABOLITIONIST MOVEMENT AND WOMEN:

However, in the 1830s and 1840s, the nation's attention was forced on another issue, one whose moral overtones placed much grater demands on leaders of social change. The abolitionist movement was the major social movement of the two decades prior to the Civil War, and it captured the energy and imagination of women who saw injustice and inequality in the treatment meted out to slaves Rather than to continue to pursue their own goals the leaders of the women's movement threw themselves into the struggle for the abolition of slavery. They joined the -----speaker platform of the male led and organized movement, they helped runaway slaves escape to Northern cities and to Canada, and in 1840, women were included in the American delegation that attended the world Anti slavery Convention held in London.⁴

Once the Civil War began, the women advocates agreed to abandon their own cause and to support the union effort. The culmination of the abolitionist effort was the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which abolished slavery. The leaders of the women movement watched in shock an disillusionment as men legislator adopted the fourteenth amendment which guaranteed to all "person" the right to equal protection of the law. However in the section, which determined the number of U.S.

⁴ Sandra Baxter, *Women and Politics : The Visible Majority*, (The University of Michigan Press :L An Arbor, 1983) PP 18-20.

Representative that each state would be due in congress. The use of the word “male citizen” marked the specific and intentional exclusion of women for the first time in the Constitution⁵. Not all women were upset by Fourteenth Amendment. The more conservative women rights advocates insisted that this was the “Negro’s hour” and refused to engage in any activity that rights jeopardize their long awaited freedom. The 15th Amendment passed in 1870, which extended to all men but not to women, the right to vote, before the Civil War. Women had been told to wait on their cause, to recognize the abolition of slavery as the major moral priority. They not only acquiesced and waited, they also threw themselves into the struggle against slavery and for freedom. With the end of hostilities and the end of slavery, the women had every reason to believe that their time had come and their movement would assume centre stage as the next major struggle for freedom and equality⁶.

Both Elizabeth Lady Stanton and Susan Anthony were involved in abolition and women’s right long before the out break of the Civil war. Though they never denied the importance of women’s rights, once the war began they, like all other women, were willing to suspend activities until the conflict was successfully concluded. As early as 1861, Stanton began advocating emancipation for slaves, but when President Abraham Lincoln delivered his emancipation proclamation to take effect on January 1, 1863, Stanton and other abolitionists were somewhat disappointed. The proclamation really affected

⁵ Butler Twiss, and Mckenzie. Paula, “21st Century Equal Rights Amendment Effort Begins,” <http://www.how.org/nnt/01-94/eva.html>

⁶ SIMON. RITAJ, and DANZIER. GLORIA, *Women’s movement in America : their Success Disappointment and Aspiration*”, (New York : Prager Publisher, 1991), p. 2

slaves in the confederate states, where there was little anyone could do to enforce the edict until the confederacy was defeated.

Despite this disappointment, Stanton sought ways in which women could express their support for the aims of the Union and for full emancipation. Public affirmation of any kind by women were still unusual, but Stanton and Anthony wanted to do more than knit garments to support the war efforts. By then a resident of New York city, Stanton, with her colleague, issued a call for women to meet on May 14th to join an organization that would take a more active role, the National Women's Loyal League. Several hundred women responded.

The National Women's loyal league and Support for Union

At the initial meeting, the members adopted several resolutions. Hoping to keep either women's right or abolition from becoming the domain of the League, some members supported resolution that would have confined the League's movement to only those issues that addressed Lincoln's conduct of war. This conservative faction was voted down, however, and the most significant resolution adopted was to mount an urgent petition campaign to urge the congress to vote for immediate emancipation of all slaves in the Union. The League also passed a resolution supporting the government for as long as it continued to wage a war for freedom. Finally, the members voted to attempt to collect one million signatures in support of passage of the Thirteenth Amendment, which would abolish slavery.

The League remained in existence for only a little over a year, disbanding in August 1864. At its height, the league counted nearly 5,000 women as members operating on a shoestring budget. Based on efforts of volunteers eventually collecting almost 400,000 names in support of their petition. Their success at collecting signatures was only slightly hampered by the one penny that they also collected with each signature, as a means of financing their organization. In its short life time, the League was an invaluable educational experience for thousands of women who, after the Civil War, turned their energies to other reform causes.

The Seneca Falls Convention was followed by a convention in another state. In 1850, the first National Convention was held in Worcester, Mass., with delegates from nine states present. Another convention held in Syracuse, N.Y., in 1852 was significant because it marked the first joint venture of Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who for the next 50 years were in the forefront of the fight for equality for women in the United States. If women's rights advocates thought that they would be justly rewarded for their support of the union and their willingness to suspend their own interest for those of the slaves, they were bitterly disappointed. Eighteen years after the first historic women's rights convention in Seneca Falls, New York, the suffragists founded the First National Suffrage Organization. It was the American Equal Rights Association, founded in 1866, which intended to reconcile the American women's movements that had run on two increasingly divergent paths ever since the World Anti Slavery Conference in London in 1840, when women delegates from the United States were refused seats. The new organization

hoped to bring together the anti slavery and women's right movement to work simultaneously for legal rights for both former slaves and women. The final straw for more radical feminist came when abolitionist insisted that the reform agenda had to be "Negro suffrage, then temperance, then the eight hour movement, then woman suffrage," These feminist, already outraged when the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendment did not include the woman's right to vote, were further disillusioned when they received no support from abolitionist within the American Equal Right Association for inclusion of women's right. In their view, women had set aside their own issues to support the abolitionist .

SUFFRAGISTS AND ORGANISATION OF MOVEMENT:

Following the Civil War, woman suffrage movement split over tactics. In May 1869, at the New York Women's Bureau, Anthony and Stanton organized the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA), with 118 women signing up on the spot. Among the initial joiners were Lucretia Mott, Martha Wright and Paulina Wright Davis, all noted feminists and former members of the American Equal Rights Association. From the start, the NWSA excluded men from leadership position and elected officers, and emphasized the necessity of securing an amendment to the United States Constitution. Their sole object was to secure a Sixteenth Amendment that would enfranchise women.⁷ Stanton was elected the first president of NWSA, and Anthony served first on the executive committee and then as vice president. Eventually

⁷ Ibid., p 2

NWSA targeted both middle and working class women and centered their attention on lobbying efforts in Congress rather than organizing state campaign. Cross country lecture tours, discussions, and rallies helped to ignite the still fledgling movement on the right to vote. In the meantime a second organization, the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA), was founded in Cleveland, Ohio, in November 1869 by Lucy Stone. Stone, whose abolitionist roots ran deeper than her feminist roots, disagreed with what she perceived as the radicalism of Stanton and Anthony. She stood with other abolitionists who feared that an insistence on women's right could very well jeopardize the rights of former slaves. AWSA expressed a willingness to defer woman suffrage, and also prominently featured male office holders. The first AWSA president was Henry Ward Beecher. AWSA also undertook a nation wide lecture tour in an effort to build a national audience. Although AWSA also advocated a national suffrage amendment, its advocacy was some what diluted by the organization's concentration on changing individual state Constitution. AWSA promoted state by state approach to women's suffrage buttressed by well-organized state delegation and strong local affiliates relying on the belief that abolitionist and Republican would eventually adopt their cause.⁸

By 1890, the two organizations amalgamated in the National American Women Suffrage Association (NAWSA), and the shift began towards a narrower political focus. NAWSA agreed to direct all its efforts towards the state level. State campaigns became more numerous and effective and

⁸ Cynthia Harrison, *On Account of Sex : The Politics of Women's Issues, 1945-1968*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London : University of California Press, 1988), PP 6-9.

membership grew. Mrs. Stanton became its president (1890-1892), followed by Susan B. Anthony (1892-1900), Carrie Chapman Catt (1900-1904) Anna Howard Shaw (1904-1915) and Carrie Chapman Catt(1915-1920).The impetus for the merger came, interestingly enough, from the daughters of the original founders, younger, Harriot Stanton Blatch, the daughter of Elizabeth Lady Stanton, and Alice Stone Blackwell, the daughter of Lucy Stone. At the time of merger, Stanton and Susan B. Anthony were still very involved in suffrage, and Stanton specially had to be won over the unification because of her lingering suspicions about how committed the moderates were to a federal suffrage amendment. But the advances made by women in the post Civil War decades had wrought changes that made a merger desirable for suffragists in general.

By 1890, there were more women in high school than there were men and women were attending the majority of colleges. Nearly one-third of college students were women, and one third of all professional workers, including doctors, lawyers, and teachers, were women. The women's movement had united under the banner of the Central Federation of Women's Clubs, and the women's Christian Temperance Union was moving into its most powerful phase. Suffrage, no longer an insolated Vehicle for change, was now part of a larger women's movement. The new educated, younger, more active constituents of the women's movement began to exert an increasingly more dominant influence over the suffrage movement. Though Stanton and another were elected the first and second president of the NAWSA, their influence was clearly on the wane and would quickly be replaced by a new generation of women.

Anthony, in particular found much of the new direction that NAWSA was taking to be a bitter pill to swallow. After years of working for the federal amendment, the new emphasis on changing state constitution seemed like a step backward. Never the less, Anthony succeeded Stanton as president in 1892. The very next year, however, she was forced to bow to the influence of the NAWSA members who wanted to hold the annual conventions in places other than the nation's capital. Anthony knew that by removing the central activity of NAWSA to a venue outside of Washington D.C., the organization was going to abandon altogether the federal amendment as its primary goal. Then when Colorado granted women suffrage in 1893, it encouraged those who favored a state by state approach. For the next quarter century, NAWSA pursued hundreds of state campaigns, with less than a handful of success in that time.⁹

The suffrage movement's strategy was to develop a sophisticated lobbying effort at every level of state government. At the annual meeting of NAWSA in 1895, a committee on legislative advice was appointed to disseminate information on the best method of conducting legislative campaign to secure passage of laws. Carrie Chapman Catt had also devised a plan of action for other legislative session. Labeled the "precinct plan",¹⁰ it was first implemented in the 1896 Idaho and California suffrage campaign, and reached its most sophisticated form in New York in 1908.¹¹

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Mary Gray Peck, *The Rise of the Woman Suffrage Party*, (Chicago, Myra Strawn Hartshorn, 1911) PP 1-6.(Chicago, Myra Strawn Hartshorn, 1911) PP 1-6.

¹¹ Ibid.,

Although widows were granted suffrage in school matter in Kentucky in 1838, the first victory for general woman suffrage came in 1869 in the Territory of Wyoming. When Wyoming came into the Union in 1890, it became the first state to provide for woman suffrage in its constitution. It was followed by Colorado (1893) and Utah and Idaho (1896). Fourteen years passed until another state, Washington, granted women the right of equal suffrage (1910). This was followed by California (1911); Arizona, Kansas and Oregon (1914); Alaska Territory (1913); Montana and Nevada (1914); New York (1917); and Michigan, Oklahoma, and South Dakota (1918). Suffrage in presidential election was won in Illinois (1913); Nebraska, North Dakota and Rhode Island (1917) and Indiana, Iowa, Maine, Minnesota, Missouri Ohio, Tennessee and Wisconsin in 1919. Woman suffrage in primary stage was won in Arkansas in 1917 and in Texas in 1918. Anthony remained president of NAWSA until 1900, when she was 80 year old. In the final year of her presidency, when she had little ability to stem the new tide, she watched NAWSA become more and more conservative. There was an increasingly nativist slant to the speeches and resolution that encouraged toning down civil rights to cultivate southern membership favored educational requirement for suffrage, and advocated immigration restriction.

On another development, in 1896, after a bitter and prolonged internal struggle, NAWSA formally disassociated itself from Elizabeth Lady Stanton's Woman's Bible, an annotated exposition of the Bible. Stanton had argued in this radical critique, that the Bible's interpretation and language had aided in the oppression of women over the centuries. When it was published in 1895,

NAWSA officials including Anna Howard Shaw, moved immediately that NAWSA disassociate itself from the book. After Anthony stepped down as president, Carrie Chapman Catt stepped in and remained president for almost all of the organization's remaining years. Catt, whose reputation for administration was sterling, was very much an advocate of challenging state constitution rather than seeking a federal amendment. By several accounts, Catt was more than adept at developing personal relationship with politicians but under her leadership, NAWSA began to stagnate as the frustration of losing campaign after campaign began to wear on the membership.

A NEW STRATEGY AND A MORE CONSERVATIVE PLATFORM

There was a radical shift from the ideals of Seneca Falls. Divorce reform, trade unionism and the legalization of prostitution were dropped from NAWSA's platform. Instead their philosophy revolved around a woman's traditional role as homemaker. NAWSA's narrow issues focus and rationale for seeking the ballot made it radically different from most earlier women's movement. Its members were derived from new spheres like the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), the Women's Club, and the South. The tone of the new suffrage movement was firmly based on conservative, traditional values. According to these women, the two most strongly marked instincts of woman are those of protection of herself and little ones, and of love and loyalty to her husband and her son.¹² Reaffirming woman's place in the home, woman's leader argued that it was precisely because of woman's

¹² Footnote No. 6, P 15.

traditional duties that she needed the vote. Stating this firmly, one account that: “If woman would fulfill her traditional responsibility to her own children; if she would educate and protect from danger -factory children who must find their recreation on the street, if she would bring the cultural forces to bear upon her materialistic civilization; and if she would do it all with the dignity and direction fitting one who carries on her immemorial duties, than she must bring herself to use the ballot..... American women need this implemented in order to preserve the home.”¹³

By 1917, Catt had reversed herself, announcing what she called her “Winning Plan” for suffrage- a return to the pursuit of a federal suffrage amendment. In large part Catt and NAWSA changed direction because of a challenge from the younger more activist National Woman’s Party. The woman’s party was founded by Alice Paul, a young veteran of the English suffrage movement, who was the psychological heir of the Stanton-Anthony wing of the suffrage movement. Where as NAWSA attracted hundred of thousand of members, most of whom were inactive, the woman’s party, a far smaller organization tended to attract members who favored carefully orchestrated co-operation between suffragist and government whenever possible, to initiate change from within. The Woman’s Party had no qualms about engaging in activities that would place pressure on the government.

Alice Paul whose experiences with the English suffrage movement persuaded her that a federal amendment was a quickest way for American woman to get the vote, took over NAWSA’s congressional committee in

¹³ Jane Adams, *Why Women Should Vote*, (New York : St. Martin Press, 1912), PP 19-20.

January 1913. Paul also believed that to succeed, federal suffragism required the support of the President of the United States. Over the objection of some of NAWSA's more conservative members, Paul scheduled the great Washington suffrage parade on March 3, 1912, the day before Woodrow Wilson would take the oath of office. In addition to serving notice on Wilson that the suffragist would have to be reckoned with, the timing of the parade was selected to ensure the maximum audience and maximum press coverage. The parade was testament to Paul's organizational abilities: 8,000 marchers, 26 floats, 10 bands, 6 chariots, and 5 unit of cavalry participated in the parade. The 8,000 marcher included representative from every occupation and profession that women were engaged in; every local state, National Suffrage Organization, most of the voluntary and women's club association and several pro -suffrage Congressmen and Senators.

The Parade accomplished its goal. When Wilson arrived at Union Station as the parade was underway, he was somewhat surprised that no welcoming crowd had gathered for his arrival. Indeed, from where his party stood, the street of Washington looked deserted. When one of his people asked where everyone were, he was told, "Over on the avenue, watching the suffrage parade." It was, as Paul had hoped , the first issue confronting Wilson on his arrival in Washington. Within days of the parade, a delegation of suffragist was able to secure their first meeting with the new President. Secondly, the publicity that was generated as a result of the riot led to an outpouring of public sympathy for the suffragists and, by extension, for their cause. Contribution to the suffrage movement increased markedly, including a \$1000 donation from

the editor of the Washington Post. A special Senate investigation was held to determine why the riot had occurred, resulting in the firing of the superintendent of police. Finally, the suffrage parade was the first shot fired in the final suffrage battle that would culminate in 1919 with passage of the Nineteenth Amendment. It was also recognition that a new generation of suffragists who were much more willing to take direct aggressive action to secure a federal amendment had arrived on the scene.

In 1916, Paul founded the National Woman's Party and mounted an anti Democratic Party campaign. The Women's Party lobbied especially hard in the western states where women already voted for Wilson's opponent Charles Evans Hughes. Paul believed that the only way to make politicians sit up and take notice of women was to consistently vote against the party in power, if that party had done nothing to secure the vote for women. It was a controversial tactic that garnered for Paul a great deal of criticism from women who argued that the Women's Party was jeopardizing the support of pro-suffrage democrats.¹⁴ But there is substantial evidence to suggest that Paul's tactics had the desired effect, as politicians began expressing concern over the possibility of the Woman's Party campaigning against them in their districts.

The Woman's Party also picketed the White House, the Congress and the Supreme Court on a daily basis. When President Wilson announced that he was seeking a Declaration of War against Germany, after Germany had resumed submarine warfare in early 1917, everyone expected the Women's Party to suspend their picketing. But Paul, a student of history, knew all too

¹⁴ Footnote No. 2, PP 153-163.

well what had happened to women when they had suspended their women's right campaign during the Civil War. As a consequence, she announced that while individuals in the Women's Party were free to pursue their own course of action; as an organization, the Women's Party would continue to picket until women had the vote.

The picketing policy certainly embarrassed the Wilson administration. While professing to be in a war to make the world safe for democracy, foreign delegation going into the White House were confronted with women holding signs asking when the same democracy would be implemented at home. Over a period of several months, hundreds of arrests were made. Women were sent to jail, at first for two or three days; but later as the administration attempted to bring pressure on the women to stop the picketing, the sentences ran to several months in Occoquan Workhouse, a particularly vile women's correctional facility across the Potomac river in Virginia.

Ultimately the picketing campaign wore the administration down. When members of Wilson's own administration began to question the government's position on suffrage, Wilson took matter into his own hands. In September 1918, Wilson made a dramatic appearance before the Congress, announcing that suffrage would now be considered an emergency war measure, which the administration had refused to do earlier. Wilson made an impassioned plea for Congress to pass the suffrage legislation; without which, he said, he would not be able to construct an effective world peace. With Wilson now supporting suffrage, it was simply a matter of time before it became the law of the land. Women, both the radical feminist of Paul's National Woman Party and the

social feminist of Catt's NAWSA, had forced the issue and ensured that amendment would be passed by Congress.¹⁵

PASSAGE OF NINETEENTH AMENDMENT:

Though the National American Woman Suffrage Association was proud of its record in gaining amendment of state constitution, it was clear that full woman suffrage could be realized only through an amendment to the United States constitution. Known as "Anthony Amendment" it was introduced by Senator Aaron A. Sargeant of California in 1878 and read: "The right of citizen of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex". Between 1887 and 1919, the amendment had been brought to vote before the Senate or the House a total of eight times, with the last five of those votes taking place between January 1918 and January 1919. Clearly, most of the Congressional support for a woman suffrage amendment did not come until the last three years before its passage. In the final two votes, the house passed what had become known as the Susan B. Anthony Amendment, on May 21, 1919, by a vote of 304 in favor to 89 opposed. And on June 4, 1919, the Senate passed the Anthony Amendment by a vote of 56 in favor to 25 opposed. Within a year after that, the Anthony Amendment officially became the law of land as the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution. The working of the amendment remained as Susan B. Anthony had composed it 45 years earlier. Theoretically, at least, the Nineteenth Amendment represented a moral and legal victory for all women. In

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 154-155.

actuality however, both American Indian and African American women did not have free and easy access to the vote for years after the amendment was verified. It would take massive attitudinal as well as legal, changes, both of which followed on the heels of national civil rights and American Indian movement before the socially accepted prejudices that kept Native American and African American away from the polls could be set aside. The Fifteenth Amendment passed in 1870, extended to all men but no woman- the right to vote. The fifty years campaign to secure a guarantee of women's right to vote resulted in ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment but left the Fourteenth Amendment with no counterpart for women.¹⁶ To remedy this gross deficiency, suffragist leader Alice Paul drafted the Equal Right Amendment and began the campaign for its ratification.¹⁷

The League of Women Voters evolved directly from the National American Women Suffrage Association. When Carrie Chapman Catt addressed the NAWSA delegates at its final meeting in March 1919, she was able to persuade enough delegates to reconvene as the League of Women Voters. Initially, however, 90 percent of NWASA membership felt that the League of Women Voter was unnecessary and would serve little purpose now that the Nineteenth Amendment was just about in place. Catt was elected President for life, an honor bestowed upon her by the grateful NAWSA members who believed that she was largely responsible for securing woman suffrage. But the

¹⁶ Butler Twiss, and McKenzie Paula, *21st Century Equal Right Amendment Efforts begins*, <http://www.now.org/nnt/01.94/era.html>

¹⁷ Ibid.

actual first term president was Maud Wood Park, a long time member of NAWSA leadership.

Catt outlined three goals that she believed the League of Women Voters needed to pursue. First, they had to guarantee that all women would be enfranchised by continuing to press for State ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment. Second, the League of Women Voter had to take the lead in eliminating any removing legal discrimination against women. And third, the League of Women Voters had to be involved in making sure that democracy was secure enough to take the lead in providing for a secure world. During the Conservative 1920s the League of Women Voters lobbied for a variety of legislations focusing on protection for women and children and on good government. In all, the League of Women Voters lobbied for 38 separate pieces of legislation, but saw success on only two issues because of the increasing conservatism. In 1922, Congress passed the Cable Citizen Act. Prior to passage of the Cable Act. Prior to passage of the Cable Act, American woman who married non citizen could conceivably lose their own citizenship if their husbands were deported. The Cable Act guaranteed independent citizenship for married woman. And in 1924 the Sheppard Towner Act was passed, which provided medical care to women and children.¹⁸

Alice Paul and the National Woman's Party, immediately after the ratification, began to lay plans for an equal right campaign To Paul, the vote was only one step in the pursuit of all equality. Until the nation was willing to proclaim in the Constitution that man and women were equal in all maters,

¹⁸ Footnote No. 8, PP 6-15.

women would not be truly equal. Paul wrote an Equal Right Amendment (ERA) in 1922. Neither she, nor the member of the Woman's party who vowed to work for an ERA, were quite prepared for the level of opposition they met. The greatest impediment was from women who for years had worked to secure protective legislation for women and children in the work place and who were fearful that an ERA would, with one blow, wipe out all their hard work. In many ways the division between the goals of the League of Women Voters and the goals of the Women's Party were simply a restatement of the same issues that has earlier divided the women's right movement and that could continue to divide the women's until women found a way to resolve their differences.¹⁹

WOMEN'S LIBERATION: CHANGE WITH CONTINUITY IN WOMEN'S RIGHTS:

"Women's Lib" would have delighted the Nineteenth Century theorists of feminism but it differs in its philosophy and aims from the women's right movement. The earlier advocates of women's rights traditionally the Women's Bureau of the U.S Department of Labor, accepted the idea that women have a typical social role in society. They worked through legal channel to obtain for women such rights as equal pay for equal work, and to win new rights such as maternity leave without loss of seniority unlike the Nineteenth Century women's right groups. Women's "Lib" is revolutionary rather than reformist concept. It is political and social rather than economic in its orientation. By 1945, the women's movement, such as it was, had divided into three different though overlapping groups. The first group, including the National Women's Trade Union League and the National Consumer's League, which

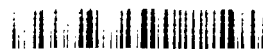
¹⁹ Ibid.

had roots going back to the 1890s, pushed for protective legislation for women. Primarily middle class women had formed an organization to improve condition for industrial workers. During World War I, these organizations persuaded the federal government. to create a Women's Bureau within the Department of Labor as a vehicle to protect women who entered defense work.

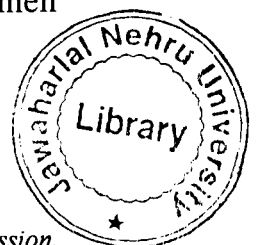
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The second group of feminists which was smaller was led by Alice Paul and centered around the National Woman's Party (NWP). After suffrage was attained, Paul decided to work for a constitutional amendment that would guarantee women complete legal equality with men. While the group allied with the Women's Bureau feared that such an amendment would destroy legal foundation for protective legislation. By 1940's, the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Club, the General Federation of Women's Club, the National Association of Women Lawyers, the National Education Association and various other smaller professional women's organization had agreed to work on behalf of the ERA. After World War II, the ERA fight continued to be goal of the single minded National Woman Party. They were also facing strong opposition from the coalition of groups around the Women's Bureau, who continued to fear an erosion of protective legislation from an ERA. Finally, there existed a group of women who had taken full advantage of suffrage, participating in party politics, the Democratic National Committee, and the Republican National Committee.²⁰ Their aim was to ensure that women would be appointed to government position.²¹

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²⁰ Lois Scharf, *To work and to wed : Female Employment, Feminism and the Great Dipression*, (Westport Conn : Greenwood Press, 1980), PP 140-149.

²¹ Ibid.

EQUAL RIGHTS FOR WOMEN:

A touchstone of the difference between earlier women's right movement and women's "Lib" was the growing support in 1970 for the EQUAL RIGHT AMENDMENT²² (ERA) to the U.S. Constitution, which would outlaw laws providing special protection for women as employee, wives and mothers.

In 1923, an equal right amendment was put forward by the Woman's Party, which had split off from the much larger group that had worked for the 19th amendment. The new proposal was devised to assure women their basic human right with guarantee binding on both federal and state government.

Section 1. Equality of Right under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any state on account of sex.²³

Section 2. The congress shall have the power to enforce by appropriate legislation the provision of this article.²⁴

Section3. This amendment shall take effect two years after the date of ratification.²⁵

The ERA was first introduced in Congress, in 1923, but still to this day, it has failed to become law. The crux of the debate among women's group over the ERA was the question of a woman's major responsibility in society. From the late 1960's to the late 1970's the women's movement has been composed of three main branches liberal, socialist and radicals. The organization of the movement have been numerous and varied, but many women who consider themselves feminist have never joined any group, and countless other have

²² Feminism (<http://www.Coloradio.edu/amstudies/lweis/2010/feminism.htm>)

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

changed their lives even though they do not support the movement or call themselves feminists. Among the three political branches, liberal feminism has the longest history. It goes back to the women's right movement of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries which won the vote for women. After 1920, however women right does not have a continuous history of achievement. By the mid 1960's the only existing group with connection to the earlier movement was the National Woman's Party (NWP). Legal discrimination based on sex had kept the Equal Right Amendment alive at a time when other women's organization and trade union women saw it as a threat to their hard won protective labor legislation. In October 1966, the first avowedly women's organization to emerge since suffrage held its inaugural conference with the appearance of the National Organization for Women, women leaders outside the government, took over the creation of the policy agenda for women from those in government who had served as "Midwives of the Women's Movement."²⁶ The New Movement adopted the objectives of the activists who had laid the ground work, but it went beyond their work in a single way. The Women's Movement of the 1966 forged a new, coherent, feminist philosophy that would enable women finally to make a claim for complete equality both in and outside the home.²⁷ NOW's 1966 statement committed the group to take action to bring women into full participation in the mainstream of American Society, now exercising all the privileges and

²⁶ Betty Friednan, *It changed my life : Writing on the Women's Movement*, (New York : Random House, 1976), P 77.

²⁷ Ibid.

responsibilities there of if truly equal partnership with men.²⁸ Liberal feminists demanded that woman be included in the mainstream of society rather than be relegated to its domestic periphery. They want equality with men not subordination to them. The liberal's emphasis on sex sameness and their hope that equality for women can be attained through a mixed gender movement differ from the view of both radical feminist and more traditional female reform group. NOW, for example, was an organization for women, but men are welcome as members. While both liberals and radicals reject the traditional "femininity" based on the wife, mother role; radical feminist emphasise a distinctive "woman culture" grounded in sex differences. What the radicals share with the traditionals is a preference for homosexual rather than mixed sex organization.

Women Strike for Peace (WSP) is an example of a more traditional type of political femininity rather than feminism. In the early 1960's WSP identified itself as an organization of mother not citizen. Although criticized by both male politics and the isolation and privatization of women, it was not a women's rights organization. Unlike feminist after 1966, WSP relied on and used "feminine nature" to work for peace.²⁹

Betty Friednan the catalyst and one of the founders of NOW, criticized the kind of "femininity" WSP espoused.³⁰ Although liberal feminists were primarily concerned with public issues- employment opportunity, legal rights and political power in government these had a way of spilling over into more

²⁸ Feminism (<http://www.colorado.edu/amstudies/lewis/2010/feminism.htm>.)

²⁹ Rochelle Gatlin, *American women Since 1945*, (London : University Press of Missisipi, 1987) P 116.

³⁰ Footnote No. 26, P 77

private or psychological areas. NOW drew up a women's Bill of Rights for 1968 which demanded that child care facilities be established by law on the same basis as parks, libraries and public schools. NOW's stand on reproductive issues came even closer to making personal life a political issue. The Bill of Right demanded: the right of woman to control their own reproductive lives by removing from panel codes laws limiting access to contraceptive information and devices and laws governing abortion.³¹

The Woman's Equity Action League (WEAL) deliberately restricted itself to economic and educational issues. Essentially a political pressure group, it appealed to powerful leaders and cultivated a conservative image. This organization played an active role in removing sex discrimination from colleges and university, institution unregulated by the 1964 Civil Rights Act. WEAL was instrumental in securing the passage of title IX of the 1972 Educational Amendment which prohibited discrimination against student, faculty and staff in educational institution receiving federal grants.

The National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC) formed by Bella Abzug, Gloria Steinem, Betty Friedan and Shirley Chisholm in 1971, worked to raise the proportion of woman delegates to the Democratic and Republican Party convention in 1972. It was particularly successful, with the Democrats. This organization has received the most attention of any organization formed during the 1970's to support women's advancement in politics.³² It was particularly successful with the Democrats. In 1968, the year

³¹ Footnote No. 29, P 117

³² Ruth B Mandel, *In the Running. The New woman candidate*, (Boston : Beacon Press, 1981), P 209.

that Chisholm became the first black woman elected to the US House of Representative, women comprised only 10 percent of the Democratic delegates, but a year or so later, 40 percent were women. NWPC has also tried to get more women elected and appointed to public office. It has supported, women's political issues, especially the Equal Right Amendment (ERA), which finally passed both Houses of Congress in 1972 and was sent to the states for ratification.

Not all liberal feminist organization have been middle class or professionally based. The Coalition of Labor Union Women CLUW, 1974 has acted as a feminist pressure group upon male dominated unions. Reformist rather than radical, it works within the established AFL-CIO union structure and was open only to union members.³³ This has restricted CLUW's effort to organize non union workers and to develop programmes incorporating women issues outside the area of production. Union restraint on women's activities predates CLUW. The United Auto Workers has a women's department since 1944, and UAW women were among the founder of NOW. However, union women could not support the ERA, because the UAW was opposed to it. In 1970, the UAW reversed it's stand and supported both the ERA and the repeal or reform of abortion laws, becoming one of the first unions to do so.³⁴

Race and class differences among women have caused many significant and lasting problems for the movement. Lesbian had been active in the women's movement from its inception, but many of them had kept their sexual preference hidden. Then in 1968, a fight between the police and gay men

³³ Footnote No. 8, PP 89-108.

³⁴ Ibid.

occurred at the Stonewall Inn, a gay bar in New York City. This widely publicized event marked the beginning of gay liberation; and lesbian and gay men began to come out publicly, proclaiming themselves a proud minority group with a legitimate culture of their own. Almost immediately, however, lesbians who had been active in women's movement found gay liberation and its organization too male-dominated like the radical women who had bid good bye to male dominated leftist organization, some long time homophile activist, such as Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon, joined with younger Lesbians to seek their community in the women's movement.

The lesbian issue is only one example of how the liberal or moderate branch of one women movement has have been able to incorporate or "Co-opt" radical demand. Consciousness raising a feminist tactic and forces by radicals, provide a similar case. NOW initially had viewed consciousness raising groups with disdain, for it feared that women's energies would be diverted to solving personal problems rather than political ones. Due to members demand, NOW chapters eventually began to include consciousness raising session in their programme.

Most of the early activists in the radical branch in the women's movement were also young, highly educated white and middle class. In spite of important ideological differences this has facilitated lose friendship and effective coalition around number of feminist issues the ERA, abortion right and employment opportunity but at the same time limited the movement influence.

The crux of the ERA debate among women's group was the question of a woman's major responsibility in society. As a result of political pressure from the Civil Rights Movement, Congress passed the 1964 Civil Rights Act. It committed the federal government to protect and ensure the civil and political right of Black and women from discrimination. It would appear that the Civil Rights Act was a victory for both Black and women, whose civil right the federal government was now committed to protect. But in fact it was only a victory for Blacks. In the end, the 1964 Civil Rights Act passed despite the fact that it would now force to federal government to also protect women's civil rights.

Many opponents of the ERA argue that it is not needed because women are included in the 1964 Civil Right Act. Despite the fact that women were included in the law, the government refused to protect women's civil right. This refusal outraged the leaders of the women's movement. They felt that once again women were going to lose out to Blacks, who were granted full citizenship and the right to vote after the Civil War, while women were told to wait, that their time would come soon. As a result of the government refusal to enforce the law protecting women's civil rights, the leaders of the women's movement got together and formed the National Organization for women (NOW) in 1966. NOW's major goal was to force the government to enforce the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

But by the late 1960's the leader of NOW decided that enforcing the civil rights law were not enough. They concluded only a constitutional amendment that once and for all included women as full citizen under the law

would guarantee women equal right and freedom in the United States. Some critics of the ERA argue that it is not needed because women were included in the 14th Amendment guarantee of equal right under the law to all person born and naturalized in the United States.” But Supreme Court on number of occasion has ruled that the 14th Amendment’s protection did not included women. Supporters argued that only the EQUAL RIGHT AMENDMENT would force American government and society to finally recognize women as persons and full citizen under the law.

The women’s movement developed from amateurish participation on the fringes of American political life to sophisticated, highly organized activity at every political level. More than a century and a half has gone by since the founding of the first women’s movement in the United States. The 1884 Seneca Falls Convention provided an impetus for the first U.S. women’s movement and its Declaration of Principles included many aspect of women’s status that are applicable today. Gradually, women developed an awareness of their disadvantaged status. They had not formed a unified movement. They were a group of highly educated, middle class, white urban women leader with no cohesive, unified following. As time moved on, the movement became more broad based and assertive on several issues.

Clearly the woman’s movement played a central role in obtaining suffrage for women. Woman suffrage movement has two distinct branches with different strategies and goals which were not abandoned even after suffrage was attained. The moderate, and larger, branch dominated by the National American Women Suffrage Association, is given most of the credit for the 19th

Amendment. Under the banner of the National Women's Party (NWP), the militant feminist had used civil disobedience colorful demonstration and incessant lobbying to get the 19th Amendment from the Congress. Once it was ratified, they decided to focus their attention on the eradication of legal discrimination against women. The vehicle through which the NWP sought to attain legal equality was the ERA. It was strongly opposed by the League of Women Voters (LWV), the newly created Women's Bureau of the Department of the Labor, the National Women's Trade Union League (WTUL), the National Consumer League (NCL) and most other women's organization. Their opposition was based on the fact, that it would abolish protective labor legislation for women.

The women of the 1960s and 1970s saw the ERA as holding same promise that women of the 19th century attributed to the suffrage amendment.

It took the first movement over seventy years from its Seneca Falls Convention in 1848 to achieve that objective. Would adoption of the ERA take so long? And would the contemporary women's movement focus exclusively on accomplishing that goal?.

Having achieved "SUFFRAGE" one of its most important goal, The women's movement shifted its attention to other issues: the welfare of the children, voter education, prison reform, peace. One continuing issue of importance has been women's rights. Abortion, comparable pay, and day care became high priority issues of the 1980's. Both women and men are divided on the issue of abortion and there are women's group on both sides of the issue.

CHAPTER II

AMERICAN NGO'S AND WOMEN'S RIGHT MOVEMENT

The woman suffrage movement was not a united movement. It had two district branches with different strategies and goals which were not abandoned even after suffrage was attained. The moderates, (also the larger branch), dominated by the National American Woman suffrage Association, is given most of the credit for the Nineteenth Amendment. Under the leadership of Carrie Chapman Catt, NAWSA mobilized the ratification campaign through its state chapters. Even before final ratification Catt successfully used her followers to disband the feminist organization and form a non-partisan, non-sectarian League of Women's Voters (LWV) to encourage women to work within the parties and would support a broad range of social reform.

Under the banner of the National Woman's Party (NWP) the militant feminist had used civil disobedience, colorful demonstrations and incessant lobbying to get the Nineteenth Amendment from the Congress. Once it was ratified, they decided to focus their attention on the eradication of legal discrimination against women. The vehicle through which the NWP sought to attain legal equality was the Equal Right Amendment, written by its guiding light, Alice Paul. By the mid 1960's the only existing group with connection to the earlier movement was the National Woman's Party (NWP). This group had since 1921, worked to remove all legal discrimination based on sex and kept the Equal Rights Amendment alive at a time when other women's organization and trade union women saw it as a threat to their hard won protective labor legislation¹. The original version of the ERA stated that "Men and women shall have equal right throughout the United States and every place subject to

¹ Gatlin. Rochelle, *"American Women since 1945"*, (University press of Mississippi, Jackson and London, 1987), p-115

its jurisdiction". It was strongly opposed by the LWV, the newly created Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor, the National Women's Trade Union League (WTUL), the National Consumer's League (NCL) and most other women's organization².

The NWP originally intended that ERA to serve as a means of eradicating laws which restricted women, not those that protected them. The ERA was aimed primarily at the plethora of laws which restricted women's property rights, disadvantaged them under state family laws, or barred them from holding office or serving on juries. The overwhelming conclusion of legal authorities was that the amendment would nullify or throw open to question all legislation aimed at women. The NWP admitted that the ERA would eliminate protective laws, but asserted it would be to women's advantage because such laws only limited women's opportunities.

CONFLICTING GOALS IN THE ORGANISATIONS:

The conflict between those who favoured the ERA and those who favoured protective labor legislation reflected a fundamental difference of perspective over the meaning of equality. The NWP favoured absolute equality of opportunity. Laws based on the assumption that woman were weaker than men portrayed them as "semi-invalids", stricken with the incurable "disease" of "womanhood". Feminist felt woman would never achieve economic freedom if assumed to be perpetually shackled by the "malady" of "maternity". The very phrase "protective legislation" implied that women were second class citizen. While reformer believed that woman had a right to work, they assumed that women's real contribution to society lay in the separate

² J.Stanley lemons, *"The women citizen: Social Feminism in the 1920s"*, (Urbana: U.Illinois Press, 1973), Chapter 7

sphere of the family, and that the burdens this placed on those who had to work required special consideration. The protection of legislation was necessary to put women on an equal plane with men³.

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s the NWP persuaded women's organizations to support the ERA and to separate themselves from the advocates of protective legislation. By the 1940s, the National Federation of Business and Professional Woman's Clubs (BPW) the General Federation of Women's Club, the National Association of Women Lawyers, the National Education Association and various other smaller professional Women's organization had endorsed the Equal Rights Amendment and agreed to work with the NWP in pursuit of that goal.

Interestingly representative from Black woman's organization often took part in meeting arranged by the Women's Bureau Coalition and were more visible fighting the amendment than favoring it. The Women's Bureau coalition was more hospitable to black women than was the National Women's Party, which purposively narrowed its membership and its goal. The Women's Bureau Coalition identified black woman, as it did working women, as a special group requiring its assistance in the fight for economic opportunities. On some occasions, Women's Bureau Coalition even undertook to combat racism as a separate endeavor. Thus, black women felt more empathy from the Women's Bureau Coalition. The NWP, in contrast had no interest in civil right for blacks, except when it could insist that women be included, for the sake of equity, in governmental measures aimed at racial discrimination. Further, the NWP, which accepted ERA proponents of all persuasion, had a wide tolerance for racist, and Paul herself frequently expressed racist sentiments. The NWP used racist arguments to persuade Southernness to favour the ERA that white women should not

³ Susan B.Decker, *"The origins of the Equal Right Amendment: American Feminism Between the wars"*, (West port, conn.:- Green wood press, 1981), pp. 49,51

be denied right awarded to black men. Such a ploy would hardly make the organization appealing to black women.

DISCRIMINATION AT WORK AND NGOs:

During the depression feminist who believed that every woman had a right to work and reformers who wanted to protect women for the good of their families joined in common cause against federal and state policies designed to remove married woman from the labor force.

Research has provided vital clues to “marriage bans” and the impact on women’s work. Public Sentiment had long disapproved for women continuing to work after marriage. As unemployment grew, the traditional argument that working wives were undermining the family and neglecting the home was bolstered by the claim that they were taking jobs away from unemployed men who needed them to support their families. Many state and local government ordered the dismissal of wives from public jobs and thousands of them particularly teachers lost their position⁴. In 1932 the Federal Government joined the movement when Congress passed Section 213 of the National Economy Act, which prohibited husband and wives from working in the Federal Civil Service at the same time. Because the Act was attached to a desperately needed Appropriation Bill it was passed by Congress over the joint opposition of all politically active women and signed by President Hoover, who nonetheless censured Section 213. The one compromise was the substitution of spouse for woman, own thought every one knew it was the wife who would lose the job. For instance, until 1970, the US department of state continued to fire women in the foreign service who married.⁵

⁴ Ibid. pp. 212

⁵ Claudia Goldin, *Understanding the Gender Gap : An Economic History of American Women*, (New York : OUP, 1990) PP 161-63 and 165-66.

For the next five years the NWP and the Women's Bureau Coalition fought a joint uphill battle until congress repealed Section 213 in July of 1937. Even though they lobbied, wrote letters, compiled studies and publicized personal horror stories, their efforts were drowned out by the thousand of letters sent to periodical and newspaper opposing the employment of married women. When mass polling began in the mid-1930s, it showed that 80 percent of all respondents opposed wives working if their husbands could support them. They also lacked the support of the Roosevelt administration, though Eleanor Roosevelt called Section 213 a "very bad and foolish thing." During this time over 1,600 married women were dismissed from the Federal Civil Service, and some men also lost their jobs. Wives attempt to evade dismissal by hiding their marital status was complicated by the Comptroller General's ruling in 1933 that they must use their husband names⁶.

During the 1930s and early 1940's the Coalition of Women's Organization that opposed the ERA slowly disintegrated as the social reform movement which fed them died out. Some of the key organization of the social feminist, such as the Women's Union League completely disappeared. Groups such as the LWV, turned their energies to other problem. The type of well educated, socially concerned woman who had formed the core of active membership of reform organization during the first third of the twentieth century went to work for New Deal agencies in the second. But by the late 1930's the network they had created in the federal government began to shrink. Most of the FDR's appointment of women had been to independent agencies newly created to deal with the Depression. Some of these agencies were declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, and others were later abolished or saw their budget slashed in the interest of economy⁷. At the same time, support for the ERA

⁶ Susan. Warc, *Beyond Suffrage: Women's in the new Deal*, (Cambridge; Harvard U. Press, 1981), p.79

⁷ Ibid, p.117-24

expanded beyond the NWP to include the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Club (BPW), social club such as the so optimists and organization of women's lawyers, dentist osteopaths, real estate agents, accountant and physician. Many NWP activist were founder of member of there groups⁸.

Although some industrial women supported the ERA as a result of loving jobs due to protective labour legislation, over time the division became increasingly one of class or more specifically, occupation, women in or associated with women working in industry, opposed the ERA because they supported protective legislation. Business and professional women supported the ERA because they saw protective labour legislation as a barrier to their effectively competing against men in their profession. After 1936s, congressional subcommittees reported the ERA favourably virtually every year.

During the twenties and thirties Alice Paul had lived abroad and devoted most of her time and attention to international activities for equal rights. The war in Europe forced her return to the United States in 1941 where she resumed active leadership of the NWP, re-organization and revitalizing it. Recognizing the similarity of the war time attitude forwards democratic ideals and slogan about equality with that of the suffrage era, she began a massive publicity campaign. Success included endorsement of ERA by noted public figures such as the Nobel Novelist Pearl Buck, artist Georgia O'Keefe and Helen Hayers and Katherine Hepburn, news papers such as the New York Herald Tribune and the Christian Science Monitor, and major women's organization such as The General Federation of Women's Club⁹.

The opposition, while weakened, mobilized its resource. In 1941, Senate opponents expressed concern that the wording of the ERA would be interpreted by the

⁸ Footnote No. 5, P 204.

⁹ Footnote No. 3, P 182, details the struggle for ERA and the various groups involved.

supreme court to require identical legislation by all the states. Therefore Alice Paul drafted a new version to meet this objection which was introduced in 1943. It read:

Section 1. Equality of Rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any state on account of sex.

Section 2. The Congress shall have the power to enforce, by appropriate legislation the provision of this article.

Section 3. This amendment shall take effect two year after the date of ratification¹⁰.

With the new wording's approval by the Senate Committee the NWP pressured state legislatures to pass resolution urging Congress to act on the ERA, and persuaded both political parties to add endorsement to their 1944 platform. While remaining a small, exclusive organization itself, in 1943 the NWP formed a coalition of all groups supporting the ERA, called the WOMEN'S JOINT LEGISLATURE COMMITTEE (WJLC), which it could argue represented several million American Women¹¹.

In response, opponents to ERA formed the National Committee to Defeat the Un-Equal Right Amendment [NCDURA], late in 1944. The composition of this new anti-ERA coalition reflected the political changes of the previous two decades. The original Women's Bureau Coalition had been a coalition of women's organization most of which had been formed during the progressive movement. The NCDURA reflected the rise of power of organization involved in the New Deal Coalition. Its 27 affiliated group were mostly labour union, joined with those remaining organization of the original coalition who had kept alive and kept the anti ERA faith through the years. (NCL, YWCA, LWV). It also included some additional women's organization

¹⁰ Feminism, <http://www.colorado.edu/amstudies/lewis/2010/feminism>, PP 4-5.

¹¹ Cynthia Ellen. Harrison, *"Prelude to Feminism: women's organization the federal Government and the Rise of the women's Movement, 1942-1968"*, (Columbia, Brown and co,1982), p.60

such as the National Council of Catholic Women and new organization, such as National Council of Negro women¹².

The NCDURA's first move was to propose an alternative to the ERA in the form of EQUAL PAY ACT. The idea that women should receive equal pay for equal work was not a new one and equal pay laws existed in a few states -but there had been no organized effort to pass federal legislation. NCDURA saw the proposal as meritorious in its own right, it hoped that this "positive alternative" would pre-empt the ERA. This presented a dilemma to the NWP which argued that equal pay would undermine women's opportunities by removing the economic incentives for employers to prefer them to men¹³. At this juncture, the Senate voted on the ERA for the first time on July 19, 1946. However the vote was unexpected and supporters unprepared. The tally of 38 to 35 was well below the two thirds majority required for a constitutional amendment. The ERA measure did not meet with success.

To reverse the flow of support, the NCDURA proposed the "Status Bill". Introduced on February 17, 1947, the bill declared that the policy of the United States to be that "in law and its administration no distinctions on the basis of sex shall be made except such as reasonably based on difference in physical structure. Biological or social function". Instead of enforcement provision it proposed the creation of a commission on the legal status of women to study sex discrimination. Along with this "more positive" approach the NCDURA decided it needed a more positive name and became the National Committee on the Status of Women, NCSW, headed by Mary Anderson, former head of the Women's Bureau.

¹² Ibid., p.71-72

¹³ Ibid, pp. 157-58 and 164-66

ERA BATTLE: EISENHOWER-KENNEDY YEARS: FIRST PHASE: 1961-1972:

In 1953 ERA proponents thought that they had finally arrived at. Eisenhower favored the ERA, albeit weakly. The new appointee to head the Women's Bureau, Alice Leopold was also thought to be supportive despite withdrawing the Bureau's longstanding positions. Many accounts argue that Eisenhower Administration withdrew from the arena, leaving the battle to Congress where key committees were headed by ERA opponents. Between 1946 and 1953 the NWP was embroiled in internal disputes and suffered a serious decline in membership. After many decades of keeping the faith, many NWP stalwarts had died or retired. Its journal Equal Rights, ceased publication in 1954, furthering the belief that ERA proponents were muted. Evidence pointed to the situation becoming increasingly difficult. For instance although many other organizations supported the ERA, the NWP maintained exclusive right, to leadership of the struggle. The NWP had been an "exclusive" organization for many years, making no attempt to recruit new members and defeating all attempt to replace its leader. It could still get the ERA introduced into every new Congress but it could not get it out¹⁴. Thus lack of organizational coordination affected attempts to get ERA adversely.

The ERA hit its nadir in 1960 but also began its resurgence. The key person in both these development was Esther Peterson. As an advisor to presidential candidate John F. Kennedy, she convinced the Democratic Party to drop the ERA from its platform in favour of a vague expression against barriers to employment based on sex and "equality of right under law, including equal pay. After Kennedy was elected she

¹⁴ Leila J. Rupp and Verta Taylor "Survival in the Doldrum : The American women's Right Movement, 1945 to the 1960s" (New York: oxford University press, 1987), p. 74-75

asked, and received, appointment as director of the women's Bureau, and was also made an Assistant Secretary of Labor.

Several accounts suggests that Peterson had two major items on her agenda to improve the status of women: Passage of the Equal Pay Act and derailment of the ERA. The fight for equal pay legislation in the Kennedy year took place in a very different context from the earlier battles. The politics of that time welcomed new programs and "equal pay" fitted into the larger program of Kennedy administration. In the Kennedy administration, the Women's Bureau gained the strength to lead the equal pay battle effectively. To accomplish this, the Bureau organized a concerted lobbying campaign which drew upon the expertise and contacts Peterson had developed as a lobbyist for the AFL-CIO. However, the final bill was narrower than Peterson and Equal Pay advocates had wanted, and only covered 61 percent of the female labor force when passed in 1963, yet, after numerous hearing and intensive lobbying, it committed the federal government to its first active efforts to improve the economic position of women. With access to the President and to all the political resources of the administration, close ties to her own constituency, and an impressive degree of political "savvy". Peterson proved to be an effective agent for the women's bureau coalition, providing leadership and crafting compromise.

PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON STATUS OF WOMEN AND NATIONAL WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION:

One of the first recommendation to the new President was the creation of the National Commission on women, one of the component of the 1947 status Bill one proposed by the ERA opponent. Since 1946, the Women's Bureau Coalition had sought such a commission but before 1961 every attempt in Congress to create a commission to examine the status of women had been derailed by the debate over the

ERA. To avoid the NWP lobbyist, the commission was created by executive order 10980 on December 14, 1961. Kennedy also was, according to some, intent on avoiding the debate on ERA, and hence appointed the Commission with the former activist First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt as its Chairperson. Members were selected to represent mainstream opinion on women and to come up with suggestions that would be acceptable to the administration. The program of the Women's Bureau spoke to the unresolved problem in woman's lives, and the President's Commission on Status of Women was its centerpiece. Peterson and her colleagues used the Presidential Commission on Women to stop the E.R.A. dead in its legislative track. Arguably the opponents reasoned that congress would not be likely to act on the ERA while the matter was under consideration by a presidential panel. In addition they presumed that eventually the commission would offer substitute recommendations which would continue to "stymie the amendments progress". The commission's most important function, it was believed, was the creation of an alternative program of "constructive" action to improve women's status, a possibility which before had always been blocked by the ERA dispute. Despite the fact that opposition to the ERA was foreordained, as were objections from the NWP, the commission did offer a middle ground. After much debate and many alternative proposals on wording, the final report declared: "Equality of right under the law for all persons, male or female is so basic to democracy that it must be reflected in the fundamental law of the land."

The Commission report titled "American Women" concluded that a constitutional amendment need not now be sought paving the way for a possible future recommendation.¹⁵ Although the President's Commission gave Congress an excuse to abstain from further consideration of the ERA, it was also a key element in

¹⁵ Catherine East, *The First Stage: ERA in Washington, 1961-1972, Women's Political Times*, (September, 1982), P 7.

its resurgence. Governors, in all but one state were prompted to create their own State Commission on the Status of Women. These prepared extensive report documenting discrimination against women in their states. The member of these commissions were invited to annual conference in Washington by the Women's Bureau. It was at the third such conference in June 1966 that the National Organization for Women (NOW) was formed. In 1967 NOW formulated an eight point Bill of Right which included the ERA. It also supported a women's right to choose abortion, which prompted board member, Elizabeth Boyer, to leave NOW and form a separate organization, the Women's Equity Action League (WEAL) which concentrated on eliminating employment and education discrimination, particularly through litigation and lobbying¹⁶.

It was several year before the ERA became a NOW imperative. Initially, Now was more concerned with changing the guidelines on sex discrimination promulgated by the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission(EEOC), which was created by title VII of the 1964, Civil Rights Act. The addition of "Sex" to the section of the Act prohibiting discrimination in employment on the basis of race, color, creed and national origin was more opportunistic than planned. The major actor NWP had wanted to amend all the relevant section of the Civil Rights Act, but it could find support only for the employment section, and this too was shaky.

While the NWP had lobbied for the inclusion of sex discrimination in Executive Orders prohibiting race discrimination by government contractors and had tried to add "sex" to other Civil Rights bill earlier the sex amendment was passed in the House primarily by a coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats. It was not removed in the Senate because the Johnson Administration wanted to minimize the

¹⁶ Jo. Freeman, " The Politics of women's liberation," New York: Longman, 1975, chapter 2 and 3

differences which would have to be ironed out in the House – Senate Conference and because the president had made several public statements about bringing more women into government. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) was created by Congress to enforce the provisions of the Civil Rights Act, 1964. The EEOC chose to follow that it was the true intent of Congress rather than the actual wording of the law and ignored the sex provision. It must also be remembered that the Equal Pay Act was passed in 1963.

Since the traditional opponents of the ERA had based their opposition on the need to maintain protective labor legislation, they were neutralized by its invalidation. The United Auto Workers endorsed the ERA in 1970 and was soon followed by others. The AFL-CIO, however, didn't change its policy until late 1973. The Women's Bureau switched in 1969 when the Nixon Administration appointed as its Director Elizabeth Duncan Koontz, a black former president of the National Education Association (NEA) from North Carolina who, like the NEA, was an ERA supporter. She quietly lobbied union women who in turn lobbied union men¹⁷.

ERA: THE RATIFICATION EFFORT: 1972-1977:

In 1970 the emerging women's liberation movement became a major public phenomenon with massive press publicity. This generated an enormous momentum for the ERA and eventually for additional legislation to eliminate sex discrimination. The first government body to endorse the ERA was the Citizen's Advisory Council on the Status of Woman, a successor to the President's commission, which did so on February 7, 1970.

The second was the President Task Force on Women's Rights and Responsibilities, which had been created the previous year by Nixon to appease

¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 209, 212

feminists. It prepared a report with detailed policy proposal to improve the status of women, including Presidential endorsement of the ERA, which was held up for six months because it was “too strong.”

Despite these developments, the May 1970 hearings held in the Senate Judiciary subcommittee on Constitutional Amendment, chaired by ERA sponsor Birch Bayh, found AFO-CIO testifying against the ERA. It was noteworthy that no Women’s Group spoke against it at that time. However when new hearings were held by the full Senate Judiciary Committee (after the house vote) most who testified the AFC-CIO, National Council of Catholic Women spoke against it. The eventual Senate passage of ERA in March 1972 with a vote of 84 to 8 however included the amendment that analyzed the ERA’s impact on protective legislation, and contained language limiting ERA’s effect. It meant that the Citizens Advisory Council on Status of Women of 1970 (which replaced Nixon’s Commission), was successful as it had spearheaded efforts on extending benefits to women as well as men. In June the new Secretary of Labor added his endorsement at the women’s Bureau’s fiftieth anniversary conference, where the Task Force Report was also released. During that conference, Representative, Martha Griffith announced that she was sponsoring a discharge petition to release the ERA from the House Judiciary Committee where chair Emmanuel Celler had locked it up for almost twenty years. As a result, the house voted on the ERA for the first time in August 1970, it passed by 350 to 15. However the senate voted to add two amendments; one to exempt women from the military draft and another to permit prayer in public school. Therefore, the ERA was dropped for that session. After introduction into a new congress, the house Judiciary sub committee held new hearing and Celler tried once again to block the ERA in committee with a crippling amendment. Nonetheless, it reached the floor again on October 12, 1971 where it was approved by 354 to 24. In the senate the following

March, Sam Ervin proposed eight separate substitute that all met with resounding defeat. Final vote was 84 to 8¹⁸.

ERA had been debated for years by mutual antagonists who would not compromised an inch. In the meantime, social and legal changes intervened to undermine the basis of the opponent's position. Between 1970 and 1972, opposition was greatly attenuated. With a few notable exceptions, the ERA became a symbolic issue on which everyone could agree. Yet even as this agreement was reached a new opposition was developing. Ironically, it was from the right which had mostly supported the ERA during its lengthy stay in congress. This opposition grew and eventually consumed more moderate forces and was travelled to the grass-roots as well even while the ERA gained support from the ancient foes to the left. Controversy over its impact on family relations, especially divorce, alimony and child support laws and the specter of military service of women still continued. Between March'72 and January'73, 28 states quickly moved to ratify the ERA. However, the growing grass-root opposition for the southern states proved that political culture resisted innovative legislation or expansion of women's rights. Unlike the drive for nineteenth Amendment where NAWSA created as a single umbrella organization, the Women's Rights Movement had a myriad of organizations and very little state and local levels support. This proved to be of critical value and ultimately the problem of non-ratification.

Although the ERA was not ratified, the two year battle had some very beneficial side effects, impressing Congress with the was a serious constituent interest in woman's rights, and establishing liaisons between feminist organization and congressional staff. With this impetus the same congress that sent the ERA to the states passed a number of women's right legislations. These laws expanded the

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 213-220

coverage of Title VII and the enforcement power of the EEOC; prohibited sex discrimination in all federally aided education programs, Title IX added sex discrimination to the jurisdiction of the U.S. Commission on civil rights; Prohibited sex discrimination in state program funded by federal revenue sharing; provided free day care for children of poor families and a sliding fee scale for higher incomes families (which was vetoed by President Nixon), provided for a child care tax reduction for some parents; added funded programs including health training; Appalachian redevelopment and water pollution¹⁹.

Subsequent Congress have not passed as many major laws but they have been active. New laws include the Equal credit opportunity Act, the women's educational equity act which provides grants to design programs and activities to eliminate stereotyping and achieve educational equity, creation of the National Centre for the control and prevention of rape, an amendment to the foreign assistance act requiring particular attention to be given to programs, projects and activities which tend to integrate women into the national economies of foreign countries, prohibition of discrimination in the sales, rental or financing of housing, an amendment to title VII to include pregnancy in employment disability insurance coverage, admission of women to the military academies and the addition of still more anti- discrimination provision to federally funded programs²⁰.

Laws have been passed in most states prohibiting sex discrimination in employment, housing, credit, and in some state prohibiting discrimination in insurance, education and public accommodations. Most states now have no fault divorce provision; all but four have equal custody and support laws, two other have equal custody but provide support only for the wife. The changes have been partially

¹⁹ US, Department of Labour, Women's Bureau, (Washington D.C. : Government Printing Office, 1983), Chapter 7.

²⁰ Ibid.

a result of pressure from feminist and other public interest groups and partially in response to change in federal legislation and Supreme Court decision. Many states have followed the lead of the federal government in conducting studies to identify gender based distinction in their laws and recommend changes. Most of these studies were in response to efforts to adopt a state ERA or ratify the federal amendment²¹.

ERA: II STAGE-1977-1982:

The said truth was that only five states ratified ERA after 1973. the main benefit of the struggle was the key funding role played by National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs(BPW) and later bringing together key organizations in 1976 to orchestrate state level support. Yet, without strong national coordinating organization actions to ratify ERA relied on individual groups particularly NOW, BPW, & LWV as well as adhoc coalitions. Not only did these groups pursue individual strategies but all sought the leadership in the rectification effort. The WOMEN'S CAMPAIGN FUND (WCF) was established in 1973 and remains the only national organization to provide financial support and technical assistance services exclusively to female candidates²². In 1978 its board of Director adopted a candidate assistance policy as follows: "the WCF will continue to focus on national races, and priority will be given in all allocation of resources to campaign for the U.S senate and house of Representative²³". The WCF established a fund for non federal races which have special significance to the advancement of women in politics. Special consideration was c given to; Pro-ERA women running against Anti ERA opponent for state legislative seats in unratified States where ratification is possible; bipartisan political action committee that support women candidate who advocates

²¹ Ibid.

²² *Directory of Organization*, (PiP 2001-2002, CQ Press, www.cqpress.com), p-684

²³ Ibid, p. 685

abortion right; candidate for state wide office; candidates whose successful races for non federal offices could position them as strong congressional aspirants; minority women candidates.

By 1980, the women's Campaign Fund made a strong commitment to support women running for state and local offices. As such, it plays a unique supportive role for aspiring political women with progressive view about women's right and opportunities. Its bipartisan board meets frequently to review staff research on emerging campaigns, to interview female candidate who come to Washington seeking support from national organization and to determine how best to spend relatively slim resources most effectively.

The women's campaign fund raises money through direct mail solicitation and a variety of fund raising events, with ninety percent of its contribution coming from women. In addition to dispensing funds and having technical consultant for women's races, the women's campaign fund functions as a headquarters office and as a Voice in Washington for female candidate around the country, convincing other funding sources to contribute money to individual women's races facilitating introduction for female candidate who plan to visit Washington in search of money and endorsement.

The NATIONAL WOMENS POLITICAL CAUCUS, NWPC, has received the most attention of any organization formed during the 1970's to support women's advancement in politics. The caucus is dedicated to increase the number of women in elected and appointed office to all level of government, regardless of party affiliation"²⁴. The caucus aims to function in a bipartisan manner as an interest group primarily concerned with women's right issues and with candidate of either major political party who support those issues. For the caucus, issue of major concern are women's access to elective and appointive offices, and support for ERA. According to

²⁴ Ibid., p. 663

the national office, by 1979 membership in the causes exceeded forty thousand members an increase from about thirty thousand members an increase from about thirty thousand people in the middle of the decade. Appropriately three quarter of the members are Democrats, ten percent are Republican with the rest not identifying with either major political party. Despite the fact that its membership is heavily Democratic, since NWPC's establishment in 1971 its leadership has come from various parts of the country. Induced bipartisan leadership is guaranteed in caucus by laws, which require representation among top officers from the political party opposite to the chairpersons.

The organization maintains a real commitment to women's races, but sometime faces the painful issues about whether to support a good man. The large proportion of money raised by NWPC comes through direct mail solicitation, fund raising events, and door to door solicitation. The money largely comes from women, and is contributed to political campaign through the organization's political action committees: a campaign support committee²⁵ that supports female candidate in state wide and federal races. An ERA fund which in 1978 endorsed and supported 143 pro-ERA female and male candidates running for state legislative seats in seven states that had not ratified the Equal Right Amendment. The methods of operation of NWPC are Award program; campaign contribution; campaign skill training; coalition forming; conferences seminars; congressional testimony; congressional voting analysis; Electoral politics; Grass root organizing; internet; lobbying ; polling; Research; Technical assistance²⁶.

Local caucuses affiliated with NWPC participate in a range of campaign activities from staffing telephone banks to conduction door to door solicitation to

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 664

sponsoring fund raising event. In the mid 1970s the NWPC established Republican and Democratic woman's task forces to deal with partnership issues. Both task forces promoted the concept of support for female candidate an increase in the number of female delegates to the parties' national nominating conventions and inclusion of statement supporting in the platform of the two major political parties.

Founded in 1966, the National Organization for Women (NOW) became increasingly active in electoral politics as the seventies unfolded. It is still the largest feminist organization in the US. NOW speak out for women's equality on all fronts. The main purpose of NOW is "To take action to bring women into full participation in the mainstream of American society now, exercising all the privileges and responsibilities there of in truly equal partnership with men²⁷." At national and state level, NOW developed guideline for endorsing funds through its political action committees. NOW support has been based on ideological criteria regarding feminist issues and is available to both male and female candidate. Their current concerns are "Affirmative action; civil right; constitutional equality; Economic empowerment; Equal educational opportunity; Global feminism; lesbian gay and bisexual rights; Marriage and family law; pay equity; Reproductive freedom; sexual harassment; Violence against women; welfare right and woman in military²⁸." By 1977, NOW adopted national level tactics which marked its rise to the for front of the movement. It called for chronic boycott of states where ratification had not occurred. By having large national associations canceled or threatened to do so Conventions scheduled in unratified states by sponsoring a march in WDC as suffragists had done an by illusing the congress to approve of a 39 month extension period for ratification, the national spotlight on ERA continued. Despite, growing strength of the New Right Opponents

²⁷ Ibid, p. 155

²⁸ Ibid, p. 156

in non-ratified states, NOW mobilized and determinedly pursued a national strategy. By 1978, support for passage of ERA and for abortion right remains fundamental. The national organization distribution only a small amount of money directly to political candidate, and that goes to politician whose track records in office with regard to feminist issues deserves acknowledgement. NOW has preferred to distribute its limited political money to its own political action committees, particularly in states around the country in which ERA ratification seemed possible.

In turn NOW groups in the state organize their local efforts to work for the election of the individual candidate; It is also dedicated to the proposition that women, first and foremost, are human being, who, like all other people in our society, must have the chance to develop their fullest human potential. They believe that women can achieve such equality only by accepting to the full the challenges and responsibilities they share with all other people in our society, as part of the decision making mainstream of American political, economic and social life²⁹. NOW maintained that the excellent report of the President's commission on the status of woman and of the state commission have not been fully implemented. Such commissions have power only to advise. They have no power to enforce their recommendations; nor have they the freedom to organize American women and men to press for action on them. The reports of these commissions have however created a basis upon which it is possible to oppose discrimination in employment on the basis of sex. But although nearly one third of the cases brought before the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission during the first year dealt with sex discrimination and the proportion in increasing dramatically, the commission has not made clear its

²⁹ Footnote No. 10, PP 6-7.

intention to enforce the law with the same seriousness on behalf of women as of other victims of discrimination. Many of these cases were Black women , who are the victims of double discrimination of race and sex .Very few women's organization and official spokes men, until now, have been willing to speak out against these dangers facing women. To many women have been restrained by fear of being called "feminist". There is no civil right movement to speak for women, as there has been for Blacks and other victims of discrimination. "The Now must therefore begin to speak³⁰".

The conflict between those who favoured the ERA and those who favoured protective labor legislation reflected a fundamental difference of perspective over the meaning of equality. Reformers charged that feminism was in fact an ideological attack on the family that has caused the decline of the family and "family values" in the United States in the 1970s and 1980s. Religious and political conservatives, argue that many of the major social problem that faced the United States in the 1970s and 1980s were caused by the women's movement and its moral and political campaign against the family. Anti- feminists charge that using divorce rates, drug use, the breakdown in families, youth violence, homo sexuality and growing poverty among women and children are all caused by feminism and so called women's liberation. They even argue that in demanding social, economic, and political equality for women, feminists have undermined women's traditional roles in American Society³¹. They maintained that ERA threatens to undermine women's traditional roles and undermine the American family, Phyllis Schlafly, the

³⁰ Ibid., P 8.

³¹ Ibid., p. 12

leader of the STOP ERA movement, argues: “The Positive woman accepts her responsibility to spin the fabric of civilization to mend its tears, and to reinforce its seams.... God has a mission for very positive Woman. It is up to her to find out what it is and to meet the challenge³²”.

By 1981, Ronald Reagan became the first U.S. President opposed to a constitutional amendment which provides equal rights for women. NOW organized “ERA YES Inaugural Watch” where some 40,000 ERA supporters remind the new president of the overwhelming pro-ERA sentiment in the nation. NOW sent feminist missionaries to Utah the heart of the opposition to ERA, and the head quarter of the Mormon Church, to take the message of ERA directly to the Mormon people, door to door. In 1982, ratification of the Equal Right Amendment was denied. In practical terms, the ERA was resisted for real reason, it would invalidate men’s legal power to use sex discrimination selectively when it is to their advantage to do so.

At its national convention NOW passed a resolution for the formation of two committees in 1993. One an ERA grass root committee to survey the chapters and status as to their members current thinking about the direction of the organization should take concerning the ERA. The second committee, the legislative committee, is formed to study the history of the previous amendment and the impact of the state ERAs³³. As NOW activists began to discuss what they want constitutional equality for women and discrimination on the basis of sex to mean, interest grew and at the annual conference in July

³² Ibid, p.13

³³ *Chronology of the Equal Right Amendment 1993-1996*
(<http://www.now.org/issues/economic/cea/history.html>), p.4

1994, an ERA strategy summit called for the purpose of developing recommended language for a new ERA. At the ERA summit in 1995, now president Patricia Ireland explained that to achieve true equality a paradigm shift is needed. The main goal of the summit was to construct an amendment and develop a strategy that would end women's historic subordination to men and guarantee women full constitutional rights³⁴.

No issue divided women's organizations more than the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution.³⁵ The conflict between those groups who favored the ERA and those who favored protective labor legislation reflected a fundamental difference of perspective over the meaning of equality. The NWP favored absolute equality of opportunity. NWP felt women would never achieve economic freedom. The very phrase "protective legislation" implied that women were second class citizens. While reformers believed that women had a right to work, their main argument was that the strength of American society lies in the family, and anything that threatens the family threatens America. They maintained that ERA must be defeated because it threatens women's traditional God-given role of wife and mother, it also threatens to undermine women's traditional role and undermine the American family.

³⁴ Ibid, p.4

³⁵ William H. Chafe. *The American Woman: Her changing Social, Economic and Political Role, 1920-1970* (New York : Oxford University Press, 1972).

CHAPTER III

ORGANISATIONAL STRATEGIES, TACTICS AND IMPACT ON POLICY PROCESS

Increased participation in political parties, campaign and public offices was viewed both as an end in itself and as one mean for advancing social reforms which reflected women's need and sought to improve women's lot. Early in the 1970s some feminists groups recognized the need for women's voices in electoral politics. Thus the organized women's political movement which has been regarded as the branch of the contemporary women's right movement most active in the electoral arena, established groups and support mechanism for boosting women in political life. An active network of national women's policy organization persisted and grew more sophisticated in their use of insider tactics such as lobbying, testifying, writing legislation, providing public education, mobilizing constituencies, and supporting women candidate¹ compared with the days of feminist activism in the 1970s, their policy successes were limited. Yet despite the constraints placed on their language, style and activities by their need to legitimate themselves to policy makers, funders, the public and their own members, these organization addressed women's issues and maintained on institutionalized network for the staging of future feminist claims.²

¹ Kay Lehman, Schlozman, "Representing women in Washington : Sisterhood and pressure politics" in *Women, Politics, and change*, ed. Louise A. Tilly and Patricia Gurin, (New York : Russel Sage Foundation, 1990), PP 339-82).

² Ibid.

Some of the organizations, such as the American Association of University Women, founded in 1888, have been on the scene since the first wave of the women's movement. Others, such as the National Organization for Women, the National Coalition Against Domestic Violence, the Center for Women Policy Studies, the Women's Legal Fund, the Coalition of Labor Union Women, and the Institute for women's Policy Research, were established in 1960s, 1970s and 1980s and grew directly out of the movements second wave.

These groups have been able to channel modest but growing amount of support into campaign politics. When and where they contribute money, volunteers and expertise to aspiring political women who meet certain criteria established by each organization. They have also released position paper on selected women's issues and have set up special workshop designed to motivate women to run for office and to teach campaign skills. National organization sponsoring special workshop, distributing position paper, or developing other educational materials as service include National Women's Education Fund; National Women's Political Caucus; National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Club; League of Women's Voters; National Organization for Women; special groups concerned with such issues as the Equal Right Amendment and abortion.

Another valuable type of contribution has come up in the form of services donated by consultant with campaign expertise. Political consultant sent into the state from national offices of women's organization based in Washington D.C.,

discuss campaign strategy and offer advice to candidate. The extent of organization, the availability of resources, and the capacity for providing useful support vary greatly around the country.³

The political visibility of feminist ideas ranges from A (Nita Hill) to Z(Oe Baird).⁴ The primary political parties in the United States are engaged in nothing less than what some have described as “a polarized culture war” over the place of feminist in American society: “the two political parties have now completely polarized around feminism and the reaction to it On feminist issues are concerns, the parties are not following the traditional pattern of presenting different version of the same thing They are presenting two different and conflicting vision of how American should engage in everyday life”.

⁵ The very centrality of feminism to American social and political debates, however, suggest that the women’s movement has successfully called into question many taken – for granted ideas about male dominance and institutionalized privilege based on gender.

Several studies have reflected on the gains by the movement for instance some stated that Feminism’s impact is evident on many fronts. When a judge in New York scolds and attorney for their attempt to depict a rape victims as a loose woman, this reflect a change in the consciousness, one outcome of twenty years of work by rape crisis culture. When the Association of American College makes

³ Ruth B, Mandel, *In the Running : The New Woman Candidate*, (Boston : Beacon Press, 1981) P 206).

⁴ Jo, Freeman. “*The Politics of Women’s Liberation*” (New York : Longman, 1975). P 21.

⁵ Ibid, P 119.

inclusion of scholarship on women a criterion for acceptable liberal and curricula, credit must be given to the decades of work by women's studies program, women research centers, and women caucus in the academic disciplines. When citizens by the hundreds of thousands take to the streets of Washington to press for a congressional guarantee of women's reproductive rights, their mobilization represents the grass roots, organizing done by hundreds of local chapters of national feminist organization and community based programs.⁶

The movement's impact can be attributed in large part of the activities of feminist organizations that have worked for change in the law, the courts, universities, corporations, local communities, and individual women's lives. Few people have remained untouched, directly or indirectly, by their organizing efforts. The cultural changes they have triggered are one important indicator of their successes. A second measure of the effectiveness of feminist organizations in the vehemence of the counter movements they have generated, evident in the mobilizations of anti feminist organization such as Eagle Forum, the National Association of Scholar, and Operation Rescue.⁷

A third measure is the sheer number of feminist groups. Literally thousands of organizations including rape crisis centers, battered women's shelters, women's studies programs, women's health clinics, and women's book stores, restaurants, theatre groups, credit unions and other profit and nonprofit

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Steven M, Buechler. *Conceptualizing Radicalism and Transformation in Social Movement : The Case of the Woman Suffrage Movement*, New Brunswick, N.J. : Rutgers University Press, Vol. 2, 1990, P 105-18.

organization were founded. Many have survived, some have prospered, and most have had a profound impact on the women's lives they touched. The women's movement exists because the feminists founded and staffed these organizations to do the movements work. Some are as tentative as volunteer, run hotlines, others as intense as illegal abortion collectives, still others as massive as the nationwide National Organization for Women. All these organizations sustain women and are sustained by them. They are tangible evidence of the movement in any feminist lives and in the social and political life of the nation.

A new type of women's movements emerged in the 1960's as a clarion call to millions of women to rethink their priorities and question the social arrangements that defined them as second class citizens. One branch, the liberal women's rights movement, began with the founding of the National Organization for Women (NOW) in 1966 and grew rapidly over the next 10 years as many other groups such as the Women's Equity Action League (WEAL, 1968) and the National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC, 1971) were formed. The other branch, the radical feminist, or women's liberation movement, was emerging at the same time and was based in numerous local groups spontaneously created in cities all round the country by women formerly active in New Left groups or the African American civil rights movements.

A primary tenet of liberal feminism is that women should be included in the mainstream of American life and should enjoy all the rights and privileges of citizenship on an equal basis with men. In general, this branch has concentrated on

eliminating sex discrimination through the traditional channels of legislatures and judicial reforms. These women's right groups, from their beginning have operated, within a formal, hierarchical, national organizational structure. The earliest participants here were predominantly white, middle class, middle aged – over 30 – college educated professional women of a markedly more moderate political ideology than those within the radical branch. Later such groups became near diverse.

The local groups of the women's liberation movement, in contrast, had no national structure, no set of written by laws or principles, nor even, in many cases, a distinctive name linked primarily through publications, personal correspondence and traveling feminist lectures and other activities, the radical feminist only occasionally convened in national conferences during the period, 1965 – 75.⁸ Not unlike liberal feminists, those participating in this movement were white, middle class, and college educated; however they were younger, mostly under 30 – of lower occupational status, and more likely to be unmarried. The local groups were small 5 – 30 women each; and based on a shared consciousness of a female operation. Committed to a radical vision of a new society and to non-hierarchical egalitarian organization, liberation groups frequently fell victim to a “tyranny of structure less”, which prevented a policy agenda from being developed for its advancements.⁹ Even so, a number of well-publicized so-called zap actions, protests, guerrilla theatre skits, and speak-outs were organized to dramatize this

⁸ Footnote No. 6, P 46.

⁹ Anne N. Costain, Representing Women “The Transition from Social Movement to Interest Group In *Women, Power and Policy*, ed. Ellen Boneparth. (New York : Peragamon, 1988), PP 26-47.

new feminist social critique.¹⁰ The local groups although large in number, were often short-lived. Some participant subsequently joined NOW or another of the women's right group that now formed a national lobby. Other became involved in providing local services to women, such as day care, women's health care, shelter from domestic violence, and rape crisis counseling.

By the mid-1970s, the distinction between radical and liberal feminism was no longer valid.¹¹ Instead the two branches had merged. Radical feminists, frustrated by the small local groups' lack of effectiveness, had joined the liberal feminist organizations, and they had transformed the goal and ideology of those organizations. By agreeing to work within the existing political system, these younger feminist in effect altered the usual life cycle of social movement. Rather than becoming more conservative with age and favoring organizational maintenance above goal achievement, the women's right movement became more radical in its ideology while securing its survival without the customary goal displacement.

Women's movement not only continued to flourish in the 1970's, it also became more institutionalized. Feminists were now a key constituency of the Democratic Party and a force within electoral politics. Public and private funding became available for feminist designed services, such as displaced home makers centers. The ideology of feminism penetrated public bureaucracies, as evidence by, for example, a feminist definition of rape; colleges and universities, as

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Maren Lockwood Carolen, *Feminism in the Mid-1970s*, (New York : Ford Foundation, 1977) PP 5-6).

illustrated by women's studies programs, and major cultural institution, as exemplified by feminists art, music, and literature.¹²

Thus, there may be some truth in the claim that the women's right movement has been significantly transformed by radical feminism but if one were to question whether the two branches coalesced into one nationally based movement, by 1975 radical feminism virtually ceased to exist as a movement, it does not necessarily follow that a merger between the two branches occurred.¹³ Radical feminism was eclipsed and superseded by a cultural feminism that celebrates female differences and is made manifest in alternative, feminist run services delivered at the local level.¹⁴ The form of the liberal women's right movement, a traditional interest organization, has been shaped by its dominant function, lobbying the diverse strategies of the contemporary feminist movement, in turn reflect the principles of federalism embedded in American policy making. Form clearly follows functions, but functions also follows forms. "Once relations become uninstitutionalized, social movements degenerate into political pressure",¹⁵ the modern women's movement is not one monolithic structure but instead consists of a number of separate and relatively autonomous groups that differ on some goals, priorities, strategies, and tactics. Each consists of members

¹² Verta Taylor, *The Future of Feminism : A Social Movement*, (New York : Random House, 1989), P 481.

¹³ Alice Tchoes, *Radical Feminism in America, 1967-1975*, (Minneapolis : University of Minnesota Press, 1989), P 5.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Alain Touraine, *The Voice and the Eye : An Analysis of Social Movement*, (New York : Cambridge University Press, 1981), P 110.

varying radical and class backgrounds and different ideologies that dictate shifting coalition by issue.

The women's Rights lobbies in Washington D.C., and to a lesser extent, those located in state capitals have enjoyed good media relations. This has conveyed the image that these groups are the primary representative of women and the chief advocates of organized feminism within political system. The message of feminism are spread and mobilization facilitated through multiple channels; many of these are local and then less visible.¹⁶ This is particularly true given the role of local government in the federal system. In contrast to the legislative policy making that dominates on the national and state levels, the primary responsibility of a city and county governments is the delivery of services within their own jurisdiction. Therefore, in seeking to advance the feminist agenda on the local level, feminist groups have worked through bureaucracies and the service – delivery system.

By 1973, most of the national women's rights group had established legislative offices in Washington D.C. in 1976; WEAL hired a paid part-time lobbyist. By the end of the 1970's both WEAL and NWPC had full time paid lobbyists.¹⁷

A basic characteristic of all groups participating in interest group politics is a strong middle class bias. Within this context of an elitist bias, however, certain

¹⁶ Mary Fainsod Katzenstein, Comparing the Feminist Movements of the United States and Western Europe : An Overview in *the Women's Movements of the United States and Western Europe*, ed. Mary Fainsod Katzenstein and Carol McClurg (Philadelphia : Temple University Press, 1987), P 3.

¹⁷ Anne N. Costain and W. Douglas Costain, *Strategy and Tactics in the United States : The Role of Political Parties*, (Philadelphia : Temple University Press, 1987) P 202.

factors are felt to be related to interest group effectiveness. These include the interest groups potentialities, maximization of resources, goals, tactics, and relation with other groups. Groups drawing their membership from higher social strata are presumed to be more effective. Although by the mid 1970s, the women's movement included a significant number of non white and lower-middle class women, the typical member of a feminist organization continues to be white, well educated and middle class at that time.

Women's Organizations – Internal Impact of the Movement

The women's movement has become a genuinely national movement, encompassing all regions of the country. The membership of NOW, for example, increased from 1122 and 14 chapters in 1967 to 125,000 members and 700 chapters across the country in 1978. By 1982, NOW had grown to 220,000 members and an annual budget of \$13 million.¹⁸

Although membership in feminist groups declined somewhat after the defeat of the Equal Right Amendment (ERA) in 1982. as relative newcomers, women's right groups would ordinarily have operated at a disadvantage in that older groups had developed political liaisons and achieved an established place in the Washington community. But a half dozen or so traditional women's organizations such as the League of Women's Voter's (LWV) and the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Club, were willing to teach

¹⁸ Joyce Gelb and Ethel Klein, *Women's Movement : Organizing for change*, (Washington D.C. : American Political Science Association, 1988), P 5.

feminists the ropes and share their experience and Congressional contacts.¹⁹ It should be noted that the much larger membership base exceeding 2.5 million in 1980 – of these established women's group facilitated the early lobbying efforts of women's right group.²⁰

Such organizational characteristics as a formal bureaucratic structure, a permanent staff, a well developed communication system, and a cohesive and mobilized membership are considered assets for lobby groups. They are exceptionally activist and highly mobilized.²¹ In addition, the decision to become a lobby meant that women's rights groups would have formal leaders, and hierarchy.²² Increasingly, the national women's rights organizations have become professional social movement organizations that rely primarily on paid leaders and expert staff to maintain the organization and attract foundation and governmental support.²³ Another factor in interest group success is goal that are generally confluent with the prevailing value system in society. The growth of popular support for feminism during the 1970s and into the 1980s is well documented, support for women's issue and feminist organizations increased steeply in the early 1970s, leveled off around 1974 but continued to increase slowly.²⁴

¹⁹ Anne N. Costain and W. Douglas Costain, *The women's Lobby : Impact of a Movement on Congress*, in *Interest Group Politics*, ed. Allan JU. Cigler and Burdett A Loomis, (Washington, D.C. : CQ Perss, 1983), P 198.

²⁰ Joyee Gelb and Marian Lief Palley, Palley, *Women and Public Policies*, (N.J. Princeton University Press, 1987), P 25.

²¹ David Knoke, the Mobilization of Members in Women's Association, in *Women, Politics and change*, ed. Louis A. Tilly and Patricia Curin, (New York : Russel Sage Foundation, 1990). PP 338-410.

²² Footnote No. 19, P 194.

²³ Suzanne Staggenbor, The Consequences of Professionalization and in Prochoice Movement, *American Sociological Review*, Vol. No. 53, Aug., 1998, PP 585-605.

²⁴ Ethel Klein, *Gender Politics*, (Cambridge Harvard University Press, 1984) P 65-66.

Strategies & Tactics

In order to maximize effectiveness, the pragmatic leaders of the women's movement have often sought incremental policy changes and have focused on only a few issues – initially, those dealing with legal equality. With the formation of groups' alliances, however, the movement has been able to pursue a broader range of issues while still specializing. In recent years, women's rights groups have concentrated on issues of women and poverty while professional women's caucuses have continued to track the implementation of equal educational opportunity. Occupational groups have tended to pursue more issues, particularly child care. Both new and established organizations attempted to improve women's collective status through activities in the policy arena. They met with notable success in gaining passage of equity laws such as Title IX of the Educational Equity Act of 1972, the Equal Opportunity Credit Act of 1974, and the Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978.²⁵

The most successful group tactics appears to be those involving services to decision makers, particularly the presentation of information and research. Protest tactics alone are often viewed as illegitimate and risky alienating public officials accustomed to very different interpersonal styles. Today, women's rights groups use the same strategies and target the same institution as do other pressure groups. The current set of tactics evolved from experimentation with alternative strategies. In the "formative" period, 1966 – 72, both protest and insider political connections

²⁵ Steven P. Erie, Martin Rein, and Barbara Weight, *Women and the Reagan Revolution : Thermidor for the social welfare economy*, in *Families, Politics and Public Policy* ed. Irene Diamond, (New York : Longman, 1983) PP 94-119.

with policymakers were used. Dissatisfied with the slow pace of change, feminist changed and diversified tactics in the “routinizing” period, 1972 – 1977. Litigation, political parties, and constitutional amendment campaign, along with protest and conventional lobbying were all employed. Beginning in 1978, the “uninstitutionalizing” phase – the two tactics of legislative lobbying and electoral alliances with political parties have emerged as the most workable and thus most frequently employed.²⁶ As women’s organizations faced conservatism backlash in the 1980s, the distinction between “radical” and “mainstream” feminism continued to fade. Even the most mainstream feminist issue, such as educational equity, came under attack, and the Reagan administration began to dismantle welfare state programs that minimally protected women from total dependence on the men. During this period women’s organization’s, along with labor and civil rights groups, turned to the Democrat. Controlled Congress for redress but with only mixed success. Having brought women’s issues to Washington and placed them on the public agenda, however, these organizations continued in the 1980s to gain sophistication in the use of insider techniques in order to influence and monitor the policy process and “to protect what we’ve got”.²⁷

A further factor in the success of an interest group in the extent to which it can combine with others of compatible interests into a policy network. The concept of policy network refers to a constellation of expert or interested groups and individuals, public and private, forming around a policy area. On the national

²⁶ Footnote No. 19, P 194.

²⁷ Gillian A. Walker, *Family Violence and the Women’s Movement : The conceptual politics of Struggle*, (Toronto : University of Toronto Press, 1990), P 14.

level, the women's policy network is composed of feminist organizations, such as NOW, WEAL, and NWPC; traditional women's organizations, such as LWV, and the American Association of University Women; the media, female lawyer, other professional women, and increasingly, other progressive social-investment organizations, for example, those representing labor union, public interest civil rights, gay rights and antinuclear group.²⁸ During the early 1970s, key roles were played by congress women, who sponsored and served as floor managers of women's right legislation. Congressional staff members often assisted in lobbying campaign, and women administrators assumed a watch dog role in the implementation process and provided feedback. Today, the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues plays a vital role in gathering and disseminating information to women's right group. The member of Congress who belongs to the bipartisan Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues involved individually, as well as collectively, in efforts on behalf of women and families.²⁹

In the early years of the women's lobbying Washington, the ideological diversity of the member groups made any sort of ongoing coalitions very difficult.

Traditional women's groups were not ready to embrace the feminist label. The new groups, likewise, strongly held an activist, not a reform, self image. Women's rights groups were still establishing a stable financial and constituent base. Many were not ready to commit their groups to a coalition type of organization. Further, there was a fear that the coalition or an organization

²⁸ Footnote No. 12, P 481.

²⁹ Sara E. Rix, ed. *The American Woman 1990-91 : A Status Report*, (New York, London : Norton, 1991), P 325.

building issue like the ERA might be taken over by a more established traditional women's group such as LWV.³⁰ This was illustrated when NOW adopted a policy in 1978 that discouraged participation in coalition, initially.³¹ Late a women's coalition was maintained on a loosely structured, issue-by-issue basis, without a formal organization.³²

The 1980s saw, a number of national women's organizations forming a Council of Presidents, which in each successive year adopted a set of policy priority for the coming legislative session. From 17 members groups and one priority issue in 1986, in 1990s, the Council has grown to include more than 40 groups, with 10 million members, and began pressing a consensual and ambitious multi-issue platform. It also formed the basic women's agenda although not yet a formal coalition organization, several indicators of incipient institutionalization were present: regular meetings, organized media campaigns, annual conventions, paid consultants and conferences with the president of the United States and Congressional leaders. Significantly, this new coalition agreed not only on legislative priorities but also on the essential, non-compromisable components of a acceptable bill in the each policy area.³³

³⁰ Suzanne Staggenborg, Coalition work in the Pro-choice Movement. Organisational and Environmental opportunities and obstacles, *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 33, June 1986, P 385.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Anne N. Costain, "The struggle for a National Women's Lobby :Organizing a Defuse Interest", *Western Political quarterly*, Vol. 31, December 1980, P 476-91.

³³ Sarah Harder, Flourishing in the Mainstream : The U.S. Women's Movement Today, in *The American Woman, 1990-91: A Status Report*, ed. Sara E Rix, (New York : Norton, 1990) PP 281-86.

Although, several off the SCSWs have been reorganized, or become inactive, there are currently 36 active commissions and 6 more that are classified as “inactive”. These commissions serve to institutionalize both the women’s movement and women’s participation in policy decisions. Commission mandates include public education, administrative oversight some regulatory duties, and lobbying.³⁴

State women’s right groups have also been encouraged to view female elected officials as accessible and responsive advocates for feminist’s goals. Women office holders are now represented in state legislature at 18 percent, roughly three times than in the US Congress. In addition approximately, half of female state legislators were members of at least one feminist organization in 1981, and around 44 percent were affiliated with a group of other female officials.³⁵

Since the demise of the ERA in 1982, state women’s policy networks have created more permanent and diversified coalition of organization to address many women’s issues in state government. In 1989, forty states had such networks, ranging from those where networks were just beginning to take shape to states where group coalition were functioning or even institutionalized. In most, networks had paid staff for organizational coordination and lobbying efforts.³⁶ One of the first networks, the Wisconsin Women’s Network, WWN, established in

³⁴ Rina Rosenberg, “*Representing Women at the state and Local Levels*” ed. Ellen. Boneparth (New York : Pergamon, 1982), PP 38-46.

³⁵ Susan J. Carroll and Wendy S. Strimling, *Women’s route to Elective Office*, (New reinwick : N.J. Center for the American Woman and Politics, 1983), PP 38-46.

³⁶ Footnote No. 33, P 280.

1979, currently has a paid office administrators and a full time legislative coordinator in the state capital supported by 67 clubs paying organization members and over 1000 individuals, WWN works through 13 policy task forces and publishes a quarterly newsletters. Group member closely resemble those of the Washington Women's policy network: multi issue and single issue women's right groups, traditional women's organization, women's professional and educational association, and a number of labor union and social service organizations. Depending of the political makeup of the Wisconsin Women's Council, on SCSW, WWN either monitor or coordinates with that agency and its efforts to advance the status of women.

Local, State and National Levels Challenges and Impact

Although the contemporary women's right movement has been most visible in the national and state arenas, local feminist groups are pervasive. Available evidence points to the local membership of women's rights groups, as follows : NOW still had 684 local chapters, (as of 1990), and the NWPC listed 237 local chapters on its roster (1986). These figures generally help in measuring the impact of feminism on local policy. However, the local chapters while increasing loyalty to the national organizations, the formation of state and national lobbying groups undermined the ability of local chapters to act on their own initiative. For instance local chapters of NOW in early 1970s frequently contacted city hall and school board policy makers and were involved in self help projects to address community

problems. Today, the grass roots members of national women's rights group are mobilized primarily to participate in state and national level lobbying and demonstrations.³⁷

Others also point out that local feminists were well situated to become a part of local women's policy network. The association with the home and family, made it easier for women to assume greater responsibilities in local politics. It is here that women enjoy greatest access to the political system. In fact, the number of female elected officials serving at the city and the country levels is roughly twenty times that at the state and national level.

Women's organizations have also gained direct representation in government through local commission on the status of women. According to one study the number of such commissions doubled between 1975 and 1980, and by 1990 there were 204 active local commissions.³⁸ Many cite evidence to the fact that well developed policy networks have formed around issues of women's health, day care assault, and displaced home makers. The key actors are drawn from local advocacy groups, women who run alternative services, and urban bureaucracies responsible for delivering, funding or regulating each policy. These networks are characterized by close and frequent contacts, interlocking directorates and mutual support. Public and private task forces, advisory committees, and group boards have overlapping membership, which helps them to

³⁷ Jo. Freeman, "A model for Analyzing the strategic options of Social Movement Organizations, in *Social Movement of the Sixties and Seventies*, (New York : Longman, 1983), P 206.

³⁸ Debra W. Stewart, "Commission on the Status of Women and Building a Local Policy Agenda", in *Women in Local Politics*, (Netuchen : N.J. Scavecrow Press, 1980) P 199-202.

intervene in urban politics. Some opine that in the process of adopting to professionalization and the fiscal accountability that both private and public funding sources require, the local women's groups may have obscured the linkage between feminism and their institution and services.

In 1988 Women's Agenda included, family policies assuming access to housing, child and older care, family and medical leave, and equitable educations; economic opportunity, including occupational preparation, pay equity, raising the minimum wage, and welfare reform; comprehensive health care and safety, including long term care, minimum health coverage, and reproductive health care. A federal budget balancing adequate defense with global economic and human development; equality under the law including the Equal Right Amendment, and protection of civil rights and reproductive choice.

The 40 groups cosponsored the first Women's Agenda conference, which was coordinated by BPW/USA (National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Club) and held in Des Moines, Iowa, in January 1988. Over 2,000 women from around the country gathered in Des Moines to decide strategy for forwarding the Women's Agenda during the election campaign. In 1989, the Women's Agenda became the legislative agenda for the women's movement in many states as network organized state women's agenda conferences.

Organizational leaders are consciously addressing the political realities in both parties that will shape policy strategies for women. The Coalition for women's appointments, coordinated by the National Women's Political Caucus,

was formed well before the 1988 election for the purpose of getting more women appointed to high-level positions.

The Council of President has recognized the women's issues become marginalized if they are perceived as partisan if only Democratic or only Republican solutions are promoted.

Impact on Political Parties and Women's Right

Both parties have shifted their positions over time, on the issue of women's right. Republican sided with the equality feminists in the 1950s and early 1960s while Democrats generally opposed the equality position in favor of the status quo, protective policy for women. Republican were generally perceived as more supportive on the issue of women's rights. However, this situation changed dramatically as women's right issues leapt to the forefront of political debate and the party's agenda in the late 1960s. Women's rights were then the subject of considerable controversy at both parties convention throughout the 1970s. While both parties were generally favorable to women's right in 1972, their position increasingly diverged, culminating with the events of 1980. After 1980, women's rights continue to occupy relatively large portion of the party's platform, but one view dominated each party, and real dissension from each party's position at the conventions was almost non existent. Democrats maintained a strong pro-women's right position, Republicans, on the other hand, favored some women's right issues, but opposed many others, including the ERA, abortion rights, and federal funding

for child care. While the salience of women right declined some what with the institutionalization of organized feminism, debates over the family values and culture wars continued to shape political discourse. While the positions of parties are often in opposition, both parties have recognized that women's rights deserve a place on their political agenda. Generally, it seems that the paternalistic attitude evidenced by most politicians regarding women's right in the 1950s has been replaced by a more progressive perspective.

Both parties acknowledge that women are likely to have careers outside the home and that some form of child care other than a parent is a necessity for many American families. Both Democrats and Republicans publicly encourage the participation of women in their parties, and unlike the earlier period, this position is likely to be backed up with party resources furthering that goal, although discrimination and barriers still exist. The basic anti-discrimination that were extracted in the early 1970s have unanimous support in nearly every platform since 1972, including both parties.

In the early 1950s and early 1960s there was little or no controversy or even discussion on women's right in these parties. The small amount of activity centered around the women's Bureau of the Department of Labor, but for most American elites and the public alike, women's issues were undiscovered. By 1972, however, women's right had moved to the forefront of political debate as American discovered the previously ignored, denied or unseen concerns of women. The parties position were reevaluated in light of the changing context, a

context that involved new cleavages, meaning and symbols, Each party experienced fierce fighting within its ranks regarding its stances on women's right issues through out the 1970s. These clashes eventually resulted in the development of new, different, and greatly polarized positions for both parties. By 1984, intra party conflict on women's right had largely been quelled. A few dissenting opinions were expressed at each convention, but those voices were quickly drowned out. While the agenda changes, there are no significant shifts in the parties position on women's right after 1980, but by 1992, they were also far more polarized on women's right that ever before.³⁹ The 1994 term elections were not kind to progressive women. Women's groups then stepped up their efforts, and again record number of women joined legislative bodies all over the United States, often encouraged and aided every step of the way by women and women's group.

³⁹ Christina Wolbrecht, *The Politics of Women's Right : Parties, Position and Change*, (New Jersey : Princeton University Press, 2000) P 226.

CHAPTER IV

NGO'S: WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION AND PARTICIPATION

The change in women's self concept went hand in hand with a shift in public attitude. Surveys of public opinion demonstrated that the populace increasingly accepted women's political participation.¹ Poll data revealed a gradual growth in approval even for the idea of women seeking the highest offices. The percentage of people who told Gallup pollsters that they would vote for a qualified woman for president if their party nominated her rose from 31 percent in 1937 to 80 percent in 1983.² Organized women's public vision has made as much progress as they did in bringing about political, social and cultural change. As motherhood was the linchpin of the cultural belief controlling their social reality, it was particularly remarkable that they were as successful as they were in bringing motherhood out of the realm of the natural and private and into the public arena as a rationale for women's political activity and as a social institution deserving public support.

Historically, the existence of negative cultural attitudes about women engaging in political activity have led to voter resistance toward women candidate and an unwillingness on the part of women to get involved in the political process. Cultural attitudes toward and restrictions on women's political activity have also resulted in other barriers to women's full political equality: the lack of preparation of women for political activity and outright sex

¹ Ruth B: Mandel, *"The Political Woman"*, (New York, London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1998), p. 85.

² Ibid.

discrimination by party leaders and government official. While these barriers and the attitudes that underlie them have diminished overtime, other system-specific problems continue to prevent women from achieving parity with men in the political arena.³

Women's Organizations and their specific agenda

There is widespread consensus about general objective of the politically active feminist. There is inevitable diversity in points of view about specific agenda and about the means for reaching particular goals. Electing more women to public office is one agenda item, but it does not take precedence as the top issues for all facets of the women's political movement. There are other pressing and sometimes competing goals. In a struggle for definition and for increased political sophistication, the women's political movement has been grappling with its own internal differences as they affect hard decision about priorities, which candidates to support, where to allocate slim resources, and to be most effective in the political arena. Diversity is common in any broad social movement, whether labor, civil rights or women's rights.⁴ At its weakest, the organized women's political movement has sometimes floundered in attempting to discover a useful balance between enthusiasm and hard realism, between the demands of ideological purity and political compromise, between talk about women's political progress and solid follow, ups through commitment of time, people, and money. Sometimes, it has also been in danger

³ Hazel Erskine, "The Polls: Women's Role", *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol.35, 1971, p. 275-90.

⁴Kristi Anderson, *After Suffrage: Women in Partisan and Electoral Politics Before the New Deal* (Chicago: University of Chicago), p. 150.

of remaining insular-active in its own small networks, but ineffective in forging working relationship with the flesh and blood political woman out on the campaign trail who is in need of support.

One female officeholder, who has been very supportive of feminist issues and who campaigned to move up to higher office in 1978, reports that early in her campaign she was invited to speak at the local NOW meeting. “Instead of knowing how to handle it”, she says, “they asked me to state my position on abortion and gay rights. They should have known better than to put me on the spot in front of reporters and get all of that in the newspaper”. As a result of this experience, the candidate was wary of placing herself in that of situation again. In her view, “Either they were naïve or they don’t care if you lose so long as you agree.”⁵ By the end of the 1970s, more often than not the broad women’s political movement was basing its decisions to encourage and support women aspiring to elective office on realistic assessment of each candidate’s political strength and on election day odds. For instance, good women many candidate who faced almost certain defeat running against popular, well financed incumbents could not assume the women’s political movement would contribute significant position of its very limited resources of their campaign. Moreover, while the Women’s Campaign Fund and some local women’s group did function as instruments of encouragement to female candidates by investing in difficult races, as the decade wore on more and more emphasis was placed on tough political judgment about channeling support to women who had a real chance of winning. It had taken time and the trials of

⁵Ruth B: Mandel, Organized Support in *The Running* (Boston, Beacon Press, 1981), p. 219.

experience to develop the confidence headed for making these political decisions. Beyond enthusiasm and endorsements, realistic activists in the Women's Political Movement recognize their responsibility to follow through with palpable campaign support. But when that responsibility was not acknowledged or fulfilled, candidates felt resentful. As one prominent political woman complained, "We have not been taught to close ranks. The local Women's Political Caucus people told me they thought it was great I was running, but they did not come out and help"⁶. Sometimes there was a degree of irresponsibility even in telling a woman it was a good idea for her to enter a race. For instance, during the 1976 Campaign Season in Missouri, Republican state legislator Mildred Huffman was actively encouraged to enter a race for Secretary of State. The statewide race made little sense to political odds makers because Huffman's Democratic opponent in the general election would be James Kirkpatrick, a very popular incumbent who had polled higher than any other member of this party in several elections. Huffman had been valuable state legislator for feminist because she strongly supported the passage of the Equal Right Amendment in Missouri where it was still unratified. Instead of firmly discouraging her from leaving the legislature to enter a hopeless race, a member of the Missouri Women's Political Caucus urged her to run. While the caucus endorsed Huffman's race, verbal endorsement was not followed by active support because the state caucus refused to give working or financial endorsement to any woman not running for to state legislature, where its first priority, the Equal Right Amendment desperately needed votes. It was a

⁶ Ibid, p. 220..

common situation in which the issues of female representation in elective office came into conflict with another feminist agenda item which had been targeted as top priority. Huffman worked hard in her primary and general election races, but she was defeated heavily at the polls. Notwithstanding the fact that women had urged Huffman to enter to race, she herself was responsible for the decision to announce as a statewide candidate. Yet if it is important to convince women to run for elective office, it is at least equally important that women's groups be able to follow through and provide the support needed to wage campaign. Leaving someone perched alone on a limb after having encouraged her to make the climb in unacceptable political behavior, particularly since politics is almost totally dependent on group effort and team support. This case study clearly reveals the dichotomous nature of Women's organizations. It also reveals the competing pulls of different goals of the feminist agenda.

Some studies have pointed out that when priority issues such as the Equal Rights Amendment and abortion right do not absorb most of the resources potentially available to female candidate from the Women's Political Movement, decisions regarding which candidate should receive money and technical assistance rest heavily on the odds for winning. As perceptive scholars argues, of the more sophisticated and realistic of women's political group divide their resources among candidate who hold feminist views on women's issues and who also have a reasonable chance for election day success. According to their view, candidates such as Mildred Huffman, whose views are sympathetic but whose electability in a particular race is doubtful,

can expect more spiritual than material support. Despite the relatively small numbers of female candidates, demands for both financial and spiritual help and an assumption that it exists in abundance for outrun available supplies. Thus, it pointed out that candidates are bound to be disappointed because publicity about the women's movement has resulted in over expectation about its ability to deliver funds and services.

When the United States won its independence in the eighteenth century, the prevailing body of law governing the legal status of women was English Common Law. Common law barred women from voting, holding public offices or serving on juries, and denied them legal control of their children and property. Some historians ascribe the inferior legal status of women to the influence of the English Jurist, Sir William Blackstone, who stated in his commentaries: "the husband and wife are one, and that one is the husband".⁷

The legal prejudice against women was so great that few people during the nation's early decade sought to serve for the basic cause of women's voting. The first movement for women's political right is usually traced back to the 1840 World Antislavery Convention held in London. Having made the trip because of their beliefs in human equality, the American women abolitionists, and some of their male colleagues, were astonished to learn that the women were not to be seated on the convention floor but could voice their support for equality. The Seneca Falls Convention, widely regarded as the beginning of the

⁷ Marjorie, Lasing, *The American Women Voter: from Minority to Majority*. (Michigan, University of Michigan Press, 1983), p.17.

organized movement in the United States.⁸ Three hundred women and several men attended, and one third eventually signed a document patterned by Stanton after the Declaration of Independence and called the declaration of sentiment, the convention demanded for women the right to preach, to teach and earn a livelihood. The most controversial section of the document stated: that it is the duty of the women of this country to secure to themselves their rights to the elected franchise. But the convention failed to pass a resolution in favor of suffrage. Similar convention in the following years of follow brought the names Lucy Stone and Susan B. Anthony to public attention as well as to public ridicule.

The Women's Movement of the early twentieth century in America had different expectations. They believe that when women begin to vote, a new era of social welfare legislation would dawn, and the government would turn away from war of corruption, women's votes would transform society. The politicians seemingly believed them and delayed Congressional enactment of women's suffrage until 1919. But once they gained the right to vote, relatively few women exercised it at first, and those who did support candidates and held political opinions not very different from those of long enfranchised men in similar social circumstances.⁹ A major shift has occurred in the voting balance in the United States, more women than men have gone to the polls to vote for President. For the first time since receiving the right to vote in 1920, significant

⁸ Olive, Banks, *Faces of Feminism; A study of feminism as a social movement*, (New York: St. Martin Press, 1981), p. 29

⁹ F.N.7, p.17

number of women have entered the world of politics as candidate party workers, and lobbyists.¹⁰

Women's participation & NGO's

In the early voting studies, it was commonly reported that women had less interest than men in the election campaign. There is a prevailing belief that women are less interested in politics than men. This is corroborated by data. In the may poll, 33 percent of the men but only 23 percent of the women professed great interest in the election.¹¹

In the 1930, the first nation wide opinion polls revealed that public attitude towards the participation of women in politics were decidedly negative. At a time when only a handful of women held public office, 60 percent of all citizens polled rejected the idea that " we need more women in politics"¹² Bases against political activity by women continued. In the next study, done in Elmira, New York, in 1948, the finding was replicated, with women logging 8 percent points behind men. The Elmira researches wrote that on each interest level women were more likely than men to say did not intend to vote.¹³ Polls conducted in the 1950s and 1960s found only small changes in attitudes towards women in politics.

A tremendous change has occurred in American Politics. Women counted for more than those of men in the 1980's and decade beyond. The emergence and persistence of the gender gap, was one of the dominant features

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Paul F., Lazarsfeld, *The People's Choice*, (New York, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1944)p.45.

¹² F.N.3, p.275-90.

¹³ F.N.11, p.25.

of politics of the 1980s and early 1990s. Although there has been evidence for 40 years that men and women were likely to differ considerably in their attitudes about war and peace, it was not until 1980 that a sharp divergence between the sexes became manifest with respect to their perceptions of the presidential candidates and their perspectives on a broad range of issues and policy trade offs that faced the public in that presidential election year. Those differences persisted through the Reagan years and came to be reflected not only across specific issues, but in general political orientation, including party identification perhaps the most important difference because of its potential long term impact on voting behavior. From the Eisenhower years, when survey first looked at the opinion of men and women separately,¹⁴ through the Carter Administration, men and women had not differed significantly, in their assessment of incumbent presidents or presidential candidates.

Major interest in the way women participated began with measuring the differences between women and men in their perception of the general direction of the country and their priorities it was found that while the issue agendas of women and men did not differ dramatically, women and see their own economic situation, quite differently. Surveys taken during the 1988 presidential election campaign showed that women were somewhat more likely than men to worry about health care, education, helping the poor, homelessness and protecting American jobs: men were more likely to worry about the deficit taxes energy and defense policy. Studies also pointed out that women were generally more likely than men to mention social problems, and

¹⁴ Vincent J., Breglio, *Different Voices, Different views, The Politics of Gender*, (New York: WW Norton & Company, 1992), p.179

men were more likely than women to mention fiscal and foreign policy concerns. Women typically were found to have somewhat different priorities for government action than men. It was claimed that they would want a more active role for the government in domestic and family policies. Further, being more economically vulnerable than men, women take a broader view of what constitutes an economic agenda. Women tend to worry about social issues more than men do and to seek greater involvement in solving these problems. They have tended to support an activist role for government to help the poor, the elderly, and the unemployed and are concerned about the affordability of such services as health care, long term care for the elderly and day care. Through political participation where encouraged by women's organizations, these concerns translated to voting behaviour.

Abortion became more important in voting decisions following the Supreme Court's 1989 ruling in *Webster V. Reproductive Health Services*.¹⁵ Men and women support the right to abortion in nearly equal proportions in 1991, 58 percent of men and 55 percent of women describe themselves as pro-choice, while 34 percent of women were, more likely than men to consider this issue central to their voting decisions and to be active in either pro choice or pro-life politics. In 1990, 48 percent of women , versus 39 percent of men, said they would give time and money in support of their position on the abortion issue. Age and education had been an important factor in how women, especially women, feel about abortion: older, non-college educated women tend to be more strongly pro-life than their male counterparts. Men are more

¹⁵ Ibid.

likely than women to support allowing abortion under all circumstances, that is, men are more likely than women to believe that a woman should be able to get an abortion if she wants one, no matter what her reason. At the same time, younger college-educated men and women are equally supportive of abortion rights generally, although the women in this group tend to be much more active on the issue than the men, and where a clear contrast exists between the position of candidate. Younger and suburban women who supported the pro-choice position elected Douglas Wilder Governor of New York and ensured James Florio and easily, solid lead in his race for governor of New Jersey.¹⁶ With respect to women's rights more generally, men and women were equally likely to support equal rights for women, but women are much more likely than men to make their voting decisions on the basis of the candidate position on these issues women were also much more likely than men to favor government action to ensure women's rights.

The year, 1980 marked the first year that women in every racial group registered and voted in higher numbers than their male counterparts, and that pattern continued throughout the decade.¹⁷

The major women's political organizations such as NOW, the National Women's Political Caucus, The National Women's Education Fund, and The Women's Campaign Fund were very successful in 1980. They raised more money for women and feminist candidates, sent out more mailings, and spent more effort emphasizing the records of the major national candidates, on women's issues than ever before. The major grass root effort in recent years

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

has been the extraordinary organized energy of women, who identified with the campaign to ratify the Equal Right Amendment in the states. This campaign cut across partisan lines and brought organization such as the league of women's voters and the National Federation of Business and Professional women into the forefront of lobbying as never before. The campaign for ERA served to educate and unify many women who had not previously been knowledgeable or caring about the legal and economic discrimination against women in American society. The ERA effort served to encourage women to vote and then k differently from men in the 1980 and 1982 elections. The percentage of women elected to high public office had risen only incrementally between 1975 and 1977. The small but steady increase continued through the 1980 election. According to figure compiled by the National Education Fund, women increased presence in the state legislature by about 1 percent each election, from a percent in 1977 to 10 percent in 1979 and 12 percent in 1981.¹⁸

In 1982, NOW had targeted both the Illinois and the Florida legislatures where the fight to ratify the ERA had been finally lost in June of that year. NOW support helped to elect nine women to the Florida Senate, and enough women's right legislators to the Florida and Illinois houses to secure ratification in those states. Women broke new ground by fielding more candidates for state office in 1982 than in previous years. Two major party women candidates ran, though unsuccessfully, for Governor, with three elected in 1982, making a total of seven women holding this post.

¹⁸ Sandra Baxtor, *The Gender Gap: Women Voters and Candidate in a Time of change*, (USA: University of Michigan Press, 1968), p.210

At the national level, the change has been even slower. In 1975, there were nineteen women in the United States Congress: in 1980 there were only twenty. Eleanor Smeal, President of NOW, calculated that at this rate, it would take women "217 years to reach parity, a prospect which does not give your solace."¹⁹ In 1982, three major party candidates ran and lost senate seats. More women than before ran for the House of Representative with thirty three losing and twenty one winning. Although 1982 did not mark the first time when women candidates won more contests than ever before there were a number of important victories which may affect election in the future.

The organization NOW participated in elections in 1982 more seriously than before, and claimed in some months to be raising more funds than the Democratic National Committee. Although "women did not win as many contests as they had hoped, it was apparent that in a number of races there was an advantage for the first time in the American Politics for the candidate to be a woman. The outlook for women as candidates is not altogether clear. Women have made remarkable advances in breaking down the barriers which limit admission to the professions that have historically led to Congress in politics. Actually, sharing the power held by political elites may be the most difficult goal to achieve. A hopeful sign can be found in the research of Welch and Sigelman in 1982 who looked at public attitudes towards women in 1972, 1974, and 1978. They found a modest increase in public support for women being politically active. Solid support was found among young people and those with more education. As the American population becomes better

¹⁹ Ibid, p.211

educated, some of this support helped in breaking down the remaining barrier to full political equality.²⁰ The 1980 presidential election was a milestone for women, for the first time their vote was a recognizable force in American politics. Women exceeded men by almost six million votes. The new visibility of this majority group was a result of women in the electorate evaluating candidates and policies differently from men, and in voting for major candidates in different proportions. The difference in percentage point in votes cast by women and men became part of the political vernacular during vote made the difference in a number of close races.

Impact of Women's values

Many Americans attribute the increasing disorder of individual, family, and community life to “the break down moral values and social structure”²¹ Many who fear that primary social institution – including marriage, the family, neighborhoods, and public school system, are disintegrating perceive decay of the moral fabric of American Life as both the cause and consequences. These institutions, with religious ones, have traditionally been the central social sites for value formation, but they are said to be no longer transmitting basic value effectively. As a result, according to the consensus that has emerged, individual values, such as sexual responsibility, the work ethic, and respect for authority, are eroding especially among the urban poor. This diagnosis of the American value crisis depicts the nation as confronted by a choice and unstoppable social deterioration.

²⁰ Ibid. p212.

²¹ Constance H., Buchanan, *choosing to lead: Women and the crisis of American Value*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996), p.6

Since the Reagan era, both the value crisis and this diagnosis have become increasingly familiar feature of the national debate. The President, members of Congress, policy maker, social critics, television commentators and radio talk show hosts, newspaper columnist, and many other opinion shapers refer to them. One of the striking aspects of public debate about this crisis is the degree to which it is dominated and its term are defined by men. Women play a comparatively small role in the debate. This is due in part, to the fact that few women have risen to position of prominence that make them public analysts. Yet the small number of women in top leadership position itself reflects the fact that American women are not expected to have a public voice and to speak about the state of society as a whole. This lack of expectation is evident in private life as well. There, a silent consensus often confers on men the authority to frame the national situation, despite the deep concern about society that many women express in national polls and elsewhere.

It seems particularly ironic that women are playing such a small role in public debate about the value crisis given the fact that motherhood is a central force of this debate. During the 1992 presidential campaign it was national concern about mother's domestic labor that conservative politician played on, lamenting the increasing numbers of single mothers and the entrance of a majority of mothers into the paid labor force. At the Republican convention, speakers presented both single motherhood and women's paid work as undermining the quality of mothering received by American children. In contrast concern in family values debate about fathers absence from families

focuses chiefly on their economic role, when it comes to father's moral contribution, most emphasize the importance of their presence as head of family, not children's development. Since the 1992 election, national concern about women's work outside the home has continued, generating both debate about the impact of child care on children's development and guilt in many employed mothers. Now the larger issue of how all American mothers are doing has come to be addressed instead through the focus on how well certain mothers, notably single mothers, are closing. And the liberal view that families should be valued however they are structured. Which candidate Bill Clinton represented during the 1992 campaign, has given way in national politics to the consensus that single parent families are inadequate. This consensus focus on restoring the two parent family by discouraging out of wedlock birth and divorce.²² President Clinton put it bluntly during the 1994 election, "I know not everybody is going to be in a stable traditional family like you see on one of those 1950 sitcoms, but we'd be better off if more people were".²³

Organized Women & Participation

Organized women's tradition of public leadership represents a major stage in the history of women's claim to full public participation. Addressing the moral status of the American social fabric and improving it, these women made a difference both through what they accomplished and in how women challenged dominant American cultural conceptions both of women and of leadership. By establishing women's right to vote and the legitimacy of their

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

activity outside the home on behalf of public goals, they significantly transformed the social roles of women, and the cultural image and status that underlay them. They did so in large part by drawing on traditional cultural belief and deploying them in a new way: “Paradoxical as it may seem, American devotion to the cult of domesticity may best explain women’s political influence in the nineteenth century. American society embraced with conviction the idea of women’s moral superiority, and as women moved into the public sphere they carried with them that aura of uncorrupted righteousness bestowed on them to justify the importance of their goal as guardians of the home and nurturers of children.²⁴ Thus, they established the norm of women’s agency on behalf of local communities and the nation by extending to the public sphere the traditional expectation of their moral distinctiveness.

Organized women constructed an effective political culture based on women’s social vision, organization and peculiar style. This culture expressed women’s positive sense of themselves as different and separate from the politics and public agenda on men. Both white and black women saw value in being outsiders to the male political system, black women recognized themselves as outsiders too to the whole of white racist culture and society. Both groups of women expressed their sense that much was fundamentally wrong in society and relied on their experience of exclusion for insight and vision. By the early twentieth century, organized women could draw on their own political tradition and distinctive political style, a capacity for effecting

²⁴ Ruth Bordin, *Frances Williard: A Biography* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Pres, 1986), p.186.

public education wide based lobbying and persuasive moral rhetoric that spoke to fundamental widely held social values.

While there were significant differences in the rural and urban women's initiatives, nothing captures the distinctive profile of organization women's politics better than an example of temperance activity in a village in upstate, New York in 1874.²⁵ In an attempt to stem the practical lots of alcohol abuse to individual women, men and children, women reformers set out during a year of concerted effort to decrease alcoholic consumption in their village,²⁶ Their first step was to temporarily halt service in the salon of the largest hotel by praying as a group on its premises. Then they attended a meeting of the village licensing board to request that the hours of bars be limited and no new liquor licenses be issued in the village. They even campaigned to convince men to vote for the temperance candidate in the village election, contributing a political presence by public fasting and praying on Election Day. When the reformers candidate lost, men of the villages who opposed temperance paraded through town with effigies of women, they renewed liquor licenses, and succeeded in convincing the board to allow a new license only to the drug store. Such activity has seemed so indirect and informal when measured against mall norms for political effectiveness as hardly to be worthy of the label politics, yet made women a political force to reckoned with. They held their own view, that government ought to limit behavior that threatened communities and by appealing to state government, which set broader liquor

²⁵ Paula Bakers, *The Moral Framework of Public Life: Gender, Politics and the state in Rural New York, 1876, 1930.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 56-77.

²⁶ Ibid.

and other policies, often made it a crucial ally. Moreover through personal commitment, initiative, determination and often physical courage, organized women at local and national levels acted in terms of the community as an entity, assessing community need, addressing directly all those bearing moral and formal responsibility for community welfare and persisting until the priority they saw was met.²⁷

Organized women's crowning accomplishment was thus to contribute the vision of social welfare to American society and government. By acting over the decade on their broad vision of the public good, they began to make national politics over according to their conception and their social priorities, making their social policy into national fabric policy.²⁸ In this way they played a significant role in transforming liberalism as a political ideology and practice, encouraging government to understand that "the concern of politics and of the home were inextricable".²⁹ "Women certainly did not set out to built what we call the "welfare state" but in the face of the often implacable opposition of businessmen of many kind and even of professional bodies such as the American Medical Association. They turned to the state and federal government as the only sources of countervailing power. In the process, they persuaded governments to take on many of the responsibilities for human welfare that they had themselves originally assumed. Thus, the work of women in their association over nearly a century and a half shaped the ideas, brought

²⁷ Ibid., pp.56-80

²⁸ Paula Baker, *In the Domestication of Politics: Women and American Political Society, 1780-1921* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990), p.70.

²⁹ Ibid, p.72.

about the grassroots support, and gave federal state welfare structure much of its characteristic form.³⁰

The current public debate links women's welfare and the welfare of society as a whole. Women are poised to shape American Values publicly on a scale to which they have never before had access.

³⁰ Ann Firor Scott, *Natural Allies, Women's Association in American History*, (Urbana: Urbana University of Illinois Press, 1991), p.177

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

American women in the 1770s like their sisters in Western Europe, were dependent of their fathers or husband. Women could not make legal arrangement or contracts, earn wages separate from those of their husbands, or vote. By marrying, they forfeited to their husbands legal custody of all property and children. The history of women in America serves to highlight the ironies and contradiction of the American society. Although women comprises a majority of population, they nonetheless are often treated like a minority group, assigned a definitive “place” in the social order, denied access to careers and power in the public arena, and viewed as dependent weak, and submissive nature. On the other hand, unlike minority groups, women do not live together in a ghetto, are distributed through every region, class and social group and often share greater proximity and intimacy with their oppressors than with each other.

Unlike slavery and race, which in the words of James Madison were the central problem, women were never mentioned during the debate over ratification of the U.S. constitution. As shown in Chapter one and two, there has been tremendous resistance to give women any kind of individuality.

Organized women’s tradition of public leadership represents a major stage in the history of American’s women’s claim to full public participation. The organized women’s political movement established groups and support mechanism for boosting women in political life. The movement impact can be

attributed in large part to the activities of women's organizations that have worked for change – in the law, the courts, universities corporation, local communities and individual women's lives. Few people have remained untouched, directly or indirectly, by these organizing efforts. The cultural change they have triggered are one important indicator of their success. A second measure of the effectiveness of women's organization is the vehemence of the counter movement they generated. A third measure is the sheer number of feminist groups. Literally, thousand of organization, including rape crisis centers, battered women's shelters, women studies programs, women health clinics, and women book stores, restaurants, theater groups, credit union and other profit and non profit organization were founded. Many have survived, some have prospered, and most have had a profound impact on the lives of women they touched. The women's movement's exists because feminist founded and staffed these organizations to do the movement work. Some are as tentative as volunteer run hotlines, others as intense as illegal abortion collectives, still others as massive as the nation wide National Organization for Women. All these organization sustain women and are sustained by them. They are tangible evidence of the movement in many feminist lives and in the social and political life of the nation.

It is also true that voluntary women's organization in America have created their own national machinery, increasingly effective delivery system operating at the local state and national level. American women have become adept at using "NGO" to work for the advancement of women in every field and have repeatedly demonstrated the effectiveness of using NGOs to further

their objectives. These groups have been able to channel a modest but growing amount of support into campaign politics. When and where they are able, they contribute money, volunteers and expertise to aspiring political women who meet certain criteria established by each organization. They have also released position papers on selected women's issues, and have set up special workshops designed to motivate women to run for office and to teach campaign skill. National organizations sponsoring special workshops, distributing position paper, or developing other educational materials and service include : National Women's Education Fund; National Women's Political Caucus, National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, League of Women Voters, National Organization for Women; Special issue groups concerned with such issues as the Equal Right Amendment, Democratic and Republican parties at National and State levels have also sponsored workshops and conferences with special sessions devoted to teaching campaign skills, as have university and college based programs such as the center for the American Woman and Politics at Rutgers University and the Public Leadership Education Network, a small group of small women's college which develop educational programs to introduce their student to opportunities in public leadership. Another valuable type of contribution has come in the form of services donated by consultant with campaign expertise. Political consultant sent into the states from national offices of women's organization based in Washington D.C., discuss Campaign Strategy and offer advice to candidates. In the United States, nearly all NGOs give information and training to their member and to decision makers. NGOs can tap public opinion quickly and frequently, beat the official

bureaucracy in identifying the socio-economic changes affecting women's status. NGOs form a significant part of effort for monitoring and improving the status of women. Unlike many other countries the United States has no single "national machinery" to promote the advancement of women.

The battle for women's suffrage was fought mostly in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Leaders like Stanton and Susan B. Anthony were prominent in the cause, which emphasized the vote but also addressed women's other grievances. In the first chapter, the history and climax of the struggle for suffrage has been traced to illustrate the above analysis.

Having achieved one of its most important goals, the women's movement shifted its attention to other issues, the welfare of children, voter education, prison reform, antilynching measures, and peace. One continuing issue of importance has been women's right. But the women's movement, like all movement has competing concern and interest. Winning the right to vote did not automatically win equal status for women. In fact, the women's movement seemed to lose rather than gain momentum after winning the vote, perhaps because the vote was about the only goal on which the feminists agreed. There was considerable division within the movement on other priorities. Many suffragists accepted the traditional model of the family. Fathers were bread winner, mothers bread bakers. Although most suffragists thought that women should have the opportunity to pursue any occupation they chose, many also believed that women's primary obligation revolved around the roles of wife and mother. Public policy towards women continued to be dominated by protectionism rather than by the principle of equality. Laws

protected working women from the burden of overtime work, long hours on the job and heavy lifting. The fact that these laws also protected male workers from female competition received little attention. State laws tended to reflect and reinforce, the traditional family roles. These laws concentrated on limiting women's work opportunities outside the home so that they could concentrate on their duties within it. In most states, husband were legally required to support their families, even after divorce and to pay child support though divorced father did not always pay. When a marriage ended, mothers almost always got custody of the children, although husband had the legal advantage in custody battles. Public policy was designed to preserve traditional motherhood and hence, supporter claimed to protect the family and the country's moral fabric.

There has been enough evidence to show that the woman suffrage movement had two distinct branches with different strategies and goals which were not abandoned even after suffrage was attained. As the second chapter discusses, the moderate, and larger, branch, dominated by the National American Woman Suffrage Association, NAWSA, is given most of the credit for the Nineteenth amendment Carrie Chapman Catt, urged her followers to disband the feminist organization and form a non-partisan, non-sectarian League of Women Voters, LWV, to encourage women to work within the parties and would support a broad range of social reforms. Only a minority of feminists challenged these assumptions. Under the banner of the National Woman's Party, NWP, Alice Paul, decided to focus their attention on the eradication of legal discrimination against women. She was one activist who

claimed that the real result of protectionist law was to perpetuate sexual inequality. The original version of the ERA, first introduced into Congress in 1923, stated that men and women shall have equal right through out the United States and every place subject to its Jurisdiction. Most of the people saw the ERA as a threat to the family. It was strongly opposed by the LWV, the newly elected created women's Bureau of the Department of Labor, the National Women's Trade Union League, WTUL, the National Consumer League, NCL and most other women's organization. Their opposition was based on the one fact about the ERA, that it would abolish protective labor legislation for women. ERA gained little support. In fact women were less likely to support the amendment than men were.

In this 1950s and 1960s women's right politics was limited to a few interested individuals, activists, women's group, and interested members of congress and the various presidential administration and a few policy issues, mainly concerning equality and non discrimination. Institutionally activity centered around the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor. The nexus of debate, Protection Versus Equality, was recognized by participants and had characterized women's right politics since before suffrage. Organized Labor and social reformers preferred the protectionist status quo, business interests and equality feminist favored greater legal equality for women. Thus the movement was caught between protection vs equality – a theme that would haunt then for years.

But in the 1960s a new type of women's movement emerged as a clarion call to million of women to rethink their priorities and questions the social

arrangement that defined them as a second class citizen. Many of the long institutionalized organization of the earlier feminist, such as the National Women's Party, the League of Women Voters, and the American Association of University women, provided organizational resources and a sense of history to the nascent movement and were themselves revitalized by the new mobilization. The women's liberation group that grew out of the student left and new women's rights organizations such as the National Organization for Women gradually defined themselves as part of a single larger movement that they came to call feminism. As seen in the II Chapter, the politics of social feminism was intense at this time.

In the late 1960s and early 1960s the women's rights equilibrium was greatly disrupted. Many Americans, both elites and public confronted, for the first time, the very idea that women have unique interests, interests largely overlooked and disregarded by policy makers. Women's rights moved from a situation of limited participation and little public scrutiny to one of considerable public attention and expanded involvement on the part of the national political leaders and organized interests. The agenda for women's rights grew and diversified, newly meaning symbol became associated with women's rights and alliances shifted and developed as a mass movement for women's right and Later, on opposition to that movement emerged. As a result of political pressure from the Civil Rights movement, Congress passed the 1964 Civil Right Act. It committed the federal government to protect and ensure the Civil and political right to Black and women from discrimination. But in fact, it was only really a victory for Blacks. Many opponents of the ERA

argue that it is not needed because women are already included in the 1964 Civil Right Act. But, in fact, in 1965 and 1966 the federal government and the courts refused to enforce the Civil Rights Act's protection of women, arguing that it was "fluke" and that congress had not really intended to include women in the law. Despite the fact that women were included in the law, the government refused to protect women's Civil Rights. This refusal outraged the leaders of the women's movement. The leaders of the women's movement got together and formed the National Organization for women. Now, in 1966, the founders of the NOW broke new ground with "statement of purpose" that called for a true partnership between the sexes. NOW inaugurated a new era, one marked by an expansion of choices for women and new relationship between women and their children, their partners and society.

One of the important women's issues in the 1970s and 1980s was the Equal Right Amendment. This proposed amendment sought to guarantee "equality of right under the law" regardless of gender. While most women's groups, most women and the Democratic Party remains committed to the ERA, the amendment has committed to the ERA, the amendment has not been the driving concern it once was. In its place have come issues like abortion, affirmative action for women, and the changing of particular laws that discriminate against women. Abortion has been seen as women's issues because it is women more than men whose bodies and lives are affected. As Justice Harry A. Blackman said in *Roe V Wade*, (1973) "Freedom of Personal choice in matters of marriage and family life is one of the liberties protected by the due process clause of the fourteenth Amendment. That right necessarily

includes the right of a woman to decide whether or not to terminate her pregnancy.” But both women and men are divided on the issue of abortion, and there are women’s group on both sides of the issue.

By 1980, the ERA was still a key issue for the organized women’s political movement, with thirty five states having voted ratification, three more states needed for passage, and rescission movement active in various parts of the country. The women’s political movement led a successful campaign in 1978 to win congressional approval for extending the original 1979 deadline for ratification to June, 1982. but with even the legality of the extension challenged by anti ERA forces, everywhere ERA proponent turned, they encountered the need for political strategies and resources to wage the fight for ratification. In 1980, Republican Party reversed its 40 year tradition of support for ERA. Now organizes 12,000 to march in Detroit at the Republican Convention.

The fourth chapter has the detailed account of how the issue of representation often was proclaimed as important in principle, and women’s organizations were pleased to see women stepping forward as political candidate. When it came to setting organizational agendas and distributing sparse resources, however, very few argued successfully for representation as a top agenda item. While large organization like the League of Women Voters, the American Association of University women, and the Federation of Business and Professionals Women’s Club joined in support of many feminist issues and sponsored workshops to educate their membership about the

political process, they stopped short of setting representation as a top priority in their national agendas.

In the women's political movement, the Women's Campaign Fund has been the only national organization to make representation the top priority issue. Other organization also support male candidates who take pro-feminist positions, particularly on ratification of the ERA. In the case of ERA, women's organization have supported men in part because they realize that they cannot elect enough pro-ERA women to insure ratification. Even for the Women's Campaign Fund, representation is considered in ideological term. While all its resources are distributed to female candidates, the position those candidate hold on feminist issues are critical in decision about whether or not the women's campaign fund supports their campaign. Women's groups sometimes face the dilemma of being sought after for endorsement by both female and male candidates in the same race, each espousing feminist ideologies in Campaign against female candidate, male opponents sometimes use women on their campaign staff to persuade feminist groups they are worthy of endorsement. Most women's groups deal with the matter of endorsement by establishing criteria assigning higher priority to a Candidate's position on issues than to the Candidate sex. Emily's List, ("Early Money Is Like Yeast – It makes the Dough Rise") which was founded in 1985, has been the largest financial resource for women candidates.

After 1980, women's right politics returned to an equilibrium, albeit a considerably different one that had characterized the issue are prior to 1970. Public attention to women's right declined, and a new set of actors, far larger

than the small set of 1950s and early 1960s, dominated debate over women's rights, with the alignment of interests on each side substantially fixed. Party alignment could, for the most part, also be described as fixed after 1980. Democrats stood on the pro-women's rights side, while Republican took up a number of opposition position. Ronald Reagan became the first U.S. President opposed to constitutional amendment which provide equal rights for women in 1981.

Women's Organizations are an amalgam, a blend of institutionalized and social movement practices. They have changed overtime in response to their own needs, the needs of the women they serve, and the demands of the environment. In the position of outsider, they pursue a feminist agenda that has barely begun to alter the social arrangements that dis-empower and victimize women. Yet as insiders, many have achieved a measure of respect and acceptance from the mainstream, becoming so familiar as to be no longer newsworthy, becoming so successful as to arouse resentments, angry reactions, and sometimes violent attacks. Women's organizations are the outcome of situationally and historically specific processes. In each time and place, feminism reflects its history and prior developments as well as present opportunities and constraints. The Global women's movement consists of many diverse movement that coexist and often are quite dissimilar. The specific shape and nature of the women's movement in the United States in the 1990s reflects distinctive features of American history, for example, the relative weakness of a socialist tradition, the continuing significance of race, a decade of an antifeminist national administration. In addition, American feminism has

been shaped by distinctive political practices and opportunities such as the prominence of lobbying groups, grass roots voluntary organizations, and tradition of non-profit community services to supplement a weak welfare state, as well as by the exceptionally active mobilization from the right, which has both attacked and borrowed from feminism American woman works through these organizations to influence organizations of many other type, political, educational, religious and commercial.

More than a century and a half has gone by since the founding of the first Women's Movement in the United States. Much of each accomplishment Women's Movement can take credit for is, of course difficult to assess and subject to political debate. But clearly the Women's Movement played a central role in obtaining suffrage for women. Women movement were also instrumental in achieving gains in property rights such as allowing wives to keep the wages they earned rather than placing them under the legal supervision of their husband; in attaining the right to enter into contract, to control their inheritances, and to sue in their own names; in the custody debate; and in the passage of an equal pay act and of title VII of the Civil Right Act; which prohibits discrimination based on sex in all terms, conditions or privileges of employment.

The 1960s and 1970s were a time of tremendous accomplishment for the women's movement. Numerous sex-related barrier for women in society eroded. Gender based job classification were found to be unconstitutional in *Reed V/s Reed* and *Frontieor V/s Richardson*.

In short, the same flaws were evident in women's movement in the first and second half of the 19th Century and in the first part of the twentieth century are surfacing yet again : narrowness of vision, alienation of large segment of political supporter, self-absorption. There is clearly a coherent set of beliefs that could serve the women movement : Work place equality, abortion rights and participation in electoral politics, among other.

The women's movement developed from amateurish participation on the fringes of American political life to sophisticated, highly organized activity at every political level.

A number of women's group are indeed returning to grass-roots mobilization, both in support of abortion rights and improvement in the child care situation states have proven willing to allocate funds for domestic violence and maternal and child health care project and to provide support for affirmative action and comparable worth legislation. This increasing focus on local action, along with the entry of more and more women's interest and those of society at large, may signal a new type of women's movement in U.S. history. Indeed, the term "movement" may no longer be applicable. Instead there may be a loose conglomeration of groups who are working in support of women's right and interest, but who do not answer to or owe allegiance to any central organization.

The majority of American women and men supported the ERA and equality for women, there were enough conservative men and women to defeat the ERA and derail the Women Movement. Faced with the growing power of the Religious Right in the 1980s and 1990 the Women's Movement was forced

to retreat and protect the victories they had already won. In fact some conservative in the early 1990s were calling supporter of feminism “Femianzis”. Women and feminist have become useful scapegoat for conservatives who want to blame America’s social economic decline since the 1970s on the 1960s and the women’s movement attack on “family values”. The challenge facing women today is how to convince Americans that granting women political, economic and social equally with men will help the family and will help America solve some of the major problem and crisis it faces. Until Feminists can do this, many Americans will continue to believe that America cannot afford to grant women equal rights. And the contradiction remain : America can grant Blacks immigrants and other minorities greater rights, but it can’t seem to grant women equal rights. Equal rights for women continue to be more controversial and politically unacceptable than equal rights for racial minorities.

The story of Women’s Movements in the United States is the story of groups whose members originally lacked political power, developed a sense of group consciousness, entered politics despite countless frustrations and setbacks, and, after long struggles, achieved some of their major political goals. The story continues as the movement still faces important unresolved issues.

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