

PROSPECTUS

Inside and Outside the State: The Women's Movement and Washington's Feminist Underground

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Overview

On December 14, 1967, the fledgling National Organization for Women organized a picket around the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission offices in Washington D.C. to protest its support of sex separated want ads. The Washington Post report on the picket showed a serious young woman carrying a sign saying "Equal Employment Opportunity for Women NOW." Yet, nowhere is there any mention that the young woman pictured and a large percentage of those who planned and organized the event were government employees.

Studies of the U.S. women's movement and of social movements in general have tended to draw a fine line between the movement and the state. In most discussions of the women's movement, movements are outsiders to the political system, organizing grassroots campaigns, using lobbying or pressure techniques to gain legislation, or protesting the actions (or inactions) of the government. Even when they use conventional political techniques -- lobbying, forming alliances with other interests, pressuring political parties -- they are defined as clearly outside of the government that they are trying to influence. This view of social movements as existing clearly and completely outside "the state" prevails throughout both theoretical and empirical discussions of social movements and of the women's movement in particular.

This book argues that the line between the U.S. women's movement and the government is artificial, and that focusing on the overlap between the women's movement and the government illuminates some of the puzzles about how and when movements mobilize and demobilize, why they choose certain tactics, and ultimately what they can achieve. The overlap between a social movement and the state occurs in two ways: through organizations that have a place in both the movement and the state and through individual activists who also are involved in the state. This book focuses on the latter category by examining the role that feminist activists employed by the federal government played in the U.S. women's movement. Although this group of activists played key roles particularly in the early years, they have largely been relegated to footnotes in the historical, sociological and political science analyses of the U.S. women's movement. By examining the role that this group of individuals played in the U.S. women's movement, I provide a fresh theoretical perspective on some long-standing questions about social movements and their relationship to the state. I also provide a corrective to the existing

history of the U.S. women's movement, which has tended to emphasize the role of outside actors in explaining the development of the movement.

Major Arguments of the Book

The book makes three specific arguments. First, I argue that current social movement scholarship has drawn artificial lines between social movements and the state. This omission is not surprising since scholars and observers tend to define social movements and their participants as consummate outsiders. Most social movement research has been based on a narrow definition of what constitutes an empirical case of a social movement. Social movements are largely defined as a mixture of informal networks and organizations that :

- Make clear “claims” that demand fundamental changes in the political, economic or social system, *and*
- Are “outsiders” with respect to conventional politics, *and*
- Utilize unconventional or protest tactics.(Diani 1992)

By definition then, social movement scholars designate politicians and bureaucrats as allies of a social movement by virtue of their status within conventional politics. Such a definition ignores both the fact that bureaucrats may be or have been activists within the movement, and the fact that those working within the system may still be “outsiders”. Treating activists within the state as allies overemphasizes the role of the political environment and understates the role that movement activists play in determining their own fate. Further I argue that examining the degree to which movement and state intersect – both organizationally and in the form of activists within the state – helps us understand the development of social movements, especially the movements’ interactions with the state and its policy achievements, and the nature of the state, especially the possibility that within this complex institution may be state actors who also act as outsiders.

Second, I argue in the case of the U.S. women's movements, feminist activists inside the state played key roles in the women's movement. Some of these roles have remained largely ignored by scholars looking at the women's movement, in part because of the tendency to focus on individuals who more clearly meet the stereotype of a movement activist – as being outside the state – and in part because the actions of feminist activists within the bureaucracy are largely hidden from view. In particular, I argue that these activists played a significant role in the organization and mobilization of individuals into the movement; and that they produced some of the most lasting and influential policy changes regarding women.

Third, I examine several hypotheses concerning the role that movement insiders might play in a larger social movement. I explore empirically the connection between government insiders – in this case, bureaucrats who also have a clear connection to the women's movement – and the use of conventional tactics. Both comparative studies of “femocrats” and the social movement literature tend to assume a connection between being inside the state and choosing inside tactics. I refine that view looking at when and

why insiders organize outside the state or take to the streets. I also explore how these insiders have affected the movement over time by examining the connection between the institutionalization of the women's movement and the activities of feminist activists inside the state as well as their relative standing in the movement. I argue that feminist activists within the state are not a result of movement institutionalization since they have been present inside the state from the beginning; rather the institutionalization of the movement has occurred because the nature of movement activism has changed as feminist organizations became more professional and regularized their tactics.

In all, then, the book redefines the boundaries between the state and the women's movement, and in so doing raises questions about how those who are both within the state and within the movement altered the course of feminist history. The book contributes to social movement theory by creating a more general theoretical framework useful for examining the intersection between social movements and states. It develops a number of testable hypotheses about how movement activists inside the state will affect the development and outcomes of social movements. I also extend our understanding of the state by showing that the state may act in complex and contradictory ways because state actors may be outsiders. By providing a glimpse of a political actor often hidden from view, it will also provide a more complete picture of the U.S. women's movement.

The Evidentiary Base

To examine the role of feminist activists inside the state, I use existing historical records in the form of oral histories and archived papers, and in-depth interviews with a sample of feminist activists who were in the bureaucracy from the years preceding the rise of the second wave of the women's movement through the end of the millennium.

The oral histories utilized in this study come from The Schlesinger Library of Harvard University, the "A Few Good Women" collection in Special Collections at the Pennsylvania State University Library, and the Foreign Affairs Oral History Project at Georgetown University. While these sets of oral histories were initially collected for other reasons -- to chronicle women in the federal government, the advance of women in the Nixon administration and the foreign service sector, respectively -- they provide numerous first hand accounts by women (many of whom are now dead) who actively participated in feminist organizations and worked for feminist goals. Similarly, I utilize the papers of many individual feminist activists as well as major feminist organizations to provide a contemporaneous historical record of the activities of feminist insiders and their place within the larger women's movement.

In addition, using a modified snowball sample, I interviewed women in the bureaucracy who were identified (either by the historical record or by other feminists) as active in the women's movement. During the course of these interviews, I asked the individuals to talk about their work in the federal government, their activities within the women's movement, and how the latter influenced the former. I also focused on their role in the development of formal organizations, their participation in specific types of movement actions, and the changing nature of their jobs and the agencies in which they worked.

These interviews provide a detailed retrospective view of their lives as feminist activists who worked for the federal government.

Unique Contribution to Recent Debates

The arguments in this volume provide distinctive contributions to current debates within the fields of social movements, women and politics, and political representation in the United States more generally.

Within the social movement literature, movement activists within government have traditionally been included in the concept of political opportunities which includes a wide array of factors that influence the existence and success of a social movement including institutional rules, critical events, allies both inside and outside of government and other political factors. Recently, a few authors have begun to examine the role of “institutional activists” defined as movement activists working within existing institutions (see for example Santoro, Wayne A. 1999. “Conventional Politics Takes Center Stage: The Latino Struggle against English-Only Laws.” Social Forces 77(3): 887-909. Santoro, Wayne A. and McGuire, Gail M. “Social Movement Insiders: The Impact of Institutional Activists on Affirmative Action and Comparative Worth Policies” 1997 Social Problems 44(4): 503-520). Several book-length manuscripts have examined such institutional activists in greater detail including Mary Fainsod Katzenstein’s Faithful and Fearless: Moving Feminist Protest inside the Church and the Military (1998: Princeton University Press), Amy Binder’s Contentious Curricula: Afro-centrism and Creationism in Public Schools (2002: Princeton University Press) and Nicole Raeburn’s Changing Corporate America From Inside Out (2004: University of Minnesota Press). This book adds to this initial literature by developing a general argument and set of testable propositions about how activists inside of the state can affect a movement and how the characteristics of both the movement and the nature of their position within government may shape the influence they have. While these other works have focused on the institutions of legislatures, churches, schools, religious organizations, and the scientific discipline, none has focused explicitly on the role of activists within the state. Although the state is important as the focus of policy change and in its position often in opposition to change, it has not been the focus of an in-depth analysis of the role of institutional activists.

The women and politics literature has paid scant attention to women in bureaucracies, focusing instead largely on women in elected office. Two exceptions have been the literature on feminist public policy (see for example Stetson and Mazur’s Comparative State Feminism (1995: Sage) and Eisenstein’s Inside Agitators (1996: Allen and Unwin)) and a theoretical literature focusing on the relationship between feminism and the state (see for example Chappell’s Gendering Government (2002: UBC Press) and Waylen and Randall’s Gender, Politics, and the State (1998: Routledge)). However, these literatures treat activists within the state either as part of an institutional strategy chosen by movements or as a separate category of individuals lying outside of a movement that shuns inside activities. This book differs from existing works on feminists within the bureaucracy by 1) accepting feminist activists within the bureaucracy as a part of the women’s movement and then asking how such activists affect both the movement and the state; 2) examining the expectation that feminist activists within the state must act

differently from those outside; and 3) providing the first in-depth history of a set of women who were vital to the U.S. women's movement.

Finally, issues of how activists become part of the state are part of a core of a wider literature on bureaucratic responsiveness and autonomy that raise wider questions about the democratic nature of government. One major concern in the literature on the bureaucracy has been the degree to which it responds to elected officials. This debate is divided into those who are concerned about the role of private interests in the bureaucracy (Heinz et al. The Hollow Core (1993: Harvard); Aberbach and Rockman In The Web of Politics (2000: Brookings) and those who see bureaucracies developing autonomous interests (Carpenter The Forging of Bureaucratic Autonomy (2001: Princeton). By focusing specifically on feminist activists who are bureaucrats, this book speaks to both literatures. I provide a unique focus on the consequences of the revolving door between interests and the bureaucracy by examining the role of activists within the bureaucracy. Since examinations of the revolving door have typically looked at corporate or trade association actors, I extend this argument to social movements. This suggests that there is wider interconnection between state and society than scholars have acknowledged. I also argue that the story of bureaucratic responsiveness is complex, affected more by heads of departments than by the president himself, and influenced by the institutional characteristics of the particular agency and its relationship to the specific issue.

Potential Appeal of the Book

The book will appeal to a wide audience in several subfields of political science and sociology. It will also be appropriate for use in classes for advanced undergraduates and graduate students.

Because the book makes a new theoretical argument about the connection of social movements to the state, I anticipate a wide readership among both political scientists and sociologists. Social movement scholars will be interested in its contributions to several current debates including the books reexamination of movement "institutionalization" as well as the critical look at the notion of choosing inside tactics. State scholars will be attracted by the analysis of multiple and often contradictory actors determining state action as well as the reinterpretation of the divide between state and society. The argument will also appeal to interest group scholars as it provides an in-depth analysis of the revolving door thesis – the idea that interest group activists moving in and out of government play a large role in influencing policy.

Because it provides an in-depth examination of a neglected part of the women's movement, and provides a fresh interpretation of the origins of the U.S. women's movement and many of the policies that resulted from it, I anticipate a wide readership in the women and politics subfield. In addition, the book will be of interest to the wider women's studies community because it examines in a critical light the issues of feminists' interaction with the state. I have also had several inquiries from feminist activists who have indicated interest in the book because of the book's focus on the

bureaucracy and on specific feminist activists whose lives have not yet been chronicled. Hence, there may be a market outside of the academic community.

Finally, the discussion of the women's movement over time and the social movement focus make the book appropriate for advanced undergraduate and graduate classes in social movements, women and politics and American interest groups.

Profile of the Author

Lee Ann Banaszak is associate professor of political science and women's studies at the Pennsylvania State University. She has been a Visiting Scholar/Professor at the Wissenschaftszentrum für Sozialforschung, Berlin and Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia. Her research focuses on women's movements in the United States and Western Europe, and the comparative study of public opinion on abortion, gender roles, and feminism. She is the author of Why Movements Succeed or Fail: Opportunity, Culture and the Struggle for Woman Suffrage (1996: Princeton University Press) and has edited two books on women's movements -- Women's Movements Facing a Reconfigured State (2003; Cambridge University Press with Karen Beckwith and Dieter Rucht) and U.S. Women's Movements in a Dynamic and Global Perspective (2005: Rowan and Littlefield). In addition she has written numerous articles and book chapters on women and politics in such venues as the American Political Science Review, Public Opinion Quarterly, Political Research Quarterly, and Politics and Gender. Her research has been supported by Fulbright grants, the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, the Swiss Government, and the American Political Science Association Small Grant Program. The current project has been awarded a Carrie Chapman Catt Prize for Research in Women and Politics, and the 2006 Sophonisba Breckinridge Award for the best women and politics paper presented at the Midwest Political Science Association.

Chapter Outline

Preface

Chapter One: The Women's Movement and the State: Blurring the Conceptual Boundaries. This chapter discusses the social movement literature and its dichotomous division between state and movement. It introduces the idea that social movements and the state may intersect to varying degrees and discusses how that intersection might influence the tactics, development and outcomes of social movements. In addition, it examines the women's studies literature on the relationship between women's movements and the state and argues that feminist concern about working within the state is based on a belief that individuals working within the state are limited in their tactics, ideology, and in what they can achieve. The chapter then foreshadows the rest of the book showing that such assumptions are not correct in the case of the American women's movement.

Chapter Two: Explaining Feminist Activists Inside the State? The Context of the Second Wave. This chapter describes the factors that led to the development of the second wave of the women's movement, focusing on specific factors that led to feminist networks within the bureaucracy. In particular, it discusses the first wave of the women's movement, which waned as the Nineteenth Amendment created divisions among feminists, and how those divisions influenced the revival of feminism in 1960. It also discusses changes in women's education and employment focusing specifically on the move of women into government positions and their employment patterns. Finally, because women lawyers within the federal bureaucracy were central in the story that was to follow, the chapter discusses the rise of women lawyers and why they tended to seek employment in the federal government.

Chapter Three: Who are Movement Insiders? This chapter discusses the characteristics of the feminist activists within the state focusing on two related questions. First, we examine what type of activists they were. This includes exploring the types of movement activities they participated in, whether they were drawn from a particular section of the movement, and also how they defined themselves and others as activists. These characteristics have important implications for how they related to and affected the movement as a whole. Second, we examine these feminist activists as members of the bureaucracy, focusing on their reasons for choosing government service, their location in particular departments or agencies, the types of positions they held and their career trajectories. I argue that we find feminist activists in a wide variety of locations within the federal government and that even in locations far removed from explicit policies on women these activists were able to alter policies in ways that had positive effects on the feminist movement.

Chapter Four: Mobilizing and Organizing the Second Wave. This chapter focuses on the role that women inside the state played in mobilizing the second wave. In particular, it discusses the major events that resulted in the rise of the women's movements, beginning with the Kennedy's Presidential Commission on the Status of Women and the development of the National Organization for Women. It then goes on to argue that although feminist insiders were largely professional women, they organized a wide range of organizations both inside and outside the state. While most focused on liberal feminist ideals, feminist activists were involved in a wide range of organizations some of which have been associated with other feminist ideologies. The chapter concludes that the relationship between personal characteristics may be more complex than histories of the women's movement suggest.

Chapter Five: Choosing Tactics Inside and Outside the State. This chapter examines the tactics used by feminists activists employed by the federal government. Both social movement and feminist theory have long assumed an association to being *located* inside the state and more conventional *tactics*. This chapter argues that this connection of location and strategy is false. An examination of the tactics of these feminist insiders showed that they were willing to take to the streets when they

believed it necessary. Indeed, one major difference was that feminist insiders were much more informed about alternative tactics (both inside and outside the state) and about the openings within government that existed. Thus, at several crucial points within the history of the women's movement, feminist insiders initiated outside action precisely because they knew that the government was closed to certain types of issues. Hence, the assumption that location inside the state necessarily leads to conventional activity is both false and ignores the strategic considerations of these activists.

Chapter Six: How Feminist Insiders Changed Policy. One impressive aspect of the women's movement has been its ability to create large social and legal changes which have fundamentally altered how women are viewed and treated. This chapter examines the role that feminists in government played in the creation of these changes. Feminist activists inside the state often served as initiators or behind the scenes supporters for policy changes that were finalized in Congress and the courts as well as in the executive branch itself. Moreover, the role of feminist activists in government continued after such policies were adopted because it was these feminist activists who assured that implementation of policy also reflected feminist values, even under hostile administrations. This chapter uses three case studies – Title IX, equal pay and women in development – to examine the role that feminist activists played in their role as government officials.

Chapter Seven: Changing with the Times: How Presidential Administrations Affect the Number and Role of Feminist Activists inside the State. Theories of political opportunities suggest that feminist activists should have greater opportunities when presidential administrations are sympathetic, but what happens to feminist activists within the state when the presidential administration is opposed to feminist goals? This question becomes particularly important as the women's movement goal of social change collides with the desire for responsiveness by the bureaucracy to elected officials. This chapter focuses on how the change of administrations affects feminist activists. It shows that on the one hand, the most visible feminist activists -- even those protected by the civil service -- are often forced from their jobs by hostile administrations. On the other hand, it shows that feminist activists can and do continue to exist and work during hostile administrations, often using subtler tactics to maintain previously gained policies. The chapter ends by discussing the implications for the literature on the bureaucracy that asks whether the bureaucracy is responsiveness to newly elected administrations.

Chapter Eight: Feminist Insiders: The Implications for Women's Movements and Social Movement Theory.

This concluding chapter reviews the major findings of the preceding chapters and discusses their implications. The active and important role that feminists inside the state played in the women's movement suggests that feminist theorists, who have largely argued that for autonomous action outside of the state, may be misguided. While government clearly constrains the actions that feminist activists can take, particularly under hostile administrations, abandoning the state may have done

consequences for achieving feminist changes. The chapter then discusses how a focus on activists within the state may explain differences in the organization and outcomes of different social movements. Using a comparison of the anti-Vietnam war, civil rights and women's movement it discusses how differential location within government and the goals and ideology of the movements themselves each help determine whether activists inside government can effect significant change. It goes on to show that the ability of activists within the state to effect change do influence the outcomes of these three movements.

Appendix A: Data Sources. This appendix briefly describes the sources of information on the women's movement used here. The first section describes the primary archives utilized and provides a list of the oral histories that were consulted. The second and more extensive section describes how the interviews with feminists within the federal bureaucracy were conducted. This discussion includes the definition of feminist activist within the state, the way interviewees were located, and the interview protocol. I also justify here the decision to focus on parts of the bureaucracy not usually identified as a source of women's policy.