argues that the mobilization and success of the U.S. women’s movement cannot be fully understood without recognizing the presence of feminist activist networks inside the federal government. Utilizing in-depth interviews and historical sources, Lee Ann Banaszak’s research documents the significant contributions that these insider activists made to the creation of feminist organizations and the vital roles that they played in the development and implementation of policies in many areas, including education, foreign policy, and women’s health. Banaszak also finds that working inside government did not always co-opt or deradicalize these activists. Banaszak’s research causes us to rethink our current understanding of many social movement concepts and processes, including political opportunities, movement institutionalization, and confrontational tactics, and it alters our conception of the interests and character of the American state.

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The Women’s Movement Inside and Outside the State
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LEE ANN BANASZAK

The Pennsylvania State University
To Joyce and Len,
the feminists who raised me

And to Clara and Isaac,
the future generation
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Acknowledgments

I am the offspring of the modern women’s movement. My mother was among the first women to run for mayor of a major municipality in my home state of Missouri. In middle school I remember the boys joining for the first time our required home economics class. As I considered where to go to college, I received a recruiting letter from West Point urging me to consider being in the second cohort of women there. While I encountered only a few women professors in my undergraduate and graduate studies, they were present enough that I never questioned my own career path. As I entered the ranks of academia, the university child care facilities that allowed me to combine my research with a family life were the product of the battles of an earlier generation of feminists and female academics.

The women’s movement I knew from my formative years was one of grassroots activism – women’s music festivals, local organizations fighting for the Equal Rights Amendment, and the neighborhood women’s health cooperative – and famous feminists like Gloria Steinem and Betty Friedan. It was a feminist movement that stood outside of the State, sometimes pressuring it to incorporate feminist policies and often opposing its institutional biases and conservative actions. Yet, on the other hand, I also was cognizant of a growing list of famous women politicians – Bella Abzug, Shirley Chisholm, and (coming from University City, Missouri) Harriett Woods – all of whom I identified less with the women’s movement than with the national political scene that fascinated me. Completely off my radar were feminist activists
working inside government, although I now see that they very much influenced my experiences as well.

While the story of second wave feminism has been told by many scholars more skilled than I, the story of this particular set of feminist activists – those that worked within the federal government – has largely remained untold although participants in the movement such as Betty Friedan and Jo Freeman have long noted their existence and the important effects they had on the movement. Where I have been overzealous in stating their achievements (and I do not wish to underplay the important contributions of those outside the state), it is perhaps because their story has been under the radar of most scholars of second wave feminism.

I would not have developed this book without the support of those feminist activists I studied. As should be clear by the description of the development of this project, I owe a great debt to all of the feminists who took the time from their very busy lives to give me a glimpse into their experiences and thoughts, and read my drafts with a careful eye to detail. Despite leading busy lives usually combining activism and the long work days of professional careers, the feminists I interviewed opened their homes to me, handed me valuable primary sources, and were ever accommodating when I would follow up on a specific question even years after the initial interview. I hope that I have done justice to all that they have told me.

There are many feminist activists who served in the federal government but died before I could talk to them: they include Catherine East, Morag Simchak, Caruthers Berger, Marguerite Rawalt, Sylvia Ellison, B. Ann Kleindienst, Elsa Chaney, Barbara Good, Anne Armstrong, and Caroline Cox. Some left extensive archives or oral histories that I could examine; others I know only because they lived in the memory of the activists I interviewed or were briefly mentioned in the historical record. Each of these women came alive, to varying degrees, in the course of my research, and each played important roles in the women’s movement from inside the state.

Even with the extensive support provided by these feminist activists, this manuscript could not have been written without the additional help of a number of individuals and institutions. Several social scientists provided valuable assistance during the course of my research. Jo Freeman gave me an initial list of insider feminists to interview and
Acknowledgments

helped to introduce me to many of the first women I interviewed. Laura Woliver and Betty Glad shared archives from the National Institute of Health’s Self Help for Women’s Rights organization while Alice S. Rossi aided me in the search to find the data from her 1982 book. Numerous scholars took the time to comment on earlier drafts including Mark Anner, Frank Baumgartner, Karen Beckwith, Francis Chen, Cynthia Harrison, Valerie Jenness, Sally Kenny, Mary Katzenstein, Miki Caul Kittilson, Patrick Le Galès, Joni Lovenduski, Susanne Mettler, John McCarthy, David S. Meyer, Sue Tolleson Rinehart, Dieter Rucht, Marian Sawer, John Skrentny, Winston Tripp, S. Laurel Weldon, Celia Valiente, Angelika von Wahl, and Edward Walker. I am particularly grateful to the three anonymous reviewers for Cambridge University Press who provided me with wonderfully thoughtful comments on an earlier draft of the manuscript.

I am also exceedingly grateful to the graduate and undergraduate students who provided research assistance in the course of my work, including Jeremy Deck, Hilary Ferrel, Corrine Harkcom, Petya Kirilova, Tiffany Yankowski, Aleks Petrykowska, and Marie Pierson. Jiso Yoon deserves special mention, because she provided invaluable aid at the end of the process, helping develop the comparative perspective of the final chapter and undertaking the numerous tasks that are needed to create a polished manuscript.

I have also benefited from comments and suggestions that I received at a number of conferences. Early on, a conference in Social Movements and Public Policy supported by The Center for the Study of Democracy at the University of California Irvine provided initial opportunities to examine the theoretical implications of movement–state intersections. A conference on the American State at Oxford University organized by Des King and Larry Jacobs allowed me to hone the argument about how movement–state intersections have affected the American State. Input from a number of scholars at the first European Conference on Gender and Politics in Belfast convened by Karen Celis and Johanna Kantola helped me better to understand how my research speaks to current feminist scholarship on state feminism. Finally, I have benefited from the input of scholars at successive American Political Science Association meetings where I have presented parts of this research. I would like to particularly thank Joyce Outshoorn, Karen Celis, Johanna Kantola, Alice Woodward, Laurel Weldon, Eileen
McDonagh, Fiona McKay, Louise Chappell, and Jill Vickers for insightful questions or comments on the work. If any errors or problems remain with the manuscript, it is certainly my own fault and not because I lacked excellent feedback.

Good librarians and archives are vital to any research endeavor, and I have benefited throughout from both the holdings of a number of fine institutions as well as the librarians that make them accessible. The Schlesinger Library at Harvard University’s Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study provided a wealth of archives of the modern women’s movement and the librarians there – particularly Sarah Hutcheon, Ellen Shea, Diana Carey, Katherine Kraft and Anne Engelhart – were incredibly helpful. At The Pennsylvania State University, Lee Stout helped me locate materials in the “A Few Good Women” collection even as it was being developed; and Helen Sheehy and Stephen Woods in the Social Science library of Paterno Library provided considerable aid, particularly in locating the census and historical materials in Chapter 2. Finally, Heidi Rubenstein at the Lauinger Library of Georgetown University was especially helpful in providing information and locating materials from the Georgetown Foreign Affairs Oral History Project. I have benefited greatly from all of their expertise.

As Virginia Woolf understood, writers (even academics) need a space in which to work. In the course of this project, I have benefited from the provision of physical space offered me by a number of institutions and individuals. Pennsylvania State University has been my academic home from the beginning of this project and deserves much thanks for its support. But I also began and ended this project during research leaves at the Wissenschaftszentrum für Sozialforschung, Berlin. I am particularly grateful to Friedrich Neidhardt who provided me an academic home in 2000 as I was developing the idea of movement–state intersections that eventually became this book, and to Dieter Rucht and Dieter Gosewinkel who hosted me in the Forschungsgruppe Zivilgesellschaft, Citizenship und politische Mobilisierung as I made the final edits. Equally importantly, Anny Wong, Sara Banaszak, and Koa opened their home to me and plied me with good food and conversation during my many research visits to Washington, DC. In all these cases, the intellectual atmosphere was as important as the physical space that was provided.
Acknowledgments

Other institutions provided the financial means that allowed me to complete this research. Research leaves in 2000 and 2008–09 were funded by The Pennsylvania State University and by the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation’s Bundeskanzler Fellowship. I also benefited from the financial support provided by a grant from the Research Office of the College of Liberal Arts at Pennsylvania State, which supported travel for interviews and a research assistant. A Research Support Grant from the Schlesinger Library at Harvard University’s Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study financed a three-week trip to the library that allowed me to delve deeply into the archives there. In addition, a Carrie Chapman Catt Honorable Mention Prize for Research on Women and Politics helped to pay for additional research assistance at a critical juncture.

I also want to thank those who have helped move the manuscript into published form. Lew Bateman has been wonderfully supportive as an editor throughout the writing process. Mark Fox, Emily Spangler, and Shelby Peak have done a great job of marshalling the manuscript through the production process. Jennifer Carey provided invaluable help with the production of the book. Oxford University Press kindly granted permission for me to republish parts of my chapter “Moving Feminist Activists Inside the American State” from *The Unsustainable American State* edited by Desmond King and Lawrence Jacobs (2009).

Above all, though, this manuscript owes its existence to my family. The Herculean abilities of my spouse Eric Plutzer, who balanced unconditional support for the project with thoughtful criticism while assuming the lion’s share of the household tasks and child care during many periods were critical to the manuscript’s completion. Isaac Banaszak Plutzer and Clara Banaszak Plutzer also contributed to the manuscript’s completion in part with comments (such as the need for more pictures or a catchier title like *Little Dog Lost in Forest*) but more significantly in giving up a large number of days with me while I interviewed, wrote drafts, and polished the manuscript. Thank you for putting up with it all.