

The Women's Movement Inside and Outside the State

The Women's Movement Inside and Outside the State 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.

Lee Ann Banaszak is currently associate professor of political science and women's studies at the Pennsylvania State University. She is the author of *Why Movements Succeed or Fail: Opportunity, Culture and the Struggle for Woman Suffrage* (1996) and the editor of *Women's Movements Facing the Reconfigured State* (Cambridge, 2003, with Karen Beckwith and Dieter Rucht) and *The U.S. Women's Movement in Global Perspective* (2005). Her articles have appeared in such journals as the *American Political Science Review*, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *Political Research Quarterly*, *Politics & Gender*, and *Electoral Studies*.

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LEE ANN BANASZAK
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*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.

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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.

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