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The Power of Place:
Structure, Culture, and Continuities in U.S. Women's Movements

By

Laura K. Nelson

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Sociology

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Kim Voss, Chair

Professor Raka Ray

Professor Robin Einhorn

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Abstract

The Power of Place:
Structure, Culture, and Continuities in U.S. Women's Movements

by

Laura K. Nelson

Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology

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Professor Kim Voss, Chair

This dissertation challenges the widely accepted historical accounts of women's movements in the United States. Second-wave feminism, claim historians, was unique because of its development of radical feminism, defined by its insistence on changing consciousness, its focus on women being oppressed as a sex-class, and its efforts to emphasize the political nature of personal problems. I show that these features of second-wave radical feminism were not in fact unique but existed in almost identical forms during the first wave. Moreover, within each wave of feminism there were debates about the best way to fight women's oppression. As radical feminists were arguing that men as a sex-class oppress women as a sex-class, other feminists were claiming that the social system, not men, is to blame. This debate existed in both the first and second waves. Importantly, in both the first and the second wave there was a geographical dimension to these debates: women and organizations in Chicago argued that the social system was to blame while women and organizations in New York City argued that men were to blame. My dissertation documents, clarifies, and explains the geographical divide in these positions. Rather than seeking differences between the first and second wave as most historians have done, I claim we should investigate regional differences within waves and continuities between waves. We cannot understand the second wave without understanding its connections to the first wave.

I conceive of the women's movement as a field, consisting of a network—actors who are connected to one another—and a cognitive framework—a set of background assumptions about the way the world works. The women's-movement fields in New York City and Chicago, I argue, were distinct. I present a heuristic of overlapping waves for understanding the unique shape of different women's-movement fields. The women's-movement field, consisting of organizations that embody different cognitive frameworks, overlaps with the larger left milieu within a city. If an organization within the women's-movement field is in sync with the larger left milieu it will be amplified, just as two overlapping sound waves that are in sync are amplified, while organizations out of sync with the left milieu will be diminished or canceled. Because every city has a left milieu with a different cultural wave pattern, the same organization may be amplified in one city and canceled in a different city. As a result, each city has a distinct field.

The dissertation supports this argument through four substantive chapters. The first

substantive chapter, chapter 2, presents a historical narrative that demonstrates qualitative differences between the ways women approached politics in New York City and Chicago in both the first and second waves. These different approaches were influenced by the larger left milieu in which women were embedded in the two cities. Overall, the New York City left milieu was open, diverse, and extensible, encouraging self-expression and the creation of new forms and narratives in multiple arenas, including politics. Here, women in the first wave organized independently as feminists around gender universalist politics. Chicago was alternatively establishing itself as the center of revolutionary working-class politics, nurturing the development of unique and influential socialist and anarchist organizations. Here, feminists were embedded in left organizations fighting against capitalism, and they intimately linked gender politics with class politics. I show that this difference was repeated in the second wave, with socialist feminist groups in Chicago and radical feminist groups in New York City.

Chapter 3 presents the women's movement in each city as distinct fields. This chapter measures the structure of each field through a network analysis of social-movement organizations within and connected to the women's movement. This chapter shows that the structure of the women's-movement field in Chicago in both periods was relatively centralized compared to the structure in New York City, and also that women—and women's-movement organizations—were embedded in the larger left compared to New York City's relatively independent women's-movement organizations. I additionally determine the structural position of individual organizations within each field, identifying which organizations were most central in each city and each time period: Hull House in Chicago in the first wave and Chicago Women's Liberation Union (CWLU) in the second wave, and Heterodoxy in New York City in the first wave and Redstockings in the second wave.

In Chapter 4 I use computer-assisted text analysis to determine the cognitive frameworks embodied in these four central organizations, effectively measuring the culture of these fields. I find that Hull House and CWLU embodied a cognitive framework that assumed social change happens through institutions and is achieved through short-term goals around particular issues that win concrete changes. Heterodoxy and Redstockings in New York City embodied a cognitive framework that assumed social change happens through individuals and is achieved by changing the individual consciousness of women through abstracting from their individual experiences to build solidarity and make claims about social structures. Fully understanding any one field, I argue, requires analyzing both the structure and culture of the field.

Chapter 5 turns to the question of how we might explain the persistence of these fields over time. I present evidence for two explanations. I first present evidence of institutional legacies within each city—the same types of organizations were founded in the first and second waves in each city. I also demonstrate that co-existing first- and second-wave organizations provided concrete mechanisms connecting the two waves. I use historical narrative to suggest three different mechanisms through which the second-wave women's movement was concretely connected to the first wave: (1) first- and second-wave organizations interacted through common issues, represented by the case of Planned Parenthood in Chicago, (2) they interacted through common alignments, represented by the case of the Women's City Club of New York City, and (3) they shared ideas, represented by the case of Women Strike for Peace. The women's movement, I argue, should not be thought of as two distinct waves but as one continuous movement that ebbs and flows over time.

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Chapter 1 — Introduction

“Every institution oppresses women as long as the society is based on the oppression of women. Our struggle against sexism is against those institutions, social relations and ideas which divide women and keep them powerless, and subservient to men.”

(Chicago Women’s Liberation Union Hyde Park Chapter 1972)

“Attempts have been made to shift the burden of responsibility from men to institutions or to women themselves. We condemn these arguments as evasions. Institutions alone do not oppress; they are merely tools of the oppressor. To blame institutions implies that men and women are equally victimized, obscures the fact that men benefit from the subordination of women, and gives men the excuse that they are forced to be oppressors.”

(Redstockings 1969)

“What goes largely unexamined, often even unacknowledged (yet is institutionalized nonetheless) in our social order, is the birthright priority whereby males rule females. . . . However muted its present appearance may be, sexual dominion obtains nevertheless as perhaps the most pervasive ideology of our culture and provides its most fundamental concept of power.”

(Millett 1970, 25)

“The history, such as it was, was made and written by men. The mental, the mechanical, the social development, was almost wholly theirs. We have, so far, lived and suffered and died in a man-made world. So general, so unbroken, has been this condition, that to mention it arouses no more remark than the statement of a natural law. We have taken it for granted, since the dawn of civilization, that "mankind" meant men-kind, and the world was theirs.”

(Gilman 1911, 17)

In 1970, as the second-wave women's liberation movement was gaining momentum and the words *feminism* and *women's lib* were entering popular parlance, a debate was raging within the radical wing of this movement, represented by the first two passages above: do we blame the oppression of women on institutions, or do we blame it on men? The way an organization answered this question shaped their structure, their tactics, and their goals. Organizations that answered the question with *institutions* wanted to change them—workplaces that were unfriendly toward women, medical and legal institutions that ignored the unique needs of

women, or educational institutions that assumed women would not want careers. Organizations that answered the question with *men* wanted to change the privileges granted to men themselves. They worked to expose the ideology of patriarchy that granted men unfettered access to women's bodies, they openly challenged men's privileges to political and economic status, and they advocated for individual men to stop oppressing the women in their lives, by, for example, persuading them to take more responsibility for housework.

This question—do we blame oppression on institutions or individuals—is not unique to the women's movement. It spans movements and issues. Do we blame greedy white land owners for Black slavery, or do we blame the economic system that thrived on abundant slave labor? Can economic inequality be explained by the work-habits of rich people versus poor people, or does the system of capitalism inherently promote inequality?

Noteworthy about this question as it unfolded within the second-wave women's movement was the particular geographical organization of those on either side of the debate. Women in the two major U.S. cities during the 1970s fell on opposite sides of this debate: in Chicago they predominantly blamed institutions, while in New York City they predominantly blamed men.

The question at the center of my dissertation is why? Why was there a geographical divide for the opposing sides of the main debate during the second-wave women's liberation movement? Was this a historical accident? Was this unique to this moment in history? Or is there a deeper and less arbitrary answer? Is there something about Chicago and New York City that produced organizations that maintained opposite answers to the question of what, or who, causes women's oppression?

Answering these questions requires reaching back in U.S. history to when feminism was first developing as an independent movement in the 1910s. The story involves institutional legacy, social and political fields, and the influence of culture on social movements. This is a story about the cultural differences between two major U.S. cities and the impact these political cultures had on the women's organizations embedded within. It involves a theory about the distinct political cultures within U.S. cities and the persistence of these cultures over time. In short, this is a story about the growth, institutionalization, and persistence of regionally distinct women's movement fields.

By re-telling the history of U.S. women's movement I show that women in Chicago and New York City started to develop fundamentally different approaches to fighting women's oppression in the late 1800s, a difference that was first institutionalized in the early 1900s. These different styles persisted for five decades, enduring through two world wars and the great depression, and re-emerged with force during the rise of the second-wave women's movement in the 1960s and 1970s. While scholars typically isolate the second-wave movement as a unique moment within the overall trajectory of U.S. women's movements, I claim it was not unique at all, with elements of their political styles, tactics, and ideologies first formed in the early 1900s. We cannot understand the second-wave movement, or the debates happening within this movement, without accounting for the persistent underlying political styles left over from the first wave.

In this introduction I provide the historical and theoretical framework for this story. I first review the commonly accepted historical account of U.S. women's movements and suggest why we should doubt it. I then set the stage for the case study presented in this dissertation: comparing the women's movements in New York City and Chicago over time, 1868-1974. I then formulate theories that can help us make sense of the development of the women's movements

within these cities: the institutionalization of city character, the persistence of institutional legacies, and field theory. I conclude by posing an institutional and field inspired theory of overlapping waves to account for local women's movements.

Established History: Women's Movements in Waves

Sociologists and historians who discuss women's movements in the United States typically adopt a wave heuristic, where they describe the U.S. women's movement as happening in (at least) three waves. The woman suffrage movement, culminating in the passage of the nineteenth “woman suffrage” amendment in 1920, is seen as the center of what is commonly called the first-wave women's movement. The second-wave movement occurred in the 1960s and 1970s and included two wings: the women's rights wing, involving large liberal women's organizations like the National Organization for Women, and the women's liberation wing, comprised of smaller, locally-focused radical organizations. The third-wave began sometime in the 1980s, and shifted the focus to intersectionality and individual expression. Because this wave metaphor permeates almost every account of U.S. women's movements written after 1975, I start with a retelling of this account.

The beginning of the first wave is typically marked by the first women's rights convention in the United States, held in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848. The women who organized this convention had been actively involved in abolitionism—the organized movement to end slavery—and they had recently traveled together to the first World's Anti-Slavery Convention, held in London in 1840, to actively participate in the world abolitionist movement. At this conference, however, these activist women were forbidden from participating because they were women, and they were forced to watch the proceedings from the balcony. As they watched they talked to one another, and discussed the many ways they, too, were oppressed, as women. Deciding that the time was right to address their own issues, they organized the Seneca Falls Convention which kicked off the first-wave women's movement (Wellman 2004). The conference focused on a number of rights that were, at that time, denied to women, including the right to vote, the right to own property and keep their own wages when married, the right to pursue an education, and the right to divorce on the same grounds as men (Stanton, Gordon, and Anthony 1997). As women began to organize to change these laws they eventually settled on suffrage as the centerpiece of this movement, embarking on the long, difficult battle to change the constitution to grant women the right to vote. The passage of the nineteenth “woman suffrage” amendment in 1920 marked the end of the first-wave movement.

After women won the right to vote their movement retreated to the background, remaining active but not as publicly visible as the pre-1920s years. These years, beginning around 1920 and lasting through the 1950s, are typically called the “doldrums”, where less women's movement activity occurred (Rupp and Taylor 1987). This state of affairs changed in the early 1960s when what scholars call the second-wave women's movement rocketed into the public sphere. The second-wave women's movement was started largely by *liberal feminists*, who worked for women's equality through political, legal, and customary reforms. Second-wave feminists fought for reforms like equal pay, anti-discrimination laws, reproductive rights, anti-harassment laws, and equal protection under the law (Tong 2013). Two major events marked the beginning of the second-wave movement: the publication of Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* in 1963, which captured the minds of women who were unhappy with their restricted roles as housewives, and the formation of the influential National Organization for Women

(NOW), formed in 1966 by Friedan and other liberal feminists. NOW, and other large, mass membership organizations like the Women's Political Equity League, were the primary organizations within one wing of the second-wave movement: the women's rights wing (see, e.g., Evans 1980).

There was an additional wing of the second-wave movement that expanded the scope of women's rights activism to include social, cultural, and personal issues; this wing is commonly called *women's liberation*. Women's liberationists were typically younger than those in the women's rights wing, and many had been active in the civil rights and new left movements of the 1960s. Frustrated with the way they were being treated in these other left movements (they were often relegated to background work like printing fliers and making coffee), fed up with the refusal of new left men to address issues important to women, and dissatisfied with the limited reforms proposed by the existing women's rights organizations like NOW, women's liberationists broke away from the established left and the women's rights wing to form more radical, women-only organizations. Those involved in the women's liberation wing wanted more than reforms: they wanted a complete revolution, one that would change the nature of society and the consciousness of both men and women, eliminating the oppression of women for good. While there were many different theories of women's oppression within this wing, one theory, radical feminism, dominated. Unlike liberal feminists who believed the root of women's oppression lay in the laws preventing women's equal participation in the public sphere, radical feminists believed that women's oppression was rooted in a system of patriarchal gender relationships in which men—politically, legally, socially, and morally—subordinated women. Legal changes would never be enough, they claimed, as these changes left patriarchy as a system intact. To rid society of this patriarchal system, radical feminists believed in the need for system-wide changes that would penetrate every social institution, including marriage, sexual relationships, and the nuclear family.

The second-wave movement reached its height in the mid to late 1970s. In the late 1970s the movement began to focus almost solely on getting the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) ratified as a constitutional amendment. The ERA had passed both houses of Congress in 1972 and was sent to the states for ratification. By the 1982 deadline the ERA had not been ratified, and this failure is typically used to mark the end of the second-wave women's movement.

Third-wave feminism, which began in the 1980s and by some accounts is still happening today, takes a more “post-structuralist” interpretation of gender and sexuality, believing in the contingent and discursive nature of all identities, including gender, gender expression, and sexuality. Third-wave feminists typically employ a micropolitics approach, writing about forms of gender expression and representation. Their activism often focuses on fashion and style, or individual expression, as a feminist statement, rather than aiming to lobby congress, as liberal feminists in the second wave did (Edelman 2001; Henry 2004). Third-wave feminists are also consciously and vocally sensitive to multiple intersecting identities, including race, class, and sexual orientation. They interrogate how these intersections impact the development of feminist consciousness and how they shape political and cultural identity (Lorde 1984; hooks 2000).

The wave metaphor was first articulated in the early moments of the 1960s phase of the women's movement by feminist and historian Ellen DuBois in her essay “Feminism Old Wave and New Wave” (1971). Others in this phase of the movement adopted this concept, and it has remained the principle framework for understanding women's activism in the United States. One shortcoming in this account is that the time-line is based on middle-class, white women's activism. Researchers have demonstrated that activism practiced by women of color, and all

working-class women, follows different time-lines. Labor historian Dorothy Sue Cobble, for example, detailed the influential activism of working-class women in the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s, between the two supposed waves of activism (Cobble 2005). Similarly, Benita Roth showed that the Black feminist movement and the Chicana feminist movements also surged on a different time-line, forming at least ten years after the white feminist movement (Roth 2004). The timing of working-class feminism and Black and Chicana feminism was influenced by the relationship between these movements and their male-dominated counterparts. The labor movement surged in the 1930s, followed by a surge in labor feminism, and Black feminism and Chicana feminism rose in the mid-1970s and increased through the 1980s, influenced by the timing of the Black power movement and Chicano's rights movement. Rather than assuming that there is *one* or *the* women's movement that followed the three wave trajectory, Cobble and Roth encourage examining other women's movements, recognizing the different trajectory of these movements, and including the influence of outside movements on their structure and timing.

While a focus on middle class, white activism in establishing the common women's movement time-line is a glaring issue, there are additional problems with this wave metaphor. First, the wave analogy encourages researchers to search for, and define, similarities within waves and differences across waves. This inclination has masked within-wave differences and between-wave continuities. The two passages cited at the beginning of this chapter begin to challenge the assumption that the second wave was completely coherent, even within one wing of the second-wave movement, or that it was innovative and completely different from the first wave. The first two passages are from two organizations within the second-wave women's liberation movement that are traditionally described as having a similar, revolutionary, approach to fighting women's oppression. As these two quotes show, however, these two organizations had opposing views on one aspect of women's oppression—the role of institutions. Furthermore, each of the two passages in the second set presents a theory that society is based on the rule of men over women, and both passages suggest that this situation goes largely unquestioned in society. The first of these passages is from the second wave, unsurprising as this theory of patriarchy made the second wave famous. But the second quote is from the first wave, a movement supposedly only focused on narrow political rights. How does the wave theory explain this marked similarity between the waves? There are many more differences within the second-wave movement and similarities between the first- and second-wave movement that have not yet been fully explored, a negligence perhaps encouraged by an over-reliance on the wave heuristic.

The wave metaphor additionally encourages researchers to focus only on the short-term when explaining the form of women's movement organizations within a wave. So, for example, researchers have alternatively identified the origins of second-wave feminism in the increased competition for jobs after WWII (Rosenfeld and Ward 1991), in the discontent produced by the conservatism of the 1950s (Rosen 2000), and in the civil rights movements (Rosen 2000; Evans 1980). Scholars have explained the form of the organizations within this movement by describing the government experience of its participants for the women's rights wing, and by describing the similarities between the civil rights movement, the new left, and the women's liberation wing. The tactics that dominated the second-wave women's movement, for example consciousness-raising, are still described today as endemic to the second wave. Researchers rarely examine how earlier women's movements directly (or indirectly) influenced the second-wave movement, as they assume the first wave was completely separate from the second wave, and this, I show throughout this dissertation, is a mistake.

Indeed, as the passages at the beginning of the chapter suggest, the development of the theory of patriarchy that is attributed to the second-wave women's liberation movement was actually first articulated as far back as the 1910s in the United States. Similarly, as I will show in Chapter 2, the idea that the personal is political, and the idea that women need to “raise the consciousness” about the role of patriarchy in their lives, commonly claimed as unique to the second-wave women's liberation movement, was also first articulated in the 1910s. To make matters more interesting, this particular approach to the oppression of women, the one that blames men for the oppression of women, was organizationally grounded in New York City in *both* the first wave and the second wave, and this form of feminism never gained prominence in the other major center of women's activism, Chicago, in both periods. The historical records suggest that what we think of as second-wave feminism is actually New York City-style feminism.

My dissertation provides substantial evidence to support this contention. Instead of focusing on how the women's movement changed over time, I shift the focus to continuity over time and differences between regions in both waves. I show that there were meaningful and fundamental differences between the way women approached women's movement activism in two large cities in the United States in the 1910s: Chicago and New York City. I further demonstrate that the difference between the women's movement in Chicago and New York City in the first wave was the same as the difference between these two cities in the second wave, substantiating within-wave differences and between-wave continuity. My account directly challenges the typical explanation of women's movements by focusing on the movements on which this account was formed, the largely middle-class and the largely white movements. I claim that regional differences better explain the structure and ideology of these dominant women's movements than temporal differences. In particular, the structure and ideology of the second-wave women's movement can not be explained without understanding the direct influence of the first-wave movement on this later movement. Before articulating the theories that provide the framework for this thesis, I first warrant a comparison of the women's movements in New York City and Chicago as a case study.

New York City and Chicago

Historically, the center of women's political activity has been in major U.S. cities. This actually distinguishes the women's movement from some other major social movements. Individual workplaces are often the center of labor movement activity for example, and some of the major moments in labor history happened in small company towns centered on one factory or mine, like Patterson, New Jersey, and Ludlow, Colorado. Major events in the mid twentieth-century civil rights movement happened in the U.S. south, where segregation remained legal long after the north changed laws, and the Black community was organized through Black churches and Black colleges (McAdam 1982). Unlike the labor movement and the civil rights movement, women's movements organized in big cities, where they can draw support from dense urban areas. These urban centers have historically enabled women to develop strong social ties with one another that allowed them to act in unorthodox ways, more so than in homologous small towns where traditional social norms were much more pervasive (cf. Nicholls 2008). The networks women were able to create in cities facilitated the formation of a normative framework that, once established, then spread to other areas, including the small towns that were often resistant to change.

Secondary literature suggests that major U.S. cities were early players in various stages of women's movements. While women's organizations and feminism in general existed across the United States, the major unique organizational and theoretical developments happened first in major US cities. Almost every major development within women's movements in the United States, throughout their long existence, happened in large urban cities, such as Boston, Chicago, New York City, and Washington D.C.¹ I claim that geography matters when it comes to the content and form of those organizational and theoretical developments. To support this claim I am comparing women's movements in New York City and Chicago, two major cities which were both at the center of women's movements in the U.S. but which fell on different sides of the defining debate in the women's liberation movement: whether the focus for change should be on men or institutions.

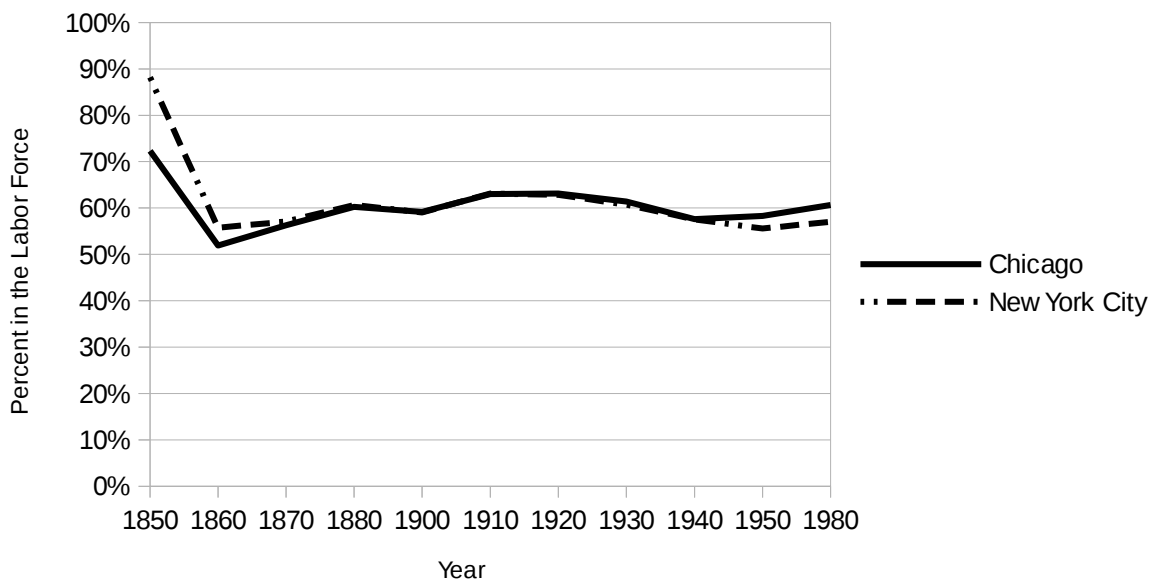
One way to undertake successful comparative sociology is to find cases that are similar in almost every way, but different in the outcome of interest. New York City and Chicago meet this requirement for my purposes. In the period of my study these two cities were similar in two significant aspects, demography and political history, and they have historically been at the forefront of political advances in women's activism. However, over this period they have also had different types of women's movements that have persistently fallen on different sides of key debates. The broad similarities between New York City and Chicago, the history of women's political action in each city, and a few key differences within the women's movements in these two cities make them an ideal comparison to understand questions around structure and culture in the long-term development of women's movements.

New York City and Chicago were decidedly similar in size and demographics during the period under study. According to the U.S. Census, from 1890 to 1970 New York City and Chicago ranked number 1 and 2, respectively, as the largest cities in the U.S.,² making New York City known as *the* major US metropolitan area and giving Chicago its nickname of “second city.” The Census reports broad similarities in the demographics of these two cities over time. Figure 1.1 shows an almost identical employment rate in New York City and Chicago over the years, Figure 1.2 shows a similar percentage of workers in manufacturing in each city, and Figure 1.3 shows the same for the percentage of workers who were professionals in each. New York City had a slightly higher percentage of manufacturers in 1850, but Chicago caught up in the early 1900s, and Chicago and New York City had a similarly sized professional class over the decades. The class make-up of these two cities was thus similar. The ethnic makeup of these two cities was also largely similar. In 1900 both New York City and Chicago had a predominantly first or second generation population. The Census reports that in both cities only 26% of the population were born in the U.S. and had parents who were born in the United States. This means that 74% of the population in both cities were either first or second generation immigrants. Figure 1.4 shows the national background of the populations in each city in 1910. In both New York City and Chicago Germans were the largest ethnic group, followed by the Irish. New York City differed slightly from Chicago by being home to a large Italian immigrant population. In short, both of these cities were the premiere destination for European immigrants looking for jobs in the U.S. In 1940, when immigration into these two cities from Europe had stalled, the Census

-
- 1 One exception is the first women's rights conference that happened in 1848 in a small town in New York, Seneca Falls. The outcome of this conference, however, was women bringing their experience into their home towns, and major long-standing organizations being nurtured in major cities like New York, Chicago, Boston, and Washington D.C.
 - 2 Los Angeles took over as the second most populated city in the United States in the 1980 census.

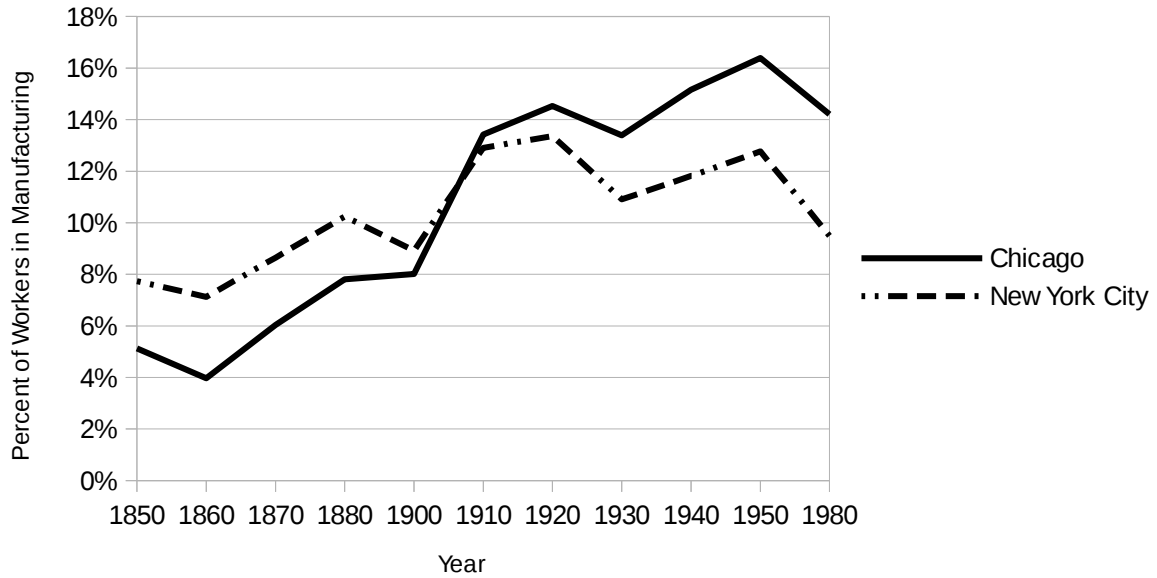
reports a similar racial makeup of the two cities: 91.7% of the population in Chicago was white and 8.2% Black, while 93.6% of the population was white and 6.15% Black in New York City. In sum, demographically, these two cities were very similar.

Figure 1.1: Percent in the Labor Force in Chicago and New York City, by Year



Note: Data from the U.S. Census Bureau. Variable “labforce.” I dropped the option N/A.
Source: Ruggles et al. 2010.

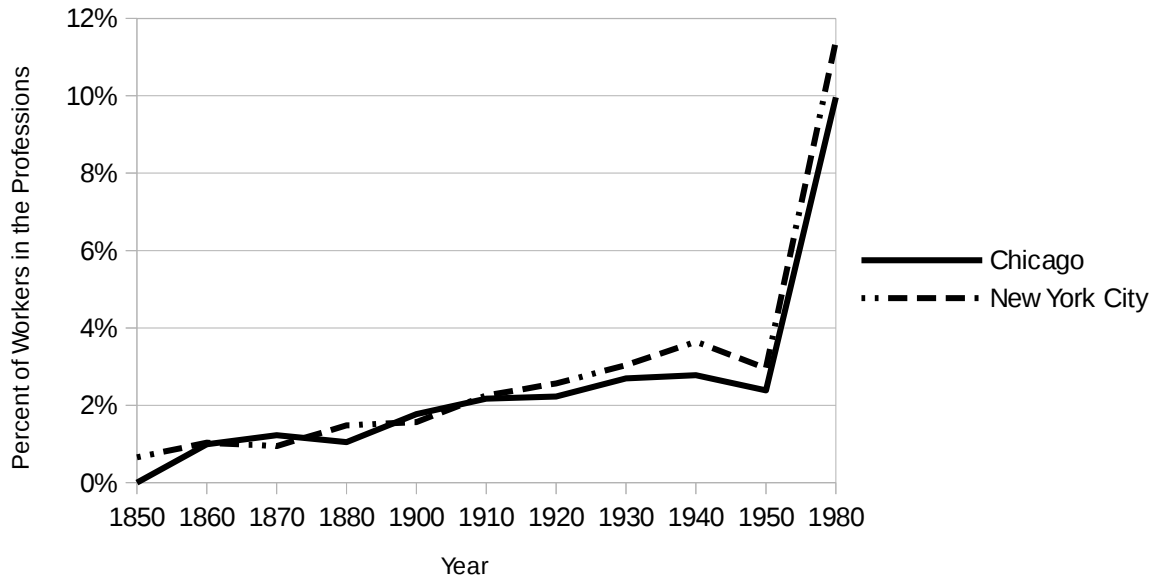
Figure 1.2: Percentage of Workers in Manufacturing in Chicago and New York City, by Year



Note: Data came from the U.S. Census. The graph indicates the percent of those in the labor force who were coded between 306 and 499 in the 1950 Industry Code.

Source: Ruggles et al. 2010.

Figure 1.3: Percent of Workers in the Profession in Chicago and New York City, by Year

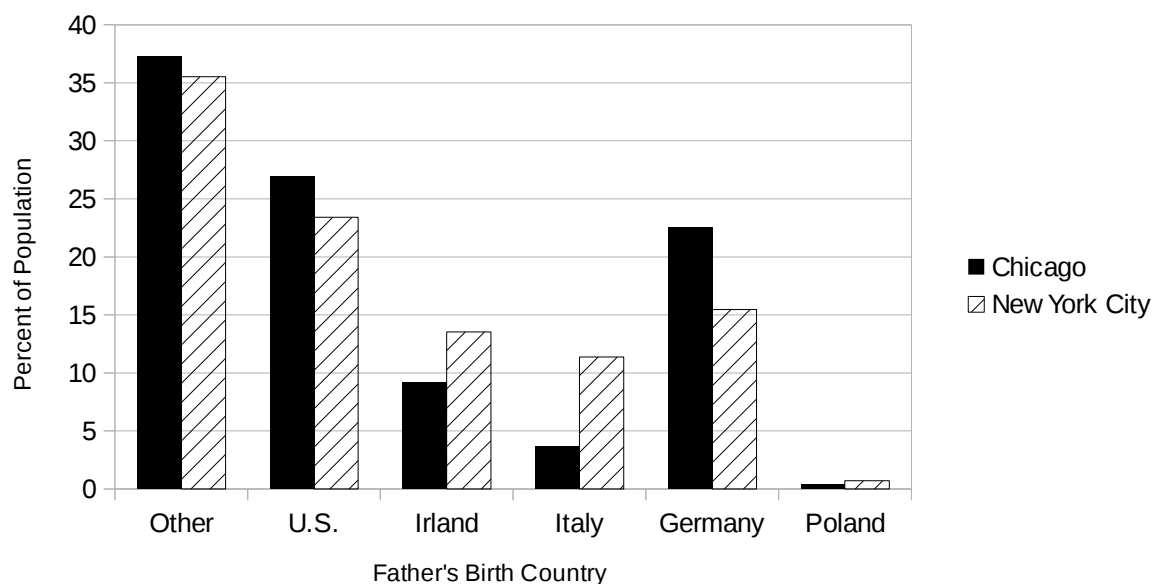


Note: Data came from the U.S. Census. The graph indicates the percentage of those in the labor force coded between 868 and 899 in the 1950 Industry Code.

Source: Ruggles et al. 2010.

Figure 1.4:

Percentage of Population by Father's Birth Country in Chicago and New York City, 1910



Note: Data from the U.S Census, question on Father's Birthplace, general version.

Source: Ruggles et al. 2010.

Additionally, New York City and Chicago have historically held similar political leanings. Both tend to be more politically liberal and most often vote Democratic. Chicago has not elected a Republican mayor since 1927, and New York City has not been carried by a Republican in a statewide or presidential election since 1924. Both cities are known for their “political machine” political parties. Tammany Hall, the Democratic Party political machine, controlled the New York City government from the 1850s through the 1950s (Burrows and Wallace 1999; Allen 1993), while the Cook County Democratic Party, one of the most powerful political machines in the U.S., controlled the Chicago government from the 1890s through at least the 1980s (Royko 1988). Both cities are additionally well-known for their progressive, and sometimes radical, activism (Storch 2007) and for their counter-cultural activities throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Wetzsteon 2002; Rosemont 2003; Moscato 2009).

Importantly for my purposes, New York City and Chicago have long been early and central players in women's politics. Women's organizations in Chicago began directly confronting woman suffrage as early as 1868, and Illinois women won the right to vote in all state and federal elections in 1913 (Buechler 1986). Suffragists in New York started an active campaign for universal suffrage as early as 1867, and the National American Woman Suffrage Association was headquartered in New York City from 1900 to 1919 (with a small stint in the middle in Ohio). New York State granted women suffrage in 1917, only a few years after the first major suffrage parades in the nation took over the streets of New York City, which occurred in

1912 and 1913 (Stanton et al. 1881; DuBois 1998).

Women's rights activities during the first wave in these two cities went far beyond suffrage. Chicago was home to Jane Addams and her settlement-house movement, which became a center of Chicago community activism, women's rights education and activism, and the labor movement. Hull House became the most influential settlement house in the United States, and it pioneered many municipal reforms, primarily benefiting women and children. Addams was also active in the international scene, presiding over the 1915 international meeting which established the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, a key organization in the international women's movement (Rupp 1998). New York City was also central to women's rights activity. It is known as the location of the first self-proclaimed feminists and feminist organizations, most notably Heterodoxy and the Feminist Alliance, founded in 1912 and 1914 respectively, and it produced much of the initial feminist literature coming out of this period (Cott 1987).

Both cities were also central to working-class women's organizing in the 1900s and 1910s. Both had large branches of the Women's Trade Union League (WTUL), an influential national organization that united working-class women and middle-class women around issues important to women workers (Tax 2000). New York City was home to the "Uprising of 20,000," the 1909 shirtwaist strike that was one of the first successful major uprisings of female workers. One year later, Chicago was home to another successful strike led by women, the 1910 garment workers' strike, which marked the start of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. The WTUL led both of these strikes.

These two cities remained as centers of women's movements in the 1960s. The first state chapter of NOW was formed in New York City in 1967, followed closely by a Chicago chapter in 1968, and, significantly, the first women's liberation organizations in the country were formed almost simultaneously in 1967 in New York City and Chicago (Echols 1989).

In sum, both cities were key locations in the initial formation, and continued development, of women's movements in both the first wave and second wave.

Within these broad similarities, key differences between the cities that have not yet been fully explored by scholars. In particular, the women's liberation organizations in New York City and Chicago, which were formed around the same time, were fundamentally different from one another. The two main women's liberation organizations in these two cities were in fact so different that women would debate the merits of the "Chicago approach" versus the "New York approach" during national women's liberation conferences in the 1970s (Chicago Women's Liberation Union Papers). These two approaches disagreed on almost every fundamental axis of social movements: they disagreed on the cause of discrimination against women, the appropriate target of women's action, the effectiveness of different types of strategies and tactics, the relationship of women's organizations to the larger political arena, and basic political ideology.

The first women's liberation organization in Chicago, the Westside Group, was founded in 1967, and the main organization in Chicago, the Chicago Women's Liberation Union (CWLU), was founded in 1969 by many of the leaders of Westside Group. Calling themselves a socialist-feminist group, CWLU combined new left, socialist, and radical feminist principles into a revolutionary feminist ideology. CWLU's position papers stated that the ultimate cause of women's oppression was the institution of private property, with sexism perpetuated through this and other institutions that also supported capitalism and imperialism. CWLU believed the only way to eradicate sexism was to abolish capitalism and private property, and this needed to happen through a woman-led revolutionary movement that included working- and middle-class men and women of all races (Chicago Women's Liberation Union Hyde Park Chapter 1972).

The first women's liberation organization in New York City, New York Radical Women, which became Redstockings in 1969, was also founded in 1967. Calling themselves a radical feminist organization, they developed an analysis of the causes of sexism quite different from CWLU's. Redstockings believed that all women were oppressed as a sex-class by all men. Men, they believed, had a psychological need to oppress women and received psychological benefits from doing so—their egos were stoked, they derived a the feeling of power, and they gained a sense of control over women and thus their own lives. Women's psychologies developed through this domination, so to raise awareness of their own oppression women needed to participate in consciousness-raising sessions. Economic, political, and social institutions according to radical feminists were not the cause of women's oppression, they were simply tools that the real oppressors, men, used to maintain their own sex-class power in society. They argued for a cultural and psychological revolution to ride society of sexism, which would happen through women creating spaces apart from men so they could re-develop their own consciousness (Redstockings 1969).

Significantly, the feminist approach to fighting sexism central to New York City's women's groups was first articulated in the 1910s, not the 1960s. Historian Nancy Cott traces the general framework for feminist theory to the 1910s, when the first self-proclaimed feminists in the United States appeared in New York City (1987). These feminists organized a group called Heterodoxy, which was founded in 1912 in Greenwich Village. The feminism supported by Heterodoxy moved beyond political and economic reforms, resembling in many ways the feminism of Redstockings. The purpose of Heterodoxy, as one founder Jenny Howe claimed, was “a changed psychology; the creation of a new consciousness in women” (Wittenstein 1991, 22), and feminism for Heterodites included personal, psychological, and spiritual reforms. To accomplish these reforms, their meetings often consisted of “background talks”, where women would discuss their personal histories and experiences followed by a group discussion around common issues that arose from these personal stories. Their goal was to raise their own awareness about the ways in which social norms and expectations affected them, as women, and they strategized about how to change themselves as well as society. This way of approaching women's issues closely resembles the consciousness-raising approach taken by New York City women in the late 1960s.

This brief historical sketch suggests that despite the broad similarities between these two cities, New York City and Chicago housed different types of women's movements, and the differences between the cities persisted over time. In his classic study of Black politics in major cities in the United States, James Q. Wilson claimed, “Negro politics cannot be understood apart from the city in which it is found” (1960, 23). I find the same is true for social movements in general, and women's social movements in particular. Women's social movements, I claim, “cannot be understood apart from the city in which [they are] found.” But how does a city impact the social movements found within? To begin to unpack this question we must first understand why two cities are different in any respect. Furthermore, if two cities are different at one point in time, will they necessarily be different at a later time? Research suggests yes, differences between cities do indeed persist over time.

Regional Continuity and City Character

In their article “History Repeats Itself, but How?” (2000), sociologist Harvey Molotch and his co-authors explore the issue of regional differences and the persistence of these

differences. Their research provides a good model for understanding regional differences within women's movements and how these differences may be reproduced over time, so it is worth discussing their research in detail.

Molotch, Freudenberg, and Paulsen investigate why two otherwise similar southern California cities, Santa Barbara and Ventura, developed remarkable different city characters. Cities, the authors claim, exhibit “overarching qualities” that are difficult to measure but make them “durably distinct” (ibid., 791). They call these differences “character” or “tradition.” Santa Barbara and Ventura, explain the authors, are quite similar in most respects—they have similar weather, similar demographics, and similar histories of early Spanish mission settlements and large Hispanic minorities. Santa Barbara, however, is celebrated for its beautiful urban planning, civic involvement, and pleasant atmosphere, and it is considered a model urban environment. Ventura, on the other hand, has never been celebrated as a model, and in fact has the qualities typically critiqued by urban planners. Santa Barbara and Ventura thus represent distinct versions of what a small city can be. Molotch et al. sought to explain how these two city characters developed, and how they persisted over time.

They trace the divergence in city character to the early response to oil development. Oil came to these two cities at a similar time but the response of each community to oil development differed. In Ventura the community fully supported oil, allowing oil development along their beach fronts without any restrictions. Santa Barbara on the other hand opposed oil development, and imposed taxes on oil that they then used to develop their own distinct urban environment, including preserving beaches and beach views for the benefit of people. This response to oil persisted, as residents in Santa Barbara took direct action to oppose oil throughout the time it was developing in Santa Barbara, while in Ventura there was little to no opposition at any point. Years later this pattern was repeated when the state wanted to reconstruct the freeway going through both cities. Ventura did not oppose the development and did not regulate it to benefit the community. Santa Barbara, like it did with oil, opposed the development, and when they failed in their opposition, they regulated the reconstruction so as to have as little effect on the community as possible. Using these two moments in history the authors show that the organized community response to external development in Santa Barbara persisted over a hundred-year period. This organized response is indicative of the character of Santa Barbara, and the lack of response is a character of Ventura.

Molotch et al. measure the different character of these cities through the existence of civil society organizations. Santa Barbara had many diverse civil society organizations while Ventura had few. The organizations in Santa Barbara were first established during their response to oil development, and they were one of the reasons Santa Barbara was able to develop an organized response to the later freeway development. The civic skill required for the type of response seen in Santa Barbara was institutionalized through civic organizations, which then helped reproduce this civic skill over time.

The authors provide a theoretical way to understand how these city characters, measured through civil society organizations, reproduce themselves, leading to their persistence over time. They utilize “structuration theory,” which assumes a social structure does not stand distinct from action but itself arises from human action, including “mundane practice” (ibid., 793). Through their current action, people draw on what came before to guides their current and future action, resulting in continuity. Place, the authors claim, has a “rolling inertia,” which they explain in detail:

The dynamics of local organizations, the built environment, and the consumption milieu add in recursively at every point, including just who is attracted and who is repelled. In addition to the economic deprivations that “push” people out of one location and the job opportunities that “pull” them to another, there is also a selective migration based on other, “soft” criteria that demographers typically ignore. Within the powerful macro forces of migration, people self-select on place character and tradition—a self-selection process that steers one type of person and functionary to Santa Barbara and a different type to Ventura. . . . Once attracted, migrants vote for the candidates, pass the tax measures, shop at the stores, and join the organizations that induced their own entry, thus carrying place character forward in time (*ibid.*, 816).

Once a city character is established, they claim, it attracts certain types of individuals, who become residents and form their own organizations, further institutionalizing this character. Thus, Santa Barbara had a plethora of diverse civic organizations and Ventura had only a few. Because of this character development, the two cities reacted differently to similar developments that occurred one hundred years apart. Early responses condition later responses, and the character of cities develops via path-dependency produced by this rolling inertia.

More recently, sociologists Greve and Rao (2012) presented a similar hypothesis—that the development of communities demonstrate a certain path-dependency. These authors focused on community organizations both as a measure of regional differences and as the vehicles through which these differences are reproduced. Greve and Rao began with this question: why do communities have different infrastructures for collective action? That is, why do some communities have an abundance of non-profit organizations while others have few (as was the case with Santa Barbara and Ventura)? They asked this question in the context of Norwegian communities in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. They found that the creation of institutions often happens by chance, but once these institutions are formed, a community embarks on a development trajectory from which it is unlikely to deviate. To support this claim they demonstrated that communities in Norway that had nonprofit organizations in the nineteenth century were more likely to found nonprofits in the twentieth century, even when the nonprofit organizations were in completely different fields. When the researchers controlled for the different characteristics of a community, they still concluded that communities follow different evolutionary paths because of early events, in this case the founding of a nonprofit organization. In the terms of Molotch et al., communities develop “civic capacity” when they found community organizations, and this civic capacity persists over time.

These “institutional legacies,” as Greve and Rao call them, are independent of particular organizations—that is, they do not have to be carried through actual organizations. Rather, organizations establish “cognitive models,” or “normative rationales,” that communities use to build subsequent organizations. Organizations, they claim, “embody cognitive models and norms that affect their communities” (637), creating cultural elements that become embodied in stories of successful collective action. Early organizations thus leave a local memory of the process of building organizations, and this process is carried in the community over time and in many ways. Individuals that found one organization may become founders of related organizations, community organizations may socialize members with lasting consequences, or community organizations may embody collective theories that comprise a local culture valued by citizens. Even if particular organizations do not persist over time, the cognitive model they embodied

does, reproducing early events and placing communities on a particular path-dependent trajectory.

Together, these studies of California and Norwegian communities suggest that early moments of collective action, in particular the institutionalization of collective action through community organizations, set a community on a particular mobilization path, that persists over time. Organizations themselves do not have to persist, but the cognitive models and cultural elements created by these organizations do persist. These organizations, together with other aspects of communities, constitute a community character. This character attracts particular types of people, who then come to the community and establish more organizations, or vote for candidates and policies that they like, which further entrenches the city character and helps this character persist over time. Critical to this development are community organizations, which both establish institutional legacies and enables this legacy to persist over time. These organizations are thus a measure of both city character and institutional legacy.

City Character and Women's Movements

Molotch et al. emphasize the importance of city character in attracting a certain type of person, a character that is institutionalized through community organizations. Greve and Rao are more specific, calling that character a “cognitive model” that is embodied in those community organizations. To explain the differences in the women's movement in New York City and Chicago I relate these movements to the different characters of each city, as embodied through left organizations. My goal is to both describe and understand the progressive women's movements in these two cities, and the progressive women's movement has historically been tightly connected to other left movements. The left in these two cities, I claim, embodied different cultural models about what it meant to be progressive, what it meant to be political, and how to achieve the social and political change they sought. These differences persisted in women's organizations.³

The characters of New York City and Chicago as a whole at the turn of the twentieth century were arguably quite different. The nature of each city's character is poetically depicted by two well-known authors who wrote paens about the cities they loved. Poet Carl Sandburg penned the poem “Chicago” in *Poetry Magazine* in 1914:

Hog Butcher for the World,
 Tool Maker, Stacker of Wheat,
 Player with Railroads and the Nation's Freight Handler;
 Stormy, husky, brawling,
 City of the Big Shoulders:

...

Come and show me another city with lifted head singing so proud to be alive and
 coarse and strong and cunning.
 Flinging magnetic curses amid the toil of piling job on job, here is a tall bold
 slugger set vivid against the little soft cities;
 Fierce as a dog with tongue lapping for action, cunning as a savage pitted against
 the wilderness,

3 See the methods section of the introduction for more information on why I focus on the left.

Bareheaded,
 Shoveling,
 Wrecking,
 Planning,
 Building, breaking, rebuilding,
 Under the smoke, dust all over his mouth, laughing with white teeth,
 Under the terrible burden of destiny laughing as a young man laughs,
 Laughing even as an ignorant fighter laughs who has never lost a battle. . .
 (Sandburg 1914, 1)

Walt Whitman's wrote "Mannahatta." published in the third edition of *Leaves of Grass* in 1860:

I was asking for something specific and perfect for my city,
 Whereupon, lo! upsprang the aboriginal name!
 Now I see what there is in a name, a word, liquid, sane, unruly, musical, self-
 sufficient;
 I see that the word of my city is that word up there
 ...
 The mechanics of the city, the masters, well-form'd, beautiful-faced, looking you
 straight in the eyes;
 Trottoirs throug'd—vehicles—Broadway—the women—the shops and shows,

 The parades, processions, bugles playing, flags flying, drums beating;
 A million people—manners free and superb—open voices—hospitality—the most
 courageous and friendly young men;
 The free city! no slaves! no owners of slaves!
 The beautiful city, the city of hurried and sparkling waters! the city of spires and
 masts!
 The city nested in bays! my city!
 (Whitman 1860, 404–405)

These two authors wanted to capture the feel, or zeitgeist, of Chicago and New York City. Compare New York City, depicted here as "The mechanics of the city, the masters, well-form'd, beautiful-faced, looking you straight in the eyes; . . . A million people—manners free and superb—open voices—hospitality—the most courageous and friendly young men" to Chicago: "Flinging magnetic curses amid the toil of piling job on job, here is a tall bold slugger set vivid against the little soft cities;/ Fierce as a dog with tongue lapping for action, cunning as a savage pitted against the wilderness." Chicago evoked the adjectives "coarse and strong and cunning," and New York City evoked "liquid, sane, unruly, musical, self-sufficient." While New York City is "The beautiful city!", Chicago is the "City of the Big Shoulders."

Following the existing research on regional differences, I show that these two city characters were embodied in left organizations, including women's organizations. These organizations thus becomes a measurement of the different characters. The broad left communities in New York City and Chicago, like the cities's overall characters, were quite different from one another, embodying different cognitive frameworks of the world.

The larger left milieu then affected the women's movements in each city, as the women's movements were becoming institutionalized in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The regionally distinct women's movements, influenced by the larger left milieu, institutionalized a particular type of civic capacity which was reproduced over time, and the later women's movements looked similar in structure and ideology to the early movement.

To make sense of the relationship between city character and organizations, and to understand how the women's movement as a whole fits into this theory of institutional legacy, I turn to tools provided by field theory. Field theory provides a framework that can incorporate culture and structure with organizations and institutions into a coherent understanding of both women's movements within cities and the development of these movements over time.

Cities and Movements as Fields

The word *field* has become a commonplace way to refer to social spaces in sociology, and it is becoming increasingly popular to utilize the concept of a field to frame empirical research (Bourdieu 1984; Ray 1998; Martin 2003; Fligstein and McAdam 2012). A field is a social environment in which actors, sometimes in competition with each other, other times cooperatively, work toward some recognizable goal, such as capitalist profit, social and political change, social recognition, or power.

Field theory, as applied to sociology, provides a framework to understand more precisely what is happening when a particular character is institutionalized in a city and how it affects actors within. More specifically, field theory focuses analytical attention on three key aspects of a social environment, all critical to my story. First, field theorists argue that fields are organized through two elements: ties among actors that regulate the flow of resources among those actors, and the cultural background that provides actors a way of understanding and interpreting action. Thinking of a field as organized through these two elements allows us to concretize a field, make it real and measurable, and also allows for comparisons between fields and within a field over time. Second, field theory focuses attention on the relationships between actors within a field; we can-not understand one actor without understanding their relationship to all other actors within the field. Third, field theorists argue that any one field is connected to, and influenced by, any number of nested and overlapping fields. Field theory thus provides a framework to analyze interactions between different fields. For my purposes, field theory provides a framework to understand the multiple organizations that comprise the women's movements in New York City and Chicago, through the relationships between these organizations, the manner in which the larger cultural landscape of these two cities affected women's movements, and the ways in which connected social movements, like the civil rights movement, differently affected women's movements in these two cities.

The women's movement can be thought of as a field: it is made up of a collection of individuals and organizations (actors) who sometimes cooperate and sometimes compete with each other, to work toward the common goal of improving the status of women. Historically, organizations within the women's-movement field at times would cooperate with one another toward a specific goal. For example Planned Parenthood, an organization that provides reproductive services to women and attempts to reform laws around reproductive rights, partnered with other organizations in the late 1960s and early 1970s such as the National

Organization for Women, to change laws and legalize abortion. Other times these organizations competed with one another, arguing over the best way to improve the status of women. The National Woman's Party, for example, tried for decades to pass a constitutional amendment that would have guaranteed equal rights for women—what they called the Equal Rights Amendment. Many social reform organizations and labor organizations within the women's-movement field opposed this amendment, as they believed it would negate protective labor laws for women for which they had fought long and hard. Thinking about the women's movement as a field provides a framework to analyze and understand the relationship between the multiple types of organizations working to improve the status of women.

Additionally, each city had its own unique women's-movement field. Organizations within these unique women's-movement fields, and the relationships between them, can be concretely mapped, providing one way to “measure” and compare regional fields. Additionally, the regionally-distinct women's-movement fields are nested within, and overlap with, other fields. The women's-movement field is part of a larger social-movement sector, which includes other movements like the labor, civil rights, and general progressive movements. I can additionally map the connections between these overlapping fields, providing another measure to compare women's-movement fields.

Finally, women's-movement fields are nested within a larger political and cultural milieu and, as I will show, this larger milieu is distinct in different cities. These city-distinct milieus influenced the social-movement sectors within each city, which in turn affected the women's-movement fields. To demonstrate these influences, I further measure the underlying cultural understandings that unite the different women's-movement fields in each city. I relate these cultural understandings to the larger left milieu in each city in which the women's-movement field and other social-movement fields are nested.

In sum, field theory provides a framework to map and measure the relationship between actors within a field, to map their relationship to other nested and overlapping fields, and to measure the cultural understandings that unite a field. Field theory, I argue, provides a way to measure both the *structure* and the *culture* of a field, providing a way to compare different fields and compare the development of one field over time.

Structure and Culture

Most field theorists agree that a field exists only if there is some common goal shared by the actors involved. Beyond this agreement, field theorists alternatively operationalize two constituent components of a field: a network of actors, both collective and individual, which makes up the structure of a field, and a shared set of cultural understandings, which makes up the culture of a field.⁴ Some researchers believe the network of actors is the primary and most important component of a field, while other believe the field is solely shaped by shared cultural understandings. Most believe both components are important.

Paul DiMaggio and Walter Powell are examples of authors who claim that organizational networks fundamentally structure a field. They pioneered the use of network analysis as a way to operationalize and study a field in their article “The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields” (1983). In this article DiMaggio and Powell show that macro-level theories, such as Weber's theory of rationalization,

⁴ In the literature this shared culture is alternatively called taken-for-granted beliefs, cultural milieu, rules of the game, schema, doxa, cognitive structures, background assumptions, etc.

cannot account for all of the behavior of organizations within a field. The authors wonder why organizational fields tend to become more homogeneous over time, even if these common organizational structures are not the most rational or efficient for all organizations, and they find that organizational interactions within the field help explain decisions that do not necessarily lead to more efficiency, as Weber's theory would predict. Organizations mimic one another and shape themselves after those they are close to in the field. This institutional isomorphism, they claim, is the main meso-level element governing organizational behavior within an organizational field.

Extending beyond this early work on network analysis, Powell and his co-authors reinforce the theory that organizational networks structure a field through their formal, statistical analysis on the patterns of attachments between firms in the biotechnology industry (Powell et al. 2005). Statistically modeling the networks, they claim, allows them to understand how collective action is organized, and how fields as a whole, including organizational action within them, change over time. Like DiMaggio and Powell, Powell et al. find that neither money nor market power dictate organized action within a field; instead, institutional features promote a dense web of connections that, once in place, influence decision making in firms and the trajectory of the field as a whole. Interactions between organizations, they claim, are the main institutional features that influence organizational behavior within a field.⁵

In contrast to these approaches that identify networks as the fundamental structure of fields, other authors define the field most fundamentally as shared cultural understandings or cultural logics, claiming that this background knowledge is the foundation of all other elements of the field. Institutional theorist Ronald Jepperson, for example, claims “taken-for-granted” understandings, or what he calls “institutional procedures,” determine everything else about the field, including the networks and alliances studied by others interested in fields (Jepperson 1991). Institutions, for Jepperson, are mental frameworks that both allow and constrain action within a field, and they are self-reproducing within that field. Jepperson stresses that these mental frameworks are taken for granted and thus often unspoken, but he also believes they can be reflexive and thus explicitly evoked when justifying action. Rather than formal organizations creating these institutions through inter-organizational action, as DiMaggio and Powell claim, Jepperson argues that organizations are merely a carrier of institutions.

Because these shared cultural understandings are often unspoken, they are difficult to identify and study. Myra Marx Ferree and her fellow authors attempt to formalize the study of cultural understandings by introducing the term “discursive opportunity structure” (Ferree et al. 2002). To operationalize shared understandings, Ferree et al. systematically examine the discourses that arise from different cultures, in their case the framing battles around abortion rights that took place in the public sphere in Germany and the United States. They claim the concept of discursive opportunity structure can explain why particular frames around abortion were more prominent in the public discourse than other frames in particular countries. In Germany, for example, the “fetal life” frame was more popular while the “individual and state” frame was more popular in the United States. Multiple framings existed in both countries, these

5 Fligstein and McAdam, among others, critique network analysis for ignoring the shared cultural understandings and the collective meanings attached to actions that also structure fields (2012). My reading of Powell et al.'s work in particular suggests that they do not ignore but rather seek to formalize these shared cultural understandings—as well as their diffusion—through their network analysis. Powell et al. seek to understand what “logics of attachment” structure a field, and how these logics change over time. If we understand “logics of attachment” as a type of shared logic or cultural understanding structuring the field, than Powell et al. do not ignore shared understandings, they attribute them to network structures themselves.

authors claim, but the political context and general background discourse in different countries promoted some frames over other frames, making different frames more salient in different countries.

Similarly, scholars Koopmans and Statham propose a general theoretical framework to understand fields of political contention that includes not only political institutions, legal frameworks, and relational alliances between actors, but also the political discourses that constitute the cultural basis of political contention (Koopmans and Statham 2001). These public political discourses, they claim, determine which movement “frames” are more likely to succeed in the public sphere and which are more likely to fail. Both Ferree et al. and Koopmans and Statham allow for multiple frames to exist within a general culture; for these authors, the discursive structure influences which frames gain prominence.

Comparative Studies of Social Movements

Social-movement scholars have studied a number of movements utilizing field theory, and most examine *both* organizational networks *and* cultural understandings to compare either different regional fields or the evolution of one field over time.

Two scholars, Judith Hellman and Raka Ray, used versions of a field theory to study women's movements in different countries—Italy and India, respectively. They each studied regional differences within the women's movement in one county and both concluded that organizational networks outside of the women's movement, in addition to the general political culture within a city, determined the structure and political orientation of city-distinct women's movements. Hellman studied women's movements in five Italian cities and concluded that the general “political culture” of each city, as well as the strength of other left organizations, affected women's movements in multiple ways. For Hellman, location was a crucial variable in determining the way issues were defined within the women's movement, the makeup of social-movement organizations overall, and the impact of the women's movement on political structures (1987). Ray carried out similar research in India, examining the different types of women's-movement organizations in Calcutta and Bombay (1999). Ray also concluded that the differences in feminist politics in the two cities emerged from the women's movements being embedded in different political cultures and organizational networks. Compared to Hellman, Ray more formally characterized political fields and identified two crucial dimensions of the political field: power and culture. Power can be either dispersed or concentrated, she claimed, and culture can be heterogeneous or homogeneous. Power and culture combine to form distinct political fields in different cities, which in turn produce different women's movements. I develop and extend the methods Ray and Hellman used in their studies to examine the possibility of similar regional differences within the United States women's movements.

Field theory can help explain regional differences within a movement, but it can also help analyze changes in movements over time. While Hellman and Ray explained regional *differences* within a field, neither include the historical *origins* of their respective social-movement fields. Elizabeth Armstrong's research is helpful in this regard. Armstrong studied the historical origins of a single movement in one location, the gay rights movement in San Francisco, and sought to explain both the initial formation of this movement and its subsequent transformation (Armstrong 2002). Like Hellman and Ray, Armstrong emphasized two key variables driving the shape and transformation of the social-movement field: organizational networks and political culture. Armstrong described the cultural elements shaping the field as “political logics,” which

she defines as “background sets of assumptions about how society works, the goals of political action, and appropriate strategies to pursue desired ends” (ibid., 13-14). Armstrong uses the concept of political logics to emphasize the taken-for-granted and constitutive character of the cultural backdrops to social movements. According to Armstrong, the rise of the new left in the 1960s brought with it a new political logic that the gay rights movement drew on to reshape their organizations. Crucial to the uniqueness of the gay rights movement compared to other new left movements, however, was its origins in 1950s homophile organizations. The original homophile organizations modeled existing interest group organizations, and subsequent gay rights organizations were rooted in the basic organizational structure of these homophile organizations. The movement finally crystallized around an “identity” political logic because of the unique combination of homophile organizational network and new left political logics. The gay rights movement in San Francisco can only be understood, claims Armstrong, in relationship to both the historical origins of the movement and other contemporary movements.

Ray and Hellman provide persuasive arguments about differences between one moment of women's-movement activism but do not ask where the different political cultures producing different women's movements originated, leaving the reader wondering about the history of these movements. Armstrong, alternatively, does not utilize a comparative method, she only analyzes one location. I am left wondering if the gay rights movement had different trajectories in different locations, as Hellman and Ray found with the women's movements. I predict that local U.S. political fields influence social-movement organizations in similar ways as Hellman and Ray found in Italy and India, but I also predict these local fields persist over time, similarly influencing social movements over the long-term, in the ways Armstrong theorized. The study presented here combines Armstrong's emphasis on examining the historical origins of a social-movement field with Hellman and Ray's focus on regional differences between local social-movement fields. The goal is to understand how the initial formation of local social-movement fields in the U.S. influenced women's movements, and how these women's-movement fields changed, or remained the same, over time.

All of these authors, including Hellman, Armstrong, and Ray, agree that both organizational networks *and* shared cultural understandings are critical components of any field. Prominent field theorists agree with this contention. Fligstein and McAdam, in their recent book *A Theory of Fields*, claim that a field consists of a “set of shared understandings about the nature of the 'rules' that will govern interaction within the field” (2012, 88), which includes what tactics are possible in that field. Individual actors, however, will also bring their own interpretive framework into the field based on their own experiences and positions in the field, and these actors will interpret the action of other actors differently depending on their own interpretive framework. Actors that have more monetary and/or social resources will have more power to shape a field than actors with fewer resources. The connections between actors, and the relative position of different actors within a field, thus also critically shape a field.

I follow this precedent, looking at both the network of actors *and* shared cultural understandings within different regional women's-movement fields. Understanding the differences between regional women's-movement fields, and understanding their evolution over time, I demonstrate, requires measuring both the structure of a field to determine which actors dominate the field and the background cultural assumptions that shape the workings of these dominant actors. To clarify: I contend that only when we measure both structure and culture can we fully comprehend a field and its connections to other fields. I define structure and culture relatively narrowly compared to others. Structure is what a field is made of. Structure comprises

the organizations and inter-relationships between those organizations that make up a field—it is the *network* of organizations within a field. Culture, for my purposes, comprise the cognitive frameworks that allow a system to organize information, interpret action, and perceive new information. Cognitive frameworks provide the meaningful categories through which individuals make sense of the social world around them and engage with and potentially change their world. They are similar to Jepperson's taken-for-granted beliefs. Structure and culture combine to form a field. Following Molotch et al. and Greve and Rao, I claim that organizations embody the cognitive frameworks that constitute culture. I will use these concepts, structure as organizational networks and culture as cognitive frameworks, throughout the dissertation.

Combining Path Dependency and Fields: A Theory of Regional Women's Movements

Combining the literature on the persistence of city character, institutional legacies, and field theory, I offer an alternative conception of the women's movements in the U.S., one that fundamentally challenges the existing wave theory. Broadly, I define the following process. Early events put cities on different paths, which, once established, tend to persist over time. These early events are embodied in and through organizations, which institutionalize cognitive frameworks and thus a type of civic capacity. These organizations, and the cognitive frameworks they embody, establish the character of a city. This institutionalized character attracts a particular type of person, who then establishes more organizations of a similar type, ensuring the reproduction of this character. Within these cities, the organizations that are oriented around a particular project or goal, like women's-movement organizations, form a field. These fields shape the character of a city, but are in turn shaped by that character. Understanding one field requires understanding its relationship to other fields within a city.

Each field consists of a network of organizations, which constitutes the structure of the field, and a set of shared cultural understandings, which constitutes the cognitive frameworks. Some organizations cooperate with one another, others compete with each other. Each organization embodies a particular cognitive framework—that is, each organization embodies a particular way of understanding and interpreting the shared goals within a field and the ways of understanding how to reach that goal. Each organization additionally has more or less power within a field, and their relative power is measured by their position in the overall structure of a field. Those in powerful positions are central to a field, and those in weaker positions are peripheral. Understanding a field requires understanding the range of organizations within a field and their relative structural position. The structural position of an organization, I suggest, depends on the cognitive framework embodied in that organization and whether or not that cognitive framework is “in sync” with the larger cultural milieu in which the field as a whole is embedded.

To understand this process—the interaction between the cognitive framework embodied by an organization and the larger cultural milieu—I present an alternative wave heuristic: “overlapping waves.” Instead of an *ocean* wave, as the existing wave metaphor evokes, I turn to the physics of *sound* waves. In physics a “wave” is defined as any disturbance that transmits energy through matter or space. The “amplitude” of a wave is the height of the wave from a rest position and represents the “strength” of a wave. Wave “interference” happens when two or more waves overlap with one another. These overlapping waves can cause “constructive interference,” which increases the amplitude of both waves, or “destructive interference,” that decreases the

amplitude of both waves. Constructive interference happens when two wave signals which have the same frequency and the same phase interact, resulting in a single wave with an amplitude equal to the sum of the amplitudes of the individual waves. If the two waves have the same frequency but are in an opposite phase, that is they are out of sync, there is destructive interference when they overlap and the result is the cancellation of the two waves. Figure 1.5 and Figure 1.6 illustrate these two types of interference caused by overlapping waves.

Figure 1.5: Illustration of Constructive Interference and Destructive Interference Produced by Overlapping Waves

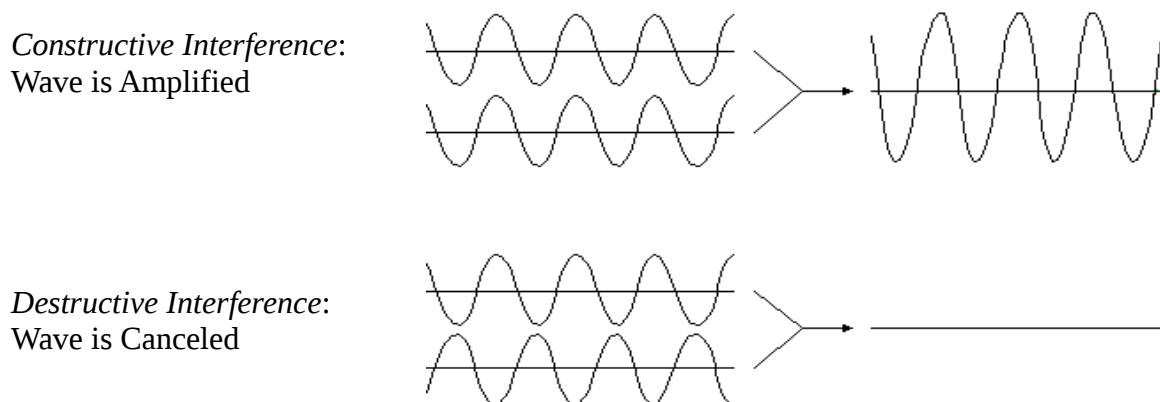
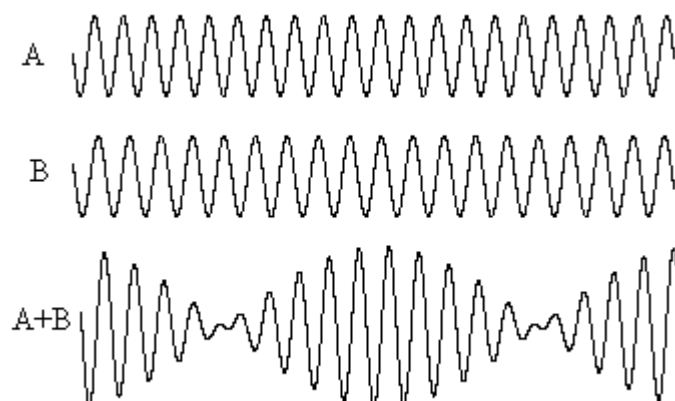


Figure 1.6: Illustration of the Resulting Pattern Produced by Overlapping Waves



Note: When two waves overlap—A, e.g. the left, and B, e.g. the women's movement—the resulting wave amplifies some wave patterns (cognitive frameworks embodied in organizations) while others are diminished or canceled.

Image Source: Brown n.d.

The character of the larger left within a city can be defined as a cultural wave with a particular pattern. The women's-movement field is made up of many different actors, or organizations, and each organization is producing its own wave with its own pattern—the pattern of each organizational wave is produced by the cognitive framework (or culture) that shapes the organization. When the women's-movement field overlaps with the “wave” produced by the character of the larger left milieu, those organizations that are in sync with the left culture will have their amplitude strengthened, while the amplitude of those organizations that are out of sync with the city culture will be canceled. Because every city has a left with a different cultural wave pattern, the same organization may be amplified in one city and canceled in a different city. In this way, some organizations in each city gain strength and fare better than other organizations. To understand the overlapping of culture and the women's-movement field in any one city requires finding the range of actors in that city and determining which organizations are amplified. The ones that are amplified are likely guided by cognitive frameworks that are in phase with the larger cultural wave of the city, and these organizations in turn amplify the culture of the city. Due to destructive and constructive interference, the result is a standing wave in which portions of the wave, or particular organizations, are at rest—they are not influential—while other portions (organizations) have a large amplitude—they are influential.

This theoretical way of understanding women's movements provides an alternative to the commonly accepted ocean wave conception, albeit one that is compatible with this accepted theory. The ocean wave conception encourages thinking about the first wave as a coherent wave opposed to and distinct from the second wave. Instead, my alternative sound wave theory encourages an attention to regional distinctions within a wave, understanding both the cultural causes of those regional differences and how those differences persist over time. While we can still talk about heightened periods of activity within women's movements, similar to the first and second wave, we should assume *continuity* rather than *discontinuity* between these periods. The second-wave movement, according to this alternative overlapping waves theory should be thought of as a continuation of the earlier women's movements, as organizations within the second wave utilize cognitive frameworks and institutional legacies already present in regional fields. The second-wave movement, I claim, cannot be fully explained without taking into account these existing long-term institutions. This alternative theory additionally draws attention to the plethora of between-wave activities, pointing to this activity as the mechanisms through which city character, and the fields that both created that character and are influenced by that character, are reproduced. In sum, this alternative theory combines theories on organizations, institutions, culture, and fields to provide a more accurate account of the development of women's movements over time.

Methods and Outline

Methods

To support my overall argument about the long-term development of the radical wing of the women's movement, and to demonstrate the validity of my alternative overlapping waves theory, I use a variety of methods. I measure structure by coding all of the organizations within the women's-movement field in both Chicago and New York City from 1864-1974, as well as allied organization outside the women's movement but connected it. I additionally map the relationship between these organizations at two points in time, to compare the evolution of the

structure of each field over time. I then measure the cognitive frameworks embodied in particular organizations, found through the structural analysis, by analyzing the publications produced by these organizations. I provide support for these more abstract analyses, and provide details that fill out these analyses, through qualitative historical narratives.

Overall my approach is akin to that of Marx's approach in *Capital* (Marx 1992). Marx's goal in *Capital* was to understand how capitalism functioned. To do so he moved between the micro and the macro, the abstract and the concrete. Sometimes he analyzed the very micro, by breaking down capitalism into its most elemental form, the commodity, and described how the micro-processes governing the commodity affect the very macro, the behavior of capitalism on the international scale. He additionally dealt with abstract theories like the tendency for the rate of profit to fall, but also everyday realities, such as the struggle between workers and capitalists about the length of the working day. But he always brought his analysis back to historical facts, and detailed the effects of this system on real people and real lives. My goal is much more modest, but I take a similar systematic yet eclectic approach.

At times I develop detailed historical narratives, explaining the historical reality and what was actually happening on the ground. At other times I attempt to understand the more abstract elements of these movements. For example, through network diagrams I seek to understand the structure of fields. To do so I use historical data, but I also reduce these concrete networks to their ideal types, or archetypal structures, borrowing from Weber's method. Revealing the basic structure of the network helps us look at the networks systematically which provides us with a better understanding of the historical details. I take a similar approach for analyzing culture. At times I reduce language, a measure of culture, to mere words, isolated from the larger contextual paragraphs. Like reducing concrete networks to archetypal structures, reducing language to lists of words can help clarify the composition of the more complex whole, allowing us to see the underlying cognitive framework producing complex language. I then provide qualitative historical details to demonstrate how this framework translates into the actual language we read. Both the archetypal network structures and the reduction of language to compositional word lists abstract concrete historical details from their whole, but this abstraction can help us understand the ways in which the whole functions, just as understanding the commodity is necessary to understand how capitalism as a whole functions in the work of Marx.

The abstract analyses developed through network structures and language models interact and iterate with the concrete qualitative narrative analysis. I present historical facts as they are informed by the abstract analysis, and these historical facts in turn serve to imbue the abstract analyses with meaning. Together they provide a way to understand both the composition of women's movements and the effect of this composition on the lives of organizations and individuals.⁶

Throughout the dissertation I discuss the women's movement as a whole, including the liberal sections of the movement, but much of the time I focus on the radical-left wing of the women's movements and the radical-left wing of the larger political environment in each city. There are empirical, theoretical, and methodological reasons for doing so. Empirically, the question that motivated this research is explaining the different types of women's liberation organizations in the 1970s in New York City and Chicago, that is, explaining the different forms the *radical wing* of the second-wave women's movement took. My research empirically begins with the radical wing of the women's movement, and thus I follow this wing as I trace its history.

6 I provide a more detailed discussion of each method in the chapter in which it is used.

There is a further empirical reason for focusing on the radical left, however, and this leads to a theoretical justification. Historians have long recognized the existence of the liberal women's movement as far back as Mary Wollstonecraft and her 1792 treatise, and they have written many accounts describing this history (Kraditor 1981, e.g., ; Cott 1987; Buechler 1990; Ryan 1992; DuBois 1998; DuBois 1999). These historians typically divide the liberal wing of the first-wave movement into the more conservative organizations, such as the National American Woman Suffrage Association led by Carrie Chapman Catt, and the more militant Congressional Union/National Woman's Party led by Alice Paul. But, aside from Nancy Cott, they stop there, and have failed to recognize the radical feminist wing of the first-wave women's movement. In fact, as I demonstrate in Chapter 2, historians claim that the existence of the radical feminist wing of the second-wave movement is one of the most defining features of this wave, which decidedly distinguishes it from the first wave. The “uniqueness” of the radical wing of the second-wave women's movement is one lingering defense of the two-wave theory of U.S. women's movement. If I can demonstrate that the ideas, critiques, and political solutions offered by the radical wing of the second wave in fact existed in similar form in the first wave, and there were continuities within the radical wing of the women's movement between the two waves, the last defense of this wave theory would fall. To replace the ocean wave theory with my overlapping waves theory I thus focus on the radical wing of the movement.

To understand this radical wing, I relate it to the larger left within each city. Much research has shown that the women's movement in general in both the first and the second waves was related to other left movements of the time—the abolitionist movement in the first wave and the civil rights and new left movements in the second wave—and the women's liberation movement in particular was closely related to the larger 1960s left (Freeman 1975; Evans 1980). Other research has pointed to the mutual influence between closely related movements (Meyer and Whittier 1994; Armstrong 2002). Understanding the radical wing of the women's movement necessitates understanding if and how it was influenced by closely related left movements. While the radical left is likely additionally influenced by liberal politics, including liberal organizations and party politics, the radical wing of the left arguably operates in distinct ways and according to its own logics, compared to the liberal left. My goal is to understand these logics.

That said, I do relate the radical wing of these movements to the liberal wing and situate the radical wing within the women's movement as a whole. The type of detailed analysis required to compare regional movement over a long period is time consuming, and discovering patterns between different organizations and movements is complicated. Focusing on one wing of the larger movement enables the type of detailed analysis required. I suspect the patterns I reveal within the radical wing may similarly exist within the liberal wing and they may be influenced by the logics within this liberal wing, although this will take more research to determine. This dissertation sets the stage for this further research: comparing the radical wing to the liberal wing and further relating the women's-movement field to the larger political field, including parties and institutional politics.

In sum, empirically and theoretically it makes sense to focus on the radical wing of the women's movements and the larger left, both for my narrow research question about women's liberation and my broader goal of interrogating the popular “wave” theory. Focusing on one wing of this movement further facilitates the labor-intensive analysis required for detailed comparative and historical research. This is not to discount the importance of the liberal wing, or the wider political environment. The long-term patterns I reveal within this radical wing can provide a base-line for more focused research on the variations within the liberal wing, for comparisons of

the radical and liberal wings and also for potentially uncovering regional variations and comparisons in other movements or the larger institutional political environment.

Dissertation Outline

The dissertation proceeds as follows. Chapter 2 provides a detailed historical narrative of the women's movements in Chicago and New York City. In this chapter I argue that larger left milieus distinct to Chicago and New York City influenced the form and function of the women's movements in these two cities, with long-term consequences. The history presented in this chapter provides details to understand the analysis presented in the following chapters.

To formalize the differences between the women's movements in these two cities, chapters 3 and 4 treat the women's movement in each city as distinct fields; I measure the two elements of a field in turn: structure and culture. In Chapter 3 I use network analysis to measure the structure of each field. I analyze both the overall structure of each field in the two periods and I identify the structural location of various organizations in these fields. This analysis justifies the focus on select organizations in this chapter and provides the focal organizations in the next chapter. Chapter 3 measures the cognitive frameworks embodied in these dominant organizations in each city in two periods, the first wave and the second wave. I show that the dominant organizations in Chicago in both periods embodied a cognitive framework that was distinct from that embodied in the dominant organizations in New York City in both periods. Together, chapters 3 and 4 demonstrate precisely what was different in these two fields and what within these fields was being reproduced over time.

In Chapter 5 I turn to the question of how these fields are reproduced by analyzing the fields longitudinally. I provide evidence of institutional legacies within each city, demonstrating that the same types of organizations founded in the first wave also appear in the second wave. I additionally show that a number of first-wave organizations persisted into the second wave, providing concrete mechanisms through which the fields are reproduced. Using historical narratives I define three of these mechanisms by detailing three types of interactions between first- and second-wave organizations.

As a whole, this dissertation demonstrates first that the women's-movement fields in New York City and Chicago were fundamentally different, and second, that this difference persisted over time. The difference was first institutionalized during the first-wave movement, and this wave was influenced by the character of the broader left, as well as existing left organizations. The first wave left an institutional legacy that was then carried between waves, through actual organizations but also through institutionalized cognitive frameworks. Within each city the second-wave movement reemerged with a similar structure and culture to the first wave. My research thus provides a comprehensive account for why New York City and Chicago fell on different sides of the debate about whether to blame individuals or institutions for the oppression of women.

Chapter 2 — The Narrative: Bohemia, Feminism, Socialism, and Class

Hog Butcher for the World,
 Tool Maker, Stacker of Wheat,
 Player with Railroads and the Nation's Freight Handler;
 Stormy, husky, brawling,
 City of the Big Shoulders

From "Chicago," by Carl Sandburg

The mechanics of the city, the masters, well-form'd, beautiful-faced, looking you straight in the eyes;
 Trottoirs throng'd—vehicles—Broadway—the women—the shops and shows,
 The parades, processions, bugles playing, flags flying, drums beating;
 A million people—manners free and superb—open voices—hospitality—the most courageous and friendly young men

From "Mannahatta," by Walt Whitman

New York City and Chicago were the two most populous U.S. cities through the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and both drew eclectic populations, including writers, artists, activists, and intellectuals. These cities were both critical in shaping the development of the nation, but they did so in different ways. For example, New York City was the center of the cultural and musical scene in the United States, drawing artists and intellectuals from all over the world. Chicago was a main railroad hub in the mid-west, moving people and freight from the east to the west and back, and it processed more meat than any other place in the world (Skaggs 1986), providing protein to a growing nation. These two cities also had lively yet distinct progressive communities. A large section of these progressive communities included women organizing to increase their own status and make their communities better. The activities of the women in these two cities highlight the differences between the communities. I begin my analysis of U.S. women's movements with a historical description of the progressive communities in these two cities, focusing on the women's movement within each.

I first describe what was happening in the larger left in New York City and Chicago during and before the first-wave women's movement, and then, in more historical detail, I offer an alternative historical description of the first wave than is typically told, focusing on organizations that are not usually included in historical accounts of the first wave but are nonetheless critical to this movement. I then describe the second-wave women's liberation movement in these two cities, in light of my re-telling of the first wave. I end by summarizing what we can learn from this historical narrative, and how the next three analytical chapters formalize the argument about regional difference and temporal continuity within the women's movement suggested by this historical narrative.

This chapter is not meant to be a complete account of women's-movement activity in New York City and Chicago. The narrative offered here is shaped by the analytical argument that follows and it is meant to provide enough historical knowledge to motivate the analytical argument, as well as to set the parameters for evaluating that argument. In short, it is a selective re-telling of this history but it is not arbitrary, it is informed by both the qualitative and

quantitative analysis presented later.

City Character and the Left Milieu

Despite general similarities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, New York City and Chicago developed remarkably different characters as they evolved into the most populated and influential urban, industrial centers in the United States. New York City, in the nineteenth century, was the American “bohemia”, attracting avant-garde artists, writers, and revolutionaries to the bohemian center of Greenwich Village. “The Village”, as it was known, inaugurated a distinct style of politics that involved leveraging new cultural styles to produce social change through the creation of better, more advanced individuals. Chicago also instigated a unique style of politics, but rather than coming out of an artistic community it emerged from revolutionary working-class circles. As New York City was becoming the cultural and artistic capital of the U.S., Chicago was becoming the anarchist and socialist capital, attracting individuals, groups and a press that advocated for revolutionary politics, creating in the 1860s, according to labor intellectual Joe Gruenhut, a “working class democracy, the like of which had never existed before” (quoted in Schneirov 1998, 139). Out of this milieu Chicago produced a unique political ideology called Chicago Idea anarchism, blending union-based reforms with revolutionary ideology and anarchist tenets with Marxist ideas. New York City's bohemian community looked positively bourgeois in comparison to Chicago's rugged working-class culture. While both cities made their mark on American history during this era, they did so in very different ways.

Culture, Politics, and Women in the American Bohemia

New York City, from at least the mid-1800s, was a magnet city for artists, writers, and radicals, but above all, it attracted the avant-garde. This developing community wanted no boundaries; its residents wanted to use their lives to do something genuinely new, and barring this, they wanted to be part of whatever was new and “happening.” In culture and in politics, Greenwich Village, a neighborhood on the lower east side of Manhattan, became the center for people who were different, who wanted freedom from the strict mores of society and wanted to test the boundaries of art, writing, poetry, and politics. They pioneered a political style that intimately combined art and politics, believing that creating new forms of art would in itself create new and better types of people and thus a new, and better, society. “Villagers” used their art and politics, as well as their fashion and ways of living, to establish a community that was different in every way from “them”—the rest of society. People moved to New York City's Greenwich Village from across the nation and across the Atlantic in order to be part of this community, which collected together creative intellectuals, artists, and reformers from the U.S. and Europe. Together they mixed new fashions from Europe with a distinctly American romanticism, making Greenwich Village at the turn of the century the American bohemia.

Bohemian Culture

Edgar Allen Poe, who was probably America's first true bohemian, lived on Greenwich Street in the late 1830s and early 1840s (Wetzsteon 2002, 6), but the birthplace of American bohemianism as a community was at Charlie Pfaff's rathskeller in Greenwich Village, where

artists, writers, philosophers, and foreign visitors would gather to drink and debate all night. The notoriety of his guests, and their penchant for alcohol, attracted the attention (or rather, shock) of the uptown press, and the reputation of the Village as a bohemia was secured.

According to historian Ross Wetzsteon, bohemians were heirs of romanticism, with “an emphasis on idealism, on individualism, on revolt against convention, on artistic self-expression, on political liberation, on sexual emancipation, on the genius as outcast ...” (ibid., 9). Bohemia, he claimed, could only have happened in New York City, which was “at the intersection between the heartland and Europe.” New York City was “the nation’s cultural capital and media center, it was vulgar and vital, the American city that most encouraged diversity, that most lacked cultural consensus. It was seemingly in ceaseless chaos, stimulating creativity and idiosyncrasy” (ibid., 12). This bohemia was always changing, always looking for the new and the bold, never settling for what was.

Bohemians worked at the intersection of culture and politics, combining them in a unique way that would define New York City politics for decades to come, but to many, they were simply social deviants. And deviants they were, in dress and behavior. Key to the flourishing of alternative lifestyles in Greenwich Village was physically living with others of the same motivation, and creating visual and physical differences between “them” and the “rest of society”: new ways of dressing, new hair styles for women such as the “bob,” sandals, beards, drinking alcohol outside, women smoking in public, and women entertaining men who were not their husbands. The marked difference between Villagers and the rest of society extended to their treatment of art and the theater. This avant-garde artistic and theatrical style are best demonstrated, respectively, by an event, the Armory Show, and by an organization, the Provincetown Players.

The Armory Show was a three-day international art exhibit held at the U.S. National Guard armories in 1913, outside of Greenwich Village but planned and carried out by Villagers. It was the first time American audiences, who were accustomed to realist art, saw the experimental art styles from Europe, such as Fauvism, Cubism, and Futurism. The exhibit also showcased a number of American artists who were also pushing the boundaries of art. The exhibit was a celebration of freedom and expression. Nearly 90,000 people attended the exhibit and it sent shocks through the American art world, both because of its pioneering artistic elements and because it highlighted in particular the sexual exoticism of this new community. The American attendees, who had never seen abstract art and were still used to strict social mores, were puzzled and bemused by Duchamp's *Nude Descending a Staircase* and were shocked and angered by the distorted portrayal of a reclining nude woman in Matisse's *Blue Nude*. While rarely remembered today, the Armory Show successfully introduced the American public to the artists that would later become famous for their pioneering styles and it was a public celebration of the freedom and self-expression central to Village life.

While the Armory Show and its showcased artists were changing the U.S. artistic landscape, the Provincetown Players were fundamentally changing the nature of theater and the relationship between theater and audience. Many of the Villagers would spend summer vacations in a little town on Cape Cod called Provincetown. In the summer of 1915 a group of these Villagers, led by the theater-loving George “Jig” Cook, started to produce plays for one another in a little self-made theater, plays written by vacationing Villagers. Their summer theater was so popular they soon moved it into New York City under the name Provincetown Players. In Provincetown and in New York City, the Provincetown Players staged the first production of many rising American playwrights, including the Irish American playwright Eugene O'Neill and

feminist playwright and Pulitzer Prize-winner Susan Glaspell. They became famous for introducing the technique of realism into American dramas, and the plays they staged most often centered on the lives of those marginal to society, including women and housewives. Glaspell's play *Trifles*, an early example of feminist drama and a widely celebrated play, was first staged at the summer theater of the Provincetown Players (Ben-Zvi 2005; Carpentier 2008).

Jig and the other participants in the Provincetown Players consciously set themselves apart from mainstream American theater, particularly the commercial theater popular on Broadway. The Villagers regarded mainstream theater as they did art, as simply profit-making enterprises. Broadway produced shows that were commercially viable, not artistically great, they claimed. The amateur actors and playwrights of the Provincetown Players were committed to providing a communal space that would promote personal self-expression, like many of the Village establishments. They promoted local writers and local actors, and allowed the playwright to have a say in the artistic direction of the play. Literary scholar Martha Carpentier calls this group “the most important innovative moment in American theater” (2008, 2). Indeed it was the first successful amateur community theater in the U.S., and many more would follow. The playwrights they promoted would become some of the most famous American authors of the era.

In 1917 David Belasco, the self-appointed “Great Man” of mainstream American Theater, commented on the Provincetown Players in the *New York Herald*, perfectly capturing the relationship between “uptown” culture and the art being promoted by the Villagers. He began by criticizing “new theater” and then added his condemnation of new art, which he identified as cubism:

Theaters and acting organizations devoted to false ideals are not new, but never until this season have they been so vicious, vulgar, and degrading. . . . I have attended every one of these places devoted to the so-called “new art,” whose clumsy and amateurish directors have decided to be “different.” . . . This so-called new art of the theater—the wail of the incompetent and the degenerate. As cubism became the asylum of those pretenders in art who could not draw and had no conception of composition in painting, so “new art of the theater” is the haven of those who lack experience and knowledge of the drama. . . . O Art, Art, how many freakish things are committed in thy name! (quoted in Wetzsteon 2002, 129)

Mainstream society, or, according to the Villagers, the “rest of society” saw Villagers as vulgar, degrading, different, and above all, new, but despite their differences, or rather because of their differences, the Villagers changed the shape of American culture in many different arenas.

Bohemian Politics

These early bohemians not only pushed the boundaries of the cultural, they also pushed the boundaries of what it meant to be political. Their politics was a unique combination of Marx and Freud, blending class politics and the belief in the communal with individual improvement and the underlying desire for the freedom of self-expression. Villager Mabel Dodge recounts the importance of Freud in the lives of Villagers, noting that almost everyone was participating in psychoanalysis in an effort to improve themselves; ideas around sexual force, sexual self-expression, and sublimation were at the center of many political discussions (Luhan [1936]1985, 307). In this atmosphere many left movements flourished in New York City, and the Greenwich Village left in general was diverse, blending social centers with artistic and intellectual centers,

and connecting both of these to formal political organizations. The only unifying theme within the left in New York was a general aversion to any form of political ideology and dogma. Reformers and revolutionaries of all types were welcome, ranging from socialists and anarchists to single-taxers and feminists. Also unique to the politics of the Village was their confidence in the redemptive power of art. They believed that changes in art, poetry, and writing would be enough to bring about a social revolution and build better people (Luhan [1936]1985), and most organizations and institutions in Greenwich Village aimed to do just that.

Major Greenwich Village institutions included The Liberal Club, Mabel Dodge's "Evenings", and the magazine *The Masses*, each which connected artists and writers to political organizations such as the Socialist Party and the IWW, forming a melting pot of reformist and revolutionary ideas.

Bringing everyone together for debate and discussion, the wealthy feminist Villager Mabel Dodge hosted weekly "Evenings." In her large apartment on 5th avenue in the center of Greenwich Village, Dodge started in mid-1912 to invite all sorts of activists, artists, and intellectuals for weekly dinners, full of good food and lots of alcohol. These evenings allowed the free flow of information among Village radicals and artists, and many of the most important Village activities were launched and planned during the discussions, including the Armory Show (Luhan [1936]1985).

The Liberal Club, located in mid-town Manhattan, was a more formal venue for progressive debate, discussion, and action. It drew upper-class members who were progressives, philanthropists, and genteel socialists. Villagers began to attend Liberal Club meetings in the late 1900s and started leading them in a more radical direction, much to the annoyance of the older progressives. In 1913 a number of debates happening in the Liberal Club came to a zenith: their stances on whether known radicals, like Emma Goldman, could become members, whether they should allow Black members, and whether they should support feminism. The case of Henrietta Rodman split the Liberal Club for good. Rodman, a "militant feminist," was a teacher at a school in New York City and had hidden her recent marriage from the state; when they discovered the marriage, they fired her. She took this opportunity to publicly protest the New York law that forbade married women from being teachers, and she wanted the Liberal Club to rally behind her protest. This proved far too radical for the older progressives and the resulting debate split The Liberal Club into a conservative and radical factions. The conservative faction left, and the radicals moved the Liberal Club into Greenwich Village, where they supported both Rodman's protest and feminism more generally. They continued to hold lectures, on subjects as diverse as poetry and free verse, the Tango, eugenics, the slit skirt, sex hygiene, Richard Strauss, the single tax, anarchism, and birth control (Rosenstone 1990).

Support for feminism in the Village was far-reaching and was promoted through left journals, particularly *The Masses*. A popular and influential journal, *The Masses* openly advocated socialism, suffrage, birth control, and feminism. Founded in 1911 in Greenwich Village, it combined social justice politics with art, poetry, and literature, publishing writings by the major radicals of the time such as Crystal Eastman, John Reed, and Floyd Dell. Like the Provincetown Players, *The Masses* believed in providing a communal space to promote personal self-expression in writing and poetry, and it published those who would later become famous for their unique writing styles, including Sherwood Anderson, Upton Sinclair, Amy Lowell, and Carl Sandburg. As the Provincetown Players were revolutionizing American theater, and the Armory Show revolutionized American art, *The Masses* was making an impact on American literature, and was thoroughly political as it did so.

Women were absolutely central to the cultural community of Greenwich Village. One of the first and most lasting institutions was Heterodoxy, which formed in 1912 and remained in continuous existence into the 1940s, longer than any other Village institution. Mabel Dodge hosted her “Evenings.” Margaret Sanger led the birth control movement, a key political movement of the time. Emma Goldman and Elizabeth Gurly Flynn led working-class activity. Gertrude Stein organized the artistic community and pioneered the new “New York” style of writing. The women of Provincetown, crucial to the new community theater movement in the US, often made the money that their husbands lived off of, and they produced a significant number of the plays, journal articles, and writing that were part of this movement (Ben-Zvi 2005). Even before the split in the Liberal Club, feminism, free love, and birth control were a central distinguishing feature of the Village, separating it from proper midtown society and the old guard Progressives, who clung tight to their mores and social values. The changing relationship between the sexes, spurred further by the interest of Villagers in Freud and the power of sex, made women and women's issues a central concern for the radical left (Rosenstone 1990). For many Villagers, economic freedom and sexual freedom went hand in hand. The general support for feminist ideas and freedom of thought nurtured by the New York left, and the importance of women in this community, allowed for the cultivation of new types of feminist organizations, and the development of new theories about the oppression of women. The feminism developed in New York City followed the fundamental Village culture of creating communal spaces that encouraged self-expression, social change through individual betterment, and a dedication to being new.

Overall, the New York City left milieu was open, diverse, and extensible, encouraging self-expression and the creation of new forms and new narratives in multiple arenas, including politics. This New York City bohemian culture stands in stark contrast to left milieu in Chicago during this same period. While New York City was attracting an eclectic mix of artists, radicals, and leftists, Chicago was establishing itself as the center of revolutionary working-class politics, nurturing the development of unique and influential socialist and anarchist organizations.

Revolution, Reform, and Class in Chicago

Between 1860 and 1890 industrialization was increasing at a rapid rate in the United States, concentrated in urban centers where cheap labor was abundant. As more factory jobs and other manufacturing jobs became available, these urban centers attracted large immigrant populations, mainly from Europe. Regulatory laws were basically non-existent as industry was growing, and landlords and employers took full advantage of this situation. Large tenement buildings were built to house the influx of labor into cities, and workers and families crowded into these poorly built, dark, airless buildings. The living conditions were dense and dirty, there were no sanitation services, and disease was rampant. In every urban city the death rates in these industrial sections was much higher than other sections. Working conditions were equally unregulated. There were no minimum wage or maximum hour laws, nor were their child labor laws or compulsory schooling laws. Men, women, and children would often work 12-hour days, six or seven days a week for very little pay, and women and children were paid much less than men for the same work.

Different sections of the population organized in different ways to change the conditions that produced these urban slums. Some turned to charity work, others organized for more government regulations and social control, and a small but influential section believed the only

solution was a revolution and the drastic economic restructuring of society. There were many different groups of revolutionaries, each with their own ideas about how to organize for a revolution, what the revolution might do, and what society would look like post-revolution. These disciplined and often sectarian groups were the lifeforce of the Chicago left.

During the mid- to late-nineteenth century, the Chicago left was dominated by a series of hegemonic and disciplined working-class organizations. In the 1870s the Socialist Labor Party claimed the hegemonic position in the Chicago left, in the early 1880s it was the Knights of Labor, and by 1885 anarchists took over as the dominant force. The 1880s, or the “Haymarket years,” as they came to be called, made a definitive mark on the Chicago left, influencing subsequent politics, particularly women's politics.

The socialists were first catapulted to the head of the labor movement in Chicago during the Great Railroad Strike of 1877. The Great Railroad Strike began in West Virginia and quickly spread to other states. Chicago, a central railroad hub, was integral to this strike, and the leadership in Chicago consisted largely of socialists organized in the Workingman's Party of the United States (WPUS). Socialists in general were a strong force in Chicago labor circles, particularly in the German-speaking population. In 1878 a police lieutenant declared that “nearly every one” of the workingmen in his area was a “strong socialist” (quoted in Schneirov 1998, 83). In 1878 the WPUS changed its name to the Socialist Labor Party (SLP), which at that time occupied organizational hegemony over Chicago labor, but this hegemony was short-lived. In 1879 Albert Parsons helped establish the Trades and Labor Assembly, which overtook the SLP among labor leaders, and in the early 1880s the Knights of Labor filled the void left by SLP. Just as socialist leaders had done in the upheaval in 1877, the Knights, by 1883, were teaching “the importance of persuasion and solidarity based on commitment to universal principles and a perceived common interest” (ibid., 113). The Knights soon overshadowed the Trades and Labor Assembly as the “city's umbrella organization” (ibid., 128), under the principle that “an injury to one is the concern of all.” Starting with the SLP and continuing through a series of organizations, the Chicago left was defined by a desire to discover the single best ideological program that could unite the masses behind an anti-capitalist revolution.

This revolutionary, ideological attitude came to a peak in Chicago during the 1880s, when the left in general, including the Knights of Labor, were moving in an associational, antistatist direction. In addition to the Knights of Labor, anarchists occupied a central role in the revolutionary politics of this decade, nurtured by the revolutionary fervor in Chicago. Anarchists generally organized around the ideas of Marx, Proudhon, and Bakunin to work for a socialist revolution in the United States, envisioning a stateless society that was more or less self-organizing. While their end goal was the elimination of the state, many also fought for reforms that would improve conditions for the working class. This anarchist movement was present throughout the nation, but Chicago was “the principal stronghold of the movement, with the deepest roots, the most active press, and the largest number of members and groups” (Avrich 1986, 85). Avrich continues: Chicago, “with its crowded immigrant population and long history of labor unrest, was fertile soil for anarchist propaganda and organization. In no other American city was class demarcation sharper or the gap between the rich and poor more conspicuous. In no other city was the reputation for police brutality more notorious or the economic crisis more sorely felt” (ibid., 85-6). Chicago became known early on for its anarchist politics, and the most famous anarchists, such as Albert Parsons, Lucy Parsons, and August Spies, called Chicago home. By 1885 there were at least 1,000 anarchists in Chicago, and by the beginning of 1886 there were 2,800 anarchists in Chicago organized in 26 autonomous groups (Schneirov 1998).

Significantly, anarchists exercised leadership over a large part of the trade union movement. By 1885 the International Working People's Association (IWPA) had replaced the Knights as the central Chicago organization. The IWPA was an international anarchist organization established in 1881 in England. The U.S. branch of the IWPA was established in 1883 in Pittsburgh, led by Johann Most and Chicago residents August Spies and Albert R. Parsons. The IWPA, along with the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions (FOTLU) and the Knights of Labor, led the movement for the eight-hour day, which was flourishing in the 1880s.

The Haymarket riot, which happened during a strike for the eight-hour day in 1886, marked a turning point in the anarchist movement and made Chicago's anarchists infamous. At the 1884 FOTLU convention, members unanimously declared May 1, 1886, as the date by which the eight-hour day would become standard, and rallies, demonstrations, and strikes were held all over the nation leading up to this day. In Chicago the major strike in support of the eight hour day happened on May 4, 1886, when strikers had gathered at Haymarket Square for a peaceful assembly. As the police attempted to disperse the gathering, an unidentified person threw a bomb, which prompted a flurry of gun fire, and seven police officers and four civilians were killed. The police blamed the anarchists, and following the affair eight anarchists were arrested for conspiracy. None were charged with actually throwing the bomb, but all eight were convicted and seven were sentenced to death. Of these, two sentences were commuted to life in prison, one killed himself, and four were hanged in 1887. These anarchists were considered by some as martyrs of the labor movement, by others as enemies of the state.

The Haymarket affair had a long-term impact on the labor movement. It was a major reason why May 1 became “international workers day,” established in part to honor those who had died for the struggle. The affair additionally strengthened the resolve of many who were fighting for the eight-hour day, and the campaign continued in the years that followed. Importantly, it had a definite effect on the general atmosphere around anarchism and organized labor both in Chicago and across the nation for years to follow. If it was not already, anarchism became associated with violence, and all anarchists, and those associated with anarchists, were automatically under state suspicion. Controlling the anarchist movement became a central concern for Chicago's government.

The revolutionary ideology of the Haymarket martyrs, unique among anarchists, has come to be known as the “Chicago Idea.” Chicago Idea anarchism was a combination of anarchist and Marxist politics that came to dominate the revolutionary left in Chicago and distinguished it from the left in other locations. Generally, Chicago Idea ideology considered labor unions as both instruments of class struggle and as prefigurative organs of a post-capitalist society; labor unions could and should win reforms for the working class, but they were also a necessary precondition to a socialist society—they would take the place of the state as the institutions through which society would be organized after a revolution. Unlike some revolutionaries who did not want to fight for immediate reforms, Chicago Idea anarchists worked within and through unions for reforms, but their end goal was not reform, but revolution. This idea was prominent in the IWPA, which declined after the Haymarket affair, and was re-institutionalized in the form of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), established in Chicago in 1905 at a conference of socialists, anarchists, and radical union activists. The goal of IWW was to promote working-class solidarity by creating “one big union,” one that, in theory, accepted all workers in the revolutionary struggle to overthrow capitalism. The IWW became a staple presence in the revolutionary left, and was the dominant political force in Chicago in the first decades of the twentieth century. They found a home in Chicago among Chicago Idea

anarchists, but they often had trouble finding a foothold in other communities, and never had more than a small ideological effect on New York City progressives.

Equally as important, the decade following the Haymarket years decidedly influenced the larger reform-minded left in Chicago, including women. Many famous middle- and upper-class Chicago reformers, including Jane Addams, John Peter Altgeld, and Henry Demarest Lloyd, had personal contact with labor reformers and socialists formed in the Haymarket period, and they subsequently made the working class central to their reform efforts. While a portion of Chicago middle-class intellectuals became entrenched in their own class politics following the Haymarket affair, turning staunchly anti-socialist and pro-business, other reformers felt enlightened by this episode, and believed that reform could only happen by surmounting class barriers. These reformers believed in socialism as a theory (although not the violent socialism advocated by some anarchists) and believed both socialists and anarchists had to be involved in any reform attempts. In 1888, Lloyd, one of these “enlightened” reformers, along with his wife Jesse, turned their suburban home into a “social mecca of transoceanic reform,” a salon where reformers met with labor leaders and socialists. These salon encouraged many others to undergo a similar personal evolution as Lloyd had experienced, where they too found the need for unions, socialists, and anarchists in the reform effort (Schneirov 1998, 266). Among these was feminist reformer Jane Addams.

By the 1890s socialism was the leading doctrine in Chicago in almost all left circles, including many reform circles. When feminist and socialist Frances Kelley arrived in Chicago in 1891 she found “the city's intellectual environs fertile ground for socialist ideas” (ibid., 331). She excitedly reported this to Frederick Engels, detailing all the talks she had given throughout Chicago on socialism. In this milieu, almost every reform effort on the left was geared toward improving the lives of the working class and moving society away from capitalism and toward more self-government. Within this general socialist-friendly environment, the sectarian debates among socialist and anarchist organizations that had begun in the 1870s continued. These debates about socialism, reform, and politics were nurtured through middle-class reform organizations.

After the initial repression following the Haymarket riot, Chicagoans believed that the only solution to acts of anarchy was free speech and open debate about the government. Hull House, a settlement house founded by women reformers Jane Addams and Ellen Starr Gates, was the center of much of these discussions, largely because of their open-door policy and belief in the centrality of the working class (Addams 1910). Everyone's opinions during these debates, according to Addams, were “vigorous and dogmatic”; rather than doing the difficult work to win reforms which would improve the lives of working people, radicals wanted to know exactly what “utopia” looked like and how to get there (Addams 1910, 120). These radicals had different ideas about what the root problem was, but all thought that once “the root of things” was understood, utopia would be possible. Addams recounted one such discussion at Hull House:

I recall one evening in this club when an exasperated member had thrown out the statement that “Mr. B. believes that socialism will cure the toothache.” Mr. B. promptly rose to his feet and said that it certainly would, that when every child's teeth were systematically cared for from the beginning, toothache would disappear from the face of the earth, belonging, as it did, to the extinct competitive order, as the black plague had disappeared from the earth with the ill-regulated feudal regime of the Middle Ages. (ibid., 118)

The radicals and revolutionaries active in Chicago truly believed a revolution, and thus utopia, was around the corner, and they took their role in this revolution seriously.

Anyone active in the left, or anyone engaging this community, had to contend with its ideological and even dogmatic bent. While the word *dogmatic* is often used as an insult, as a way to declare someone as inflexible, rigid, and even brainwashed, the dogmatism of Chicago groups signified instead that individuals were completely devoted to their principles. They believed a better world was possible and fought with passion to achieve that world. This passion enabled the labor movement in Chicago to make a strong mark on the city government; both main parties in Chicago courted labor, as they knew that where labor went, the vote followed (Schneirov 1998). Compared to the devotion to the working class present in the Chicago left, the New York City left appeared positively ignorant to the everyday realities of the majority of the population. The dogma of Chicago organizations united the left around reforms that benefited the working-class, and the legislation won in Chicago was repeated throughout the nation.

Starting in the early 1900s, two organizations led the Chicago left: the IWW, mentioned above, and the Socialist Party—formed in 1901 in part by former members of the SLP. These organizations influenced every aspect of the left, including the newly forming counter-cultural scene. While New York City was known as *the* counter-cultural enclave in the U.S., Chicago also developed a counter-cultural community, albeit one that was established much later than the Greenwich Village bohemia and that maintained a devoted focus on working-class politics that was diluted in the Village.

In the first decades of the 1900s, Chicago was recognized as the capital of political “soapboxing” and political “forums.” Chicago quickly became the main midwest center for forward-looking thinkers, and many of the midwestern writers and artists who eventually ended up, and became famous, in New York City, such as Floyd Dell and Susan Glaspell, got their start in the Chicago counter-cultural scene. This community started in the Washington Square Park neighborhood in Chicago, or Bughouse Square, as locals referred to it. Here, political speakers would set up boxes and lecture from them nightly—multiple people speaking at different locations in the park. They would draw crowds of hundreds and even thousands, many of whom came to hear the hecklers as much as the speakers. Intense political debate happened in this park, and while all believed in the need for a revolution they also believed that only those with the correct “political line” would be able to lead a successful revolution. These debates continued through the summer and autumn months, but as the winter months brought freezing temperatures the debates moved inside to Bohemian teahouses and forums around the city. An entire counter-cultural scene developed around these speakers, forums, and teahouses. As spaces became too small to contain the growing crowd, new, and bigger, spaces were formed, now called “clubs.” Numerous clubs developed in the area near Bughouse Square, which provided more space for political speakers but also expanded the entertainment to include theater, music, and dances.

The most famous of the counter-cultural clubs in Chicago was the Dill Pickle, founded in 1917 by Jack Jones, IWW member and one-time husband of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. The radical physician Ben Reitman soon joined and quickly made the club famous throughout Chicago and the nation. Many well-known speakers frequented the Dill Pickle, including Emma Goldman, Slim Brundage, Jack Sheridan, Jim Larken (a co-founder), and Lucy Parsons. While many compared Towertown—the district that housed the majority of the soapboxes, clubs, and forums—to New York's Greenwich Village, Chicago's bohemia was decidedly more working class in its revolutionary politics.

Like Greenwich Village, though, women were very active in this scene, starting and

owning many of the popular political forums at a time when women business-owners were rare. In his book *Paris Was Our Mistress: Memoirs of a Lost and Found Generation*, Samuel Putnam described Towertown as a women's bohemia: "It is the young women who open most of the studios, run most of the tearooms and restaurants, most of the little art shops and book stalls, manage the exhibits and little theaters, dominate the life of the bohemia of American cities. And in Towertown the women are, on the whole, noticeably superior to the men" (1970, 140–141). Women were active in the Dill Pickle, helping put on plays, organizing music and art, and making popular speeches with titles like, "Will Amazonic Women Usurp Man's Sphere?", and "How Women Should Treat Men" (Newberry Library, Dill Pickle Collection, Box 1). Alternatives to marriage, including free love, were central to the women of Towertown, with many women disregarding traditional marriage and family life for more independence. Emma Goldman, an IWW member and guest of the Dill Pickle, was a strong proponent of free love, touring the country to promote free love and birth control with her on and off lover, Dr. Ben Reitman. Reitman was arrested multiple times for promoting birth control in the Dill Pickle and his practice in Chicago (Rosemont 2003).

While women within the counter-cultural left in Chicago promoted and fought for issues important to women, they never used the word *feminism*. The IWW promoted equality between men and women, and counted many women among its members, but they did not take women-specific issues seriously, preferring to fight only for unionization and pro-working-class reforms. Men within the left were not always allies of left women, and some resented their presence. For example, one man who frequented the Dill Pickle, in his autobiography, referred to women who came into the club as almost all "prostitutes who had drifted in off North Clark Street, lonely for coffee and company, as whores always are" (Rexroth 1966, 129–31). Another counter-cultural poet, Samuel Putnam, complained that poetry was being taken over by spinsters and the "frequently too feminine sex," and found that this was ruining it as an art (Putnam 1925).

The counter-cultural scene in Chicago gave women a space to develop as individuals, and to develop their consciousness around their place in society as women, but women did not organize around feminism as an explicit theory. Instead, as I show below, women in Chicago worked through organizations like the Socialist Party and Hull House to develop a class-based theory of women's oppression, and they fought for issues that affected working-class women. In contrast to feminists in New York City who organized around the needs of middle- and upper-class women, women in Chicago were among the first in the nation to make working-women's issues central to women's issues.

Compared to New York City, with its open and extensible culture that attracted a wide range of left activists, including feminists, Chicago's left milieu was devoted primarily, and even solely, to a class revolution, and any and all theories about social change had to directly advance the cause of the working class. While New York City was critical of the lack of individual freedom they perceived in the Chicago left, the Chicago left saw the bohemian left in New York City as bourgeois and reactionary. These two different characters, or distinct *zeitgeists*, produced women's movements with much different styles in each city. Women on the left in Chicago, much more than in New York City, successfully placed working-class women's issues at the center of their movement. Feminism as an independent theory was thriving in New York City while women involved in the left in Chicago developed a class analysis of women's oppression. Women in New York City were focused on changing individual hearts and minds while women in Chicago were attempting to make the everyday lives of low-income women, and their

families, more livable. The form of the women's movements during this period would have long-term effects on women's organizing in each city.

Radical Feminism in New York City

A very distinctive form of feminism arose in New York City in the 1910s, one influenced by the larger left political scene there, and one that is almost an exact antecedent copy of the radical feminism that scholars typically locate in the second-wave women's liberation movement. Early radical feminists believed society could be understood as a division between sex-classes, where one sex-class, men, controlled all of society, and had done so throughout history. Women, as a sex-class, were dominated by men, and women's lives, along with their understanding of their lives, reflected this domination. These feminists, like other leftists in New York City, believed that changing individuals, in particular individual consciousness, was key to changing the unequal situation between men and women. They also sought a change in the way society viewed women, and, like many Greenwich Village men, they wanted to change the fundamental sexual relationship between men and women, including marriage and the nuclear family.

I have shown that the left in Greenwich Village was devoted to the avant-garde and focused on the freedom of self-expression with the goal of creating new and better individuals through psychological change. Feminists in Greenwich Village also followed this pattern. Their main goal was a changed society that allowed women to freely develop as complete humans, accomplished by changing individual consciousness. Their approach coalesced into a new theory about women's oppression, one that is still prevalent today: radical feminism.

Feminism as a Distinct Social Movement

The 1910s, particularly before WWI, was a decade of heightened political action in the United States, and in New York City, as I have described, feminism was a significant part of this activity. Even early in the decade people knew the women's movement was a major social force; by 1914 the New York City left generally agreed that feminism, distinct from suffrage, had become a significant social movement. Evidence of this consensus exists in many of the dominant periodicals of this period.

In December of 1911, for example, *The Masses* devoted an entire issue to women, claiming: "All over the country two movements are quickening, growing and becoming more lusty day by day. One of these movements is Socialism; the other is the crusade for the enfranchisement of women" ("Women and Socialism" 1911, 3). In February of 1913, when feminism as a theory distinct from suffrage was gaining momentum, the popular magazine *McClure's* started a Department for Women, headed by radical feminist Inez Milholland. Their goal was to treat the new feminist movement in "a sensible, straightforward manner," claiming, "No movement of this century is more significant or more deep-rooted than the movement to readjust the social position of women" ("A New Department for Women" 1913, 206). By May 1914 feminism had fully infiltrated the U.S. press. In an editorial called "The Revolt of the Woman" in *The Century Magazine*, republished in *The New York Times*, editors declared that feminism was here to stay, that it would win, and that when it did, the world would be a better place: "The time has come to define feminism: it is no longer possible to ignore it. The germ is in the blood of our women. The principle is in the heart of our race. The doctrine and its corollaries are on every tongue. . . . Like every demand for human freedom, feminism will succeed; and,

when it does come to pass, the human race will attain for the first time its full efficiency” (“The Revolt of the Women” 1914). The press was enamored by feminism not because a few influential individuals were involved but because there were feminist organizations in New York City with membership lists in the hundreds, and there were mass public meetings in New York City devoted to feminism. By 1914 the left and the press were generally united in the belief that feminism was a significant and profound new movement, one that would continue to grow and one that would change society for good.

While suffragists and liberal feminists wanted legal reforms to modify the status quo to be more friendly to women, the young feminists that seized the attention of the press believed that only a complete revolution could truly liberate women. For example, in a *Harper's Weekly* article entitled “The Younger Suffragists,” Winnifred Harper Cooley argued that woman suffrage, while important, was only one part of a larger revolution. Feminists, she claimed, “consider the vote the merest tool, a means to an end—that end being a complete social revolution” (Cooley [1913]2002, 16). Suffrage was only the beginning of a social revolution that Cooley believed was “sweeping every civilized country, and is the prophecy of the dawn of a to-morrow far brighter and better than yesterday or to-day” (ibid., 19). Other feminists also saw reforms as part of something much larger. In her article “What is Feminism?” published in 1914 in *Good Housekeeping*, Rose Young claimed that the reforms for which women were fighting were all “parts of something greater, vaster,” a total revolution (Young 1914, 23). This social revolution signified that what it meant to be a man and a woman would completely change: “Feminism is not a female with fewer petticoats; it does not seek to crinoline men,” claimed feminist George Middleton. “It asks a new fashion in the social garments of each” (“Feminist Mass Meeting” 1914, 26). For a group of young activists, feminism progressed beyond economic and political reforms and entailed a complete transformation of society itself.

In New York City, feminism took the form of what scholars call radical feminism, which existed both as a theory, developed by a number of feminist intellectuals, and in organizational form, particularly through two organizations, Heterodoxy and The Feminist Alliance. Three aspects of this early radical feminism were crucial to its ideology and organizational form: 1) the idea of women forming a sex-class with different interests than men as a sex-class; 2) the belief that the monogamous nuclear family was at the center of women's oppression; and 3) the ideological role of this sex-class system which could only be changed by transforming individual and social consciousness. I elaborate on each of these aspects below.

Men and Women as Antagonistic Sex-Classes

Suffragist, feminist, and author Inez Milholland most succinctly articulated the radical feminist theory being developed in New York City during this period in an article called “The Liberation of a Sex”—the inaugural article of *McClure's Department of Women* (Milholland 1913). In the article Milholland claimed that members of “a sex” have a common interest and will struggle, as a group, “to extend ever more widely its freedom and power” (ibid., 182). Men and women, in other words, form separate groups, each with their own needs, and these antagonistic groups will necessarily fight for their own interests. These two sex-classes were fundamental to society, claimed Milholland, and this antagonism has existed throughout history. “[S]ex itself [is] a basis of human relations,” she claimed, and women's enslavement on the basis of their sex has endured “through various modifications, from the dim background of history until the present time” (ibid., 185).

Women as a class were not simply different than men, claimed 1910s radical feminists, but were relegated to an inferior status by men, who had the social, moral, and cultural power to do so. In “estimating human excellence,” claimed feminist Frances G. Richards, “a masculine standard has been established and those who have failed to measure up to it have been pronounced 'inferior'. . . man has accorded woman second place and then regarded her with more or less friendly contempt because she was secondary” (Richards [1914]2002, 33). Men “from times remote,” Richards continued, attest to “woman's mental and moral inferiority” and accord them treatment worthy of their second class status (ibid., 34). Significantly, radical feminists in New York City blamed women's oppression on men, not institutions, as most other groups of women were doing during this period.

Radical feminists gave this system, where men as a sex-class dominated women as a sex-class, two names: patriarchy and “androcentric culture.” Charlotte Perkins Gilman, one of the most prolific feminist writers of this era, applied the phrase “androcentric culture” to explain women's oppression in her radical feminist treatise *The Man Made World; or, Our Androcentric Culture*, first published in 1911.⁷ In it she argued that humans have almost universally lived in an “androcentric culture,” or a world controlled by men:

The history, such as it was, was made and written by men. The mental, the mechanical, the social development, was almost wholly theirs. We have, so far, lived and suffered and died in a man-made world. So general, so unbroken, has been this condition, that to mention it arouses no more remark than the statement of a natural law. We have taken it for granted, since the dawn of civilization, that "mankind" meant men-kind, and the world was theirs. (1911, 17)

Gilman claimed that the idea that men as a group should control and oppress women as a group is one of the oldest and most common “unquestioned world ideas” (21). In her book Gilman explained how every institution—e.g. religion, the state, the family—is, and always has been, ruled by men, and she detailed the consequences of androcentric culture on every aspect of our world, including education, economics, politics, crime and punishment, fashion and culture, sports, and art and literature. Gilman argued that the dominance of androcentric culture has been disastrous for women—as servants to men, women are prevented from developing fully as human beings, only developing the parts of themselves that please men—but it has also stunted the development of human society as a whole, preventing society's use of women's full capacities and talents.

The Personal is Political

New York City feminists argued that the changes feminism sought would ultimately reach the most basic institutions in society, including the nuclear family, marriage, and sexual relationships between men and women, institutions and relationships largely thought of as private, or outside the political arena. Women, as a political sex-class, will naturally focus on the institutions most important to them, claimed Milholland: “home and marriage itself,” and women's liberation must be brought to these institutions (1913, 188). We as a society cannot

⁷ The opposite of androcentrism is gynocentrism. These words were first used by Professor Lester F. Ward in chapter 14 of his book *Pure Sociology: A Treatise on the Origins and Spontaneous Development of Society* ([1903]1970).

liberate women, she claimed, “without ultimately finding ourselves facing radical changes in [women's] relations with man” (ibid.). As women attempt these changes they will find that a woman's “home' has, in the complex of social life of our time, become entangled in a thousand ways with the outside life of the community and the nation” (ibid.). Women's personal problems in the private area of the home, claimed radical feminists, are in fact the political problems of the public sphere and the nation. In contemporary terms, these feminists made the personal political.

Enforced monogamy was one target for feminists, as they believed it kept women sexually enslaved to one man even as men were morally free to do as they pleased. “Every woman in her right senses bitterly resents the injustices of the man-made world,” claimed feminist Winnifred Cooley, “which has for centuries branded the scarlet letter on the woman's breast, and let the man go scot-free” ([1913]2002, 17). Feminists across the board believed women were held to a different sexual morality than men and wanted to change this situation. Many believed the solution was to hold men to women's more strict sexual standard (Echols 1989). Radical feminists, however, wanted to open up the possibilities for women to enjoy their sexuality. They wanted to “abolish monogamy,” or, as they called it, “legal prostitution,” allowing women to explore their own sexuality free from the moral dictates of society which had thus far limited their sexuality (Cooley [1913]2002, 18).

At the root of all these issues, however—the home, monogamy, marriage—was the nuclear family, and these feminists above all wanted to remove the nuclear family as the main economic unit in society. Gilman most forcefully made this point as she emphasized the material causes and consequences of a society dominated by men, particularly the economic causes. Borrowing from Marx and other materialists, Gilman believed that humans are shaped primarily by what they do for a living, in particular how humans labor to meet their basic needs. Humans are unique among the animal world in that the female sex depends wholly and completely on the male sex, she claimed—women are economically dependent on men, for food, shelter, and clothing. The consequence is that women's whole lives are devoted to pleasing men, and their psyches or temperaments are developed through this subordination (Gilman [1898]1994). This economic dependence began at a time when women were tied to the home because of their role in reproduction, claimed Gilman. Because women were tied to the home, men were free to completely control industry as it developed outside of the home. As this industry became the sole source of income for private families, women became economically dependent on men, and men have maintained this power and economic domination since.

For Gilman, dismantling patriarchy had to be rooted in the material world, beginning with a fundamental change in the family structure that was maintaining women's economic subordination to men. The base of the nuclear family was a monogamous relationship between a man and a woman, where the woman was expected to take care of the house and children, and the man, who controlled the household, took on a career. The most important thing, Gilman claimed, was for women to escape the yoke of economic dependence perpetuated by the family: women must work, have careers, and maintain full control over the money they make.⁸ To enable this transformation Gilman suggested socializing and professionalizing housework and childcare through cooperative living situations, with a professional cooks and professional childcare providers, with the rest of the adults choosing other professions. Any and all of these positions could be filled by men or women, she claimed. This living situation would have the added benefit of creating better households over all, as house care and child care, when taken away

8 At the time Gilman was writing women were still fighting for the right to control their own wages and property as married women.

from the individual mother, would introduce service, skill, and trained experts into the process (Gilman [1898]1994). This cooperative living situation fundamentally challenged the nuclear family, releasing women from the social dictates of monogamous marriage. Gilman's idea was adopted by other feminists and feminist organizations, as I further detail below.

Ideology, Society, and Consciousness

While some focused on these material and concrete aspects of patriarchy, rooted in the nuclear family, other feminists focused on the social and ideological elements, arguing that a change in social and individual consciousness was a prerequisite for women's freedom. Women and men, claimed feminists, are socialized into different roles and temperaments, and the strength of this socialization, combined with the belief that women are inferior to men, is so pervasive that people begin to believe these roles are natural, or based on biology. The strength of socializations leads to the ideological power of patriarchy, reproducing the social system from generation to generation. Real change would have to dismantle this patriarchal ideology, beginning with a change in individual consciousnesses.

Patriarchy's ideological power begins with the socialization of men and women into different roles, where women become focused on beauty and winning a husband while men focus on developing a career. This socialization begins from childhood and continues throughout life, claimed feminists. Feminist Mary Roberts Coolidge described how labeling the sex of babies by the color of their ribbons leads to differential treatment: "By the time the infant could walk and talk, she had learned that there were things taboo for her which were perfectly proper for the little male creatures of her kind" (Coolidge 1912, 4). Girls soon learn that their sole purpose is "beauty, particularly a purely physical and luscious loveliness" (ibid., 5). Because women were often completely economically dependent on men, and because the best way for a woman to have a good life was to get married, women were taught from a young age that they should look and act only to attract a man. They should not live for themselves, society claimed, they should live for the "masculine ideal."

Radical feminists claimed that this masculine ideal is perpetuated and augmented through culture, extending patriarchy's ideological power. Because women were so committed to winning the affection of men, being socialized to do so from birth, and because of their economic necessity to find a husband, women came to believe that the masculine ideal was actually true to themselves. In her article "Feminism," printed in *The New York Times* in 1913, literary critic Ellen Glasgow argued that "the masculine ideal of woman," so often portrayed in literature, has become so pervasive that women actively shape themselves to fit this ideal and in doing so reinforce it: "When woman herself has shown such eagerness to conform to man's ideal of her that she has cheerfully defied nature and reshaped both her soul and body after the model he put before her, one can hardly demand of a man novelist that he should write of her as she is and not as he desires that she should be" ([1913]2002, 20). Women become complicit in their own domination by consistently trying to live up to the masculine ideal. This reshaping has been happening for so long, Glasgow claimed, that women now believe in the masculine ideal as actually true to women's nature. "Ages of false thinking about her on the part of others," claimed Glasgow, "have bred in woman the dangerous habit of false thinking about herself, and she has denied her own humanity so long and so earnestly that she has come at last almost to believe in the truth of her denial" (ibid.). It is this socialization into sex roles and its reinforcement through culture, in other words the social consciousness about women, that many feminists wanted to

disrupt.

The most important change in social consciousness, claimed the early radical feminists, was to liberate women from being defined always in relationship to men, and in particular, being defined only as “their sex,” not as full human beings. Cooley, in “The Younger Suffragists,” lamented that “[women] are never referred to except in their relationship to men. It is always 'the wife and mother,' 'the sweetheart and sister,' not simply 'the woman'” (Cooley [1913]2002, 18). Rose Young echoed this sentiment: “Woman for the sake of man,' 'woman for the sake of children,' 'woman for the sake of the community,' yes; but woman for her own sake seems even yet not only too much of a luxury, but too much of a menace to a civilization long used to regarding woman not as herself, but only in relation to somebody else” (Young [1914]2002, 23–24). Not only were women not allowed to exist as individuals for their own sake, feminists claimed, they were often reduced even further to “their sex.” Women, claimed Cooley, “are seldom allowed self-expression as individuals,” but instead are regarded as “*the sex*” (1913, 18). Society needs to accept women as humans, argued feminists, and allow them to flourish as humans.

At the core of this social change, in full Greenwich Village style, was the desire for the freedom of self-expression and self-development. In 1913, Feminist Ellen Glasgow claimed “the feminist movement is a revolt from a pretense of being—it is at its best and worst a struggle for the liberation of personality” ([1913]2002, 21).⁹ But because women often believed in their own inferiority, feminists argued that they needed a completely new consciousness. “Spiritual freedom evolves out of *consciousness of powers possessed*,” claimed feminist Rose Young, “a sense of self and opportunity, and it is only out of spiritual freedom that the whole individual evolves” ([1914]2002, 25, emphasis in original). If women did not know their own power, if they believed in the inferiority prescribed to them by men, women could never gain true freedom. Feminist Marie Jenney Howe stressed that “Feminism means more than a changed world. It means a changed psychology, the creation of a new consciousness in women” ([1914]2002, 29). The “essence of this new consciousness” claimed Howe is “woman's refusal to be specialized to sex” (ibid.). Just as Greenwich Village radicals were looking to art and psychoanalysis to produce better individuals, feminists wanted to change society from the individual consciousness up—they wanted to produce new women who would not submit to domination. They did not just believe this, they organized to do so.

Feminist Organizations in New York City

Although some feminists lived in other places, most were concentrated in New York City. As a result, the organizational base of radical feminism was in New York City, which was the only city during this period that produced explicitly feminist groups. The largest and most influential feminist organization was Heterodoxy, which took seriously the prescription for a “new consciousness in women,” developing an early form of consciousness-raising sessions as a strategy for change.

When Heterodoxy began in 1912 in Greenwich Village its founders described themselves as self-supporting “unorthodox women.” Mabel Dodge, a member of Heterodoxy, defined the organization as a group for “women who did things and did them openly” (Luhan [1936]1985,

9 The word “personality” was a general left term at the time, meaning the “full development of subjectivity, free from institutional constraints and all preexistent psychological forms and social expectations” (Keetley and Pettegrew 2002, 2:4).

144). From twenty-five founding members the membership list quickly expanded to over one hundred, and included many of the early twentieth-century influential women. Prominent members were Mabel Dodge, Rheta Childe Dorr, Crystal Eastman, Elizabeth Gurly Flynn, Zola Gale, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Susan Glaspell, Emma Goldman, Marie Jenny Howe, Inez Irwin, Fola La Follette, Inez Milholland, Ida Rauh, Rose Pastor Stokes, and Mary Heaton Vorse. All of the members were self-sufficient in some way, and most were writers, educators, or other professionals. Many were working traditionally male-dominated fields, such as the law, medicine, the ministry, and small business. Those in fields that did accept women, such as journalism, fought for positions within their field that were less open to women, such as sports reporter or political or crime correspondent. Most Heterodoxy women were involved in a least one other political or activist organization, including the Women's Trade Union League, the Woman's Peace Party, various suffragist organizations, the Socialist Party, various birth control organizations, and *The Masses*. The membership grew as more women heard about it and the organization itself lasted into the 1940s, one of the longest lasting pre-war Greenwich Village groups.

Unfortunately for historians, the one rule for Heterodoxy members was to not talk about what happened within Heterodoxy. We do know that the organization existed as an emotional support group for women who were economically and sexually independent, who were working in male-dominated fields, and/or who were working for various gender-oriented reforms such as suffrage and birth control. All women in Heterodoxy were suffragists and feminists, but they made it a point to show that not all suffragists were feminists. Heterodoxy's main goal was to change women's consciousness. To do so Heterodoxy typically had weekly meetings that consisted of what they called "background talks," where a member would discuss their personal histories and experiences, focusing on intimate issues in a way they could not do in public. Members of Heterodoxy were particularly interested in examining how women internalized men's and society's view that women were inferior, with the goal of overcoming their inferiority complex. They did so by creating women-only spaces that allowed women to develop themselves outside of men's psychological domination, and in the process, change their own psychological nature (Schwarz 1982; Wittenstein 1991).

Heterodoxy took seriously women's personal experience as a way to theorize about society. According to Milholland, a member of Heterodoxy, in order to achieve any sort of lasting social change, women had to first inquire "into every phase of life," in order "to act with some authority regarding it" (1913, 185); that is, women had to understand which personal issues were common to women before they could act to improve their situation. Women needed to recognize how they were personally and psychologically affected by men's views and expectations of them. In particular they wanted to figure out how the general social view that women were inferior as a sex affected the psyche of women. They then sought to uncover ways to overcome these psychological effects and liberate their minds. Some Heterodoxy members revealed that their practice was to discuss their personal experiences and thoughts in order to generalize experiences across women. They also introduced the concept of sex solidarity to encourage each other to escape the cages erected by men and society and to move toward their own self definition.

Women in Heterodoxy additionally sought the ability to define their own sexual nature apart from the dominant norm of the heterosexual, monogamous, married couple. Women in Heterodoxy often lived with men who were not their husbands, or lived apart from their husbands in order to maintain their freedom in marriage, or lived with other women, and they

often had multiple sexual partners in their lives, including married women living in open relationships. Members of Heterodoxy fought for one particular reform that would allow them to achieve sexual freedom: the right to family planning. Merely discussing contraception was illegal in the 1910s, even for a doctor. Heterodoxy members risked arrest and imprisonment by distributing information about contraception and birth control and establishing birth-control clinics (Gordon 1976). Access to reliable birth control was considered absolutely necessary if women were to take control of their own sexuality, a central goal for radical feminists, and became the central legal reform they advocated. Women in Heterodoxy also acted concretely to ease women's economic dependence on men. The organization worked for pensions for mothers, maternity insurance, and a change to New York State laws that prohibited married women from working in certain professions.

While some feminists focused on consciousness raising, other radical feminists took seriously Gilman's suggestion to socialize childcare and embarked on a project to construct an apartment complex for professional women in the heart of New York City. This project was headed by another feminist organization, The Feminist Alliance. The Feminist Alliance was formed in 1914 by Heterodoxy member Henrietta Rodman. In their first meeting the Feminist Alliance announced, "Feminism is a movement, which demands the removal of all social, political, economic, and other discriminations which are based on sex, and the award of all rights and duties in all fields on the basis of individual capacity alone" (Sochen 1972, 58). They had a lawyer committee, which worked to convince all of the leading law schools to admit women, and a medical committee which did the same for medical schools.

Their most well-known but ultimately unsuccessful campaign was to build a cooperative housing structure that would suit the needs of professional women. The vision of the complex included a collective nursery, a collective kitchen, and a collective house-keeping service, all staffed by professional men and women. Cooperative living was a direct threat to the private, nuclear family, and The Feminist Alliance's project received both praise and ridicule in the press, while others attempted to replicate their ideas on a smaller scale ("Feminists Design A New Type Home; Newly Formed Alliance Will Build It and Make Man and Wife Companions" 1914; MacAdam 1915; Fay-Smith 1915). These cooperative living situations continued into the 1960s, and were again proposed by feminists as a solution to women's inequality in the 1960s and 1970s.

In the open and extensible left milieu of Greenwich Village feminists were able to experiment with feminist theory and feminist organizing, and the general focus of the left on sexual relationships and the primacy of personal expression allowed feminists to emphasize sex as a restrictive axis of oppression. Radical feminists in New York City developed a theory of women's oppression based on the idea of a society divided along sex-classes, a theory that would not become popular until it resurfaced in second-wave feminism. Some professional women, both within New York City and in other cities, however, were frustrated that the women's movement was only addressing the needs of middle-class women, and sought instead to fight for better conditions for working-class women and low-income women. Organizations like the Women's Trade Union League focused on the lives of working-class women, and settlement houses were organized in low-income communities in order to improve conditions in those communities. These were a few of the ways middle-class women became involved in movements focused on low-income women. There were many settlement houses in New York City, but the most famous woman-led and woman-organized settlement house was Hull House, in Chicago.

This, I claim, was not coincidental but rather a result of the social conditions in Chicago prior to and during this period. I turn next to describing the women's movement in Chicago, and its relationship to the larger left milieu.

Class, Revolution, and Reform in Chicago

While left women in New York City were busy forming their own organizations and distinct feminist theories, women reformers and revolutionaries in Chicago either joined the Socialist Party or the IWW, or they became involved more directly in reform politics through the settlement houses, most prominently Hull House. The work of all of these organizations was focused directly on issues facing the working-class and low-income communities.

Working Women's Issues as Women's Issues

The close relationship between the left portion of the women's movement and working-class women had its roots in the 1880s during the Haymarket years. Frances Willard, Chicagoan and leader of the large and influential Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), began in the 1880s to move toward a class-based analysis of poverty and alcohol. While many in the WCTU believed that drinking alcohol led to poverty, Willard believed that the struggles inherent in living in poverty led people to drink; solving the drinking problem, she believed, would require addressing poverty. Toward this end, in 1886 Willard sent a representative from the WCTU to the annual Knights of Labor convention (Schneirov 1998). By 1889 Willard had fully adopted Christian socialism as her guiding principle, with a focus on the working class as the central concern of her reform efforts.

In the late-1880s other middle-class women reformers established their solidarity with working-class women. In 1888 twenty-five women's reform organizations came together to form the Illinois Women's Alliance. The goal of this alliance was the prevention of “the moral, mental, and physical degradation of women and children as wage-workers” (Schneirov 1998, 272). Their initial focus was on ensuring that the city enforced factory labor laws and compulsory schooling laws. This organization was one of the first to make the interests of working women central to women's issues, and this emphasis was repeated across other women's reform organizations in Chicago. Working-class issues would come to define feminism in Chicago during the first wave.

Soon after the formation of the Illinois Women's Alliance, the most influential women's reform organization in Chicago, Hull House, was founded. Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr established Hull House in 1889 in an industrial neighborhood in Chicago with the goal of improving the living quarters and workplaces in this community. Addams had participated in Lloyd's working-class salon detailed above, and had been awakened to the crucial role of the working class in reforms. Her commitment to labor and the working class attracted other working-class reformers, including Frances Kelley. Hull House became the home to a number of women's labor unions, and it was a central institution in improving the lives of the working class in Chicago, especially women workers.

Addams and Starr founded Hull House when Haymarket was fresh in the minds of Chicago residents and the open debates following the affair were still going strong. It was out of this atmosphere, where “nothing seemed so important as right theory” (Addams 1910, 129), that Addams had to defend her work, and the work of Hull House, to socialists and anarchists. While abstract minds, she claimed, “at length yield to the inevitable or at least grow less ardent in their

propaganda,” the “concrete minds, dealing constantly with daily affairs, in the end demonstrate the reality of abstract notions” (ibid., 193). It was this work, the “dealing constantly with daily affairs,” that Addams and Hull House were interested in—proving ideas correct through concretely applying them to daily issues. They took a firm anti-sectarian position, welcoming anyone who wanted to help the community. Hull House focused on practical reforms: child labor laws, minimum wage and maximum hour laws, and regulations that would ensure safe and healthy living quarters. While the residents held many ideological positions—Addams herself was a socialist, although she avoided the label so she could avoid sectarian definitions of what defined socialism—they were all united in their belief in “social control and protective legislation” (ibid., 196). They helped achieve much of this in Chicago.

The significance of Hull House to the political scene in Chicago, and the nation, is difficult to overstate. Hull House provided a place for more well-off people, particularly women, to live in a cooperative environment and interact with poor neighborhoods in order to provide direct services to these communities. In addition to these direct services, Hull House organized collectively to fight for reforms that would ease the lives of those in the communities in which they lived. Hull House also helped middle-class women – it provided a safe space for women to live and interact with other adults, and for married women it provided a life outside their identity as wives and mothers. It further provided women political training and social support, which many used to found their own reform organizations. Hull House as an organization, and the individual women and men who lived there, were at the forefront of most community initiatives and policy reforms for which Chicago became nationally known. They successfully changed the fundamental way the government related to children, mothers, and immigrants in Chicago.

They promoted the novel idea that a childhood, which they believed included the right to play and explore, was a right, not a privilege; even poor children should have the opportunity to have a proper childhood. Ensuring minors were treated as minors, not adults, they started the first public playground in Chicago, open to kids of any income, they started after-school clubs for girls and boys so they could play sports, music, and learn new skills, and they provided a kindergarten and child-care centers for community mothers who did not have time to take full-time care of their younger children. Hull House also started the first Juvenile Court in the country. While all of these practices are common-place now, this approach to childhood was completely new at the time, and Hull House's efforts ensured the government would forever be involved in providing equal access to a safe and educated childhood for all children.

In the early 1900s only around 25% of Chicago's residents were born to native-born parents, making immigrant communities a central part of the Chicago landscape, especially in poorer communities (Ruggles et al. 2010). Residents at Hull House thus additionally focused on issues important to different immigrant groups in an attempt to integrate various immigrant communities, which the government was largely ignoring. They formed cultural groups and workshops around immigrant communities, allowing immigrants to show off their home cultures and unique national skills. There were a Greek and a Russian theater and wood working and sewing workshops, where immigrants taught each other the skills they brought from their home country. Hull House also provided English language courses with teachers who knew every language spoken in the community. The goal was to celebrate the different cultures in the community but also to integrate immigrants into U.S. culture so they could create better lives here.

Hull House provided additional services to the community, like sanitation, a space for women to get away from abusive husbands, a bank, and a post office. Hull House also provided

space for other organizations to meet, including working-class organizations such as the WTUL, labor unions, and various strike committees to meet. Jane Addams herself was a strong supporter of suffrage, the eight-hour day for women, child labor laws, and other causes.

Other women who were residents in Hull House spearheaded many notable campaigns and participated in government activities. Julia Lathrop was the director of the United States Children's Bureau, which oversaw many issues important to mothers and Hull House residents. Sophonisba Breckinridge, along with Florence Kelley, helped form the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was involved in educational reform, and helped found the League of Women Voters. Grace Abbott was a member of the Immigrants' Protective League and a member of the WTUL. Dr. Rachele Yarros was a strong promoter of birth control, helping to found the American Birth Control League which later became Planned Parenthood and establishing the first birth control clinic in Chicago. Frances Perkins became the U.S. Secretary of Labor from 1933 to 1945, the first woman appointed to the U.S. Cabinet. Hull House, through its space and its residents, had its hand in numerous lasting organizations that have made a permanent mark in the U.S. political landscape.

Florence Kelley was particularly attracted to Hull House because it focused on the lives of working women, which she felt the suffrage movement was ignoring. She had long been berating the suffrage movement in the U.S. for failing to "represent the mass of American working women *in practical work*" (Sklar, Schuler, and Strasser 1998, 80). Having lived in Germany in the decades leading up to the founding of Hull House, Kelley admired the German organization of working women, finding this type of organization completely lacking in the United States. The U.S. women's movements, she claimed, were addressing "*higher* education and the laws affecting married women's property, and the need of property-holding women getting school suffrage," but she looked in vain "for [suffragists] discussing laws for keeping little girls out of factories and in school; for their having hearings before the legislature in support of factory acts, or acts to secure the mill hand weekly payment of her wages" (ibid.). The existing women's movement, she asserted, was only addressing the needs of middle- and upper-class women, with the needs of working women and working-class girls being left to men's working-class organizations. When she returned to the U.S., she found her political home at Hull House, where she worked for factory laws, becoming the first woman factory inspector in Illinois, and worked to mobilize middle-class women to support anti-sweatshop laws and protective labor legislation, forming the National Consumers League (NCL) which organized consumers behind union labor.

Kelley, Addams, and others involved in Hull House had little time for the personal and lifestyle changes being promoted in New York City which only helped, they claimed, middle-class women. They wanted instead to address and improve the lives of thousands of working-class women and women from different ethnic backgrounds, and they wanted to win practical improvements for their community. Although they firmly believed in women's rights, and fought for issues like suffrage and birth control, they kept one population, working-class women, at the center of their work.

Hull House was not the only organization that attracted socialist and feminist women. The Socialist Party was also a central organization pushing for women's rights in Chicago.

The Socialist Party

I discussed above the women involved in the IWW and the Dill Pickle participating in the

counter-cultural scene in Chicago, but another major avenue for women activists who wanted to be more directly political about women's issues was the Women's National Committee of the Socialist Party. This committee, led by Chicago resident Mary Wood-Simons, endorsed and fought for woman suffrage, the ending of child labor, protective labor laws for women, and an end to “women's slavery to men and capitalism” (Newberry Library May Walden Records, Folder 154). They published a magazine, the *Progressive Woman*, which ran political articles on all of these issues, as well as general articles about the condition of women under capitalism. Many of the explicitly feminist views of these socialist women were similar to the feminist ideas being developed in New York City, but this feminist analysis was embedded, and in many ways subordinated to, a larger critique of capitalism. May Walden, another leader in the Socialist Party and Chicago resident, wrote many articles on women and represented the general Socialist Party stance on “the woman question,” illustrating that capitalism is the first, and main, culprit: Walden called women double slaves, “First, to industrial conditions, and second to man.” She fought for the simplification of domestic life and, like Gilman, promoted cooperative house-keeping to relieve women of their double burden. She also attacked the nuclear family as an instrument of oppression. As women are freed in all respects, she claimed, “marriage as we know it, will be an unknown institution belonging to the age of woman's slavery, and looked upon as a relic of that age” (Newberry Library May Walden Records, Folder 154). Similarly, one frequenter of the Dill Pickle, Mary MacLane, swore off marriage for herself, claiming “when a man and a woman love one another that is enough. That is marriage. A religious rite is superfluous. And if the man and woman live together with the love, no ceremony in the world can make it marriage” (MacLane [1902] 2010, 53). Walden also promoted the use of “family limitation” (contraception), claiming that contraception is a right that should be “as sacred from interference from the State as the right to eat or breath. The knowledge to exercise this right should also be as free” (May Walden Records, folder 151). Like the New York City feminists, these feminists wanted to free women from the confines of the nuclear family and monogamous marriage.

Unlike New York City feminists who believed the most important issue was women's subordination to men, however, these socialist women saw this problem occurring alongside the more important issue of poverty and low-wages. Socialist Josephine Conger-Kaneko, in a pamphlet published by The Progressive Woman Publishing Company in Chicago, discussed women's position under advanced capitalism. Women were making many advances, she claimed, in education, employment, and in legal rights, and these rights would continue to accrue. Even if women won full legal rights to men, however, one “widespread and fundamental evil” will remain: poverty. “The wolf of want!—if not of actual starvation, of the want of those things which make life worth living” claimed Conger-Kaneko, “haunts millions of our women of the working and lower middle class, night and day” (Conger-Kaneko 1911, 19). She counter-posed her position to those of other feminists, like Gilman, who claimed that women need to simply get out of the home and into industry in order to be free. The “woman who leaves her home and goes into the industrial field to support herself,” claimed Conger-Kaneko, “simply changes masters, selling her labor power at any price the master desires to pay for it. This, perhaps, is better than the parasite, or the house drudge on board wages, but it is far from satisfactory, and is crushing millions of our women with long hours and low wages” (ibid., 29). Industry is not a solution if industry means long hours and low wages. Her solution, which was the solution promoted by the Socialist Party, is “ownership by the people,” which would fully free women from being “a house servant on board wages,” or “the slave of a slave” (ibid.). A socialist revolution was the ultimate goal for these women, and changing consciousness or getting women away from the

economic domination of man, would not solve the problems of the masses of women, the problems of low-wages and poverty.

The belief within the larger left in Chicago about the singular importance of improving the lives of the working class, and the belief in a socialist revolution, was reflected in women's-movement activity in Chicago. Women, many of whom were feminists, did not form their own separate feminist organizations but instead chose to either fight with their revolutionary brothers for women's issues, or develop cross-class organizations that focused their efforts on improving the lives of working-class women. While women in New York City were developing theories about women as a sex-class and the role of patriarchy in forming that class, women in Chicago were among the first to put working-class women's issues at the center of their feminist organizing. Hull House, led by women reformers similar to those in New York City, fundamentally changed the way the government dealt with urban slums, and in particular, family life in those slums. These reforms were exported out of Chicago and throughout the nation, as people replicated the work of Hull House in other cities. Women in the Socialist Party, and those involved in the IWW and the counter-cultural left, made sure that women's issues were not left out of revolutionary politics and working-class women's issues were not left out of feminist politics.

Women in both New York City and Chicago developed novel theories about women's oppression and the road toward women's liberation during this period, but the theories were remarkably different. The different theories fit the general left styles in each city. While the women's movement overall stepped back from its frenzied pace of organizing after the early 1920s, the organizing styles persisted in each city. When the women's movement re-emerged in force in the 1960s, it reproduced the different styles in New York City and Chicago described above, even without direct contact between these two periods. I turn now to a description of the second-wave women's liberation movement in these two cities, noting the similarities within each city over time.

The Women's Liberation Movement

The women who were involved in the early moments of women's liberation came of age in the charged political environment of the 1960s. Many women were actively involved in the civil rights movement, including defining moments of this movement like the Mississippi Freedom Summer, and/or were involved in the new left, in organizations like Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). These women understood politics, in a general sense, in the way civil rights and new left participants did, even if they were not directly involved in those movements. In general, they were anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist, and anti-racist. They believed society needed a drastic change and there was a general aversion to being too "reformist." They were also suspicious of overly hierarchical organizations, and preferred more horizontal and decentralized organizational styles, where there were no explicit leaders and everyone participated on the same level, upholding democracy as a political act in itself. Cultural and social rebellion was prized, and anyone seen as too "square" or too "mainstream" was out of place in progressive circles where people were experimenting with drugs and trying different sexual experiences.

Beginning in the mid-1960s women within the civil rights movement and the new left stirred up discontent about the ways these movements, and the general left/progressive culture,

were dealing, or not dealing, with women's issues. Women within the left movements felt like they were always asked to do the more menial busy work rather than the political heavy lifting. Furthermore, women thought that the civil rights movement and new left were discounting women's issues, particularly the relationship between men and women, which women were claiming was often exploitative. Out of this general environment women in different cities and within different left movements simultaneously began to organize separate women's liberation groups, both to convince the male-dominated left to take them seriously and to organize around women's issues as distinct from other issues. Some of the first organizations were The Westside Group, founded in 1967 in Chicago, and the New York Radical Women, also founded in 1967 in New York City.

These organizations made a point to connect personal issues to political issues, and one of their major political tactics was called "consciousness raising." While not unique to women's liberation, women's liberation came to be known by this tactic, where women would share their personal experiences and feelings around oppression with the goal of defining the common issues all women faced. Their political program, claimed women's liberationists, should be based on the concrete experiences of women to ensure they were targeting the most important issues facing women as a population.

Despite the common generational experience of women involved in the women's liberation movement, it was quite divided. In the lingo of the time, the major split was referred to as the politico/feminist divide. "Politicos" were typically women who had strong ties to the new left and were involved in organizations like SDS. They believed that women's issues should be part of the general struggle against capitalism, and while there should be separate women's organizations, they should maintain their ties to the male-dominated left in order to be integrated with the other defining issues of the time. Politicos maintained the general SDS analysis of politics, claiming that capitalism and institutions were the root of all types of oppression, including women's oppression and thus political action should target institutions with the goal of overthrowing capitalism all together. Women's liberation could not occur, claimed politics, without a class revolution, although this revolution would not eliminate sexism unless it was led by women. "Feminists," alternatively, wanted women's liberation to make a complete break from the left; they did not believe the left would ever take women seriously; instead male-dominated groups would simply use women's liberation organizations to recruit more people to their own organizations, ignoring issues important to women. Women who held this position typically had fewer ties to the left, and were more likely to feel marginal to the movement, not central as politics often did (Echols 1989). While many feminists were also anti-capitalists, feminists in general identified patriarchy, or the social system built on an unequal power division between two sex-classes as the root of women's oppression. Institutions, claimed feminists, were not the main culprits of women's oppression, men themselves were the problem as they used institutions to increase their own power as a sex-class.

This feminist/politico debate in many ways matches the difference between New York City and Chicago women's movements in the 1910s. Crucially, and not coincidentally, in the 1970s Chicago was dominated by one organization that maintained a politico orientation, the Chicago Women's Liberation Union (CWLU), while the women's liberation scene in New York City was dominated by a number of radical feminist organizations defined by the feminist-style analysis. Significantly, the 1970s organizations mimic the Hull House/Heterodoxy distinction in the 1910s.

Men are the Problem, Consciousness is the Solution: NYC in the 1960s and 1970s

According to many historians, New York City in the late 1960s was the birthplace of radical feminism (Echols 1989; Rosen 2000; Stansell 2010). The women who organized the initial second-wave radical feminist organizations were loosely tied to the left, but they were more likely to feel marginal to the movement if involved at all. Those who were more tied to the left more likely came out of the civil rights movement than new left groups. Carol Hanisch and Kathie Amatneik, for example, had ties to the civil rights movement and had participated in the Mississippi Freedom Summer, and Pam Allen had been a member of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC); all three were familiar with the Black Power movement. Many of the women were professional writers and artists, some trying to succeed in male-dominated fields.

The first New York-based second-wave women's organization, New York Radical Women (NYRW), was formed in 1967 by Shultamith Firestone and Pam Allen. Before forming NYRW the founders had decided to break ties with the left and create a completely separate group. From the beginning NYRW was known for its factionalism, some of which mapped onto the politico/feminist split. In 1969 this factionalism reached a zenith and NYRW split into two groups, the explicitly and exclusively radical feminist group Redstockings and the more action-oriented group WITCH. The women in NYRW who were most tied to the new left, including Robin Morgan, formed the base of WITCH, while those least tied to the left, Firestone and Willis, formed the base for Redstockings. The structure of NYRW, and later Redstockings, can best be described as small, intimate, and hard to find. Their meeting places were often in members' apartments, rotating from week to week. This made them virtually invisible, as well as difficult to find.

A different radical feminist organization, The Feminists, was formed independently of NYRW in 1968 by women who split from the New York Chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW). Ti-Grace Atkinson, then the president of NYC NOW, was opposed to the hierarchical structure of NOW and, with a number of other NOW women, proposed a more horizontal organizational structure. When their proposal was easily voted down at a NOW meeting on October 17, 1968, Atkinson resigned from her position and formed the October 17 Group, named after the date of her resignation from NOW. This group later named itself The Feminists.

In September of 1968 NYRW organized their first public event, a protest of the 1968 Miss America pageant in Atlantic City. This protest gained wide-spread national media attention and, because the women were planning on burning a "Freedom Trash Can" full of "instruments of female torture," such as girdles, bras, high heels, curlers, and makeup, it was at this protest that the infamous "bra-burning feminists" myth was born—the burning never actually took place because of a fire ban on the boardwalk (Hanisch 1968; Freeman 1969). The national media attention resulted in an influx of women interested in either joining NYRW or forming their own women's liberation organization. This insursion produced another split in the movement. Redstockings, which had split from NYRW soon after this action, believed their politics would be diluted if they allowed in new members, and The Feminists agreed. A few within these two organizations believed the only way to win women's liberation would be to incorporate women as a mass into women's liberation groups. In 1969, Firestone and others split from these two

organizations to found New York Radical Feminists (NYRF), envisioned as a mass organization with the goal of integrating the influx of women now showing interest in feminist politics.

There were subtle differences between the politics and organizational structure of these three radical feminist groups, but they shared some basic premises, similar to the elements important to the radical feminists in New York City in the 1910s. First, they believed that all women were oppressed as a sex-class by all men both as individuals and as a class. This theory was meant to explain a paradox: why were individual men, who criticized institutions and the unequal treatment of different classes of people, often complicit about women's oppression, and why did they often actively participate in that oppression? Radical feminists explained this paradox as such: after centuries of holding absolute power as a sex-class, had developed the psychological need to oppress women. Men did not want to give up the psychological benefits; in fact they actively tried to maintain them, especially the feeling of power. Women's consciousness, argued radical feminists, had developed through this psychological domination—they either actually believed they were inferior to men, or they enjoyed psychological benefits from men's sexual attention, and women were thus either unaware of their own oppression, or they were complicit in it.

Because radical feminists believed that women were unaware of their own oppression, consciousness raising became their political method of choice. During consciousness-raising or “rap” sessions, small groups of women would meet to talk about their personal experiences with various issues, such as beauty standards, sex with men, sex with women, and working as mothers, with a goal to study “the whole gamut of women's lives, starting with the full reality of one's own” (Sarachild 1979). During these rap sessions women would analyze why they felt particular ways about issues, for example why they felt the need to be the perfect mother, or why they acted in certain ways, for example why they would spend hours on their looks every morning. From these consciousness raising activities radical feminists coined the phrase “the personal is political,” which became a general rallying cry for feminists. Seemingly personal issues important to individual women, they demonstrated, were in fact common to all women and thus demanded a political not an individual solution (Hanisch 1970). The goals of these sessions were to change the consciousness of women, making them aware of how their lives were stunted by patriarchy, and to expand their ideas of what they, as women, could accomplish. All of these groups believed that economic and political reforms, like ones that NOW was fighting for, were, at best, inadequate to address the roots of women's oppression. The change in general consciousness was just as important as political and economic change, if not more important.

While these groups shared this basic analysis, they differed on some key points. One difference focused on whether men needed to change or women needed to change, the so-called “pro-woman” line. Redstockings believed that women did not actively consent to their inferior status; rather, women's behavior was the result of daily pressure from men. Women's actions were necessarily the best possible response to a difficult material situation. For Redstockings, women did not need to change, men needed to change by giving up their oppressor status. The Feminists, on the other hand, believed that the history of psychological oppression had stunted the development of women, and women, when removed from male-dominated living arrangements and institutions, could better themselves and eventually the whole class. For The Feminists, men could not change until women changed themselves. This disagreement led to different strategies for the two organizations. Redstockings believed that individual women should bring politics into the most private spaces, literally into the bedroom, and do daily battle

with men until men gave up their need for psychological domination. Heterosexual relationships were encouraged, and many of the consciousness-raising sessions in Redstockings meetings were geared toward developing relationship strategies. The Feminists, on the other hand, believed that women needed to escape the daily domination by men and sought to create women-only spaces to encourage women to grow beyond the oppressed psychology that hundreds of years of male oppression had developed. The Feminists imposed restrictions on the number of their members that could be married, they limited the amount of time per week their members could be around men, and they encouraged overall celibacy so women could develop their skills outside of their sex status and relationships to men.

Redstockings and NYRF differed in their respective organizational structures. Redstockings, fearing that an influx of new women into their organization would dilute the politics developed by the founders, did not want to readily accept new women into their organization. They thus remained numerically small, although they produced much of the available radical feminist literature at that time. NYRF wanted to create an organization that could progressively organize the women masses, believing this was the only way to effect real change. They thus structured their organization to incorporate an unlimited number of small groups (10-15 people) into their larger umbrella organization.

From the beginning all of these organizations had problems with infighting, especially around the matters of leadership and organization. None of these organizations lasted past the mid-1970s,¹⁰ but the theories they helped establish made a mark on the national consciousness, with phrases like “consciousness-raising” and “the personal is political” becoming common place. They helped place a magnifying glass on personal relationships, and the role of men in oppressing women, and their impact is still felt today.

Second-Wave Radical Feminist Theory

Radical feminists within these organizations formalized radical feminism into a complete theory of society. Activists and authors Kate Millett and Shulamith Firestone were the earliest to articulate a modern radical feminist theory of patriarchy in their books *Sexual Politics* (Millett [1970] 2000) and *The Dialectic of Sex: The Case for Feminist Revolution* (Firestone 1970). Millett and Firestone focused on two different features of patriarchy—Millett highlighted the socialization and ideological force of patriarchy while Firestone emphasized its material features—but they agreed on the basic structure of patriarchy. Both defined patriarchy as the division of society into two classes based on sex, where one class, men, hold the power and the other class, women, have none. They both also agreed that the division of power based on sex-category is the oldest and most basic division of power, and because of its existence in every society throughout history, this division constitutes the model on which all other social divisions, e.g. class and race, are based. Furthermore, oppression based on sex is more pervasive than other forms of oppression because it penetrates the most basic, and most personal, social institutions: the family, reproduction, and sexual relationships—institutions long thought as outside the realm of the political. Both authors identified the nuclear family as the central institution upholding patriarchy and believed that abolishing the nuclear family was a necessary step toward women's liberation. They disagreed, however, on the specific role of the nuclear family and how to abolish it.

Millett believed the nuclear family is the principle way women and men are *socialized*

¹⁰ Except Redstockings, which exists now not as an active organization with a membership but as a website.

into different roles, and patriarchy as a system is reproduced through this socialization. From birth, claimed Millett, girls and boys are socialized through their upbringing into different “temperament, role, and status” ([1970] 2000: 26). Women, for example, are socialized into being nurturing, weak, and submissive, while men are socialized into being assertive, strong, and controlling. This socialization, or conditioning, has become so powerful, claimed Millett, that people believe these roles and temperaments are biologically based. For Millett, socialization into sexual roles is further supported through culture, as both men and women learn the proper way to be sexual beings, and to relate to one another sexually, through venues like advertising and literature. Millett described at length the way women's and men's sexuality was depicted in the popular literature of her time, demonstrating that men were portrayed as sexually aggressive and even violent, while women were portrayed as submissive and subordinate. The solution, for Millett, is to abolish the nuclear family structure, or monogamous, heterosexual marriages, as the only model of sexual and familial relationships. Socialization would slow, if not stop, as the nuclear family is the central site of socialization, and the opening up of sexual roles would allow women and men to explore different ways of practicing sexuality. Patriarchy would thus lose its ideological force.

Firestone also believed patriarchy was reproduced through the nuclear family, but she emphasized the *material* aspects of this institution (1970). Firestone identified the biological functions of childbearing and childrearing as the material cause of women's subordination. Because human infants are so dependent on adults for survival, women in pre-industrial times necessarily devoted most of their lives to reproduction and childrearing and were thus unable to participate in more social actions like hunting. As the economy grew around active trade outside of the household, men, free to travel unencumbered by children, controlled the economy, and as control of this economy meant power, men came to control society in general. The nuclear family, a relatively modern invention, claimed Firestone, has further institutionalized the mother/child dependency by promoting the “myth” of childhood. Children now remain dependent on their parents long after they become physically independent, pushing women's “bondage” to motherhood to the limit, but this bondage is no longer necessary. Technological changes have loosened women's enslavement to biology and have enabled men to take a greater part of child rearing, but the persistence of the nuclear family assures the persistence of women's attachment to motherhood and dependence on men. While Millett focused on removing the nuclear family as a way to disrupt the socialization into sex roles, Firestone wanted to eliminate the nuclear family in order to diffuse the role of childrearing into society as a whole, eliminating the link between women and reproductive duties and freeing women to participate in society as biological equals to men. For both Millett and Firestone, the only revolution that would transform *all* of society, and the only revolution that would truly liberate women, would be one that disrupts the nuclear family and thus women's sexual and material subordination to men.

Radical Feminism in the First and Second Wave

This brief history suggests that the radical feminism developed by women in New York City in the 1970s was nearly identical to the feminism developed by New York City feminists in the 1910s. Yet the activists in the 1970s, despite their knowledge of the first-wave movement, did not acknowledge their predecessors in the first wave. Second-wave radical feminists in fact believed that their activism and the feminist theories they proposed were unique to their movement, differentiating them from the first-wave movement. In particular, they believed their

focus on consciousness-raising, on treating personal problems as political problems, and on their analysis of patriarchy as a total social system at the root of women's oppression, were all unique contributions to feminist thought and action. The first-wave movement failed, they claimed, precisely because it did not have a larger feminist theory to unite women. Scholars writing about the second-wave movement have almost universally agreed with this assessment: the existence of radical feminism, they conclude, distinguished the second-wave movement from the first-wave movement, accounting for why the second-wave movement as a whole was more successful than the first.

Feminist activists in the second wave made a point to learn about the history of women's activism and publicize this history, believing that they were continuing the work of their foremothers but wanting to learn from their mistakes. They were investigating this history at a time when there were few books written on the subject, and activists often had to do their own research. Historians that did write about this history focused almost solely on the suffrage movement. It is not surprising, given the dearth of material on the early women's movement, that second-wave feminists believed their struggle was new. In 1968 Firestone wrote an article describing the early women's movement, comparing it to the budding movement she was leading. While she saw the early movement as quite radical, she criticized it for "single issue organizing." This early movement, she claimed, was too focused on "hot" issues, such as prohibition and suffrage, and failed to "raise the general consciousness" of women's overall position in society (Firestone 1968). Millett had a similar analysis of what she called the "first phase" of the "sexual revolution." The first phase was unable to last beyond winning the right to vote because it failed to "challenge patriarchal ideology at a sufficiently deep and radical level to break the conditioning process of status, temperament and role" (1970, 85). What the first phase did not attempt, she claimed, was a change in "social attitudes *and* social structure, in personality *and* institutions" (*ibid.*, my emphasis). For these activists and others, the first-wave movement won significant reforms but failed to address the root of the problem—patriarchy—and failed to promote a change in consciousness in addition to changing institutions.

Scholars have since repeated this general understanding of these two movements. Sociologist Barbara Ryan, who analyzed both waves of the women's movement, recast the idea that the sole focus of the first wave on suffrage led to its eventual decline, as women did not know what to do after they won suffrage. The first wave, claimed Ryan, "suffered from its failure to develop a multi-faceted view of women or a deeply ingrained feminist ideology to hold activists together" (1992, 37). Alice Echols, in her history of radical feminism, spent part of her introduction outlining the differences between radical feminists and the "Feminists" of the first wave. Feminists of the 1970s, she claimed "de-emphasized gender differences" while the feminists in the first wave emphasized women's unique differences, "in contrast to radical feminists, [first-wave] Feminists ignored the material impediments to female sexual expression" (Echols 1989, 14). Most recently, in her history of the second-wave women's movement, Ruth Rosen argued that while the first wave fought for women's citizenship, they "left many *customs* and *beliefs* unchallenged" (2000, 344, my emphasis). The success of the second wave, claimed Rosen, resulted from feminists in this later era who "questioned nearly everything" (*ibid.*), implying that those in the early era failed to do so. Even historian Nancy Cott, who wrote extensively about feminism in the 1910s, emphasized the differences between the two movements, claiming that the 1970s movement's positive conception of women as a "sex-class," or women as a distinct social group, distinguished 1970s radical feminists from first-wave feminists (1987, 283). Scholars have agreed that the first-wave movement declined after 1920

because it failed to devise a larger theory of women's oppression based on the idea of women as a sex-class and to question how deep women's oppression went. The historical consensus is that radical feminism in the 1970s did exactly what the first wave failed to do and was as a result, more successful.

This generally accepted history, as I have demonstrated above, is mistaken. The New York City feminists in the 1910s looked almost identical in every way to the New York City second-wave movement. In both periods radical feminists articulated a theory of patriarchy in which they believed men as a sex-class dominated women as a sex-class, and they believed this social arrangement had existed for centuries. In both periods radical feminists believed that men oppressed women, not institutions. In both the 1910s and the 1970s radical feminists articulated the idea that the personal is actually political, and change would need to penetrate the most intimate institutions of marriage, sexual relationships, and the family. Crucially, these feminists believed that women's liberation could only begin with changing consciousness, and formed organizations with the express goal of producing this new consciousness in women.

This almost identical radical feminist politics came out of a similar left-cultural milieu in each period. In both the 1910s and the 1970s a counter-culture was flourishing in New York City, centered on Greenwich Village and inspired by the idea of freedom and self-expression. The counter-culture of the 1910s was reenacted in the 1950s and 1960s. In the 1910s radicals like John Reed and Sherwood Anderson were redefining literary techniques; in the 1950s it was Allan Ginsberg, William S. Burroughs, and Jack Kerouac of the Beat Generation. In the 1910s cubist and expressionist artists were shocking the art world; in the 1950s art was once again being redefined by abstract expressionists led by Jackson Pollock, active in Greenwich Village. The dedication to producing something new, to self-expression and freedom, remained in New York City, out of which once again radical feminism arose.

The Exclusion of Race and Class

The similarities between the two periods extend to the problems within radical feminism, in particular who they excluded. The social base of radical feminism in both periods consisted of predominantly white, professional women who had access to more economic, social, and cultural capital than most other women in their respective eras. They could thus focus on gender as *the* single cause of their oppression and inequality, as they did not feel oppression along other common axes of inequality, including race and class. This focus on gender as the only axis of oppression was compounded by radical feminists' involvement in other left movements of their time, which privileged race and class over gender. Radical feminists wanted the left to oppose oppression based on gender as seriously as they opposed oppression based on race and class, thus they took seriously the need to theorize about divisions based on sex. Their analysis of gender as the most basic and most important, division within society meant they ignored issues important to women who, for various reasons, were unable to be in the professions, and their theories and attitudes often served to exclude these women from radical feminist circles.

In the 1910s this selected attention to issues important to professional women was evident in both Gilman's theory and in the two radical feminist organizations, Heterodoxy and The Feminist Alliance. Gilman's theory about androcentric culture pivoted on women's complete economic dependence on men, and their restriction to household work. While many women were, during the era in which she lived, confined to the home, and many stopped working when they married, there were also many working-class women who toiled in grueling, low-income

jobs out of economic necessity. They did not find work “liberating.” Rather than fighting for the *right* to work, these women were fighting for laws that would *protect* them as women workers, like minimum wage and maximum hour laws (Orleck 1995). Black women also had to cope with working harsh, low-wage jobs, and they additionally had to experience the reality of being Black in the United States. During this period Jim Crow laws legalizing segregation were in full swing, and the threat of lynching was a daily fear for Black men. Many Black women professionals focused their efforts on issues important to the Black community, like passing anti-lynching laws (Wells-Barnett 1892). Working-class white women and Black women indeed organized around women's issues, but these organizations were largely segregated from radical feminist organizations.

The reality of class and racial oppression that non-professional women and all women of color faced continued into the 1970s, when white, professional radical feminists once again articulated the idea that the division of society based on sex was more basic, and more violent, than the division based on race or class. This theory not only ignored other forms of oppression faced by working-class women and women of color, it forced women to in essence “choose” only one part of their identity in their organizing activity. Once again, working-class women and women of color organized around feminist issues, but they did so largely independently of radical feminist organizations (Roth 2004).

Working-class and lower-middle-class women within the women's liberation movement in New York City highlighted the inattention to issues around class in the winter of 1970 when they organized the “Class Workshop.” The women involved released a statement that they had organized the Workshop “because of the exclusion of most working-class women from the women's liberation movement, [and] as a reaction to the oppression we as women of the working class experienced in the movement . . .” (quoted in Echols 1989, 206). Radical feminism was further divided by the issue of race and sexual orientation; in short, radical feminism was ill-equipped to deal with inequalities *between* women.

Radical feminist theory, with its theory that all women are equal and that the common experiences of women should form the basis of politics, obscures the fact that the way working-class women and women of color experience gender oppression is different from the way white, professional women experience it. Many activists and scholars have directed this criticism at radical feminism (e.g., Jones 1949; Hull, Scott, and Smith 1982; Combahee River Collective 1983; Lorde 1984; hooks 2000). Scholars of color have instead offered the idea of *intersectionality* to emphasize that people's experiences lie at the intersection of many different forms of oppression, and thus different women experience all forms of oppression, including gender oppression, differently from one another (Crenshaw 1989; Hill Collins 2009). Because of its reliance on gender universalism, radical feminism is a theory most relevant to professional women and in particular white professional women. This emphasis does not invalidate its core arguments, but it does, and should, limit the scope of its applicability. The restricted nature of radical feminism was as true in the 1970s as it was in the 1910s.

To conclude, there were remarkable similarities in the way feminists addressed women's oppression between the first and second wave in New York City, which included their inattention to inequalities among women. To make the story still more interesting, the difference between New York City and Chicago during the 1910s was also re-created in the 1970s. While women in New York City in the 1970s were developing a theory of radical feminism, one that all but ignored the experience of working-class women, women in Chicago in the 1970s positioned

working-class women at the center of their feminist theory. As I show below, women in the 1970s in Chicago were also battling a sectarian storm, just as Addams was in the 1900s, and women in both periods were attempting to improve the lot of women and their communities within this storm.

Class, Feminism, and the CWLU

Chicago women's liberation groups were decidedly anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist, and anti-racist in their political orientation, maintaining their ties to the organized left in Chicago that the women had established long before they organized women's groups. Chicago women overwhelmingly rejected the radical feminist stance; few radical feminist groups were able to form in Chicago, and individuals who promoted radical feminism were often driven out of the women's groups they joined. Instead, Chicago women proposed a new theory: socialist feminism. Unlike radical feminists who claim patriarchy is the sole cause of women's oppression, socialist feminists claim that women's oppression is caused by a combination of patriarchy and capitalism.

Early Women's Liberation in Chicago

The founding of women's liberation groups in Chicago was intimately linked with other organizations and events, principally the National Conference on New Politics, the New University Conference, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and the other left groups organizing within and around SDS such as the Progressive Labor Party, and the high profile firing of Professor Marlene Dixon from the University of Chicago. These events and organizations, and the attempt to get women's issues addressed within them, initiated the formation of arguably the first women's liberation organization in the nation, Westside Group, followed by the first and most successful women's liberation union in the nation, the Chicago Women's Liberation Union (CWLU) (Echols 1989). CWLU quickly became the center of women's liberation in Chicago throughout the active 1970s.

The first official women's liberation group in Chicago, Westside Group, was formed in 1967 at a meeting called by feminists Jo Freeman and Shulamith Firestone. Freeman had invited Heather Booth and Naomi Weisstein, then teaching a "free school" course on women at the University of Chicago, to conduct a workshop at the upcoming National Conference on New Politics, a conference organized by old-left communists and new-left radicals, with the goal of creating a unified left. When the women involved in the workshop attempted to present a resolution on women's issues they were told the conference had "more important things to do," and the women were summarily and patronizingly dismissed. Angered by this dismissal, Firestone, who had presented the resolution, and Freeman called the 1967 meeting that resulted in the formation of Westside Group.

According to historian Alice Echols, the majority of women who formed Westside Group were dedicated veterans of the left, some from the civil rights movement but most from SDS and other new left groups (1989). From the beginning Westside Group considered the struggle for women's liberation as embedded in a larger (economic) struggle against capitalism, and they also saw women's issues as directly connected to issues around class and race. When the group focused specifically on gender, they focused on the role women played as the main consumer-class within capitalism. Because many had personal ties to men in the left, they were initially

pressured to stop meeting; the organized left believed that separatist organizations for women would divide and weaken the left. Their commitment to women's issues, however, convinced them to continue meeting, and within six months they had organized other women's liberation groups and caucuses, including caucuses in the New University Conference and within the SDS chapter at the University of Chicago.

Building the Chicago Women's Liberation Union

Two major events happened in 1969 that decidedly influenced the direction of women's liberation in Chicago. In January of 1969 the Department of Sociology at the University of Chicago (UC) made the unpopular decision to dismiss the feminist and Marxist radical professor, Marlene Dixon. Her dismissal sparked a student protest of hundreds that lasted months, led in part by the university chapter of SDS, culminating in a two-week sit-in at the administration building ("Marlene Dixon" 1969; Sinhababu 2008). Students at UC used this event to expose many different issues at the University of Chicago, but they predominantly discussed the under-representation of women at the university. At a mass meeting during the sit-in participants wrote and signed a "Position Paper on the Women Question," which outlined the existing discrimination against women at the university and argued that a "political approach to women's problems" is the only way to fight women's oppression (CWLU Papers, Box 1, Folder 2). Women's liberation, the paper claimed, is part of the more general class struggle, but women's oppression has both economic and cultural roots. On the cultural side the paper critiqued women's position as sex objects in the media and the subtle discrimination women faced at the university, including male professors not taking them seriously. On the economic side they cited statistics on the average pay for women vs. men at the university. The paper called for the re-hiring of Dixon as a minimum first step toward fixing the university's discriminatory policies. They also called for free child care for students, faculty, and staff, and the creation of a "suppressed studies division" with a department specifically for women. In the end the paper claimed that women's liberation could only be achieved with a socialist revolution, albeit one purged of male chauvinism.

Women at the sit-in who wrote the paper organized a conference on women's oppression as a next step toward building a women's movement, which took place in November of 1969 in Palatine, IL. At this conference the Chicago Women's Liberation Union was formed, organized as an umbrella group that would facilitate the sharing of information and organizing of events among numerous Chicago women's liberation groups.

Between the sit-in at UC and the November conference that organized CWLU, another major event held in Chicago rocked the left: the July national conference of SDS. Political debates that had been brewing within SDS came to a head at this conference, prompting the division of SDS into three separate groups, each claiming to be the "real" SDS: the Progressive Labor Party (PL), the Revolutionary Youth Movement I (RYM I), and the Revolutionary Youth Movement II (RYM II). Within a year, both RYM groups had mostly collapsed, and little was left of the formerly large and active SDS. These sectarian debates had an impact on other left movements, including the women's movement.

The three organizations claiming ownership of SDS had distinct views on how to organize the revolutionary left, resulting from what each group saw as the "main contradiction" in capitalism. PL was a Maoist turned Stalinist group formed in 1962 as a pro-China rupture from the U.S. Communist Party. In 1966 PL joined SDS and formed a youth caucus within it, the

Worker-Student Alliance. Their organizing style and political theory, adopted largely from old left organizations, clashed with the new left direction of other SDS members. Most notably, PL opposed Black separatist groups, they were openly hostile to women's liberation, and they outright contested gay liberation. For PL, the working class was the only "legitimate" revolutionary class. PL also opposed any form of nationalism or national liberation struggles, including Third World groups and Black nationalist groups. Their disciplined organizing style, logical arguments, and strategy of instant working-class revolution did attract many of the new youth in SDS who were tired of the "tentative experimentalism" and undisciplined nature of SDS (Kopkind 1969; Klehr 1969).

The rival organization formed out of the factional fighting at the 1969 conference was the Revolutionary Youth Movement, organized by the National Collective, an active group of people in SDS that were arguing against PL. As opposed to PL, they explicitly based their organizing model on nationalist struggles in the third world. The principle contradiction for RYM was that between imperialist countries, such as the U.S., and exploited third world countries. Those who could lead a revolutionary fight, then, were Black people in the US and all third world people; white revolutionaries could only play a supportive role. RYM specifically supported the Black Panthers and the Young Lords, a revolutionary Chicano group in Chicago. When Black Panthers members attempted to speak at the conference, the "polemic slinging contests between PL" and the National Collective came to a climax, prompting a mass walk-out that resulted in the organization of the RYM (Kopkind 1969). Disagreeing on the "proper line," RYM soon split into two groups, RYM I which later turned into the Weathermen, and RYM II. Neither of the RYM groups lasted more than a few years.

Women who were active in women's liberation groups were embedded in these debates as they lobbied for more awareness of women's issues in SDS. Vivian Rothstein, for example, had come to Chicago in the late 1960s to work for JOIN (Jobs or Income Now), an initiative of the Chicago chapter of SDS. Amy Kesselman, Naomi Weisstein, and Evelyn Goldfield, all founders of Westside Group, were also active in SDS. In the January 1969 issue of *Voice of the Women's Liberation Movement*, Chicago activist and women's liberationist Eileen Klehr reported on the National Council meeting of SDS held in December of 1968. At this meeting a proposal on women's liberation was debated and passed. Klehr discussed this proposal in the context of the debate between PL and the National Collective, arguing that the National Collective was more sympathetic to women's liberation than PL. While Klehr was excited that SDS had passed a strong resolution on women's liberation, she still referred to SDS as a "male chauvinist" organization and doubted that they would enforce the resolution. The later split in SDS that happened at the July conference was partially predicated on the issue of women's liberation.

It was out of and through this sectarian storm that the Palatine conference occurred, which then continued the sectarian infighting that plagued SDS during 1969. Attracting many established left and sectarian groups, the conference centered on an argument between groups claiming that a separate women's organization would be inherently "counter-revolutionary" and women arguing for their right to exist independently of the existing organizations. Exhausted by the endless sectarian debates CWLU, unlike SDS, established themselves as a strictly non-sectarian organization, open to any woman interested in organizing an independent and radical women's group. Nonetheless, because many of the women leading the formation of CWLU were long-time veterans of the left, and because they had a commitment to their left-socialist stance, they maintained ties to many established left groups in the area. These established groups continued to influence the way CWLU organized and eventually CWLU went the way of SDS:

numerous sectarian splits and eventual dissolution.

The Politics of CWLU

According to Vivian Rothstein and Naomi Weisstein, both among the founders of CWLU, three facts made Chicago a unique place to organize, leading CWLU to its many successes in the 1970s (CWLU Papers, “Chicago Women's Liberation Union”, Box 1 Folder 1). First, the college population in Chicago was relatively small, so, in addition to organizing students at elite universities the women organized on high school campuses, small community colleges, and in city communities. This range they claimed helped them have a relatively diverse membership base, at least in terms of occupation, income, and motherhood status if not race. Secondly, because there was not a large counter-cultural scene in Chicago, there was no a large and *independent* adult liberal population. Instead, the leaders and full-time organizers in the women’s liberation movement had many years of experience in established left groups. These conditions are evident in the political principles CWLU adopted, and the organizational paper they endorsed to guide their work. Third, Rothstein and Weisstein claimed that no theoretical breakthroughs came from Chicago feminists. The breakthroughs came from the outside, and Chicagoans adopted them to their own situation. Wedded to outside groups, they were unable to carve an independent path for themselves. Eventually, their inability to define their own position led to splits in the organization from women who were committed to other, often competing groups and philosophies.

This political field in Chicago affected CWLU in many ways. The tug-of-war between different and competing philosophies and organizational tactics is evident in every level of CWLU’s work. CWLU adopted seven principles at their founding conference that remained with the group throughout its existence, and agreement with them was a requirement to affiliate with the group. This lasting organizational orientation made CWLU unique among left groups and it was constantly referenced in all internal debates. The seven principles were formed as a way to stave off sectarian fights that plagued the first conference and other left groups, but they also demonstrate the continued revolutionary left orientation of Chicago groups and their commitment to encouraging all women to be part of a general anti-capitalist revolution. The “Political Principles of the CWLU” were these:

- *The struggle for women’s liberation is a revolutionary struggle.
- *Women’s liberation is essential to the liberation of all people.
- *Women’s liberation will not be achieved until all people are free.
- *We will struggle for the liberation of women and against male supremacy in all sections of society.
- *We will struggle against racism, imperialism, and capitalism, and dedicate ourselves to developing a consciousness of their effects on women.
- *We are dedicated to a democratic organization and understand a way to ensure democracy is through full exchange of information and ideas, full political debate, and through the union of theory and practice.
- *We are committed to build a movement which embodies within it the humane values of the society for which we are fighting. To win this struggle we must resist exploitative, manipulative, and intolerant attitudes in ourselves. We need to be supportive of each other,

to have enthusiasm for change in ourselves and in society and faith that all people have unending energy and the ability to change.
(CWLU Papers Box 1, Folder 5)

By claiming that women's liberation, while crucial to liberation in general, is not more basic or more important than other struggles, these principles placed CWLU clearly within the revolutionary left and in opposition to radical feminist groups. Their last two principles show their commitment to being a non-sectarian group, which allowed them to attract a large number of independent women and those in other left groups into their organization.

By themselves, however, these principles did not sufficiently define the organization, so in 1972 the group adopted the longer, more detailed, and more theoretical paper "Socialist Feminism—A Strategy for the Movement," as their position paper (Chicago Women's Liberation Union Hyde Park Chapter 1972). This paper, written by the Hyde Park chapter of CWLU, became a major theoretical position paper for socialist feminists, and was debated and refined over the years. While radical feminist groups clearly defined themselves as feminist groups, and organized left groups clearly defined themselves as working-class groups, the CWLU placed itself in opposition to both.

The paper as a whole drew on principles from both radical feminist groups active outside of Chicago and organized left groups that were active in Chicago. In general the paper reiterated their anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist, and anti-racist stance, differentiating themselves from radical feminist groups by referencing the position of radical left groups, and vice versa. Alluding to radical feminists, the paper adopted the position that "sisterhood is powerful," but it is most powerfully used as the basis to seize political power. The paper supported the formation of counter-institutions—a popular strategy in the women's movement at that time—as a way to directly meet the needs of women and raise women's expectations, but it criticized these institutions for not altering power relationships and for not making direct demands on those in power, a criticism often leveled by left groups. The paper instead suggested combining counter-institutions with direct action targeting powerful institutions. Similarly, it supported the formation of a feminist counter-culture, but argued that this should be combined with a fight against dominant institutions to make this culture available to everyone. It directly opposed the radical feminist claim that women should live outside of society rather than engaging with and changing existing society, and it also opposed the ideological separatist stance taken by radical feminist groups—that on principle women cannot and should not work with men. Instead, the paper argued that separatist organizations can and should be a tactical choice, that sometimes they are necessary; separatism should not be an ideological position because men and women will eventually have to work together for the revolution. They also critiqued the leaderless structure that was in vogue among women's organizations at the time, calling instead for leadership that is responsible to the organization, a position that many organized left groups were also proposing.

Finally, the paper tackled the most important contribution from radical feminist groups, consciousness-raising. It acknowledged the importance of consciousness-raising as a resource but proposed altering it to suit the ideology of left groups. The paper added a materialist analysis to feminist consciousness, claiming that consciousness is not just in our mind but a product of our objective conditions. Thus, rap groups alone cannot change consciousness; they must be combined with an attempt to change objective circumstances. The paper also identified what kind of consciousness is correct: a socialist feminist one. The paper emphasized that this

consciousness focuses on understanding the underlying and true relationships in society and stresses the connections between all struggles. While exposing the commonality among women, feminist consciousness by definition cannot be a true consciousness because it cannot understand the ultimate cause of women's oppression: capitalism and private property.

Many of the concepts and tactical suggestions in the paper came directly from left groups, but the paper also modified them to define the organization in opposition to the sectarian and anti-feminist groups they had confronted in debate. Like left groups, the paper stressed the importance of finding and analyzing the main contradictions in society but argued (somewhat conciliatorily) that there are *multiple* contradictions in society—neither the class contradiction (PL), the imperialist contradiction (RYM), nor the sex contradiction (radical feminists) is primary. It argued against the Maoist idea that the dominant must “give up their privilege,” as “[r]ights will be established as they are fought for and won, not because those with privileges and power give them up.” It opposed the Leninist idea that only the working class can fight for revolution, as “the general strike has never won any victories when it wasn't combined with the general political mobilization of all exploited classes.” It argued, along with left groups, that developing an ideology is key to a successful movement, but they maintained the correct ideology must include explicit advances from feminism.

The paper agreed with other left groups that a series of reforms will not lead to a revolution, but unlike some strictly revolutionary groups, the paper claimed that reforms are possible under capitalism and are necessary for the women's movement. While the paper claimed an overall strategy is necessary to help women “see the way to seizure of state power and the critical break from the past,” it also denied that the socialist feminist strategy is an overall strategy, because “we can only develop an understanding of exactly how [a seizure of the state] will occur as we gain experience in building our movement.” The paper contradictorily claimed CWLU as the vanguard while denying other groups that title. Their precedent was more correct, they claimed, because it “does not further and further define the pure line so that we attract fewer and fewer women,” distancing themselves from the dogmatism of the wider left. The paper emphasized a multi-level approach to women, combining left and feminist insights to avoid “some of the pitfalls of dogmatic sectarianism about the correctness of a single issue or program.” Instead, they insisted on the need to “be open and encourage alternatives.”

In sum, the paper adopted by CWLU, and their unique way of organizing, adopted theoretical breakthroughs from radical feminist groups to help them deal with the debates about women's liberation they were having with the established left in Chicago. This approach also set themselves apart from the sectarian debates plaguing the Chicago left.

Successes

Existing from 1969 to 1977, CWLU is considered one of the first and most successful socialist-feminist organizations in the country. At a time when most women's liberation organizations had between 10 and 20 members, at its peak CWLU claimed at least 500 members (Echols 1989: 136). It quickly became the dominant women's liberation organization in Chicago, the organization with which other women's groups had to contend. The importance of CWLU in the Chicago left should not be underestimated. Because they worked within organizations on the left, they were able to influence the way these groups dealt with women's issues. They organized women's caucuses within the New University Conference and the National Conference for New Politics, bringing more women into these organizations and making sure their issues were heard,

loud and clear. They organized a caucus within the UC chapter of SDS which ensured that discrimination against women would be discussed in the political battles at UC, forcing UC to deal with women's issues. Within SDS they ensured that women's liberation was a part of the program, which, unintentionally, increased the chasm between National Council members and PL members, cementing their eventual split. They made sure women's issues were taken seriously among the organized left, which is evident in the many battles they fought with women representing organized left groups within CWLU.

They also participated in the national debate among feminist women. At national conferences and within national literature, they made sure the issues of working-class women and third-world women were being heard, and they always maintained that anti-racism should be part and parcel of women's liberation. While they were not always successful at incorporating different groups of women, they would not let the conversation happen without at least bringing them up a strategy that Black women criticized radical feminist groups for failing to adopt (Beal 1970). CWLU made sure socialist feminism maintained an active role on the national scene, which influenced debates in the radical feminist stronghold of New York City.

They were able to make a significant impact within the wider Chicago community as well. Following Marxist feminist Juliet Mitchell's analysis, they wanted their work to cover what they believed were the four realms of women's oppression: production, reproduction, sexuality, and the socialization of children (Mitchell 1971). To be most effective in addressing these four areas, CWLU divided their women's liberation work into three types, and they always strove to maintain a balance between them: service, action, and education. They were successful in achieving some of these goals, as the following list of their activities indicates.

In the service category they provided abortion counseling, a health clinic which included pregnancy testing, a legal clinic, and a rape crisis hot-line. They were also involved in the Jane Collective, an underground abortion service that lasted from 1969 to 1973 where women performed over 12,000 abortions, additionally teaching women how to perform safe abortions themselves, all before abortion was legalized. In the action category they worked on a variety of issues: pressuring the American Medical Association to change their views on contraception and abortion, protesting Playboy and the Playboy mansion in Chicago, participating in anti-war actions, and pressuring the city government to pay all workers equally, regardless of gender. CWLU developed a number of projects to organize their action work: Action Committee for Decent Childcare, which organized a campaign to get more and better childcare centers in Chicago, TRIAL (Total Repeal of Illinois Abortion Laws) which fought to change abortion laws, and DARE (Direct Action Regarding Employment), which participated in a number of actions around local cases of workplace discrimination. In the education category they started the popularly attended Liberation School, holding classes on politics, theory, and practical activities such as self defense and car repair. To increase the reach of women's liberation they helped produce the newsletter *Voice for the Women's Liberation Movement*, they had their own internal newsletter, and they produced the magazine *Womankind*. They also ventured into the cultural realm, establishing the Women's Liberation Rock Band, which was quickly reproduced in other cities, and the Women's Graphics Collective, which produced most of the posters and fliers used by CWLU.

The list of their accomplishments is long, and they should be celebrated for their successes. By 1977, however, the group was plagued by internal debates and was being "infiltrated" by other left groups. They disbanded in late 1977, just as they were reaching a peak in membership and activity.

Attacks and Dissolution

Maintaining close connections to the left, while never fully assimilating back into it, opened the organization up to attacks from numerous organizations. On multiple occasions in the 1970s the group entertained long debates between “party women,” women who were also in other left organizations such as the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), and independent women who were part of CWLU. Debates swirled around whether CWLU should focus only on women's issues or maintain their anti-imperialist and anti-racist work, whether they should be an exclusively feminist or exclusively marxist group, and whether they should focus primarily on the struggle,” in mass rallies and direct action, or on their service work.

Because CWLU used the language that organized left groups used—the need for a vanguard leadership, the need for the correct ideological stance, the primacy of the working class—they left themselves open to attack from these groups. Despite their best effort to distance themselves from sectarian debates, the organization became embroiled in those debates and was unable to overcome them. By 1977 the group dissipated, and women within the group moved on to other projects. Their experience was not unique to socialist feminist groups. According to Barbara Ehrenreich, a principle theorist of socialist feminism, Marxist-Leninist groups attacked feminist groups both from the outside and the inside, “dragging almost all of them to their deaths in arcane squabbling over the ‘correct line’” (quoted in Echols 1989: 137). The path of the CWLU confirms this analysis. The projects began by CWLU women, nonetheless, continued to function, and women trained in this period formed other organizations such as shelters for domestic violence victims and feminist publishing houses.

While sectarian left groups in New York City attempted to get involved in women's liberation there, the New York City women's organizations were formed entirely independently from the left, and were thus less influenced by established left groups. The combined approach of CWLU, keeping true to feminist and leftist principles, left them vulnerable to attacks from left groups, but also placed them in a unique position to successfully affect women's position in the left and in wider Chicago in the 1970s. Until their dissolution, CWLU can be considered a success story. The impact of CWLU is still felt today among feminist circles.

There were evident differences between CWLU and the radical feminists groups in New York City. While CWLU was struggling to combine a class analysis with feminist awareness and was unwilling to sever their ties to the organized left, the feminist organizations in New York City were sculpting a radical feminist analysis that centered on gender as the primary axis of oppression, and were refusing to work with male-dominated left groups. In contrast, there were numerous similarities between the Chicago of the 1960s and Chicago in the early 1900s.

Similarities Between the Waves

In both the 1890s and the 1960s the larger left in Chicago was embroiled in debates about the correct political line and understanding the principle contradiction within capitalism that, when broken, would topple the entire system. This principled stance was a staple of the Chicago left, dominated by the IWW and the Socialist Party in the early 1900s and by multiple organized

left groups in the 1960s. To be taken seriously on the left in Chicago, women had to figure out a way to insert themselves into these debates, even if their goal was to not take a stance. In both periods women's organizations responded to this left milieu in a similar way: attempting to stay out of sectarian debates but remaining within the fold.

Hull House physically hosted debates within their houses, and Addams herself, feeling a connection to left groups as a socialist, remained tied to left individuals and organizations, ensnaring Hull House in controversy. For example, when Russian revolutionary Peter Kropotkin visited Chicago he was a guest of Hull House, which at the time did not gain much attention. When President McKinley was assassinated, by an individual allegedly influenced by anarchists, police attention once again fell on the anarchist community in Chicago, just as it did after the Haymarket affair. A number of anarchists were arrested for the “crimes” of editing anarchist newspapers. They did not know with what crime they were being charged, and were not allowed to see attorneys. Addams had met one of the imprisoned editors during Kropotkin's stay, and she decided to intervene. She visited the house of the mayor of Chicago, her friend, on a Sunday, appealing for the editors' right to see an attorney. The mayor did not grant that right, but allowed Addams to see the prisoners herself. She had scarcely returned from this visit when reporters filled Hull House, wondering if Addams and Hull House were part of the alleged “anarchist conspiracy” in Chicago. Hull House's connection to anarchists in the public mind stayed with Hull House for many years (Addams 1910, 58–60). While Addams wanted to stay out of the debates, preferring to remain neutral to best help the community, her allegiance to radical politics, especially her belief in a democratic society, kept her in touch with this community, often to the peril of the legitimacy of Hull House. Hull House wanted above all to help the low-income community in Chicago, and did not want sectarian debates to interfere, but Addams and others at Hull House were committed to their democratic principles, and thus could not always ignore political events.

Similarly, CWLU was theoretically committed to organized left politics, in particular through the belief that capitalism was the root of all social problems including sexism, but they also had a streak of pragmatism—they wanted to attract as many women as possible to the struggle for women's liberation, and did not want an adherence to any one line to disrupt their project. Individual women within CWLU had co-membership with organized left groups, and these groups constantly tried to shape the direction of CWLU, which eventually meant its downfall. Members of CWLU tried to keep the organization focused on its task, a revolution led by women that would eliminate capitalism, racism, and sexism, but the sectarian debates persistently complicated this task.

Furthermore, the commitment of individual left women to anti-capitalist politics meant women in Chicago, in both periods, were unable to make a full break with the radical left and develop their own radical feminist theories, as women did in New York City, in both periods. In the 1900s Chicago women organized through the Socialist Party and through the revolutionary working-class counter-culture, but never independently. In 1970 CWLU was an independent women's organization, but it kept its ties to the male-dominated left, and kept the terms of debate within the language of the sectarian left. The dominance of the organized left, in both 1900 and 1970, ensured the entwinement of class and gender politics within the Chicago feminist movement.

Conclusion

This historical narrative demonstrates in a general way how city characters, or unique city cultures and structures, influence social-movement theory and structure. New York City, with its focus on individual change and betterment through art and culture, and its emphasis on personal freedom, produced a women's movement that interrogated the many ways in which women, as individuals, were stifled by society, men, and culture. The New York City women's movement looked to individual changes, in particular changing consciousness, as their main political tactic. Chicago, with a general cultural centered on debates about revolution, a left focused on the plight of the working class, and leftists believing in the overthrow of the capitalist state at any cost as the solution, produced a women's movement focused on addressing the needs of working and low-income women through a combination of class and gender politics.

Scholars argue that the women's liberation movement, and its particular form and analysis, came directly out of the civil rights movement and new left, citing features like the emphasis on non-hierarchical organizing as proof (Evans 1980; Echols 1989). These two movements, the new left and the civil rights movement, undoubtedly played a role in the women's liberation movement, and some of the differences between the early period and later period can be explained by the influence of these two movements on second-wave feminism. The feminist/politico debate, however, and the fact that Chicago was the center of socialist feminism and New York City the center of radical feminism, had roots long before the 1960s. The specific strategies for organizing, in particular the focus on practical changes that would improve everyday lives in Chicago, and the focus on changing consciousness in New York City, also had roots in the 1910s and before. The notable continuities over time within cities, and the consistent differences between cities over time, suggest that we need to change the way we analyze the U.S. women's movement. Rather than perpetuating a wave theory that assumes broad national mentalities and approaches, we should instead focus on regional variation, looking at how regional cultures and structures affects all social movements, including women's movements.

While the historical narrative developed in this chapter suggests that the women's movements were indeed different in Chicago and New York City it is important to abstract from the narrative to understand both more generally and more specifically what was happening in these two cities. The next two chapters abstract from this historical narrative to present, in turn, a micro-level and meso-level view of the differences between the cities and the similarities over time. For this analysis I turn to field theory. A field, as I have described, consists of (1) a set of cognitive frameworks or a culture that guides action and gives meaning to it, and (2) a structure, often measured by networks between organizations. I analyze these two elements of the women's-movement field in turn. In Chapter 3 I analyze the structure of each field through organizations and the relationships between organizations in each city. In Chapter 4 I focus on the different cognitive frameworks underlying the central women's organizations in New York City and Chicago, as identified in Chapter 3. I use text analysis to identify these cognitive frameworks and demonstrate their persistence over time. In sum, the analyses presented in chapters 3 and 4 provide further evidence of regional variation and temporal continuity within U.S. women's movements.

Chapter 3 — The Meso Level: Networks as Structure

In the previous chapter I presented a select historical narrative that demonstrated the difference between types of women's-movement organizations in Chicago and New York City, and the persistence of this difference over time. In the introduction I suggested that the women's movement can be thought of as a field, with each city containing a distinct women's-movement field. In this chapter I move toward thinking about regional women's movements as fields. As described in the introduction, there are two measurable elements of a field: structure, measured through networks between organizations and actors; and culture, which I define as the cognitive frameworks that provide the lens through which meaning is made. The next two chapters take on these two elements in turn. The goal is to demonstrate more precisely the differences and similarities among the ways in which women in these two fields organized.

In this chapter I analyze the meso-level relationships that form the structure of regional women's movement fields. To do so I first define the boundaries of each regional field by mapping all of the actors within these fields and the relationships among them. In my case, actors are organizations. Once actors are mapped, network analysis, often called structural analysis, can provide three key insights into the field. First, network analysis can measure one way in which power is distributed among actors in a field. Each actor within a field can have more or less power, or influence, within a field. In other words, some actors are dominant and others are subordinate. The nature of influence is typically measured by looking at the number of connections each organization has to others and the diversity of those connections. Second, network analysis reveals the structure of the network as a whole, which also suggests the relative influence of individual organizations. In fields that are *centralized*, a few organizations dominate, while fields that are *decentralized* may have power diffused over many organizations. Within either centralized or decentralized fields there may also exist cliques, or subgroups of organizations that are not connected to other groups. Identifying these cliques or their absence can suggest how resources, including influence, are spread throughout the network. Finally, in addition to the presence of organizations, network analysis can include attributes of those organizations. I include data on the types of organizations in these networks to further ascertain the attributes of the network as a whole. In sum, network analysis provides information on the variety of actors within a field, the distribution of power and influence among those actors, and the types of connections between those actors that may influence the flow of resources, including influence.

I look at each city's women's-movement field in two years: 1917, the height of the first wave, and 1969, the year that witnessed an upsurge in the founding of women's liberation organizations during the second wave. Through this analysis I show that the women's movement in Chicago was centralized in both the first and the second wave, and feminist women's-movement organizations in Chicago remained embedded within, or connected to, the male-dominated left. The women's movement in New York City, alternatively, was decentralized, again in both the first and second wave, and by the 1970s feminist women's-movement organizations comprised their own, independent subsection within the left networks in New York City. In short, I show the overall structure of the women's-movement field in each city was distinct and that these distinct regional structures were persistent over time. This network analysis further demonstrates why I focused on four organizations in chapter 2: Hull House,

Heterodoxy, the Chicago Women's Liberation Union (CWLU), and Redstockings. These four organizations were central to the women's-movement fields in their respective cities and periods and were, I claim, the dominant organizations within their fields. This analysis places these individual organizations in the context of the larger network of organizations.

On its own, network analysis can show which organizations controlled resources but it does not measure *why* particular organizations were dominant. In the next chapter I turn to the second element of a field, culture, to understand why these four organizations were dominant.

Network Analysis: An Overview

A field requires actors, and field theory assumes that actors within a field are connected in some way. Network analysis, or structural analysis, is a type of relational analysis that examines persistent patterns of relationships that connect social actors. This perspective assumes two features of social spaces: that actors (including organizations) are not independent of one another but are *necessarily* interrelated, and that resources “flow” through these relational ties between actors. Structure, in this view, is the lasting patterns of relationships among actors (Wasserman and Faust 1994, 4). Social-movement scholars focus much of their work on social-movement organizations (SMOs), which direct the bulk of the collective action that is necessary for the existence of a social movement. While individuals are, of course, necessary for social movements, SMOs are pivotal for the *collective* aspect of a movement. The SMOs that comprise a social movement are linked together in different ways; for example they may share resources, members, strategies, and ideas. Organizations and their links to one another thus form a *network*. Many organizational and institutional scholars as well as social-movement scholars, agree that some, if not all, organizational behavior can be explained by analyzing ties between organizations.

The varied approaches and goals of network analysis depend on the question being asked. The analysis can be qualitative, which only works for smaller networks, or it can be quantitative, where researchers calculate the mathematical properties of the network.

There are two overall ways of analyzing a network. One way is to analyze the overall network structure, including the number of total actors (called nodes) and the number of ties (called edges) between actors. For example, networks can be more or less *centralized*. More centralized means many actors are tied to a central actor but not to each other, less centralized means all organizations are equally tied to one another. They can also be more or less *connected*. More connected requires more ties between actors, less connected means fewer overall ties between actors. Overall network structure can additionally consist of a number of *cliques*, where subsets of organizations are connected to each other but not connected to other subsets of organizations, or the structure can consist of one large connected network, with no subsets separate from the main network. Cliques are important because they suggest that resources flow within a clique but not between cliques, resulting in sections of the network either monopolizing resources or isolated from access to critical resources.

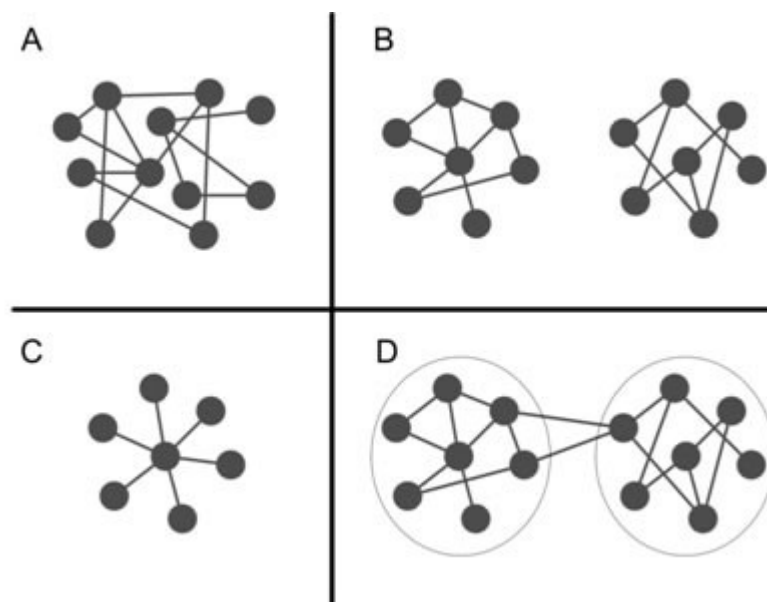
The second major approach to analyzing a network is to examine the structural locations of particular organizations. An organization with many ties to other organizations tends to be more central, or critical, to a network structure, while organizations with fewer ties tend to be less central and more peripheral. Additionally, an organization that links otherwise unconnected sections of a network has more importance within a network, as it may be the only organization allowing resources to flow between different cliques. Ties between organizations in different

subgroups or cliques are called *bridging ties*. The different structural locations of organizations determines the distribution of power, or influence, among organizations within a network.

Put more simply, a social movement requires organizations, these organizations are connected to one another, and resources flow through these connections. I assume the resources that flow among actors in this field include money, people, legitimacy or status, and ideas and information. Organizations and their connections form the structural component of a social-movement field. Each network has an overall structure, and each organization within occupies distinct *structural positions*. The structural position of an organization is determined by mapping the existence of organizations and their ties to one another, which in turn maps the structure of the network as a whole.

Figure 3.1 depicts four archetypal network structures representing some of the types of structures network analysts study. These archetypal structures, like Weber's Ideal Types, are useful for comparing and understanding more complex real-world networks. Network (A) is a highly connected and decentralized network with no distinguishable subgroups; (B) has two isolated subgroups, (C) represents a highly centralized network, and (D) represents two subgroups that are sparsely connected. I return to these archetypal structures below.

Figure 3.1: Archetypal Network Structures



Note: Network (A) is a highly connected and decentralized network with no distinguishable subgroups; (B) has two isolated subgroups, (C) represents a highly centralized network, and (D) represents two subgroups that are sparsely connected.

Source: Resilience Alliance 2010.

The Uses of Network Analysis

Social-movements researchers have used network analysis for a variety of purposes. For example, Snow, Zurcher, and Edland-Olson (1980) analyzed networks between individual actors,

concluding that individuals with ties to social-movement participants are more likely to be recruited into that movement. David Meyer and Nancy Whittier (1994) analyzed “spillover” effects between movement sectors, showing that different social movements influence one another through sharing effective political tactics with one another. Mario Diani (1997) analyzed how structural position within a network influences the efficacy of a movement or campaign.

Some organizational and institutional scholars, particularly those that use field theory, make a stronger claim that networks structure the shape and content of entire fields. As I discussed in chapter 1, organizational scholars Paul DiMaggio and Walter Powell pioneered the use of network analysis as a way to operationalize, or quantify, a field in their article “The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields” (1983). We cannot understand the structure of one organization, they claimed, without understanding the other organizations within the field to which that organization is connected. Progressing beyond this original article with DiMaggio, Powell and his co-authors reinforced the theory that organizational networks structure a field through their formal, statistical analysis on the patterns of attachments between firms in the biotechnology industry (Powell et al. 2005). Statistically modeling the networks, they claimed, demonstrates how collective action is organized and how fields as a whole, including organizational action within them, change over time. Like DiMaggio and Powell, Powell et al. concluded that interactions between organizations are the main institutional features that influence organizational behavior within a field. The structure of one women's-movement organization within a field, then, may affect all other women's-movement organizations within that field.

As both social-movement scholars and institutional scholars generally agree that relationships between organizations influence the form of those organizations I focus here on networks between social-movement organizations. In particular, intra-movement and inter-movement networks are critical in shaping social movements, as ideas and tactics are spread through networks, networks enable and constrain the type of organizing possible within a field, and interactions between social-movement organizations may influence organizational behavior within a field. The ties between organizations within the women's-movement field in New York City and Chicago both measure the structure of these fields and help explain why women's-movement organizations take particular forms in these two cities.

I analyze the patterns of relationships between organizations within the women's-movement field in New York City and Chicago to determine these relationships changed or did not change over time. I first present the structure of the women's-movement fields in New York City and Chicago during the first wave, analyzing the similarities and differences between the two fields. I then present the structure of these same fields during the second wave, analyzing how the structure of the field in each city evolved over time. The first step in using network analysis to study fields, however, requires defining the boundaries of a field, a substantial undertaking in and of itself.

Typology of Women's-Movement and Allied Organizations

It is difficult to define organizational boundaries of *the* U.S. women's movement from 1868-1974 or even multiple U.S. women's movements, even when restricted to two cities. Issues important to women were wide-ranging and not necessarily unique to women, and while women were widely involved in feminist and women-only organizations, they were also part of pro-peace organizations, anti-fascist organizations, immigrant protective leagues, anti-child labor

organizations, anti-racist organizations, and health reform groups, among many others. There are many historical and sociological accounts that describe these different movements, but it is helpful to represent the women's movement as a complete, if contentious, field. The presence of organizations is important, but so also is knowing which *types* of women's-movement organizations were present in different fields. By women's-movement organizations, I mean organizations led primarily or exclusively by women that were oriented toward social, cultural, or political change around any issue important to any group of women.

Utilizing broad categories that are present in the existing literature on women's movements, I define here a typology of feminism into which women's-movement organizations can be classified: Social Feminism, Liberal Feminism, Labor Feminism, and Transformative Feminism. Each category can certainly be divided into finer classifications, but this broad division serves a purpose. Because these categories are established by researchers familiar with the field, they are well researched and are different enough from one another that classifying organizations into these categories is relatively straight-forward. Many major debates happening within the women's movements divided organizations along these categories. Redstockings in New York City, for example, explicitly defined itself against the National Organization for Women, and these two organizations indeed fall in different categories (Transformative Feminism and Liberal Feminism, respectively), and the National Woman's Party (Liberal Feminism) often fought with the Women's Trade Union League (Labor Feminism). By bringing together disparate accounts of women's movements within the literature, I provide a single framework to understand the configuration of this literature and of the women's movement as a whole. These categories are further useful for indicating broad changes within the field over time, for illustrating important continuities and discontinuities between and across time periods, and for formalizing similarities and differences between regions.

I describe each category in turn to clarify this typology but also to give a more holistic overview of women's-movement organizations in order to define the boundaries of women's-movement fields.

William O'Neill first coined the term "social feminism" in his 1969 book *Everyone Was Brave* (1969). He compared social feminists, who were concerned with women's issues within a broader framework of social reform, to "hard core" feminists, who put women's rights above all else. Other scholars have adopted this general framework. J. Stanley Lemons (1973) used this classification to study women social reformers before and during the new deal who were involved in crafting important policies of the new deal, and Katherine Sklar, Anya Schuler, and Susan Strasser (1998) used this classification when they traced correspondence between German and U.S. feminists in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, calling these feminists "social justice feminists". Social justice feminists, claimed Sklar, Schuler, and Strasser, believed in social justice more broadly in the context of the Progressive Era, and they wanted to improve the status of women within this broader framework. I keep the original term social feminists, and I define the category *Social Feminism* as women and organizations who had a general interest in changing social and political conditions, but this interest and the goals pursued were grounded in a gendered identity, an identity rooted in being a woman and all that entails. This identity often, but not necessarily, included identifying with women's common role as nurturers and caretakers.

Organizations in this category emphasize that women's unique identities put them in a better position to understand what types of social reforms were needed. For example, the Woman's Peace Party, founded in 1915 and categorized in the Social Feminism category, justified their anti-war position by referencing women's roles as mothers. The preamble to their

official platform declared, “As women, we feel a peculiar moral passion of revolt against both the cruelty and the waste of war. As women, we are especially the custodians of the life of the ages. We will not longer consent to its reckless destruction. As women we are particularly charged with the future of childhood and with the care of the helpless and unfortunate” (Chambers 1991, 51). Social feminists utilized their unique perspectives as women to fight for general as well as specific reforms that would improve society as a whole, but they often focused on issues that were of particular importance to women, such as child care and reproductive health care.

The Social Feminism category includes a broad array of organizations and is the largest and least cohesive of the four categories of feminism. The earliest local organizations that fit into this category include culturally oriented women's clubs like Sorosis, Fortnightly, and the Woman's Clubs of Chicago and New York City. Formed beginning in 1868, these clubs provided a space for women, particularly upper-class women, to educate themselves and jointly participate in social activities, including reform efforts and philanthropy. They often sponsored regular lectures and other cultural activities but they also organized committees that addressed social and political issues, such as health care, education, and housing, as well as more controversial topics like prostitution and birth control. A few of these organizations, such as City Clubs and the League of Women Voters, focused in particular on municipal reforms, such as encouraging the city to provide publicly funded sanitation services, provide more adequate public housing, or to become more democratic and open to women. These civic, cultural, and professional clubs were often the woman-counterpart to similar popular clubs that were open exclusively to men.

The Social Feminism category also includes settlement houses like Greenwich House and Hull House (which was detailed in Chapter 2). Settlement houses, many of which were often led entirely or largely by women, provided a place for middle- and upper-class people to live in a low-income community in order to help improve the conditions within that community. Each settlement house had a different philosophy, but most wanted to provide educational and cultural enrichment opportunities to low-income communities and many sought reforms that would improve the lives of those in the community. These houses had the added benefit of providing a place to live for single women, who were otherwise dependent on their family for housing and support. The settlement houses led by women often provided services to the women of the community that male-dominated settlements neglected, for example acting as shelter for women who were subject to domestic violence at home.

Other organizations in the Social Feminism category include civil organizations aimed at helping particular groups of women, such as the Young Women's Christian Association, the Eleanor Clubs, which provided safe housing for single women, the Juvenile Protective Association, and the Immigrants' Protective League, which sought to provide protection to single women immigrants who were at risk for sex trafficking. Finally, this category includes organizations devoted to a particular cause, sometimes but not necessarily exclusively affecting women, but all of which approached their cause through a perspective they believed was unique to women. These organizations include the Woman's Peace Party, Women Strike for Peace, and various social hygiene and family planning organizations, including Planned Parenthood.

Social feminist organizations are distinct from those in the category *Liberal Feminism*. Liberal feminists focused on winning equality for women in the public sphere through legal and political change. Unlike social feminists who pursued political reforms that would help entire communities, or who sought social solutions to women's issues, liberal feminists sought political reforms that would provide social, political, and legal equality for women as a class. For

example, the National Woman's Party (NWP), which was a liberal feminist organization, fought long and hard to pass the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) which would have made women legally equal in the public sphere. Conversely, the League of Women Voters, a social feminist organization that was also interested in the public sphere, sought to educate the entire community, including women, about the constitution and their rights as voters to create a better and more educated electorate in general. Similarly, the National Organization for Women, a liberal feminist organization, sought to change abortion laws to allow women legal access to abortion on the grounds that health care is a woman's right. Planned Parenthood, which I categorize as social feminist, sought to provide general health care services to the community, focusing in particular on health care important to women, and they did so in order to improve the health and well-being of the entire community. Organizations in the Liberal Feminism category include all suffrage organizations, the National Women's Party, and the National Organization for Women, among others.

Both of these categories are distinct from the *Labor Feminism* category. Labor feminists fought to ease the burden on working-class women in particular (Milkman 1985; Tax 2000; Cobble 2005). Early on these organizations fought for protective labor laws, but more generally they advocated in different spheres for union labor and within unions for equal representation of women. The organizations in this category include working-class women's organizations like the Women's Trade Union League, which advocated for reforms such as the eight-hour day, and consumer-oriented groups like the National Consumers' League, which encouraged consumers to only buy goods made by union labor. These organizations worked alongside social feminist organizations but were often at odds with liberal feminist organizations, particularly the NWP; labor feminists, who fought for special laws that would protect women as workers, thought reforms like the ERA would negate those protective laws and leave working-class women vulnerable to exploitation. Only when protective labor laws were expanded to include men did labor *en masse*, and thus labor feminists, support the ERA. Labor feminists continue to advocate for working-class women today, often critiquing liberal feminist groups for ignoring the special needs of working-class women.¹¹

The fourth category, *Transformative Feminism*, is defined by the belief that reforms are only a necessary step toward the ultimate goal: a more radical and fundamental society-wide transformation. Transformative feminists believed only a major and fundamental transformation of society would take seriously the fact that women are uniquely oppressed as a class under the status quo. The legal and political reforms sought by social feminists, liberal feminists, and labor feminists, claimed transformative feminists, only addressed the symptoms of women's oppression; eliminating sexism for good required addressing the roots of women's oppression. Organizations within the Transformative Feminism category all sought this fundamental change but disagreed about the precise roots of women's oppression and how to achieve change. Radical feminist organizations, like New York Radical Women, had a different analysis of women's oppression and a different cure than socialist feminist organizations like the Chicago Women's Liberation Union, for example, but both of these organizations are categorized in the

11 I put labor feminists in a different category but I do not have a category for feminists of color. Between 1868 and 1974 women of color often organized separately from white women, but their organizations fit into one of the four categories I describe. For example Black women often organized separate women's clubs, such as the Illinois Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, but this club fits into the social feminist category and does not necessitate a distinct category. If I were to continue this categorization into the late 1970s and beyond I would consider adding another category: intersectional feminism.

Transformative Feminism category because of their belief that reforms are not adequate to address women's position in society.

No one movement field exists in a vacuum—movements and social-movement organizations interact and share ideas, members, and tactics with organizations and individuals in similar movements (Meyer and Whittier 1994). I thus additionally include *allied organizations* in my analysis, organizations that are outside of what I have identified as the women's movement proper but that have been influential in the development of women leaders or women's-movement tactics. One such category is *Cultural Groups*, which includes formal gathering spaces like Mabel Dodge's "Evenings" and the Dill Pickle, cultural instruments themselves like the popular left magazines *The Masses* and *The Little Review*, and cultural groups like the Yippies. Women often developed their ideas in and through these cultural institutions, and they were influenced by the styles unique to various counter-cultural groups present in different cities. Other categories of allied organizations include *Disciplined-Left Groups* like the Communist Party and the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), *Civil Rights Groups* like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and *New Left Groups* such as Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). Those involved in the women's movement were often centrally involved in these other organizations and developed their leadership skills through them, and many argue the women's movement was influenced by their tactics and ideology (Freeman 1975; Evans 1980; Meyer and Whittier 1994). Finally, some labor organizations and settlement houses were led primarily by men but were still important to the women's movement. I categorize these as *Labor* and *Social Reform* organizations, respectively.

Data and Analysis

Scouring archival material and secondary sources I collected data on every women's-movement organization I could find in New York City and Chicago between 1868, the founding of the first professional women's organization, Sorosis in New York City, until 1974, well into the second-wave movement. Because I am interested in explaining the *progressive* women's-movement field, that is those organizations that favored social reforms and new ideas, I focus here only on progressive women's-movement organizations. While some researchers have suggested social movements are influenced by oppositional groups (McCammon 2012), I claim we first need to understand how the progressive women's movement functioned internally before understanding how it is related to oppositional movements. I did not include national organizations where I could not find information about an active local branch in either city, such as the Women's Equity Action League (WEAL) and the National Association to Repeal Abortion Laws (NARAL). I additionally collected information on allied organizations.

To ensure my search was thorough, I visited a total of nine different archives in three different cities and I searched through four online archives.¹² I additionally scoured secondary sources about New York City and Chicago. As I explored the archives and read secondary sources, I kept a running spread sheet of women's movement and allied organizations, with details on each one.

While it is impossible to satisfactorily include every organization important to the women's movement over this long period I did my best to cast my net widely and include a range

¹² See Appendix 1 for a list of the archives and collections.

of women's political activities. Because these movements have been relatively well studied by historians, I am satisfied that I have found all of the most influential women's organizations in these two cities; the addition of organizations that are not included here would make only minor, if any, alterations to the analysis and the conclusions I draw. While my search was exhaustive, mathematical network analysis is highly sensitive to missing data. The inclusion of one additional organization can potentially dramatically change the results of certain calculations. To guard against the potential that I missed some organizations, I instead do a qualitative network analysis, looking at the networks holistically rather than mathematically, which was the original way network analysis conducted and continues to be popular today (Wasserman and Faust 1994). I further elaborate my methods below.

For every organization I found I recorded the founding date and the date of dissolution, if available, and I recorded links between organizations. I recorded a link if two organizations co-sponsored an event together or if they shared members. My requirement for a connection between organizations was quite low: if it was reported anywhere that two organizations co-sponsored an event, or the same person was listed anywhere as a member of more than one organization, I included that as a connection. I did not confirm that a link means that resources actually flowed between organizations; a link mean the *possibility* for resource flow, not a definite confirmation of resource flow. The connections here are thus weak ties, not strong ties, and should be evaluated as such.

In addition to connections between organizations, I further coded the women's-movement organizations into four categories described above, *Social Feminism*, *Liberal Feminism*, *Labor Feminism*, and *Transformative Feminism*, and the allied organizations into six different categories described above, *Cultural*, *Disciplined Left*, *Labor*, *Social Reform*, *Civil Rights*, and *New Left*. In network analytic terms, I treat these categories as attributes of each organization.

To categorize each organization I used organizational literature, primarily mission statements and founding documents when available, and if these were inaccessible, I used secondary literature about the organizations. Because these organizations often defined themselves in opposition to organizations in different categories, coding each organization into a category was relatively clear with all organizations fitting cleanly into one category. While some organizations addressed issues from two categories their dominant framework was clear. For example, some organizations were interested in labor issues within their overall interest in the community; these organizations were classified in the Social Feminism category, as their main goal was to improve their own community, not the working class as a whole. To be in the Labor Feminism category, the activity of organizations had to predominantly or exclusively address labor. Additionally, many community organizations, like Hull House, a social feminist organization, also pushed for suffrage, yet again, their main focus was the community. To be in the Liberal Feminism category the organizations had to be almost exclusively focused on winning equality in the public sphere, either through legal or political reforms.

In sum, the data for the structural analysis include all of the organizations comprising the women's-movement field from 1868 through 1974 and are divided into ten categories—four categories of feminist organizations and six categories of left organizations outside of the women's movement.

Analysis

Overall I identified 100 women's-movement organizations: 52 (52%) are categorized in

the *Social Feminism* category, 21 (21%) in *Liberal Feminism*, 14 (14%) in *Transformational Feminism*, and 13 (13%) in the *Labor Feminism* category. I further found 53 allied organizations.¹³

I used these data, and the connections I found between organizations, to construct sociograms, also called network diagrams, which are graphic representations of actors and the ties between actors.¹⁴ In these diagrams, actors are nodes, and lines between the nodes are ties between actors. Network diagrams, typically used to depict the structure and patterns of interactions within a network, are a qualitative representation of fields. Network diagrams provide a visual representation of the structure of the networks in each city indicating which organizations are connected to which, which organizations are more or less central to the network structure, and how the network is shaped. In contrast to tables of descriptions, these diagrams provide a simple, clear, and comprehensive way to understand how a field is structured.

As in the previous chapters, I am interested in two comparisons: a regional comparison between the two cities and a temporal comparison within each city over time. I thus constructed a total of four network diagrams, two in each city at two time points—1917 and 1969. In each diagram the ovals represent women's-movement organizations and the rectangles represent allied organizations. Together these comprise the nodes. Each color represents a different type of organization, as shown in the key in each diagram. The lines connecting organizations are called edges. If an edge exists between two organizations, it means they either co-sponsored an event together or they shared at least one member, a relatively weak threshold for a connection. Edges mean the possibility existed for a transfer of resources, either money, information, or people, and thus also the potential for two organizations to influence one another.

The first paired diagrams are shown in Figure 3.2 and Figure 3.3, representing the women's-movement field (and allied organizations) in New York City and Chicago in 1917, respectively. There are two crucial characteristics of note from these two figures. First is the relative strength of Social Feminism in Chicago and Transformational Feminism and Cultural Organizations in New York City, denoted by the larger number of social feminist organizations in Chicago (24) compared to New York City (14), the larger number of transformational feminist organizations in New York City (2) compared to Chicago (0), and the 4 cultural organizations in New York City compared to Chicago's 2. Second, two organizations stand out as highly connected to diverse types of organizations, Heterodoxy in New York City and Hull House in Chicago. I have highlighted these organizations in the two figures for emphasis. Heterodoxy is connected to 11 other organizations and at least one from each category. Hull House is connected to 17 other organizations and at least one from each category except the Cultural category. There are no other organizations in these two cities that are as highly and as diversely connected as these two organizations.

These two figures support my analyses in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3. They verify that the left milieu in New York City had more culturally-focused organizations than the left in Chicago, New York City had the only independent transformational feminist organizations during the first wave, and feminism more likely took the form of social feminism in Chicago compared to New York City. Additionally, these network diagrams confirm why I chose to focus on Heterodoxy and Hull House in the first wave in Chapter 3: they were the most highly connected and the most diversely connected of all of the women's-movement organizations during this period, making them a crucial structural component of the women's-movement field in each city.

¹³ I provide more descriptive statistics on these data in the next chapter.

¹⁴ The first to use sociograms in research was Moreno and Jennings 1934.

Figures 3.4 and 3.5 are the equivalent network diagrams for New York City and Chicago in 1969, during the rise of the second-wave movement. In these diagrams I introduce a different type of connection, represented by the dashed, directed line.¹⁵ The dashed line means members in one organization left to form a new organization, in the direction the arrow indicates, due to disagreements within the original organizations.

These diagrams allow a regional comparison within the second-wave movement but also a temporal comparison within each city. Temporal comparisons are revealed by comparing Figures 3.4 and 3.5 to Figures 3.2 and 3.3. Social feminist organizations are still present in 1969, but in both cities they are peripheral to the women's-movement field as they are not well connected to the newer organizations. These newer organizations in both cities are largely in the Liberal Feminism and Transformative Feminism categories. There is thus an overall shift in both cities from social feminism to transformative feminism. Additionally, the larger number of civil rights organizations in the 1969 diagrams compared to the 1917 diagrams and the introduction of new left organizations support the claim by other scholars that women's liberation was influenced by the new left movement and the civil rights movement (Freeman 1975; Evans 1980; Echols 1989).¹⁶

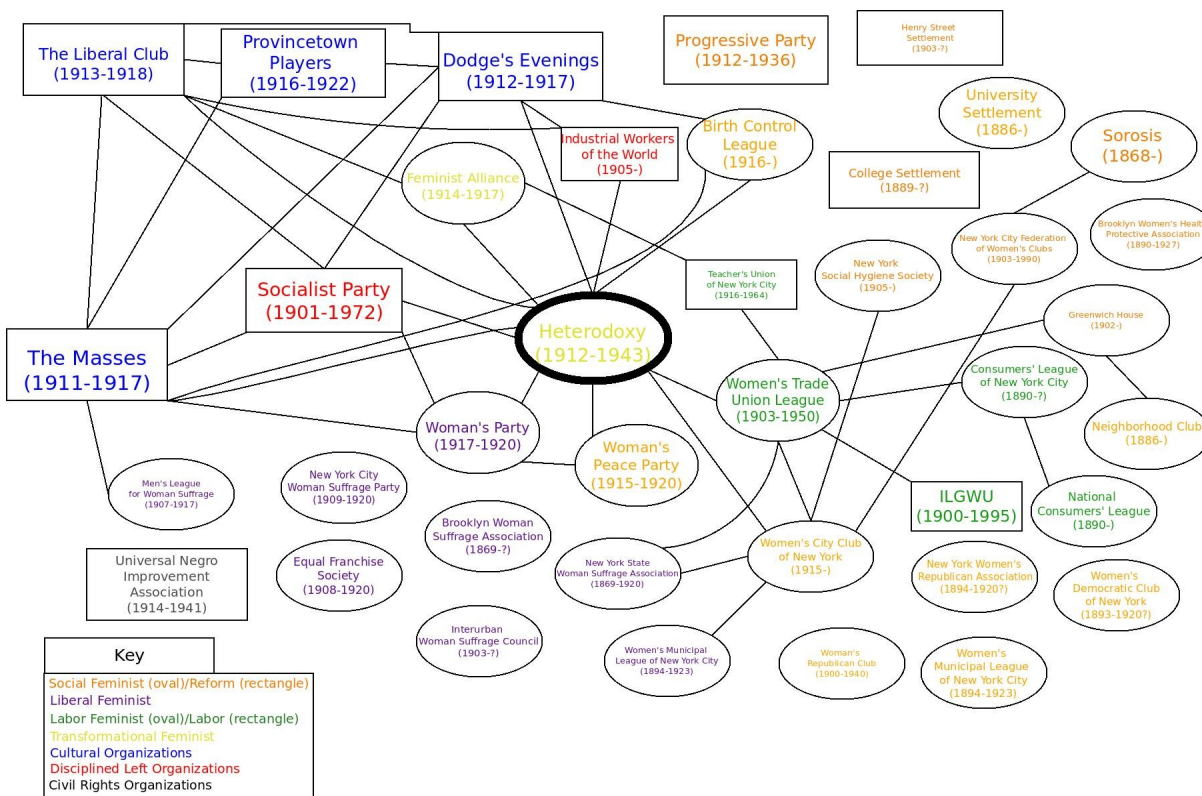
A comparison between Figures 3.4 and 3.5 reveals regional differences between the second-wave women's movement in each city. Like the first wave, there are more transformational feminist organizations in New York City (4) compared to Chicago (1), thus the New York City stronghold on transformational feminism in the first wave continued in the second wave. There are also more disciplined left organizations (6) and new left organizations (4) in Chicago compared to New York City (0 and 1, respectively), and CWLU had more connections to these organizations than the equivalent organizations in New York City. This confirms my contention in Chapter 2 that CWLU was more embedded within the male-dominated left, and thus more influenced by them, than the feminist organizations in New York City.

Finally, these two figures support my focus on CWLU and Redstockings in Chapter 3, although the case of Redstockings is slightly more complicated. CWLU was undoubtedly the main women's-movement organization in Chicago, but there were a number of women's-movement organizations in New York City. I identify Redstockings as the dominant group for a number of reasons. It was the longest lasting organization and it was the only organization that regularly produced writing aimed at the public, making its members, at least, the most well-known feminists in the city. They, like CWLU, set the terms of debate within the city.

15 A directed line is a line with an arrow, meaning resources are flowing one direction but not the other. In this case, as I say above, it means members from one organization broke away to form the other organization, in the direction of the arrow.

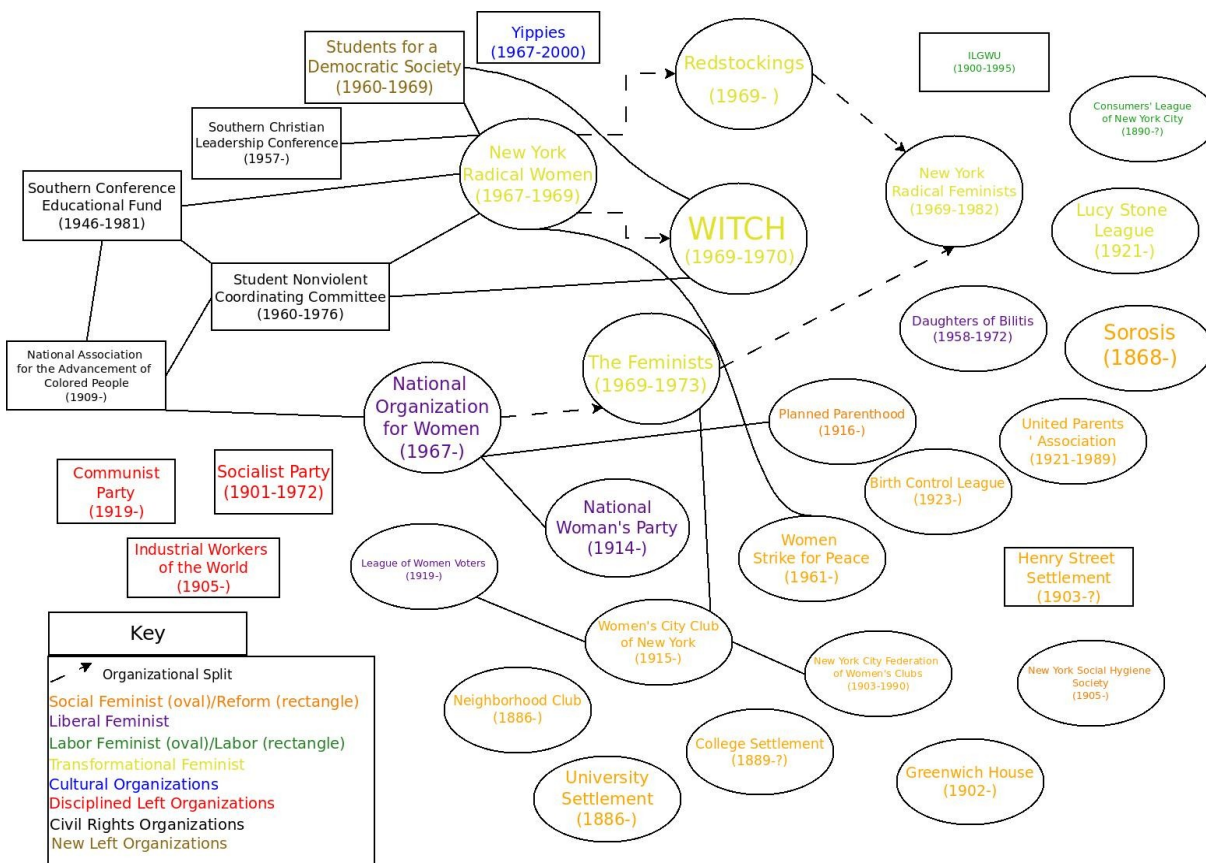
16 I return to this temporal analysis in the next chapter.

Figure 3.2: Network Diagram of the Women's-Movement Field in New York City in 1917



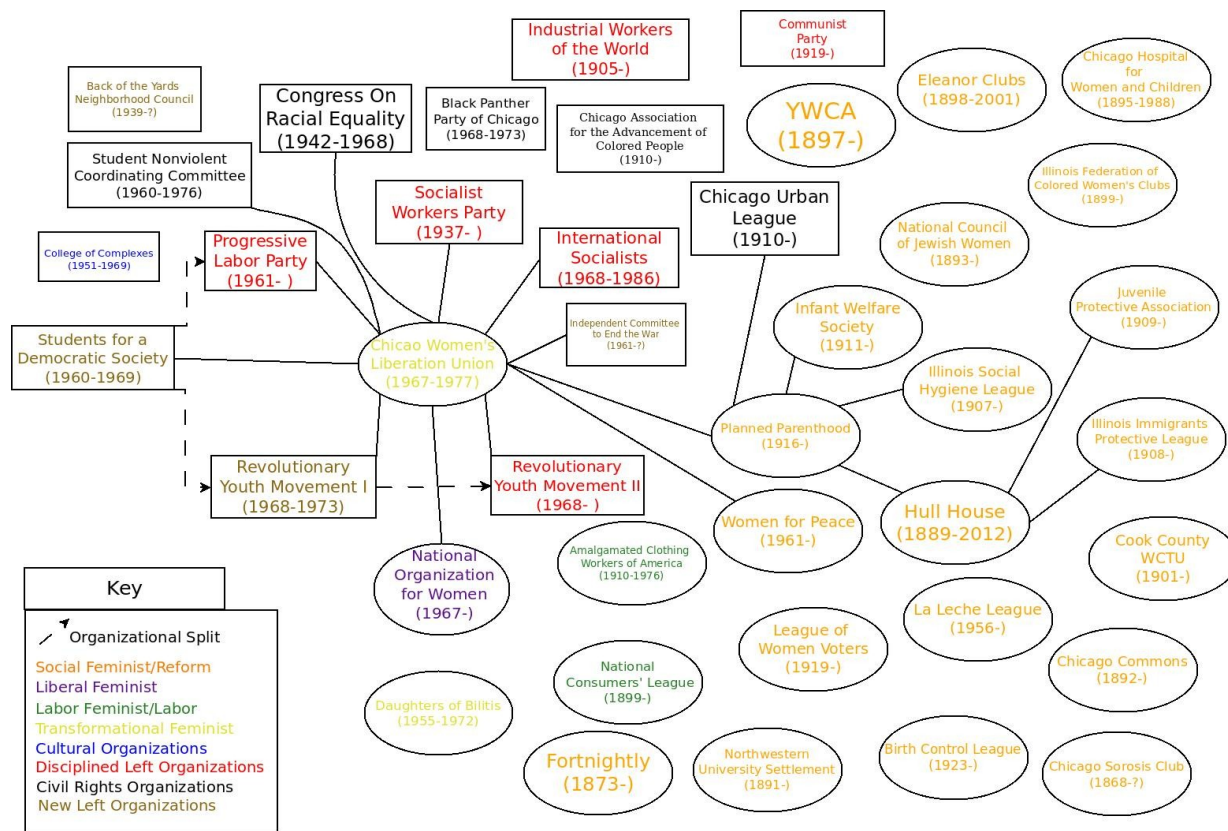
Note: Links mean organizations shared at least one member or they co-sponsored an event together. Heterodoxy is emphasized to illustrate that it is the most diversely connected organization, making it central to this field. Social Feminist organizations pursued general social reforms using their identity as women. Liberal Feminist organizations fought for legal and political reforms to promote women's equality. Labor Feminist organizations fought for working-class women in particular. Transformational Feminist organizations pushed for a total transformation of society, above and beyond legal and political reforms. Cultural Groups were organizations allied to the women's movement, or allied organizations, and that participated in cultural production. Disciplined Left groups were allied organizations that had a principled left stance. Reform groups pursued general progressive social reforms. Labor groups focused on bettering the position of the working class. Civil Rights groups were allied organizations that fought primarily for civil rights.

Figure 3.4: Network Diagram of the Women's-Movement Field in New York City in 1969



Note: Links mean organizations shared at least one member or they co-sponsored an event together. Social Feminist organizations pursued general social reforms using their identity as women. Liberal Feminist organizations fought for legal and political reforms to promote women's equality. Labor Feminist organizations fought for working-class women in particular. Transformational Feminist organizations pushed for a total transformation of society, above and beyond legal and political reforms. Cultural Groups were organizations allied to the women's movement, or allied organizations, and that participated in cultural production. Disciplined Left groups were allied organizations that had a principled left stance. Reform groups pursued general progressive social reforms. Labor groups focused on bettering the position of the working class. Civil Rights groups were allied organizations that fought primarily for civil rights. New Left organizations were allied organizations that were part of the 1960s new left movement.

Figure 3.5: Network Diagram of the Women's-Movement Field in Chicago in 1969



Note: Links mean organizations shared at least one member or they co-sponsored an event together. Social Feminist organizations pursued general social reforms using their identity as women. Liberal Feminist organizations fought for legal and political reforms to promote women's equality. Labor Feminist organizations fought for working-class women in particular. Transformational Feminist organizations pushed for a total transformation of society, above and beyond legal and political reforms. Cultural Groups were organizations allied to the women's movement, or allied organizations, and that participated in cultural production. Disciplined Left groups were allied organizations that had a principled left stance. Reform groups pursued general progressive social reforms. Labor groups focused on bettering the position of the working class. Civil Rights groups were allied organizations that fought primarily for civil rights. New Left organizations were allied organizations that were part of the 1960s new left movement.

There is more to glean from these network diagrams, but the sheer number of organizations in the above figures hides their significant structural features. To reveal these features I simplify and focus these network diagrams by extracting one section of each, the transformational left. In the introduction I claimed I would often focus on the radical left of the larger women's-movement field for both empirical and theoretical reasons. As a reminder, empirically the main question driving my comparison of Chicago and New York City is explaining the different types of women's liberation organizations in the second-wave movement. To do so, I focus on the left wing of the larger movement, as the women's-liberation movement was the left wing of the second-wave movement and was politically connected to the larger left milieu. Theoretically, scholars claim that it is this left wing of the second-wave movement that distinguishes it from the first wave. To challenge this claim I show that there was continuity even within the left wing of the women's movements between the two waves.

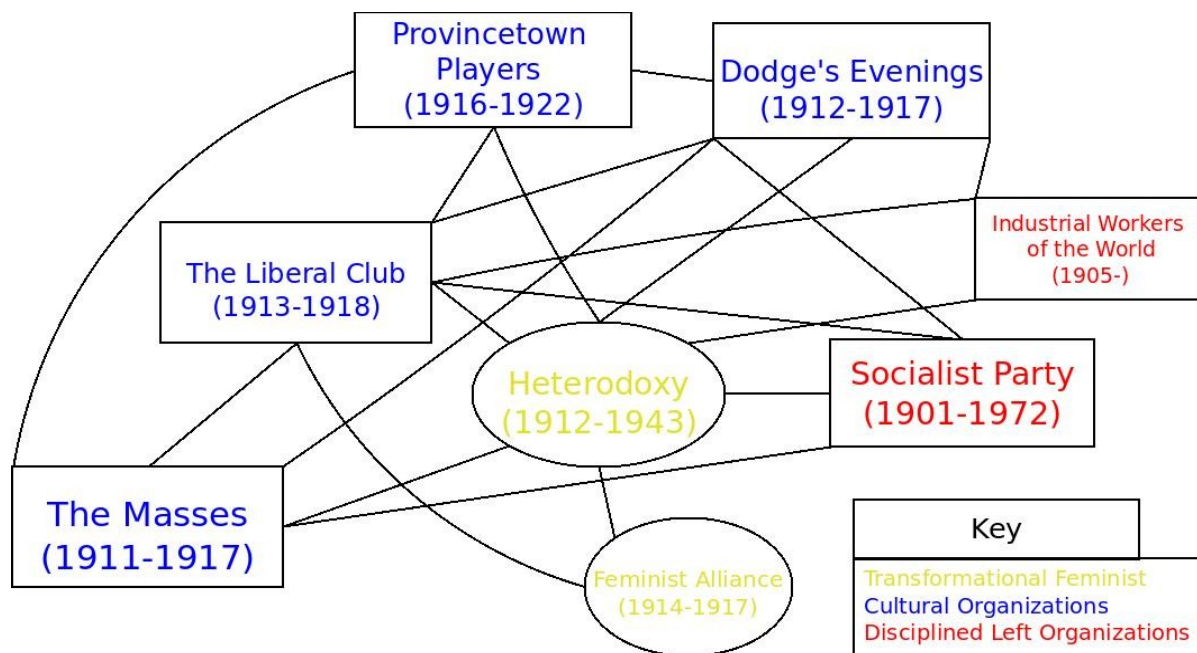
Almost every social movement, whether it be the labor movement, civil rights movement, or the women's movement, is divided between those who believe the overall system simply needs to be reformed to be more friendly toward a certain group, and those who believe a fundamental change to the entire system is needed. I call the organizations that fall into these two camps *institutional* and *transformational* organizations. The IWW and CWLU are transformational, while the Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and the National Organization for Women are institutional. These two camps often worked together around particular reforms or campaigns but they had fundamentally different views about social movements; they can be seen as different poles of a field.

Figures 3.6-3.9 show network diagrams of the transformational organizations in each city in each time period.¹⁷ In these diagrams most social feminist and liberal feminist organizations are excluded. Here a clearer story emerges, one that supports the qualitative analysis presented in Chapter 2. The left in New York City in 1917 (Figure 3.6) consisted primarily of feminist organizations and cultural organizations, all highly connected to one another, while the left in Chicago in 1917 (Figure 3.7) was centralized around the IWW and the Socialist Party, with a spattering of other organizations connected to these. New York City's left was thus highly connected and decentralized while Chicago's left was more homogeneous and centralized.

In 1969, similarly, the overall network structure in New York City (Figure 3.8) was decentralized compared to the network structure in Chicago (Figure 3.9), which was centralized around CWLU. Furthermore, feminist organizations in New York City almost composed their own clique, albeit one connected to civil rights and new left groups. In other words, the feminist sector in New York City in the second wave, as in the first wave, was relatively *independent*. In Chicago, comparatively, CWLU was highly connected and *embedded* within the larger, male-dominated left, just as individual feminists in the first wave were embedded in left groups. In sum, the structures of the left wing of the women's-movement fields were different between New York City and Chicago, and these structures persisted over time. The structure of the women's-movement field in New York City was decentralized, and women's-movement organizations were independent from the larger left, while the structure of the women's-movement field in Chicago was centralized, and women's-movement organizations were embedded in the larger left.

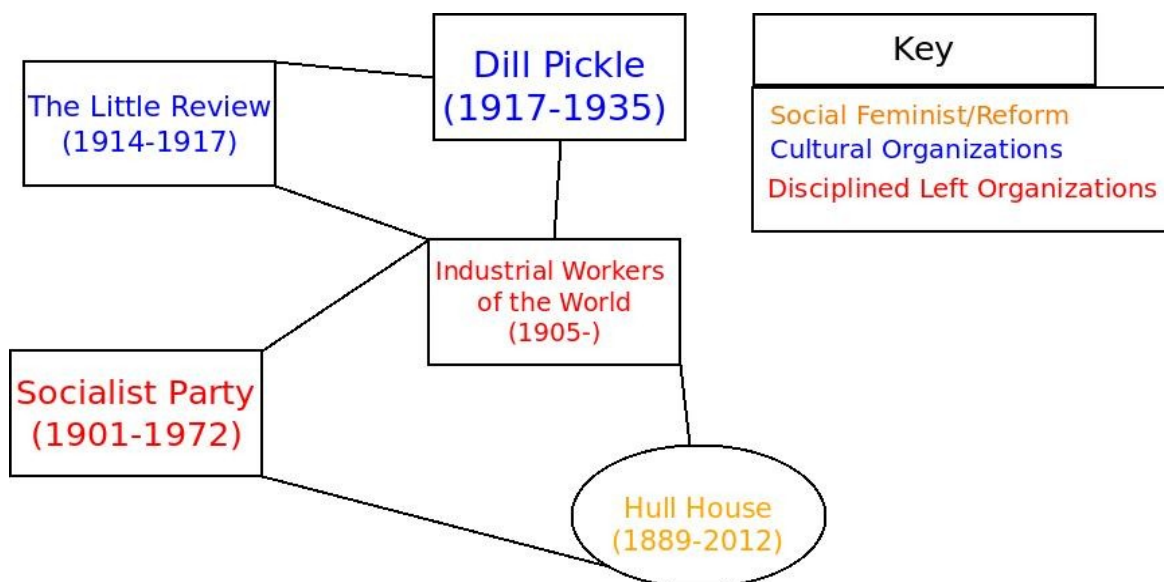
17 For the sake of brevity I sometimes shorten the "transformational left" to simply, the left.

Figure 3.6: Network Diagram of the Transformational Women's-Movement Field in New York City in 1917



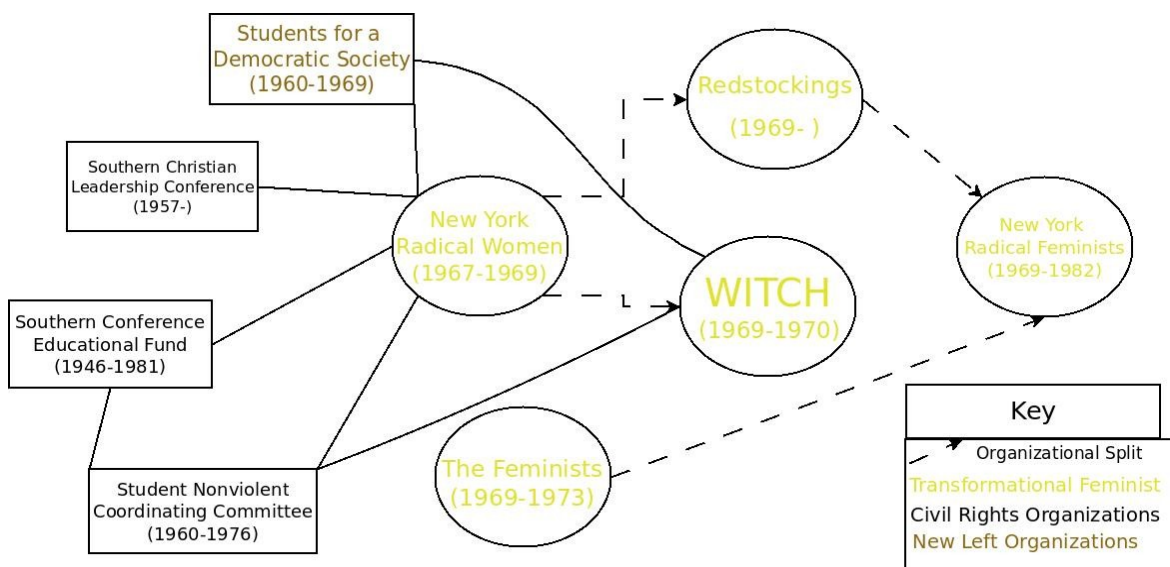
Note: Links mean organizations shared at least one member or they co-sponsored an event together. Transformational Feminist organizations pushed for a total transformation of society, above and beyond legal and political reforms. Cultural Groups were organizations allied to the women's movement, or allied organizations, and that participated in cultural production. Disciplined Left groups were allied organizations that had a principled left stance.

Figure 3.7: Network Diagram of the Transformational Women's-Movement Field in Chicago in 1917



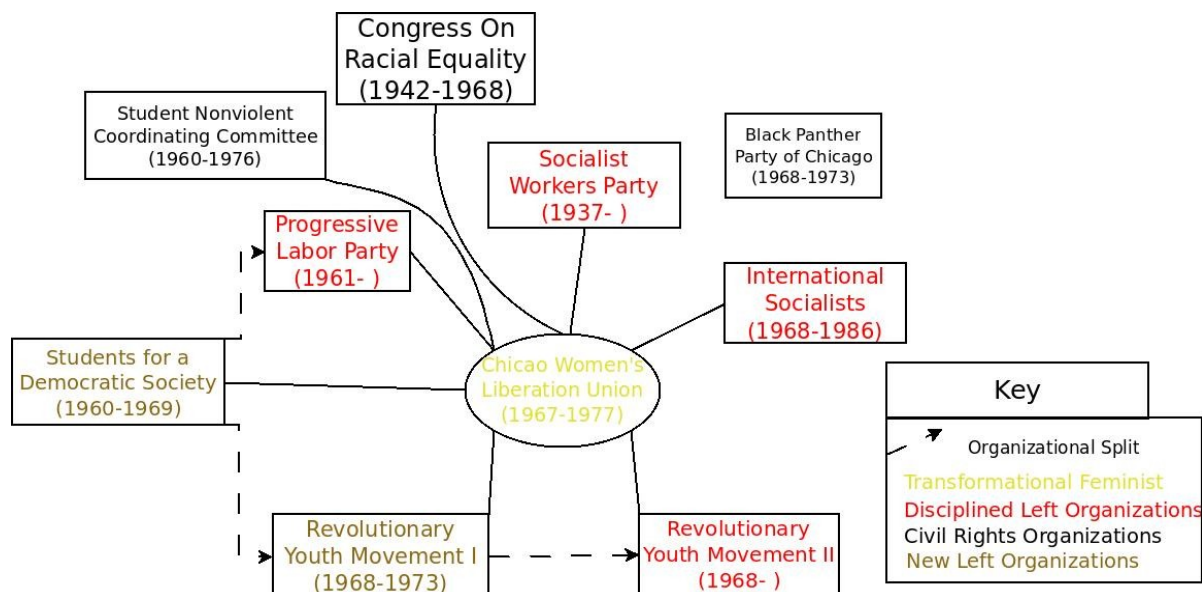
Note: Links mean organizations shared at least one member or they co-sponsored an event together. Social Feminist organizations pursued general social reforms using their identity as women. Cultural Groups were organizations allied to the women's movement, or allied organizations, and that participated in cultural production. Disciplined Left groups were allied organizations that had a principled left stance.

Figure 3.8: Network Diagram of the Transformational Women's-Movement Field in New York City in 1969



Note: Links mean organizations shared at least one member or they co-sponsored an event together. Transformational Feminist organizations pushed for a total transformation of society, above and beyond legal and political reforms. Civil Rights groups were allied organizations that fought primarily for civil rights. New Left organizations were allied organizations that were part of the 1960s new left movement.

Figure 3.9: Network Diagram of the Transformational Women's-Movement Field in Chicago in 1969



Note: Links mean organizations shared at least one member or they co-sponsored an event together. Transformational Feminist organizations pushed for a total transformation of society, above and beyond legal and political reforms. Disciplined Left groups were allied organizations that had a principled left stance. New Left organizations were allied organizations that were part of the 1960s new left movement.

Within this larger continuity, however, there were some changes within each city over time. In Chicago, feminists went from being feminist members of left groups in 1917 to forming a feminist organization within the left in 1969, and feminists in New York City went from organizing independent feminist organizations connected to a highly diverse left in 1917 to creating an independent feminist sector in 1969. These changes suggest that in both cities the feminist movement as a whole developed into a stronger, more independent movement, which is potentially why scholars claim the second-wave movement was more successful as a feminist *movement* than the first wave.

As a final step I abstract from these real-world networks and return to the archetypal network structures presented above. Figure 3.10 utilizes those archetypal structures to clarify the differences between the structure of the transformational women's-movement field in Chicago and New York City, and the continuities and changes within each city over time. New York City moved from a highly connected and decentralized network in 1917 to a network with two connected subgroups in 1969, a feminist subgroup and a civil rights subgroup. Conversely, the 1917 women's-movement network in Chicago was highly centralized around the IWW and the

Socialist Party, with no autonomous transformative feminist organizations. In 1969 the network was again centralized, but this time around the transformative feminist organization CWLU. Chicago went from a centralized left with no autonomous transformative feminist organizations to a centralized left with an embedded feminist organization. Table 3.1 summarizes these findings.

Figure 3.10: Archetypal Network Structures, New York City and Chicago in 1917 and 1969

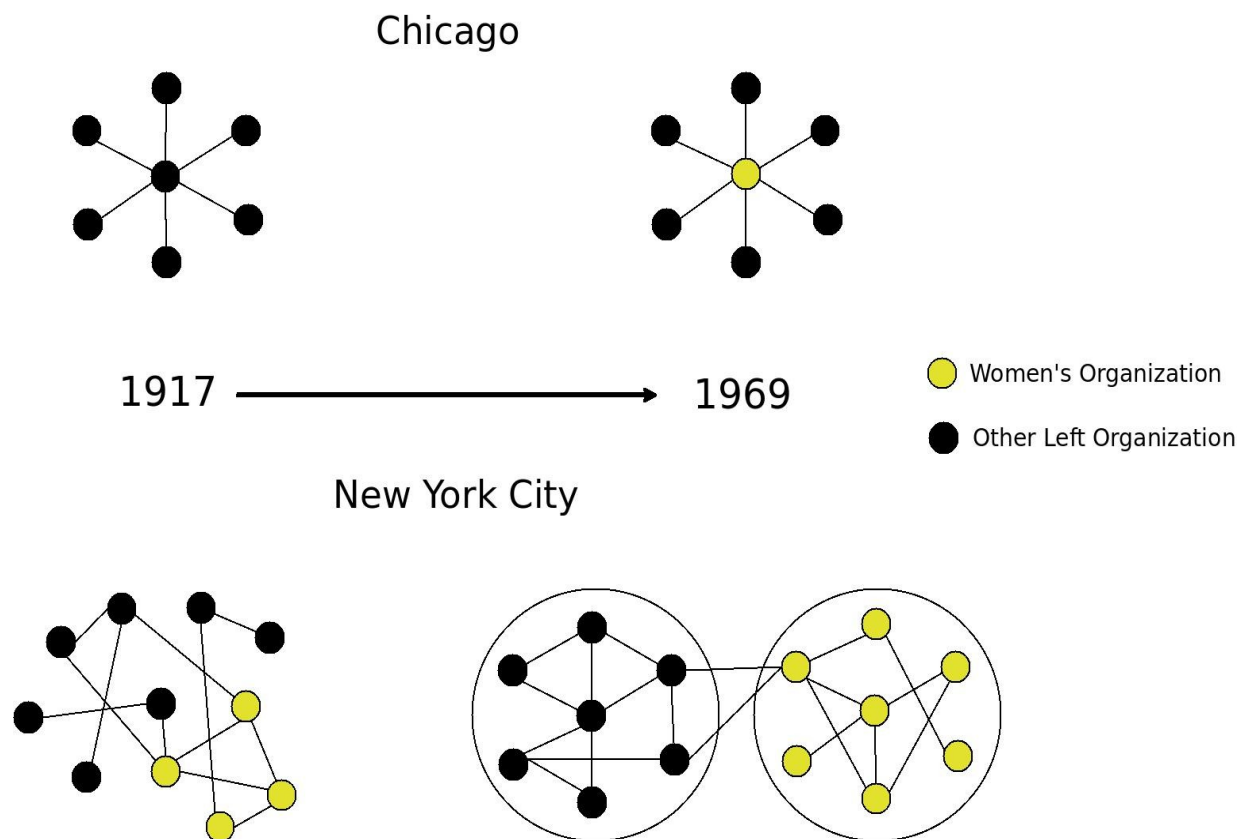


Table 3.1: Structural Findings

| | Network Structure | Relationship between Women's- and Allied-SMOs* |
|----------------------|--------------------------|---|
| New York City | Decentralized | Independent |
| Chicago | Centralized | Embedded |

*Social Movement Organizations

Conclusion

This structural analysis accomplished two tasks. First, it identified a centralized network structure in Chicago, with embedded women's organizations, and a decentralized network structure in New York City, with independent women's movement organizations. The centralized network structure in Chicago suggests one reason for the intimate connection between gender and class politics there, in both waves. Centralized network structures imply that key organizations have more influence and power over resource flows than key organizations in decentralized structures. Women had to keep their analysis in line with and connected to the few male-dominated left organizations in Chicago in order to gain access to valuable resources, including legitimacy, provided by these organizations. In Chicago women's organizations embedded their analysis within the larger class framework promoted by the central left organization and remained connected to them. In the 1970s, similarly, women's organizations had to join the CWLU, which monopolized the women's-movement field in that period, and agree with a class-based gender analysis, or risk being peripheral to the movement. If alternative women's-movement organizations wanted to exist, they would have to compete for resources through a centralized network structure, where CWLU controlled most of the resources. In New York City, conversely, no one organization controlled the resources, allowing the women's movement to form an independent sector there with multiple competing organizations. Thus, organizations divided and formed new organizations in New York City much more than they did in Chicago.¹⁸

There were benefits and drawbacks to each situation. The embedding of women's-movement organizations in the Chicago left encouraged them to ground their analysis in a well-formed, well-tested political theory centered on the working class, which kept this class of women, the numerical majority of women, at the center of their analysis. CWLU, however, eventually succumbed to pressure from these organizations who did not want it to exist as an independent organization, and women still struggled to persuade the left to meet their unique needs. The independence of women's organizations in New York City allowed them to build a vibrant movement centered on women's unique needs, but the disassociation from class politics, and the gender universalism promoted by their organizations, meant radical feminism often ignored the needs of low-income women and women of color. A network structural analysis provides insights into why these different feminist roads were taken.

This structural analysis additionally identified four organizations that were central to the women's movement fields in each city and each period. What was unique about these four organizations, and how is this connected to the story I told in the previous chapter? In the next chapter I analyze the cognitive frameworks embodied in these four organizations to understand first, why these four organizations were dominant and second, the connection between structure, culture, and the larger left field.

18 Women in Heterodoxy, for example, formed the Feminist Alliance, women in New York Radical Women broke away and formed Redstockings and WITCH, women in NOW left to form The Feminists, and women in Redstockings and The Feminists left to form New York Radical Feminists.

Chapter 4 — The Micro Level: Cognitive Frameworks

The previous network analysis found that Hull House in Chicago and Heterodoxy in New York City were central organizations in their respective cities during the first wave, and the Chicago Women's Liberation Union in Chicago and Redstockings in New York City were dominant during the second wave.¹⁹ In this chapter I analyze the substantive content of the cognitive frameworks embodied in these four organizations. To do so I look to micro elements of these fields—small-scale interactions between individual actors and relationships among individual words. I show that the two organizations in New York City demonstrated a similar cognitive framework underlying their political analysis which was different from the framework demonstrated by the organizations in Chicago. Understanding these cognitive frameworks helps us understand the dominant cognitive frameworks guiding the women's movement fields in these two cities.

Understanding unique women's-movement fields, or any field, requires analyzing *both* the structure and the culture of each field. Thus, at the end of this chapter I return to the overlapping waves theory presented in the introduction. Network analysis can identify which organizations were dominant in the field, and cultural analysis can identify what background assumptions guided these dominant organizations. I then relate these background assumptions to the larger left milieu in each city. Using this theory I can explain what was driving the differences between the women's-movement fields in New York City and Chicago and precisely what within these fields was being reproduced over time. I end by discussing the theoretical connection between structure and culture within a field more generally.

Measuring Cognitive Frameworks

Some field theorists emphasize the importance of structure, or organizational networks, in determining the shape, content, and action within fields. Others define a field most fundamentally as shared cultural understandings, or background assumptions, that provide a system of categories through which actors understand the world and their position in the world. Institutional theorist Ronald Jepperson was one of the first to claim the latter, arguing that “taken-for-granted” understandings, or what he calls “institutional procedures,” determine everything else about a field, including the networks and alliances studied by others interested in fields (Jepperson 1991). Institutions, for Jepperson, are mental structures that both allow and constrain action within a field, and they are self-reproducing within that field. Jepperson stresses that these mental structures are taken-for-granted and thus often unspoken, but he believes they can also be reflexive and thus explicitly evoked when justifying action. Critically, field theorists who emphasize the importance of cultural understandings, including Jepperson, attribute much of the causal importance of these understandings to their *substantive content*. I seek to identify the substantive content of the cognitive frameworks that guided the political activity and analysis of the main women's organizations outlined in the previous chapter to better understand and define the different fields in Chicago and New York City.

Identifying the substantive content of cognitive frameworks is not simply a matter of

¹⁹ While there were a number of radical feminist organizations in New York City, Redstockings, which grew out of New York Radical Women, most completely presented themselves as an organization to the public, which is why I focus on that organization in this chapter.

looking for common, articulated arguments. Cognitive frameworks are organized patterns of thought—they provide the categories through which actors make sense of the world and through which they construct their explicit arguments. Identifying the substantive content of cognitive frameworks involves looking for these underlying categories that provide a framework for more on-the-surface claims. Cognitive frameworks are similar to what organizational scholars call institutional logics, defined as “unique organizing principles, practices, and symbols that influence individual and organizational behavior” (Thornton, Lounsbury, and Ocasio 2012, 2). These institutional logics, or cognitive frameworks, shape how organizations function and can help explain the structure, strategies, and tactics of specific organizations (e.g., Friedland and Alford 1991; Haveman and Rao 1997; Thornton and Ocasio 1999).

Social-movements scholar Elizabeth Armstrong was among the first to apply the theory of institutional logics to social movements, suggesting that social movements and movement organizations are structured around “political logics.” Armstrong defines political logics as “background sets of assumptions about how society works, the goals of political action, and appropriate strategies to pursue desired ends” (Armstrong 2002, 13–14). These political logics are often unknown to movement participants but are occasionally evoked to justify particular actions. Like the relationship between institutional logics and organizations broadly, political logics affect the form, strategies, and tactics of social-movement organizations in particular.

The debates between Chicago women and New York City women in the 1960s, detailed in Chapter 2, included the appropriate goals of the movement and acceptable strategies for pursuing those goals, and these debates included differences in a basic understanding of how society worked, suggesting that these organizations were structured by fundamentally different political logics. Fully understanding the differences between women's-movement organizations in New York City and Chicago during this period requires identifying their different political logics, or what I am calling cognitive frameworks, and, as the historical evidence suggests, pursuing the origins of these logics by looking for the possible persistence of specific regional cognitive frameworks over time. I claim that CWLU and Hull House embodied the same cognitive framework, and this was different from the cognitive framework embodied by Heterodoxy and Redstockings. Analyzing their political arguments in minute but abstract detail can reveal the substantive content of these distinct cognitive frameworks.

The historical narrative in the previous chapter suggests some possible categories differentiating the women's movements in Chicago and New York City. Chicago women placed working-class women at the center of their feminist theory, they were anti-capitalist, and many believed in socialism. Perhaps, then, socialism, or the belief that cooperative ownership is better than individual ownership, was a fundamental framework for Chicago women. Feminists in New York City, however, also wanted to help the working-class, they were often anti-capitalist, and most were socialist. In the first wave, many of those in Heterodoxy were also in the Socialist Party and the Women's Trade Union League, and believed, as did *The Masses*, that a radical restructuring of the economy was necessary in order to improve society. *The Masses* repeatedly juxtaposed the women's movement and socialism as the two major movements of their time. Similarly, almost everyone on the left in the 1970s, including New York City feminists, believed that socialism would be a better economic structure than capitalism. So it is not simply the case that Chicago women were socialists and New York City women were not. It is also not the case that women in Chicago were more revolutionary than those in New York City. We saw in the previous chapter that radical feminists in New York City in both waves were thoroughly revolutionary, believing that reforms were only part of a larger solution. Feminism meant

revolution for many New York City feminists, as Gilman, a feminist and a socialist, firmly claimed at a feminist mass meeting there: “Feminism means revolution,” she claimed, “and I am a revolutionist” (“Feminist Mass Meeting” 1914, 27). Additionally, while Addams and those in Hull House, including Kelley, were socialist, many believed socialism could come through reforms, not revolution. Perhaps instead Chicago women were more cooperatist or collective in their solutions. This category also does not hold as a differentiating framework. Both women in the Socialist Party in Chicago and women in The Feminist Alliance in New York City proposed cooperative housekeeping and cooperative living as solutions to women's slavery to the household. The common ways of classification—reform vs. revolution, socialism vs. capitalism, working class vs. middle class, etc.—do not fully capture the fundamental difference between Chicago and New York City.

What does reform and revolution mean to different women's organizations? How does one win reforms or a revolution? What is the appropriate method to help the working class or improve the status of women? Because the fundamental organizing principles underlying the more explicit political arguments of the women's movement in Chicago and New York City were often latent or unstated, identifying, measuring, and analyzing their cognitive frameworks requires a distinctive set of tools. I have developed a combination of computational methods and qualitative analysis to investigate the nature of these cities' cognitive frameworks.

Measuring Cognitive Frameworks

Scholars have used three main methods to identify and analyze cognitive frameworks: ideal types, qualitative analysis of text and interviews, and quantitative analysis of text. Thornton, Lousbury, and Ocasio (2012) adopted Weber's ideal type method as a way to analyze what they call institutional logics. Ideal types, they claim, are “a tool to interpret cultural meanings” (2012, 52). To avoid “getting bogged down in merely reproducing the often-confusing empirical situation,” ideal types offer an abstract model for measuring how much observations differ from an ideal type, allowing researchers to empirically test hypotheses about those frameworks or logics (*ibid.*). Weber, Patel, and Heinze (2013) criticize this approach as being “analytically convenient” but empirically inaccurate. These authors argue instead that “logics are meant to represent lived social realities,” not ideal types, and thus must be empirically identified (353).

Institutional and social-movements scholars have used both qualitative and quantitative methods to empirically study cognitive frameworks as institutional logics. For example, Armstrong used systematic qualitative analysis of text and interview data to identify three distinct political logics in the gay rights movement in San Francisco and to trace how they changed over time. Other researchers have used various quantitative methods to understand logics. Mohr and Duquenne (1997), for example, quantitatively analyzed text using a combination of “poverty categories and practices” to identify connections between ideas and practice in social welfare organizations in New York City. Their goal was to measure the effect of culture, or background assumptions, on organizations.

Like the ideal types approach, both qualitative and quantitative approaches assume categories that are a priori to the analysis itself. Two major methodological problems ensue with these approaches. First, constructing appropriate categories can be difficult, especially when studying different organizations across long time periods. Two organizations that appear to one researcher as completely different may be similar if viewed through alternate categories or cognitive frameworks. Second, a method that assumes categories a priori imposes a structure

determined by the researcher onto organizations. Because it is determined ahead of the analysis, this structure may or may not fit the actual data. Ideally, as Weber et al. advise, the cognitive frameworks should emerge from the texts themselves (i.e. from lived social realities) rather than imposed by the researcher. When comparing different organizations at one point in time, or similar organizations across time, allowing categories to emerge from the data often reveals underlying frameworks that may not be immediately evident to the researcher. I propose a method here that allows researchers to identify and analyze cognitive frameworks as they emerge from the data itself.

Data

In Chapter 2 I presented a theory that the critical women's-movement organizations in Chicago and New York City—and individual women within these organizations—had fundamentally different approaches to politics that were persistent over time. Methodologists suggest that those who use case study methods to build theory should not test their theories with the same data they used to construct that theory (George and Bennett 2005). I follow that advice here. My methods follow a long history in sociology, exemplified by Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (M. Weber [1905]2002), in which he uses the writings of Benjamin Franklin, not a Protestant religious theorist, to demonstrate the existence of the “protestant ethic” as a larger, real-work phenomenon. To identify cognitive frameworks I do not use the writings of the leaders of these women's movements, many of which I quoted in Chapter 2. Instead, I use literature produced by the organizations themselves, which I did not use in Chapter 2. This kind of organizational literature is important, as it often represents collective discussion and collective approval rather than the belief of one individual. The collective literature better captures the “background assumptions” I seek.

The majority of political debates between movement organizations either explicitly or implicitly happened through the literature produced by these organizations. It was in their literature that women's organizations defined their political positions, described what they did on a day to day basis, identified their motivations for those actions, and presented their political analyses of issues. The best way to understand the political, ideological, and practical work of these organizations is through an analysis of their literature. A systematic analysis of these texts can reveal the cognitive frameworks by which explicit political arguments were formed.

I am interested in regional differences between cognitive frameworks and the possible continuities of these frameworks within cities over time. The analytical design followed here consists of two comparisons: a regional comparison between Chicago and New York City, and a temporal comparison both within and between these cities over time. I analyze the literature of the most central and most prominent women's organizations in these two cities in the two waves: Chicago Women's Liberation Union (CWLU), Redstockings²⁰, Hull House, and Heterodoxy.²¹ These four organizations were locally-focused groups that were also involved in national issues, and each contributed novel theories about women's role in society and politics. Feminists drawn to Chicago and New York City tended to join these four organizations. If continuities and

20 While Redstockings was not the earliest radical feminist organizations it was the most active and had the most clearly articulated political position, which was developed through published articles. This makes them the most apt comparison to CWLU, which also published a public journal.

21 I identified these four organizations through a qualitative network analysis which included all of the women's organizations I could find in each city. The results of this analysis are presented in Chapter 4.

differences exist, they will exist between these organizations.²²

These organizations produced internal newsletters as well as journals and bulletins that were meant to inform the public of their work. My data consist of the public literature produced by these four women's organizations because it presents the collective agreement about the identity and goals of the organization rather than internal debates, which are more likely contained in the internal newsletters. CWLU, Redstockings, and Hull House had regular publications. CWLU started publishing a journal called *Womankind* as a monthly outreach publication where they detailed their activities and political analysis. Redstockings published *Feminist Revolution* in 1979 as a collection of articles written by radical feminists between 1975 and 1978. The articles detail their organizing ideals, actions, and their feminist politics. Hull House regularly maintained an outreach publication. This began in 1897 as the *Hull House Bulletin*, which was published up to twelve times per year. In 1906 the publication changed its name to *Hull-House Yearbook*, which they published once a year and was typically over 50 pages long. In these publications they described their activities and presented justifications for, and the theory behind, the work Hull House was doing. Heterodoxy did not publish any official literature, priding themselves on being a discrete organization (Schwarz 1982; Wittenstein 1991). The individual women of Heterodoxy, however, did write and publish extensively, particularly in the 1910s magazine *The Masses*, and these two organizations were intimately connected. The data for Heterodoxy, then, are the articles focusing on women's issues in the publication *The Masses*.²³

My complete data set consists of all of the issues of *Womankind*, published by CWLU from 1971 to 1973 (364 pages), all of the articles from *Feminist Revolution*, published by Redstockings in the early to mid-1970s (213 pages), 78 pages of articles that dealt with women's issues from *The Masses* spanning the years 1911 to 1917, and twelve *Bulletins/Yearbooks* published by Hull House between 1900 and 1917 (357 pages) (see Table 4.1 for a summary of these data).²⁴ Each page is one “document.” My corpus is a collection of all of these documents and the associated meta-data for each that include date of publication, city of publication, and organization. I use a variety of quantitative and qualitative content-analysis techniques to analyze these data in order to identify underlying and often unspoken cognitive frameworks uniting women's politics in each city.

22 Historical accounts of these two periods suggest that women who were devoted to women's politics in Chicago and New York City were drawn to these four organizations (Cott 1987; Echols 1989; Sklar, Schüler, and Strasser 1998; Rosen 2000; Stansell 2010).

23 These articles include those listed under the “women” and “feminism” tabs in the *The Masses* subject index (Watts 2000), in addition to looking through all of the articles myself to find relevant articles. See Appendix 2 for a list of the articles included in the analysis.

24 This publication continued into the 1970s, but because I am comparing the early period to the later period I only used the *Bulletins/Yearbooks* between 1900 and 1920 for this analysis. Hull House did not publish anything between 1917 and 1920 because of World War I. I collected these publications from the Hull House collection at the University of Illinois at Chicago Special Collections. This archive had a limited number of the *Bulletins/Yearbooks*. In this analysis I used the publication from years 1901, 1902, 1903, 1905, 1906, 1910, 1913, and 1916. Hull House's bulletins typically followed a standard format: they began with a calendar of events, followed by a description of the different clubs and organizations housed at Hull House, and ending with a description of the events, actions, and studies they recently carried out. The description of the clubs does not change between bulletins, so a large part of each bulletin is an exact copy of a previous bulletin. Given the repetitive nature of this publication it is quite unlikely that changing which bulletins I used in the analysis would change the results, although this could easily be tested if the data were available.

Table 4.1: Summary of Data

| Organization | City | Publication | Years | Pages |
|--------------|---------------|---------------------------------------|-------------|-------|
| Hull House | Chicago | <i>Bulletin/Yearbook</i> ^a | 1900-1917 | 357 |
| CWLU | Chicago | <i>Womankind</i> | 1971-1973 | 364 |
| Heterodoxy | New York City | <i>The Masses</i> ^b | 1911-1917 | 78 |
| Redstockings | New York City | <i>Feminist Revolution</i> | Early 1970s | 213 |

^a The publication was called *Bulletin* through 1905, after which the name changed to *Yearbook*. Due to limited availability, included in this analysis are years 1901, 1902, 1903, 1905, 1906, 1910, 1913, and 1916.

^b The articles included in the analysis are all of the articles under the “woman” and “feminism” subjects in the index (Watts 2000). See Appendix 2 for a full list of articles.

Computer-Assisted Text Analysis

Critics have recently rebuked content analysis for two major failings. First, Biernacki (2012) and others have raised doubts about the appropriateness of researchers imposing their own structure on text, calling for more transparency in the text categorization process. Second, Mikhaylov, Laver, and Benoit (2012) have questioned the accuracy and reliability of human coders, raising the issue of reproducibility. In response, some researchers in the humanities and in political science, and increasingly in sociology, have begun to use computational methods to inductively identify categories through text analysis. Computational methods allow categories to emerge from the data, so the researcher does not have to artificially impose categories on the text, and these methods are fully reproducible—unlike human readers, computers will code text the same way every time, making margins of error easy to estimate.²⁵

Computer assisted methods can be used to augment traditional content-analysis techniques, but they can also be used to reveal latent categories that may not be immediately evident to human readers. Fully-automated methods allow for inductive comparisons between organizations and texts and over time (Monroe, Colaresi, and Quinn 2008; Quinn et al. 2009; Grimmer 2010). This inductive approach shifts the intervention of the researcher from *creating* categories prior to the quantitative analysis to *interpreting* categories emerging from the quantitative analysis (DiMaggio et al. 2013). Increasingly, scholars of culture are using computer-assisted techniques to directly “measure” culture and cognitive structures (P. DiMaggio, Nag, and Blei 2013; Mohr et al. 2013; McFarland et al. 2013).²⁶ I apply these methods to identify possible persistent cognitive frameworks that structure women's movements in the United States. I utilize these computational methods first to estimate categories, then to classify texts into those categories, and finally to analyze the content of those categories. These methods assist analyses of the underlying framework of the language used by organizations, and can test whether these frameworks persist over time.

Computer-assisted methods of text analysis seek to reduce a collection of texts, called a corpus, to its underlying structure. These methods are similar to more commonly known quantitative methods such as multiple correspondence analysis (MCA), factor analysis, and multi-dimensional scaling (MDS). MCA, which is related to Principle Component Analysis

25 Some of these techniques start with a random distribution of words among topics, which means the results will be slightly different each time. If the random distribution is known, and it is possible to set this distribution, the results will be the same every time.

26 These scholars maintain that there is a continuing need for more empirical validation of these techniques.

(PCA) and factor analysis, is used to detect the underlying structure of a data set by representing data points in Euclidean space. The axes of this Euclidian space identify the relevant features that group data points together and differentiates point clusters from other clusters. Bourdieu famously used MCA to identify features that grouped different tastes together in mid-twentieth century France, and analyzed how these taste groupings were correlated to different forms of capital (Bourdieu 1984). Factor analysis, like PCA, attempts to explain variation within a number of seemingly unrelated variables by reducing that variation to fewer unobserved variables. MDS is more directly related to automated text analysis. MDS measures the level of similarity among individual cases, grouping cases along different dimensions that reveal structural realities about those cases.

In text analysis individual data points (as in MDS and MCA), or variables (as in PCA and factor analysis) are words. Different algorithms and mathematical operations reduce the large and complicated dataset (the corpus) to groups of data points or variables (words) that, when interpreted, can indicate the underlying structure of a text. Just as MCA and MDS use statistical and visual methods to reveal groupings of variables or data points that are impossible for a researcher to otherwise identify, automated text analyses reveal latent categories, or groupings of words, within texts. These categories can suggest the underlying structure of diverse or seemingly unconnected texts. When combined with other methods, like qualitative in-depth readings, these categories can in turn be used to identify the substantive content of underlying cognitive frameworks, even if those shared understandings are not directly stated.

Previous researchers have used computer-assisted methods to identify groups or clusters of words through two analytic strategies: one approach reveals *patterns* and *similarities* among texts, the second reveals what is most *different* between texts. Both approaches serve to reduce the text to meaningful groups of words. The researcher then interprets what these groups, and the cognitive frameworks they indicate, mean.

The first approach, which uncovers similarities within a corpus, identifies common patterns in texts, tracing those patterns within and across documents. Clustering algorithms and topic models are two methods popularly used to identify these common patterns. Clustering algorithms partition variables (in this case words or documents) into separate clusters, which serve as categories. The content of each category is suggested by the shared meanings of the sets of clustered words or clustered documents. Topic modeling algorithms, alternatively, assume that documents are a mixture of *topics*, where a topic is a list of weighted words. The top weighted words for each topic represent the content of that topic, and documents are classified into their respective top weighted topics. Both of these methods are typically used to identify new categories within texts or to map patterns across text. Political scientists Grimmer and King, for example, used computer-automated clustering techniques to discover a category of political speech that they call partisan taunting, which had until then not been identified by political scientists (Grimmer and King 2011).

The second approach to automated text analysis involves identifying words or features that uniquely characterize a text, with the goal of identifying salient differences between documents. These lexical methods attempt to compactly represent the content of a document by listing the most important or defining words of the document vis-a-vis other documents. For example, political scientist Kevin Quinn and his colleagues used various lexical-based methods to compare the way Democrats and Republicans discuss abortion in U.S. Senate speeches. They found that Republicans think about the issue from the point of view of the unborn baby, while the Democrats approach abortion from the point of view of the woman. The researchers claim they

identified a fundamental difference in the way different parties approach abortion rights (Monroe, Colaresi, and Quinn 2008).

My analysis includes methods aligned with both of these broad approaches, as I calculate both patterns across the text and differences between texts. My first analysis uses Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA), a form of probabilistic topic modeling,²⁷ to estimate common categories or patterns within the text. This approach assumes no significant differences between the documents; rather, it seeks to reduce all the documents to common patterns, identified through groupings of words (Blei, Ng, and Jordan 2003). This method is best used to uncover themes or categories in a corpus that are not immediately apparent to a human reader, and it is useful to navigate large, unstructured corpora (cf. Grimmer and Stewart 2011; Chuang et al. 2012).

To calculate salient differences between texts produced by different organizations, I use a simple calculation called “difference of proportions” (see Equation 4.1). Using a concatenation of all of the text produced by one organization, a difference-of-proportion calculation compares two organizations and indicates what is most different about those organizations. The words with the largest positive and negative differences in a pair-wise comparison are the most distinctive words for each organization. This method effectively identifies what is unique about the discourses used by each organization.²⁸

Equation 4.1: Difference of Proportions

The observed proportion is defined as:

$$f_w^{(i)} = y_w^{(i)} / n^{(i)}$$

Where $y_w^{(i)}$ is the frequency of word w in document (i) and n is the total number of words, or row sum, for document (i).

The difference of proportion is defined as:

$$f_w^{(i_1)} - f_w^{(i_2)}$$

There are a number of different topic modeling algorithms and each algorithm can categorize a corpus into any number of topics. Thus, there are near infinite ways to categorize and classify any one corpus. Any one algorithm may misrepresent texts, as it is impossible to know which algorithm will best categorize your text before you run a model (Grimmer and

27 The specific algorithm used to estimate categories is relatively arbitrary. Because there is no way of knowing whether a particular algorithm will provide useful categories a priori to the analysis, some amount of trial and error is necessary (Grimmer and King 2011). I also tested the Correlated Topic Models algorithm, but decided LDA gave me more interpretable results. Ideally researchers can test hundreds of algorithms on their data and decide which one to use.

28 My “documents” are all of the text produced by one organization, so there are only two documents per pair-wise comparison.

Stewart 2011). It is also difficult to interpret the meaning of a list of words without deeper knowledge of the context in which these words were used. Scholars use a variety of methods to check the validity of the categories they identify using LDA and other topic modeling algorithms. They use alternate methods to additionally provide context to the lists of words, which can often be cryptic. Some go back and hand code text for these latent categories, assuring that humans will be able to identify these categories as computers did (e.g., Grimmer and King 2011). I instead do a qualitative analysis of the documents to validate the quantitative findings and to provide context and interpretation to the data. I studied the documents classified into categories containing the most documents, as revealed by the quantitative analysis. As I read, I first verified the categories were valid and coherent, that is the documents classified in each category were similar in some way to one another. I then interpreted what these categories revealed about the organizations. I show the results from this qualitative analysis below, providing relevant quotations from these documents to give context to the relatively cryptic categories emerging from the quantitative analysis. These quotations also serve to support the qualitative interpretation of the results that I present.

Analysis and Results

Quantitative Results

LDA is meant to reveal patterns and associations across a text corpus by grouping text and documents into K topics, but there is no way to know a priori how many topics to specify. Thus I first ranged the number of topics in the LDA models from 20 to 200. Twenty topics were too few to be semantically valid and 100 or more topics were not interpretable, but the 50 topic LDA model produced categories that made sense, were interpretable, and provided insight into structural categories in the text. The output from the LDA model is a distribution of topics over words and a distribution of documents over topic. Each word has a different weight associated with each topic, and each topic has a different weight associated with each document. Typically, a researcher will look at the top weighted words per topic to determine what the topic is “about” and at the top weighted topics for each document to determine what the document is “about.” Following this strategy, the topics were labeled by me after reviewing the top words associated and some of the documents associated with each topic. To compare the distribution of topics by organization, I looked at the top topic associated with each document. In practice, each document is “assigned” to its top weighted topic. Calculating the percentage of documents produced by each organization assigned to each topic revealed that three different topics dominated each organization, for a total of 12 dominant topics, while the rest of the documents were spread across the remaining topics.

Analyzing the top three topics from the documents produced by each organization reveals interesting patterns through the text. Table 4.2 shows the top 10 words associated with each of these 12 top topics. These words suggest the content of each topic. For example, the “anti-war” topic is clearly related to the Vietnam War and Nixon's handling of it, demonstrated by the top words like “vietnam,” “war,” “people,” “nixon,” and “american.” The “psychology” topic is related to women's consciousness and the relationship between consciousness and politics, shown by words such as “women,” “feel,” “consciousnessraising,” “action,” “liberation,” “attack,” and “experience.”

Figure 4.1 shows the percent of documents, by organization, from which topic k was

weighted highest for each of these twelve topics. As Figure 4.1 shows, the most frequent topics in *The Masses* are “sanger and birth control” (24.36%), “women's experience” (20.51%), and “women's lives” (12.82%). This means that 24.36% of the documents from *The Masses* were most likely assigned to the “birth control” topic, 20.51% were most likely assigned the topic “women's experience,” and so on. For Hull House, the most frequent topics are “Hull House services” (16.06%), “organizational business” (15.49%), and “theater” (10.42%). The frequent topics for CWLU are “CWLU services”, “anti-war”, and “labor laws” (12.22%, 5.79% and 4.68%, respectively), and for Redstockings they are feminist theory (14.83%), political theory (12.92%), and psychology (10.05%).

This model shows that there is relatively little overlap between the top topics from each organization, suggesting that there are relevant differences that need further investigation. There are a few notable patterns: the “CWLU services” topic is similar to the “Hull House services” topic, and the “psychology” topic, dominant in the Redstockings literature, is similar to the “women's lives” and “women's experience” topics dominant in *The Masses* literature. These patterns suggest that there are some similarities between Redstockings and *The Masses* and also between CWLU and Hull House.

To further specify salient differences between organizations I conducted a difference-of-proportions analysis first on Redstockings versus CWLU and then on *The Masses* versus Hull House.²⁹ Tables 4.3 and 4.4 show the top 30 words associated with each organization from these two pairwise calculations. For example, “movement,” “women,” feminist,” and “radical” are the most distinctive words used by Redstockings when compared to CWLU (see Table 4.3). Equivalently, “woman,” “women,” “life,” and “sanger” are the most distinctive words in *The Masses* when compared to Hull House (see Table 4.4).

Interpreting these words suggests a general pattern. The words associated with CWLU and Hull House tend to be *particular* to an issue or activity: children, center, union, abort, nixon, vietnam, hospital, etc. for CWLU, and house, school, program, children, camp, committee, etc. for Hull House. Alternatively, the words associated with Redstockings and *The Masses* tend to be *general* words that can be applied to many issues or activities: movement, women, feminist, radical, liberation, etc. for Redstockings, and woman, women, life, world, love, human, believe, etc. for *The Masses*. When the cities are compared to each other, the organizations in Chicago tend to use *concrete* and *particular* words while the organizations in New York City tend to use *abstract* and *general* words.

29 I chose these two pairings because of the broad patterns in the LDA model noted above.

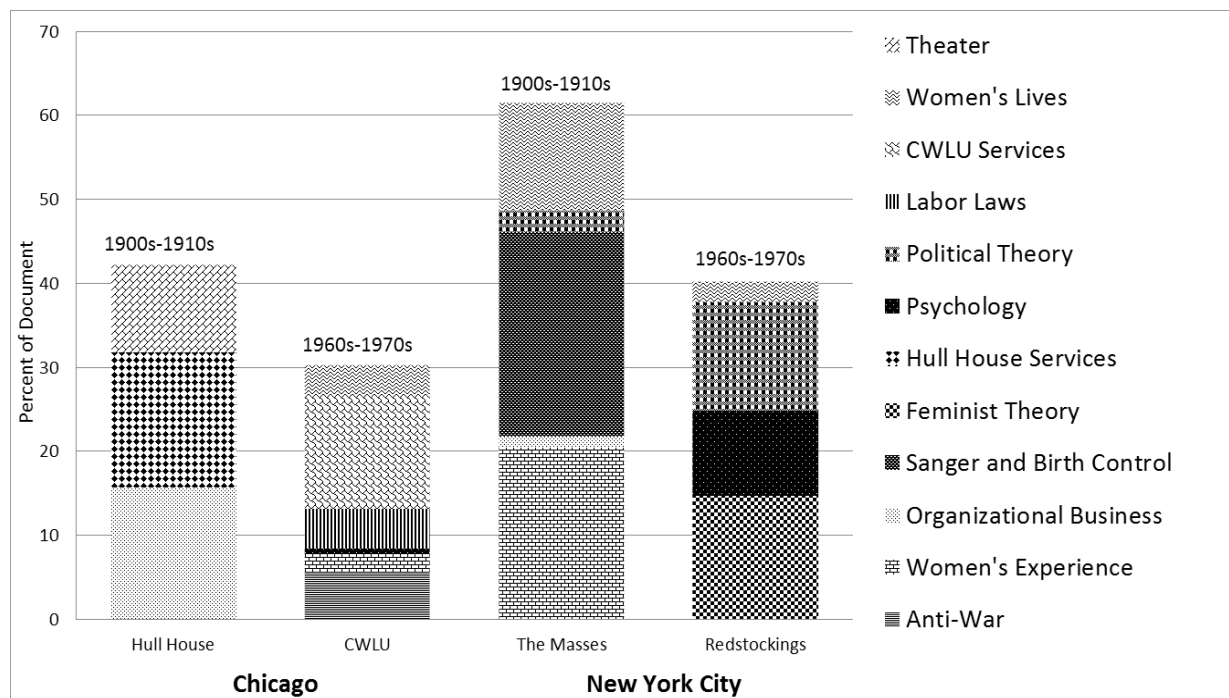
Table 4.2: Top 10 Keywords Associated with Top 12 Topics, 50-K LDA Topic Model

| Topic Label | Highest Weighted Words |
|--------------------------|--|
| anti-war | vietnam; war; vietnamese; people; nixon; american; south; bomb; government; north |
| women's experience | woman; women; life; home; world; waitress; day; time; human; sex |
| organizational business | club; miss; president; social; secretary; event; treasurer; hullhouse; month; vice-president |
| sanger and birth control | law; sanger; public; information; birth; control; trial; knowledge; time; masses |
| feminist theory | women; history; movement; feminist; radical; liberation; origin; book; people; idea |
| Hull House services | hullhouse; house; school; children; chicago; resident; miss; office; public; city |
| psychology | feel; people; person; women; consciousnessraising; action; liberation; attack; political; experience |
| political theory | women; liberation; movement; radical; political; power; organize; left; people; feminist |
| labor laws | women; job; city; employment; pay; equal; discrimination; union; janitress; file |
| CWLU services | women; liberation; cwlu; chicago; union; call; legal; office; center; people |
| women's lives | woman; pain; don't; day; time; home; little; call; didn't; tell |
| theater | play; dramatic; miss; club; hullhouse; perform; stage; association; children; success |

Note: Top 12 topics include the 3 topics from each organization (CWLU, Redstockings, Hull House, Heterodoxy) that were the top weighted topic for the most number of documents. The Topic Label was chosen by me.

Sources: *Womankind, Feminist Revolution, Hull House Bulletin/Yearbook, The Masses*

Figure 4.1: 50-Topic LDA Model, CWLU, Hull House, The Masses, and Redstockings*



*Percent of documents from each organization most likely structured from the top 12 topics. The top 12 topics include the 3 topics from each organization (CWLU, Redstockings, Hull House, Heterodoxy) that were the top weighted topic for the most number of documents. I determined the topic labels. Sources: *Womankind*, *Hull House Bulletin/Yearbook*, *The Masses*, and *Feminist Revolution*

Table 4.3: Most Distinctive Words, Difference of Proportions:
CWLU (*Womankind*) – Redstockings (*Feminist Revolution*)*

| CWLU | $(f_w^{(c)} - f_w^{(r)}) * 1000$ | Redstockings | $(f_w^{(c)} - f_w^{(r)}) * 1000$ |
|-------------|----------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------------------|
| chicago | 5.31 | movement | -12.54 |
| children | 4.59 | women | -11.34 |
| center | 4.34 | feminist | -8.91 |
| union | 3.61 | radical | -8.56 |
| school | 3.48 | liberation | -7.69 |
| abort | 3.19 | political | -5.81 |
| nixon | 2.93 | history | -5.68 |
| day | 2.86 | feminine | -3.85 |
| vietnam | 2.57 | male | -3.52 |
| people | 2.50 | left | -2.96 |
| city | 2.44 | revolution | -2.58 |
| hospital | 2.38 | consciousnessraising | -2.45 |
| cwlu | 2.37 | oppress | -2.41 |
| legal | 2.24 | idea | -2.34 |
| rape | 2.23 | action | -2.31 |
| office | 2.21 | issue | -2.27 |
| care | 2.16 | power | -2.17 |
| home | 2.09 | theory | -2.10 |
| health | 2.06 | steinem | -2.06 |
| help | 2.05 | person | -2.04 |
| family | 1.96 | attack | -2.01 |
| war | 1.95 | organize | -2.01 |
| vietnamese | 1.92 | york | -1.96 |
| medical | 1.84 | origin | -1.85 |
| government | 1.82 | conscious | -1.73 |
| mother | 1.79 | supremacy | -1.63 |
| doctor | 1.73 | mass | -1.63 |
| month | 1.60 | festival | -1.51 |
| law | 1.58 | time | -1.34 |
| pay | 1.57 | analysis | -1.32 |
| car | 1.55 | men | -1.32 |
| south | 1.54 | psychology | -1.31 |
| control | 1.50 | actual | -1.23 |
| body | 1.49 | socialist | -1.23 |
| child | 1.46 | research | -1.21 |
| childcare | 1.41 | cia | -1.18 |
| week | 1.39 | question | -1.17 |
| clinic | 1.38 | name | -1.17 |
| american | 1.33 | gloria | -1.17 |
| maternity | 1.30 | leadership | -1.15 |

* $f_w^{(i)}$ is the proportion of word w in document (i) and n is the total number of words, or row sum, for document (i). The words listed here have the largest positive and largest negative difference of proportions, making them the most distinctive words in each pair-wise comparison.

Table 4.4: Most Distinctive Words, Difference of Proportions:
Hull House (*Bulletin/Yearbook*) – Heterodoxy (*The Masses*)*

| Hull House | $(f_w^{(hh)} - f_w^{(m)}) * 1000$ | The Masses | $(f_w^{(hh)} - f_w^{(m)}) * 1000$ |
|-------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|
| club | 27.07 | woman | -11.05 |
| miss | 15.85 | women | -7.57 |
| house | 11.42 | life | -5.49 |
| school | 9.83 | sanger | -5.23 |
| class | 9.25 | world | -4.51 |
| program | 9.06 | law | -4.15 |
| children | 7.98 | little | -3.79 |
| social | 6.93 | don't | -3.63 |
| chicago | 6.88 | sex | -3.43 |
| meet | 6.50 | home | -3.28 |
| director | 5.76 | masses | -2.97 |
| center | 5.49 | love | -2.77 |
| boy | 5.45 | mean | -2.74 |
| play | 5.30 | look | -2.65 |
| service | 4.93 | human | -2.65 |
| music | 4.82 | believe | -2.57 |
| even | 4.75 | suffrage | -2.52 |
| art | 4.70 | wife | -2.51 |
| dance | 4.66 | control | -2.42 |
| community | 4.59 | birth | -2.25 |
| resident | 4.45 | business | -2.20 |
| organ | 3.80 | truth | -2.14 |
| camp | 3.71 | call | -2.13 |
| girl | 3.54 | matter | -1.93 |
| association | 3.53 | hand | -1.86 |
| activity | 3.53 | question | -1.73 |
| build | 3.48 | pamphlet | -1.72 |
| theater | 3.18 | york | -1.64 |
| italian | 3.01 | didn't | -1.63 |
| attend | 3.00 | tell | -1.62 |
| staff | 3.00 | time | -1.60 |
| held | 2.96 | eye | -1.59 |
| dramatic | 2.82 | try | -1.58 |
| jane | 2.74 | mind | -1.58 |
| committee | 2.66 | war | -1.55 |
| party | 2.63 | inform | -1.54 |
| week | 2.60 | prevent | -1.51 |
| president | 2.54 | idea | -1.50 |
| smith | 2.45 | knowledge | -1.49 |
| train | 2.43 | reason | -1.46 |

* $f_w^{(i)}$ is the proportion of word w in document (i) and n is the total number of words, or row sum, for document (i) . The words listed here have the largest positive and largest negative difference of proportions, making them the most distinctive words in each pair-wise comparison.

This comparison suggests a way to interpret and refine the LDA results. Combining the topics in the top 12 topics from the LDA model into categories that are “particular and concrete” and those that are “abstract and general” yields a clear pattern, shown in Figure 4.2. This pattern is the same as the difference-of-proportions calculation: the texts produced by the Chicago organizations tend to be structured by categories that are concrete and particular, while the texts produced by the two New York City organizations are structured by categories that are abstract and general. These results indicate a general content for the distinct cognitive frameworks

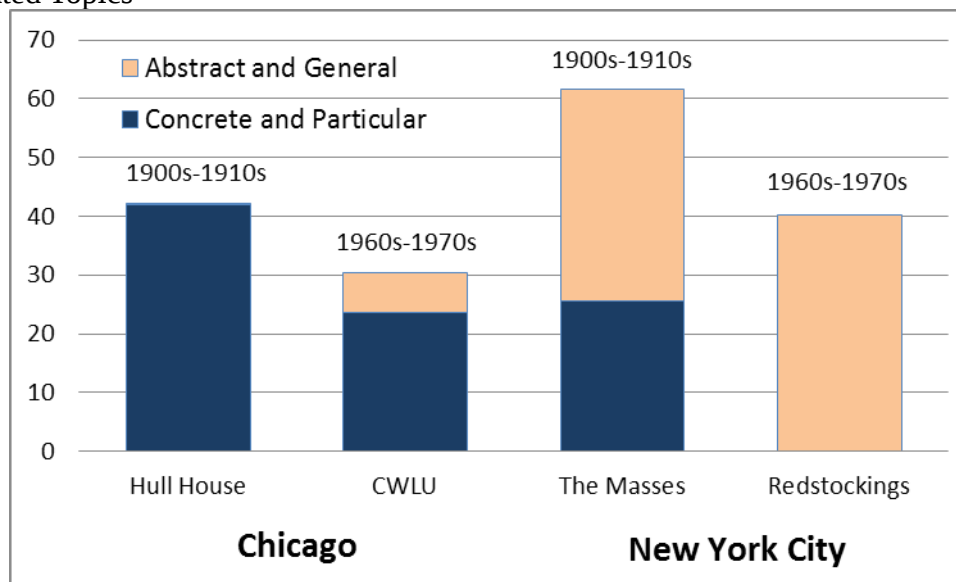
underlying each organization, one that is abstract and general and one that is concrete and particular. These results, however, do not suggest how these frameworks translated to explicit political arguments. To discover this requires a qualitative analysis of the documents as whole texts.

These results, however, do not suggest how these frameworks translated to explicit political arguments. To discover this requires a qualitative analysis of the documents as whole texts. The next section presents a qualitative analysis of the documents categorized into the top 12 topics from the LDA model. This qualitative analysis has two purposes: it verifies the validity of the quantitative results by checking why certain texts were assigned to particular topics, and it provides depth and context to the categorical structure produced by the preceding analysis, demonstrating how these structuring categories translate into sentences that are written and read by people rather than machines. The qualitative analysis fills out the specific cognitive frameworks structuring these texts and demonstrates how these cognitive frameworks are translated into complete statements.

Qualitative Results

For a qualitative interpretation of the categories unearthed in the quantitative analysis I read every document assigned to the top 12 topics described above, looking for relevant similarities and differences within and between the top topics. As detailed below, I found that the documents produced in Chicago most often detailed either direct services that organizations were offering their communities or actions and arguments aimed at persuading city entities to provide those services. In contrast, the documents produced in New York City most often detailed stories about individual women aimed at highlighting the effects of patriarchal institutions on women's lives. The differing content of the documents in each city suggests a fundamentally different approach to politics, similar to that described in the previous chapter but more specific.

Figure 4.2: 50-Topic LDA Model, CWLU, Hull House, *The Masses*, and Redstockings, Concatenated Topics*



*Percent of documents from each organization associated with each concatenated category. The category “concrete and particular” is a combination of 7 topics from the 50 topic LDA Model, including the Anti-War, Organizational Business, Labor Laws, Sanger and Birth Control, Hull House services, CWLU services, and Theater topics. The category “abstract and general” is a combination of 5 topics from the 50 topic LDA model, including the Feminist Theory, Psychology, Women's Lives, Women's Experience, and Political Theory topics.

Sources: *Womankind*, Hull House *Bulletin/Yearbook*, *The Masses*, and *Feminist Revolution*

From the Individual to the Social in New York City

The writers of the New York City documents in the most frequent topics from the LDA model utilized two literary techniques to make a political point: they dramatically narrated the intricate experiences of individual women, and they implicitly and explicitly generalized these experiences by connecting them to larger social structures. The following passages illustrate the first strategy. From *The Masses*:

Our heroine is—to use the language of the sixteenth century, when the antiquity of her profession was first recognized—“a paynted hoore.” She is clad in a wrapper which was once light pink. She holds a worn shawl tightly about her bare shoulders—and shivers painfully. It is hard to realize that this rouge-be-smearred creature, with her flamboyant, peroxide hair, was probably more than usually pretty once. Her eyes are bleared, her hair a mess, even the paint on her cheeks is soiled and fouled. There is nothing about her now which is not revolting. Much handling has worn off even her garishness. (Edwards 1914)

From *Feminist Revolution*:

It was 1969 when she became pregnant again. This time she wanted the baby. The birth in the middle of the night at a public hospital ward affected her badly. And when the doctor finally arrived at 9:30 a.m., the local anesthesia had worn off so that she was stitched up without it. When she got over the exhaustion following all this, she had to go to work in a men's clothing factory (which today is under investigation for unsanitary working conditions). Her mother got sick and she gave up her job. Since Lola's marriage hadn't worked out, she and her daughter went to live with her family. Not having bothered with the formalities of a legal separation, a factual one was enough to cut her off from social security, health insurance and other benefits. (Schloss 1978)³⁰

Through narratives, these documents described individual women's lives and experiences in sometimes brutal detail, inviting the reader to empathize with the women.

These articles often described women's relationships to the workforce or the relationship between family and work, issues with which many women could identify. For example, from *The Masses*: Nursing was “hard, disagreeable, nasty work. There were sights in hospitals that no woman ought to see. Coming in contact with this ugliness [robbed] her of her charm” (Dell 1915). From *Feminist Revolution*:

I had my first false alarm pregnancy when I was 17. I was a runaway, hitchhiking up and down the West Coast, camping on the beaches of Big Sur. Penniless and content-I had no thoughts of the future more than a few days ahead. I was with a guy who had even less ambition to do something with his life than I and we'd been together for about 6 months. When I thought I was pregnant I hitched back to San Francisco to get a check up at the Haight Free Clinic. I had many surprising thoughts when I found out the news that I was not at all pregnant. One was that I wanted to have a baby. The next was that I didn't want to get married or live with anyone, I wanted to raise my child on my own. The next thought was that I had to have not just a job, but a career that would support my child and I. (Annchild 1978)

These stories were meant to resonate with other women and were also meant to be generalizable: these experiences could happen to any woman. Other stories in *Feminist Revolution* detailed women fighting to succeed in male-dominated careers, their experiences working while pregnant, and women working while supporting their families, among other subjects. In *The Masses*, stories included that of a woman who faked being a widow in order to live a freer life (Gilmore 1911), the story of a civic worker who had to worry about the way she looked in front of cameras (“Feminine Foible” 1914), and a woman being sexually harassed on a train (Hall 1914).

These documents also employed a second tactic: relating these experiences to larger social structures. The above story about the woman's pregnancies, for example, ends with her

30 1978 was not the original date of the article, but is the date the article was published in the collection called *Feminist Revolution*. This is the same for all articles in *Feminist Revolution*. I do not know the original date of these articles, but all were written in the mid-1970s.

being unable to find a job: “And nobody gives me work. Not because of my troubles with the law but because they prefer to employ women without children” (Annchild 1978). Other social structures referred to in *Feminist Revolution* included marriage, monogamy, psychological terrorism, motherhood, and sex roles.

Another example, this one from *The Masses*, describes the general economy as divided between men as money makers and women as money spenders:

Mr. Man puts on his hat, and takes his dinner bucket, and starts off Monday morning when the whistle blows, and works till Saturday night, when he receives his little old pay-envelope, with \$13.80 in the upper left-hand corner. He fetches it home to Mrs. Woman, who thereupon begins to function. She throws her shawl over her head, and takes the market-basket on her arm, “Who had the hammer last?” and goes out to spend that \$13.80 to the best advantage (Wood 1911).

Other documents from *The Masses* described society as essentially man-made: “It is a time-honored masculine generalization that sweethearts are more fun than wives. This proposition really implies another, that wives and sweethearts are two distinct and different things. . . . This is, as somebody once pointedly remarked, a man-made world. Certainly the distinction in theory and practice between a wife and a sweetheart is a masculine creation” (Dell 1914). These documents made generalizable claims about the social world, identifying general social structures rather than particular institutions as the problem (“they prefer to employ women without children,” “Mr. Man...Mrs. Woman,” “This is...a man-made world...a masculine creation”). From individual stories we are meant to arrive at a general conclusion about our socially-constructed world. Other structures mentioned in *The Masses* include prostitution, marriage, inflation, domesticity, religion, fashion, and sex characteristics.

The goal in these categories of documents (making up 32% of the documents from *The Masses* and 40% from *Feminist Revolution*) was to make generalizable claims about society as they related to women. While the subject matter is quite different in the two organizations, the general approach to women's political issues is the same. Both publications generalized women's experiences and daily lives to reveal the effects of sexism and discrimination, attributing these experiences to larger social structures.

The State, Institutions, and Community Service in Chicago

Chicago-based documents revealed two major themes quite different from the top themes of the New York City organizations: pressing the state or particular institutions to change policy to better provide for women or directly offering those services to women and the community. For example, one of Hull House's successes was to pressure the state to pass factory laws in Illinois:

It was an indirect result of a careful investigation into the sweating system that resulted in the first factory law for Illinois, which dealt largely with the conditions of the sweat-shop and the regulation of the age at which a child might be permitted to work. Kelley, who was then a resident of Hull-House, was appointed the first factory inspector with a deputy and a force of twelve inspectors. Hull-House has naturally been most eager that the child labor law should be enforced, and residents have, from time to time, made supplementary investigations,

looking toward an extension of the law or its more effective enforcement. A housing investigation, under the auspices of the City Homes Association, was carried on from Hull-House in 1901. (Hull-House 1916, 55)

Similarly, CWLU reported in *Womankind* how they pushed the city government to change its review process for day care centers to better meet the needs of women:

Attempts to put pressure on the city Licensing Review Committee, set up to review and revise licensing procedures for day care centers, is one of the current concerns of the Action Committee for Decent Childcare, an organization of mothers, daycare workers, and other women concerned about childcare. ACDC, which is itself part of the Licensing Review Committee, is concerned about the way in which the Committee seems to be more responsive to the city government machine than to the parents and children whose needs it supposedly serves. (“Action Committee for Decent Childcare” 1972)

Both organizations attempted to identify the concrete needs of women and their community; then pressured the state and city institutions to better meet those needs. Rather than making general claims about society, they specified particular needs and specific institutions responsible for those needs (e.g., a factory law in Illinois, age restrictions on labor, Kelley as an inspector, and the City Homes Association in the Hull House documents; the city Licensing Review Committee, licensing procedures, childcare, the city government in the CWLU *Womankind* articles).

The second major theme in these documents was detailing direct services offered by these organizations. For years Hull House housed a Post Office, which was “applied for in the first instance because many foreigners of the vicinity who sent money to their relatives at home through money brokers and unauthorized agents, were often subjected to great loss and hardship” (Hull House 1913, 36). They established the “Jane Club,” which was a “co-operative boarding club for young women,” whose atmosphere was “one of comradeship rather than of thrift.” They provided many other services over the years, which they always hoped would eventually be taken over by other institutions or the state:

We had maintained three shower baths in the basement of the house for the use of the neighborhood, and they afforded some experience and argument for the erection of the first public bath-house in Chicago, which was built on a neighboring street and opened under the care of the Board of Health. It is immediately contiguous to a large play-ground which was under the general management of Hull-House for thirteen years and has lately been incorporated in a city play-ground. The Reading Room and Public Library Station which was begun in the house is continued only a block away. The lending collection of pictures has become incorporated into the Public School Art Society of Chicago. The summer classes in wood work and metal, formerly maintained at Hull-House, are discontinued because they are carried on in a vacation school maintained in the Dante Public School. (Hull-House 1906, 54)

Founded 78 years later, CWLU was also in large part concerned with directly providing needed services to their community:

Women attorneys in private practice who are members of the Chicago Women's Liberation Union legal clinic will counsel at the YWCA-Loop Center on everything from domestic relations to criminal law. Among the most frequently asked questions at these legal clinics, said one of the attorneys, are those concerning a woman's rights in marriage, ownership rights, property rights, rights in business, and labor union problems. ("Legal Aid" 1973)

CWLU also established a rape crisis line to "help women who have been raped with counseling and medical and legal services" (ibid.), and set up a center which provided "a place for women to meet together to talk about Women's Liberation" and which also included "legal counseling, Liberation School classes, and pregnancy testing" ("New Women's Center Opens" 1972). The Liberation School Classes included classes on car maintenance, self-defense, and reproductive health issues, such as a class "intended to help high school women learn about the anatomy and physiology of their bodies, about methods of birth control and abortion, vaginal examination procedures, and signs and symptoms of venereal diseases" ("Liberation School Fall Classes" 1971). For a number of years women in CWLU provided illegal abortions or abortion referrals through a group called the Jane Collective, or just Jane, reminiscent of the similarly named Jane Club started by Hull House.

In sum, while the specific issues important to the community differed greatly in the two periods, both of these organizations in Chicago saw their main task as getting the state to pass policies or provide services that would directly make women's lives easier, and where the state failed, the organizations stepped in themselves to provide these services. They identified concrete and specific needs in the community and provided practical steps to meet those needs.

From Results to Cognitive Frameworks

Combining the quantitative and the qualitative text analysis reveals distinct cognitive frameworks underlying these women's-movement organizations in Chicago and New York City that persisted over time. Hull House and CWLU in Chicago shared a cognitive framework that assumed social change happens through institutions and the state and is achieved through short-term goals around *particular* issues that win *concrete* changes. Heterodoxy, as represented by *The Masses*, and Redstockings in New York City demonstrated an alternative cognitive framework, one that assumed social change happens through individuals and is achieved by changing the individual consciousness of women through *abstracting* from their individual experiences to build solidarity and make claims about social structures. Table 4.5 summarizes and connects the quantitative findings, the qualitative findings, and the conclusion about cognitive frameworks.³¹

31 I am not claiming that the New York City approach to politics never occurred in Chicago, or vice-versa. New York-style arguments certainly happened in Chicago, but they never became dominant. In fact, as revealed by CWLU archive materials, women in Chicago debated the effectiveness of the New York style, concluding that their own approach was better. Women in CWLU also searched for organizations within Chicago that took this New York approach, concluding that there were almost no organizations like the New York-style organizations in Chicago (CWLU Papers).

Table 4.5: Summary of Findings and Conclusion

| | Quantitative Results | Qualitative Analysis | Political Logic |
|----------------------|---|---|--|
| New York City | Words and categories that are abstract and general dominate. | The authors used stories and narratives to make generalizable claims about the social world that are applicable to all women, abstracting these stories to claims about social structure. | Social change happens through individuals, and is achieved through building solidarity based on <i>generalizing</i> the experiences of individual women and changing individual consciousness through abstracting from these experiences to make claims about social structures. |
| Chicago | Words and categories that are concrete and particular dominate. | The documents outlined each organization's attempts to identify concrete needs of the community and their efforts to take practical steps toward meeting those needs. | Social change happens through institutions and the state, and is achieved through short-term goals around <i>particular</i> issues that win <i>concrete</i> changes that affect women's lives. |

One might argue that these results are applicable only to the text in the analysis—including different texts would substantially change the analysis. In other words, some may want to claim that the results presented here do not apply to the organizations generally, but only to the specific text included in the analysis. One final step verifies that these results hold more generally regarding these organizations. The two passages quoted at the beginning of Chapter 1 were not included in the text analysis but these two texts, Redstocking's *Manifesto* and CWLU's position paper, demonstrate the different cognitive frameworks discussed above. Redstockings, as shown in their manifesto, sought to “develop female class consciousness through sharing experience and publicly exposing the sexist foundation of all our institutions” (Redstockings 1969), while CWLU believed that “[w]ith strategy and struggle for short-term goals, women can come to perceive a long-term self-interest. Abstract social goals are defined and given concrete form in programs. . . . We should choose issues for our direct action campaigns around which women will unite, [and] can win . . .” (Chicago Women’s Liberation Union Hyde Park Chapter 1972). In these manifestos the women were articulating sets of background assumptions about the way society works that perhaps were latent and that had originated long before their time.

This analysis shows that two women's organizations central to the women's movement in Chicago in two different time periods—Hull House in the early 1900s and CWLU in the 1960s and 1970s—were structured by the same underlying cognitive frameworks that were remarkably different from the underlying cognitive frameworks that structured the equivalent women's organizations in New York City from the same time periods—Heterodoxy as represented by articles from *The Masses* in the 1910s and Redstockings in the 1960s and 1970s. These results suggest that cognitive frameworks are regionally based and endure over long time periods. The participants themselves may not be aware of these frameworks, but they may also explicitly evoke them to justify action. While the women's movement did develop and change between the two waves, and the issues and needs within the communities changed, the way women approached feminism in Chicago and New York City was shaped by the cognitive frameworks in

place long before the ascent of the second-wave movement. The second-wave women's-movement organizations I discuss, CWLU and Redstockings, unquestionably achieved significant tactical and political innovation and are rightly remembered for this. The political ideology of these organizations, however, must be understood in relation to the regional cognitive frameworks underlying the political work done by each organization.

Combining Structure and Culture

Network analysis does not capture the shared understandings that give meaning to the actions of organizations (Fligstein and McAdam 2012). Fully understanding regional women's-movement fields, and their persistence over time, requires a *combination* of a structural and cultural analysis. A structural analysis can help define the boundaries of a field by enumerating the actors within a field. It additionally can measure the distribution of power across the actors within a field, indicating which organizations are dominant. The shared understandings can be measured through a cultural analysis similar to that presented in the previous chapter. Peripheral organizations within a field, sometimes called challengers, are often attempting to change something about a field, including challenging the taken-for-granted assumptions embodied in a field. Thus, to understand these dominant background assumptions, a cultural analysis should be conducted on the dominant organizations.³² This cultural analysis can determine the dominant cognitive frameworks underlying the field and thus measure the shared understandings crucial to the field that is missing from network analysis.

Importantly, these shared understandings do not *preclude* the existence of challenging organizations within a field, rather the challenging organizations occupy a peripheral structural location. Greenwich House, for example, was a settlement house in New York City similar in many ways to Hull House. The structural analysis indicated that Greenwich House occupied a different structural position in New York City than Hull House occupied in Chicago—Hull House was structurally dominant, while Greenwich House was peripheral. Similarly with *The Little Review* in Chicago. *The Little Review* was peripheral to the Chicago left, while *The Masses* was central to the New York City left. Nor does network structure determine shared cultural understandings, as argued by some (e.g., Powell et al. 2005). As detailed in the historical narrative in Chapter 2, the cultural milieu in Chicago and New York City were determined long before the existence of either Heterodoxy or Hull House, so neither of these organizations could have determined the cultural understandings within these two cities. Once regional cognitive frameworks are in place they are difficult to change, as individuals and/or organizations that do not conform to regional cognitive frameworks may find it difficult to gain supporters. And so I return to the “overlapping waves” heuristic presented in the introduction.

The women's-movement field is composed of a variety of organizations, each with its own political point of view. In the terms of the overlapping waves heuristic, each organization is a wave with its own distinct pattern. The women's-movement field is made up of multiple waves vibrating at their own patterns, and these waves overlap with the left milieu, a cultural wave that also has a particular pattern. When these waves overlap, the women's-movement organizations that are in sync with the wave from the left milieu are amplified, and in turn amplify this left cultural wave, while those organizations that are out of sync with the larger wave are canceled, or at least muted. The result is a women's-movement field that acts like a standing wave in which

³² Once the dominant cognitive frameworks are identified, a similar analysis conducted on the peripheral organizations could determine if these organizations are challenging the dominant cognitive frameworks.

some organizations are at rest and others have a large amplitude. In Chicago in the first wave Hull House had a large amplitude while *The Little Review* had a small amplitude. In New York City in the first wave, Heterodoxy had a large amplitude, while Greenwich House had a smaller amplitude.

In addition to being “nested” within one another (Fligstein and McAdam 2012), different fields interact with one another as sound waves interact, and portions of each wave are amplified and portions are weakened when waves overlap, producing unique overall structures (see Chapter 1). In this way corresponding fields that are in different geographic locations may be dissimilar, as the field in one location interacts with other local fields which produce different structures and different amplified cognitive frameworks. Understanding any one field requires understanding its structure, culture, *and* its relationship to related fields.

Conclusion

Historical accounts of women's-movement activity throughout the 20th century suggest meaningful differences between New York City and Chicago. The analysis presented here confirms those differences but also clarifies the content of the underlying difference. The socialist feminism developed by CWLU in Chicago rested on an underlying cognitive framework that assumed that social-change occurs best by working to change institutions via short-term goals. The community-centric reform style pioneered by Hull House in Chicago, while completely different in content than the work of CWLU, was constructed around the same cognitive frameworks. The feminism promoted in New York City in the 1910s which focused on helping women to build their own “personalities,” was fundamentally similar to the consciousness-raising feminism promoted by Redstockings in the 1970s. These underlying cognitive frameworks constitute one element of the distinct, regional women's-movement fields.

There is a persistent debate among field theorists about whether structure or culture in a field is dominant. Those who use field theory in empirical research tend to agree that both structure and culture are important. The analysis presented here supports that contention and further clarifies the connection between the two. Structural analysis can define the boundaries of a field and determine which organizations are dominant. Cultural analysis of these dominant organizations can then determine the underlying cognitive frameworks important to the field, and if the analysis is extended to additional organizations, it potentially can determine challenging frameworks as well. The underlying dominant cognitive framework within a field does not preclude the possibility of challenging organization, it rather relegates those organizations to a structurally peripheral location.

The precise connection between culture and structure, however, involves a potential indication bias which I do not claim to solve. Were the structurally central organizations in the women's-movement field in each city central because they initially organized according to the dominant logic and were thus promoted by the left wave, or did they adopt this logic as they attempted to become more central and thus shifted their political approach to attract more resources? More research could potentially answer this question. Nonetheless, either way the causal arrow points, the conclusion remains. Certain organizations were amplified within a city and these organizations, either from the beginning or because they changed as they worked to grow themselves, operated according to a particular logic that fit the local political and cultural field.

Up to this point I have treated the women's movement as two distinct waves yet I claim

the women's movement within each city was relatively continuous over time. I have also ignored the between-wave period. The next and final chapter remedies this absence. In it I look at the continuous development of the women's movements in each city over time, focusing in particular on the between-wave period and on possible mechanisms that connect the two waves.

Chapter 5 — Institutionalization and Continuity Between the Waves

The previous three chapters have shown that the women's-movement fields were distinct in Chicago and New York City and that these regional distinctions persisted between the first and second waves. This chapter turns to the question of how we might explain the persistence of these fields over time. There are at least two broad approaches to this question, a mechanisms approach and an institutionalization approach. The mechanisms approach requires finding entities whose actions actively reproduce a field, providing concrete mechanisms that reproduce the field over time. For explaining the women's-movement fields, the mechanisms approach entails searching for organizations and individuals who directly transferred ideas, from one moment in time to the next, about understanding and combating women's oppression. A second approach derives from the literature on institutional legacies and the persistence of city character over time. An institutional explanation does not require the presence of concrete connections between organizations but instead assumes that organizations institutionalize a cognitive model that persists in a community and is drawn upon when the community establishes new organizations. This explanation entails showing that similar types of organizations are founded over time within a city. I have found evidence that both of these processes occurred within the two women's-movement fields. I offer additional evidence to support the discussion in previous chapters that these two cities demonstrated the presence of institutional legacies—the same types of organizations were founded in the first and second wave in each city. There are also a number of co-existing first- and second-wave organizations that provided concrete mechanisms connecting the two waves. Thus, the story of how the women's-movement fields in Chicago and New York City persisted over time entails both institutionalization and direct mechanisms. The first section of this chapter examines institutional legacies through descriptive statistics. The second section returns to historical narrative to describe three mechanisms directly connecting the first and second waves.

Institutional Legacies and City Character

As I discussed in chapter 1, researchers investigating communities in California and Norway highlighted the importance of early foundings of civic organizations in determining both city character and the longevity of that character. These researchers wondered why some communities have an abundance of civil society organizations, suggesting a high level of civic involvement, while other communities have few. Molotch, Freudenburg, and Paulsen (2000) used the existence of community organizations as a measure of regional differences in their study of two otherwise similar California cities, Ventura and Santa Barbara. Ventura, they noted, had very few civic organizations while Santa Barbara had many. They examined how organizationally embodied responses to initial economic development in an early period in Ventura and Santa Barbara affected the community's response to different economic developments half a century later. Santa Barbara, they show, organized against oil development in the 1860s and 1870s, assuring that the community would benefit from any oil development and protecting the community against environmental damages. The community in Ventura during this same period, conversely, did not have any organized response to oil development. One hundred years later, when the government was building freeways through and around

communities in the 1960s, Santa Barbara again organized against freeway development while Ventura did not. Santa Barbara, claim Molotch et al., maintained its organizational capacity that originated in the 1860s.

Greve and Rao (2012) asked a similar question about the persistence or absence of civic activity in the context of nonprofit organizations in different communities in Norway. They show that the existence of early nonprofit organizations in different communities in Norway determined the founding of nonprofit organizations years later, even in completely different domains. These authors claim that organizations *institutionalize* a certain set of knowledge and skills that is transferred over time within communities; once an organization is founded in a city or region, they claim, “procedures for founding an organization and the associated skills linger as an institutional legacy of civic capacity” (637).

Greve and Rao, identify community organizations as the mechanisms through which the initial city differences are institutionalized and claim that an overall culture of organizing rather than particular organizations, carries these differences overtime, producing a persistent city “character.” Molotch et al. differ from Greve and Rao by showing not only that civic capacity persists overtime but also that the particular type of organizations are similar within a community over time. They show that once a particular “civic culture” is established within a community, it results in further foundings of similar *types* of organizations. They explain the persistence of civic culture as a migrational pull factor. Particular types of individuals are often attracted to a city based on the presence and types of existing organizations. Once these individuals move to a city they establish more organizations of a similar type, ensuring the proliferation and persistence of this civic culture.

I show a similar dynamic within the women's movement in New York City and Chicago. The early history of the women's movement reveals different types of organizational foundings in each city. I then demonstrate that the types of organizations created in the first wave were reproduced in the second wave. The differences presented in the previous three chapters will, in other words, be measurable through the types of organizations that exist in each city over time.

To measure the presence and type of organizations in each city over time, I use the same organizational data I described in Chapter 4. Instead of looking at two slices of these data, however, in this chapter I look at these data longitudinally. In order to compare different periods within the overall women's movement I divide the complete timeline, 1868-1974, into three periods: Period 1 covers 1868-1920, the first wave; Period 2 covers 1921-1960, the between-wave period; and Period 3 covers 1961-1974, the beginning and buildup of the second wave. I analyze these data in two ways. I first describe the overall shape of the women's movements in each city over time. Second, I compare the *types* of organizations within each city to one another, analyzing differences between the cities and changes or continuities over time, providing descriptive statistics to show the persistence of civic capacity within each city.

Institutional Legacies and Women's-Movement Fields

Table 5.1 provides a complete list of organizations by city, with their founding and terminating dates if these dates are known. Figure 5.1 is a visual representation of these organizations from 1868 to 1974 (time moves from left to right), comparing New York City (top) and Chicago (bottom). Each line represents one organization, with the start and end of the color block on each line indicating the span of the years the organization existed. The colors represent different types of organizations, shown in the key at the bottom of the figure. This macro view of

regional women's movements, measured by the presence of organizations, illustrates (1) the continual development of women's movements over time in both cities, and (2) the similarities and differences between New York City and Chicago over time. In other words this figure visually represents institutional legacies.

These data indicate two conclusions. First, Figure 5.1 visually demonstrates the shape of women's movements over time. Supporting the popular wave theory, these data suggest that women's movements were indeed more numerous during the first and second wave, labeled Period 1 and Period 3 in Figure 5.1. Table 5.2 shows the rate of organizational founding per year by city and by time period, one measure of the amount of movement activity in any year. Founding an organization takes resources, including both people and money, so periods with higher rates of organizational foundings likely had heightened activity. The first and the third periods had the highest rate of foundings per year, with a rate of 1.35 per year in Period 1 and 1.23 per year in Period 3—both more than three times higher than the 0.36 per year in the “doldrum” years (Period 2). Table 5.3 shows the number of the four types of feminist organizations founded in each period. Over time, the number of foundings of Social Feminist organizations decreased, as did their percent of the total (43% in Period 1 compared to 2% in Period 3),³³ while the number of foundings of Transformational Feminist organizations increased, along with their percent of the total (2% in Period 1 compared to 10% in Period 3), suggesting a shift in dominance from social to feminism transformational feminism over time.³⁴ These data suggest that the commonly accepted “wave” description of women's-movement activity, with the second wave being more radical than the first wave, has a strong basis in fact.

Moving from a temporal comparison to a regional comparison, these data suggest important similarities and differences between New York City and Chicago. Table 5.2 shows broad similarities between New York City and Chicago. Together, 100 women's organizations were founded in New York City and Chicago between 1868 and 1974. The number of women's organizations in each city was similar: 49 organizations in New York City and 51 organizations in Chicago. The rate of founding in each city in each period follow a similar pattern, although Chicago had a higher rate of founding in Period 1 and New York City had a higher rate of founding in Period 3. By overall numbers, Chicago and New York City were quite similar, with similar numbers of organizations and similar patterns of rates of founding over time. Both cities demonstrate a similar civic capacity in all three periods, and the heightened rates of organizational foundings in Period 1 was repeated in both cities in Period 3.

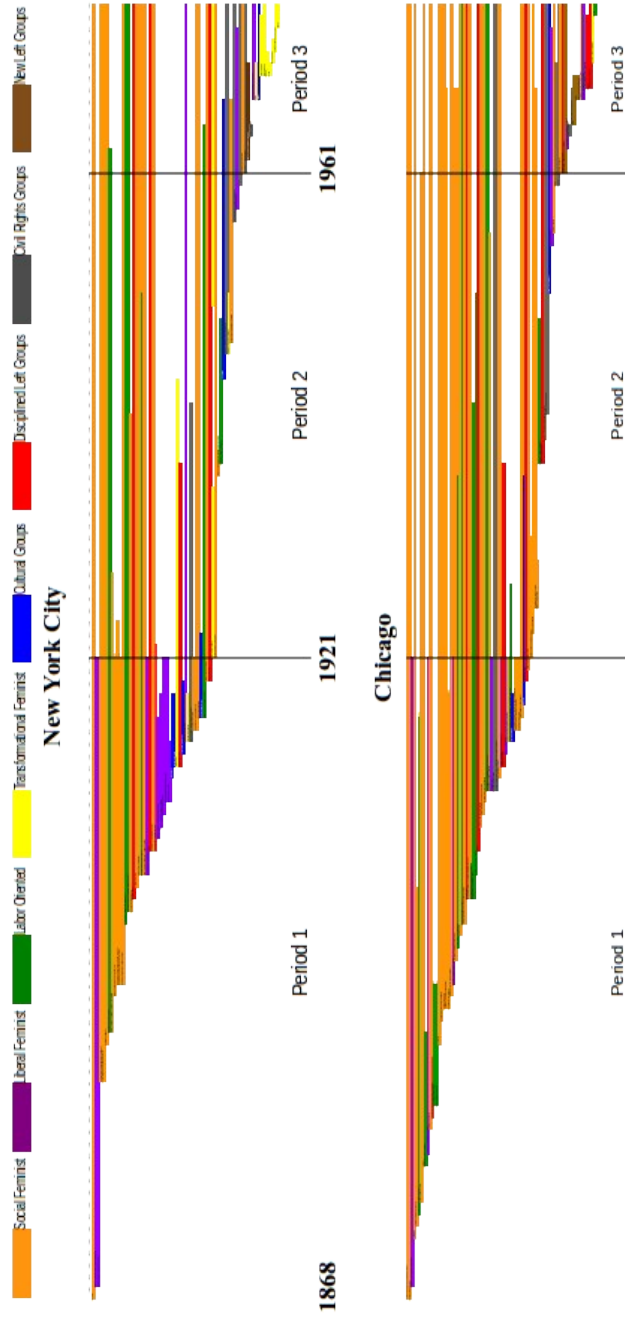
33 The mere presence of organizations does not denote *influence*. As the network diagrams in the previous chapter showed, while there were a number of social feminist organizations present in 1969, they were relatively peripheral to the overall network structure.

34 The number of Liberal Feminist organizations also decreased, but this is likely a result of my focus on regional organizations. The majority of liberal feminist organizations in the second wave were large, national organizations like WEAL and NARAL, which are not included in these data. If I had included these organizations I predict a similar number of liberal feminists organizations were founded in Period 1 and Period 3.

Table 5.1: List of the Organizations Within the Women's-Movement Field Between 1868 and 1974, by City

| Chicago | | | New York City | | |
|--|---------------|---------------------------|--|----------------------|---------------------------|
| Organization | Dates | Organizational Type | Organization | Dates | Organizational Type |
| Chicago Hospital for Women and Children | 1865 – 1888 | Social Feminist | Soros | 1868 - | Social Feminist |
| Chicago Sorosis Club | 1869 - ? | Social Feminist | New York State Woman Suffrage Association | 1869 – 1920 | Liberal Feminist |
| Illinois Woman Suffrage Association | 1869 – 1920 | Liberal Feminist | Brooklyn Woman Suffrage Association | 1869 - ? | Liberal Feminist |
| Fortnightly | 1873 - | Social Feminist | Neighborhood Guild/University Settlement | 1886 - | Social Feminist |
| Chicago Central Union (Women's Christian Temperance Union) | 1874 – 1901 | Social Feminist | Lily Pleasure Club/Neighborhood Club | 1886 - ? | Social Feminist |
| Chicago Working Women's Union | 1870s - ? | Labor Feminist | College Settlement/University Settlement | 1889 - | Social Feminist |
| Chicago Women's Club | 1876 – 1960 | Social Feminist | National Consumers' League | 1890 - ? | Labor Feminist |
| Young Women's Christian Association | 1879 - | Social Feminist | Brooklyn Woman's Health Protective Association | 1890 – 1927 | Social Feminist |
| Trades and Labor Assembly | 1879? - 1889? | Labor | Women's Democratic Club of New York | 1893 - ? | Social Feminist |
| Cook County Suffrage Association | 1880s – 1920? | Liberal Feminist | Women's Municipal League of New York City | 1894 – 1923 | Social Feminist |
| Chicago Woman's Aid | 1882 – 1988 | Social Feminist | New York Women's Republican Association | 1894 - ? | Social Feminist |
| International Working People's Association | 1883 – 1887 | Disciplined Left | New York Federation of Women's Clubs | 1895 - ? | Social Feminist |
| AFL Ladies' Federal Union | 1888 - ? | Labor Feminist | Consumers' League of New York City | 1899 - | Labor Feminist |
| Illinois Women's Alliance | 1888 - ? | Labor Feminist | Woman's Republican Club | 1900 – 1940 | Social Feminist |
| Hull House | 1889 – 2012 | Social Feminist | International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union | 1900 – 1995 | Labor |
| Northwestern University settlement | 1891 - | Social Reform | Socialist Party | 1901 - | Disciplined Left |
| Chicago Commons | 1892 - ? | Social Reform | Greenwich House | 1902 - | Social Feminist |
| University of Chicago Settlement | 1892 – 1967 | Social Feminist | Henry Street Settlement | 1903 - | Social Reform |
| Municipal Order League | 1892 – 1910 | Social Feminist | Women's Trade Union League | 1903 – 1950 | Labor Feminist |
| National Council of Jewish Women | 1893 - | Social Feminist | New York City Federation of Women's Clubs | 1903 – 1990 | Social Feminist |
| Chicago Political Equity League | 1894 – 1920 | Liberal Feminist | Interurban Woman Suffrage Council | 1903 - ? | Liberal Feminist |
| Phyllis Wheatley Woman's Club | 1896 – 1967? | Social Feminist | Industrial Workers of the World | 1905 - | Disciplined Left |
| Chicago Teachers' Federation | 1897 – 1930s | Labor | New York Social Hygiene Society | 1905 - ? | Social Feminist |
| Eleanor Clubs | 1898 – 2001 | Social Feminist | Intercollegiate Socialist Society | 1905 – 1921 | Disciplined Left |
| National Consumer's League | 1899 - | Labor Feminist | Equality League of Self-Supporting Women | 1906 – 1915 | Liberal Feminist |
| Illinois Federation of Colored Women's Clubs | 1899 - | Social Feminist | Men's League for Woman Suffrage | 1907 – 1917 | Liberal Feminist |
| Socialist Party | 1901 - | Disciplined Left | Equal Franchise Society | 1908 – 1920? | Liberal Feminist |
| Cook County Women's Christian Temperance Union | 1901 - | Social Feminist | New York City Woman Suffrage Party | 1909 – 1920? | Liberal Feminist |
| Working Women's Association of America | 1901 – 1903? | Labor Feminist | Political Equality League | 1909 – 1913 | Liberal Feminist |
| International Glove Workers' Union | 1902 – 1940s? | Labor | The Masses | 1911 – 1917 | Cultural |
| Women's Trade Union League | 1903 – 1950 | Labor Feminist | Progressive Party | 1912 – 1936 | Social Reform |
| Industrial Workers of the World | 1905 - | Disciplined Left | Dodge's Evenings | 1912 – 1917 | Cultural |
| Illinois Social Hygiene League | 1907 - | Social Feminist | Heterodoxy | 1912 – 1943 | Transformational Feminist |
| Illinois Immigrants' Protective League | 1908 - | Social Feminist | The Village Liberal Club | 1913 – 1918 | Cultural |
| Juvenile Protective Association | 1909 - | Social Feminist | National Woman's Party | 1913 - | Liberal Feminist |
| Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America | 1910 - | Labor | The Feminist Alliance | 1914 – 1917 | Transformational Feminist |
| Women's City Club of Chicago | 1910 – 1955 | Social Feminist | Universal Negro Improvement Association | 1914 – 1941 | Civil Rights |
| Suffragist Party | 1910 – 1920 | Liberal Feminist | Woman's Peace Party | 1915 – 1920 | Social Feminist |
| Chicago Association for the Advancement of Colored People | 1910 - | Civil Rights | Women's City Club of New York | 1915 - | Social Feminist |
| Chicago Urban League | 1910 - | Civil Rights | Birth Control League | 1916 - | Social Feminist |
| Infant Welfare Society | 1911 - | Social Feminist | Provincetown Players | 1916 – 1922 | Cultural |
| Woman Suffrage Party of Cook County | 1912 – 1920 | Liberal Feminist | Teachers' Union of the City of New York | 1916 – 1964? | Labor |
| Progressive Party | 1912 – 1936 | Social Reform | Congressional Union/National Woman's Party | 1913 - | Liberal Feminist |
| Alpha Suffrage Club | 1913 – 1920 | Liberal Feminist | League of Women Voters | 1919 - | Social Feminist |
| Illinois Women's Democratic League | 1914 – 1920? | Social Feminist | Communist Party | 1919 - | Disciplined Left |
| Chicago Training School for Active Workers in the Labor Movement | 1914 – 1926 | Labor | Lucy Stone League | 1921 - 1930s; 1950 - | Transformational Feminist |
| The Little Review | 1914 – 1917 | Cultural | United Parents Association | 1921 – 1989? | Social Feminist |
| Woman's Democratic Council for Good Governance | 1915 – 1920? | Social Feminist | Women's Conference on the High Cost of Living | 1936 – 1937 | Social Feminist |
| Illinois Women's Legislative Congress | 1915 – 1920? | Social Feminist | League of Women Shoppers | 1937 – 1948 | Labor Feminist |
| Woman's Peace Party | 1915 – 1920 | Social Feminist | The Beats | 1944 – 1966 | Cultural |
| Illinois Birth Control League | 1916 - | Social Feminist | Southern Conference Educational Fund | 1946 – 1981 | Civil Rights |
| Dill Pickle | 1917 – 1935 | Cultural | Congress of American Women | 1946 – 1950 | Transformational Feminist |
| Communist Party | 1919 - | Disciplined Left | Consumers' Protective Committee | 1947 – 1966 | Labor Feminist |
| League of Women Voters | 1920 - | Social Feminist | Southern Christian Leadership Conference | 1957 - | Civil Rights |
| Chicago Women's Roosevelt Club | 1921 – 1930? | Social Feminist | Daughters of Bilitis | 1958 – 1972? | Liberal Feminist |
| Birth Control League | 1923 - | Social Feminist | Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee | 1960 – 1976 | Civil Rights |
| Association for Family Living | 1925 – 1967 | Social Feminist | Women Strike for Peace | 1961 - | Social Feminist |
| Women's World Fairs | 1925 – 1928 | Social Feminist | Congress of Racial Equality | 1961 – 1968 | Civil Rights |
| League of Women Shoppers | 1937 – 1948 | Labor Feminist | Students for a Democratic Society | 1962 – 1965 | New Left |
| Socialist Workers' Party | 1937 - | Disciplined Left | Freedom Summer | 1964 | Civil Rights |
| Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council | 1939 - ? | New Left | National Organization for Women New York | 1967 - | Liberal Feminist |
| Congress of Racial Equality | 1941 - | Civil Rights | New York Radical Women | 1967 – 1969 | Transformational Feminist |
| College of Complexes | 1951 - ? | Cultural | Yippies | 1967 – 2000 | Cultural |
| Daughter's of Bilitis | 1955 – 1972? | Liberal Feminist | The Feminists | 1969 – 1973 | Transformational Feminist |
| La Leche League | 1956 - | Social Feminist | Redstockings | 1969 - | Transformational Feminist |
| Students for a Democratic Society | 1960 – 1969 | New Left | WITCH | 1969 – 1970 | Transformational Feminist |
| Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee | 1960 – 1976 | Civil Rights | New York Radical Feminists | 1969 – 1982 | Transformational Feminist |
| Women for Peace | 1961 - | Social Feminist | Radicalesbians | 1970 – 1971 | Transformational Feminist |
| Progressive Labor Party (PL) | 1961 - | Disciplined Left | Third World Women's Alliance | 1971 – 1977 | Transformational Feminist |
| Independent Committee to End the War | 1961 - ? | New Left | National Black Feminist Organization | 1973 – 1976 | Transformational Feminist |
| Commission on the Status of Women | 1963 – 1964 | Liberal Feminist | | | |
| Freedom Summer | 1964 | Civil Rights | | | |
| Chicago Freedom Movement | 1965 – 1967 | Civil Rights | | | |
| Jobs or Income Now (JOIN) | 1965 – 1968 | New Left | | | |
| National Conference of New Politics | 1967 | Disciplined Left | | | |
| New University Conference | 1967 – 1968 | New Left | | | |
| Chicago Women's Liberation Union | 1967 – 1977 | Transformational Feminist | | | |
| National Organization for Women, Chicago Chapter | 1967 - | Liberal Feminist | | | |
| Black Panther Party of Chicago | 1968 – 1973 | Civil Rights | | | |
| Revolutionary Youth Movement | 1968 – 1973 | Disciplined Left | | | |
| International Socialists | 1968 – 1986 | Disciplined Left | | | |
| Chicago Lesbian Liberation | 1970? - 1976? | Transformational Feminist | | | |
| Coalition of Labor Union Women | 1974 - | Labor Feminist | | | |

Figure 5.1: Time-line of movement organizations, 1868 to 1974 (time moves from left to right), by city



Note: Social Feminist organizations pursued general social reforms using their identity as women. Liberal Feminist organizations fought for legal and political reforms to promote women's equality. Labor Feminist organizations fought for working-class women in particular. Transformational Feminist organizations pushed for a total transformation of society, above and beyond legal and political reforms. Cultural Groups were organizations allied to the women's movement, or allied organizations, and that participated in cultural production. Disciplined Left groups were allied organizations that had a principled left stance. Civil Rights groups were allied organizations that fought primarily for civil rights, and New Left organizations were allied organizations that were part of the 1960s new left movement. Period 1 is 1869-1920, Period 2 is 1921-1960, and Period 3 is 1961-1974. The first vertical line marks the beginning of 1921, the second vertical line marks the beginning of 1961.

Table 5.2: Number of Organizations Founded and Rate of Foundings per Year by City and Period

| | New York City (rate per year) | Chicago (rate per year) | Total (rate per year) |
|----------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| Period 1 (1868-1920) | 32 (0.62) | 38 (0.73) | 70 (1.35) |
| Period 2 (1921-1960) | 7 (0.18) | 7 (0.18) | 14 (0.36) |
| Period 3 (1961-1974) | 10 (0.77) | 6 (0.46) | 16 (1.23) |
| Total | 49 (0.47) | 51 (0.49) | 100 (0.96) |

Table 5.3: Number of Organizations Founded (and Percent of Total) by Type and Period

| | Social Feminist | Liberal Feminist | Labor Feminist | Transformational Feminist | Total |
|----------------------|-----------------|------------------|----------------|---------------------------|------------|
| Period 1 (1868-1920) | 43 (43%) | 16 (16%) | 9 (9%) | 2 (2%) | 70 (70%) |
| Period 2 (1921-1960) | 7 (7%) | 2 (2%) | 3 (3%) | 2 (2%) | 14 (14%) |
| Period 3 (1961-1974) | 2 (2%) | 3 (3%) | 1 (1%) | 10 (10%) | 16 (16%) |
| Total | 52 (52%) | 21 (21%) | 13 (13%) | 14 (14%) | 100 (100%) |

Note: Social Feminist organizations pursued general social reforms using their identity as women. Liberal Feminist organizations fought for legal and political reforms to promote women's equality. Labor Feminist organizations fought for working-class women in particular. Transformational Feminist organizations pushed for a total transformation of society, above and beyond legal and political reforms.

Investigating the category of organization in each city, however, reveals some interesting differences and supports my claim about regional differences within the women's movement. Table 5.4 shows the number of organizations founded by category in each period by city, and the corresponding percentages. The "Total" line reveals a difference between the number of Social Feminist organizations and Transformational Feminist organizations in the two cities. 63% of all of the organizations in Chicago between 1868 and 1974 were Social Feminist organizations, while only 41% of the organizations in New York City were in that category. Conversely, 24% of the total organizations in New York City were Transformational Feminist organizations, while only 4% of the total organizations in Chicago were in this category. While the overall numbers of women's organizations were similar in New York City and Chicago, the *types* of women's-movement organizations in each were different.

Analyzing the data by period, no Transformational Feminist organizations existed in Chicago in Period 1 and only two existed in Period 3, while two Transformational Feminist organizations were present in New York City in Period 1 which grew to eight in Period 2. To put this in wave terms, as measured simply by the presence of transformational feminist organizations which were stronger in the second wave than in the first wave, Chicago in the second wave resembled New York City in the first wave. In institutional terms, the presence of transformational feminist organizations in the first wave in New York City, in particular radical feminist organizations, formed an institutional legacy that continued into the second wave, when women in New York City formed multiple, competing radical feminist organizations. Similarly, there were six labor feminist organizations in Chicago in the first wave, and one of the only labor feminist organizations founded in the second wave, the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), was founded in Chicago, not New York City. In Chicago, class-based feminism was

institutionalized in the first wave which was again reproduced in the second wave, with the class-oriented Chicago Women's Liberation Union and the labor feminist organization CLUW. The presence and type of organizations over the long term in these two cities suggest particular institutional legacies and civic cultures within each city.

Table 5.4: Number of Organizations (and Percent of Within-City Total) by Period, Type, and City

| | New York City | | | | | Chicago | | | | |
|--------------|-----------------|------------------|----------------|---------------------------|------------------|-----------------|------------------|----------------|---------------------------|------------------|
| | Social Feminist | Liberal Feminist | Labor Feminist | Transformational Feminist | Total (NYC) | Social Feminist | Liberal Feminist | Labor Feminist | Transformational Feminist | Total (Chicago) |
| Period 1 | 17 (35%) | 10 (20%) | 3 (6%) | 2 (4%) | 32 (65%) | 26 (51%) | 6 (12%) | 6 (12%) | 0 (0%) | 38 (75%) |
| Period 2 | 2 (4%) | 1 (2%) | 2 (4%) | 2 (4%) | 7 (14%) | 5 (10%) | 1 (2%) | 1 (2%) | 0 (0%) | 7 (14%) |
| Period 3 | 1 (2%) | 1 (2%) | 0 (0%) | 8 (16%) | 10 (20%) | 1 (2%) | 2 (4%) | 1 (2%) | 2 (4%) | 6 (12%) |
| Total | 20 (41%) | 12 (24%) | 5 (10%) | 12 (24%) | 49 (100%) | 32 (63%) | 9 (18%) | 8 (16%) | 2 (4%) | 51 (100%) |

Note: Social Feminist organizations pursued general social reforms using their identity as women. Liberal Feminist organizations fought for legal and political reforms to promote women's equality. Labor Feminist organizations fought for working-class women in particular. Transformational Feminist organizations pushed for a total transformation of society, above and beyond legal and political reforms. The cells highlighted in gray are my emphasis, for comparative purposes.

Finally, the women's-movement field constituted of not only women's organizations but also organizations from related movements. Table 5.5 shows the numbers of allied organizations (outside the women's movements but connected to it) founded in each city, by time period. Over the entire period, there were twice as many cultural groups connected to the women's movements in New York City compared to Chicago (6 compared to 3). There were more allied organizations in Chicago in every other category. There were over twice as many disciplined left groups in Chicago compared to New York City (9 compared to 4), over twice as many labor organizations in Chicago (5 compared to 2), and many more new left organizations (5 in Chicago compared to 1 in New York City). I claimed in chapter 4 that women in Chicago were more embedded in the male-dominated left compared to New York City. These statistics reinforce that theory. Providing additional support for my overall argument, cultural groups were dominant in New York City compared to Chicago while disciplined left groups and labor groups were more numerous in Chicago compared to New York City. Not only did type of women's-movement organizations differ between New York City and Chicago, but the type of organizations connected to the women's movement also differed.

In sum, overall civic capacity was similar in these two cities as far as women's movements were concerned, but the specific institutional legacy was different. In New York City the existence of transformational feminist organizations in the first wave persisted and expanded into a second wave where New York City had more than 12 times the number of transformational feminist groups than Chicago. The particular civic culture in New York City that promoted the development of transformational feminist groups in the first wave continued into the third wave, as theory predicts. The centrality of disciplined left organizations during the first wave in Chicago, as demonstrated in the previous chapter, was reproduced in the second wave, where disciplined left groups were again present in force compared to New York City. Finally, labor feminism was stronger in Chicago compared to New York City in all three periods. Institutional legacies, and the persistence of civic capacity appear to be at work in the women's-movement fields in these two cities.

Table 5.5: Number of Allied Organizations by Period, Type, and City

| | New York City | | | | | | | Chicago | | | | | | |
|--------------|---------------|------------------|----------|----------|--------------|----------|-------------|----------|------------------|----------|----------|--------------|----------|-----------------|
| | Cultural | Disciplined Left | Labor | Reform | Civil Rights | New Left | Total (NYC) | Cultural | Disciplined Left | Labor | Reform | Civil Rights | New Left | Total (Chicago) |
| Period 1 | 4 | 5 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 13 | 2 | 5 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 16 |
| Period 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 6 |
| Period 3 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 4 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 3 | 10 |
| Total | 6 | 5 | 2 | 1 | 6 | 1 | 21 | 3 | 10 | 5 | 2 | 7 | 5 | 32 |

Note: Cultural Groups were organizations allied to the women's movement, or allied organizations and that participated in cultural production. Disciplined Left groups were allied organizations that had a principled left stance. Labor included organizations aimed at helping the working class as a whole, including labor unions. Reform groups were aimed at general progressive social reforms. Civil Rights groups were allied organizations that fought primarily for civil rights, and New Left organizations were allied organizations that were part of the 1960s new left movement.

These data show more than the presence of institutional legacies, however. Figure 5.1 demonstrates the persistence of actual organizations between the first and second waves and the co-existence of organizations founded in the first and second waves. While not dependent on the co-existence of organizations, institutional legacies may be additionally carried through real interactions between organizations and individuals. These co-existing organizations and the people within these organizations provided the opportunity for the direct transfer of ideas and structures between waves. I identified at least 14 organizations in New York City and 25 in Chicago for a total of 39 organizations that persisted between the two waves and overlapped with second-wave organizations. All of these overlapping organizations provided the opportunity for direct connections and continuities between the first and second wave that were potential *mechanisms* for producing within-city continuity. Figure 5.1 suggests that the women's movement should not be thought of as two completely separate waves, appearing and disappearing as the wave heuristic implies, but instead as a relatively continuous movement that rises and falls over time.

Overlapping Organizations and Mechanisms of Continuity

Ethnographers Nancy Whittier and Jo Reger provide details about how between-wave interactions occurred between second-wave and third-wave feminists. Their analysis suggests how interactions may have also occurred between the first and second waves. Whittier details conflict and compromise between second-wave and third-wave feminists in her book *Feminist Generations* (1995), showing how the radical feminism of the second wave continued through the 1980s, mixing with and influencing the development of the feminist movement in the 1990s. Jo Reger (2012) details a similar co-existence of feminist generations in three different cities in the U.S. in the early 2000s, calling this co-existence “overlapping generations.” These overlapping generations provided the potential opportunity for inter-generational dialogue and mutual influence. Both Whittier and Reger emphasize the continuities between the second- and third-wave feminist generations and the lasting influence of the second wave on the third wave. If we could conduct similar ethnographies of the Chicago and New York City communities between the first and second wave, I imagine we would find something similar. Historical data from comparative studies and my own research can provide some of these details.

Comparatively, other social movements exhibit a similar interaction between old and new social-movement organizations. Doug McAdam (1982), for example, emphasized the interaction between new and existing organizations in his research on the establishment and development of the 1960s Black insurgency movement in the United States. As demographic and political changes in the 1930s positioned the Black population to challenge political structures, the Black insurgency movement developed new organizations to channel this political power. To build these new organizations they utilized the resources and networks of pre-existing organizations, in particular Black colleges, Black churches, and the NAACP. These pre-existing organizations were heavily involved in the early moments of the Black insurgency movement—McAdam found that 50% of the early actions were initiated by either a Black college, a Black church, or the NAACP (*ibid.*, 125-126). The formation of new organizations, claims McAdam, kept the insurgency fresh, but they were built on a base of existing organizations.

This exploitation of an organizational base also happened with the women's movement. Rather than showing feminism as two distinct and separate waves, my data suggests a continuous movement that changed and developed over time (*cf.* Staggenborg and Taylor 2005). New organizations were indeed formed during the second wave, but they built on the existing movement, blending new and old ideas to develop women's activism. The co-existence of new and old organizations suggest the continual development of women's movements over time rather than periodic new origins or new beginnings, as others have suggested. These co-existing organizations provided the opportunity for the direct contact of ideas and individuals between the first wave and the second wave.

In archival material as well as in secondary accounts I uncovered many examples of interactions between first- and second-wave organizations. Below I present three narratives that illustrate concrete organizational and ideological continuities between the first and second waves. These examples suggest three different mechanisms through which the second-wave women's movement was concretely connected to the first wave: (1) first- and second-wave organizations interacted through *common issues*, represented by the case of Planned Parenthood in Chicago, (2) they interacted through *common alignments*, represented by the case of the Women's City Club of New York City, and (3) they *shared ideas*, represented by the case of Women Strike for Peace. I turn now to these narratives, demonstrating how common issues, common alignments, and shared ideas provided temporal continuity within the women's movement.

Shared Issues: Reproductive Rights in Chicago

Reproductive issues have long been at the center of the women's movement, with many organizations devoted solely to reproductive rights and many other organizations devoting part of their resources to it (Gordon 1976). At the forefront of the early reproductive rights movement, Margaret Sanger opened the first birth control clinic in Brooklyn in 1916. The Comstock Laws made it illegal to disseminate information about birth control, even for doctors. Believing in women's right to access information about family planning, Sangers and others were arrested many times for disseminating information about birth control options to women. After years of campaigns against the Comstock Laws and for the right to information, a 1936 Supreme Court case finally ruled that no laws could interfere with doctors providing contraception to married patients. However, states kept versions of the Comstock Laws until 1965, when the last Comstock Laws were struck down. It was not until 1972 that it became fully legal for doctors to

disseminate birth control to unmarried persons. In the 1960s, legalizing abortion took center stage in the reproductive rights movement, but other reproductive rights issues were also taken up by second-wave activists, including protesting forced sterilizations. Reproductive rights remains a central concern to women's rights activists. As this brief history shows, reproductive rights is one issue that spans multiple women's-movements waves.

The central organization involved in reproductive rights has long been Planned Parenthood Federation of America, which has local branches throughout the nation. Planned Parenthood in the Chicago area developed out of the early reproductive rights movement and in its early years was a major part of the women's-movement field in the city. Chicago opened its first birth control center in 1923 with the help of Dr. Rachelle Yarros, who was a member of Hull House. In April of 1924, Yarros helped found the Illinois Birth Control League, and between 1924 and 1946 the organization had many names, including Maternal Welfare Centers of Chicago, Margaret Sanger Centers, Illinois Birth Control League, and Planned Parenthood League of Illinois. In October 1946 they changed their name to what it is now, Planned Parenthood Association, Chicago Area (PPACA), a local chapter of the national Planned Parenthood.

Over the years Planned Parenthood brought together many different women's organizations. When they first formed in the 1920s they worked closely with Hull House and women's clubs, opening clinics in a number of settlement houses (Planned Parenthood Association, Chicago Area (PPACA) Papers, Box 2 Folder 7). PPACA additionally brought together a number of organizations to provide sex education in public schools, including the Association for Family Living and the Illinois Social Hygiene League. Throughout the 1940s and 1950s, they operated joint clinics with the Infant Welfare Society, which was started in 1911 at the behest of Hull House residents (*ibid.*, Box 3 Folder 10). Critically, PPACA bridged the first- and second-wave women's movements when they conflicted with women's liberation groups organizing around reproductive rights in the 1960s and the 1970s.

In the 1950s, PPACA began a long battle called "Birth Control and Public Policy," a drive to establish birth control services in tax-supported institutions and to provide direct tax support for family planning services, including sex education in public schools. The overall goal was to make sure "every woman, everywhere, has access to the medical help necessary for family planning, regardless of ability to pay." They accomplished their goal through education as well as opening and running clinics throughout Chicago (*ibid.*, Box 11 Folder 3). In 1967, as PPACA was attempting to get a clinic table from which they could provide information about family planning in Cook County Hospital, a number of organizations endorsed their campaign, including the Chicago Urban League (founded in 1910 and partnering with women's clubs in the 1920s), Chicago Woman's Aid (organized in 1882, working with Hull House and its residents over the years), and two "new left" groups: Chicago Area Friends of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the women's liberation group Westside Organization (*ibid.*, Box 7 Folder 2). Starting with this campaign, PPACA and the Chicago Women's Liberation Union (CWLU) were in continuous contact as they both fought for more resources for family planning and a change to city and state abortion laws.

Just as PPACA had set up clinics to directly provide family planning services to the community in the 1920s when it was illegal to do so, and provided information to women who wanted to practice family planning, CWLU in the late 1960s and early 1970s, at a time when abortion was illegal, provided abortion services and taught women to give themselves abortions. In 1969 CWLU formed the Health Evaluation and Referral Service (HERS), which referred

women to doctors in Chicago who would give abortions. Planned Parenthood eventually took up the abortion debate as well, starting the Cooperative Abortion Referral and Evaluation Service (CARES) in 1971, which referred women to obtain legal abortions in states where abortion was legal.

While CWLU and PPACA worked together on many issues including abortion, their theories about family planning in the 1970s conflicted with one another. PPACA approached birth control from a *population control* perspective. They created committees to study the connection between sexual mores and the “population crisis,” they started educational centers studying the population crisis, and they proposed family planning as a solution to rapidly expanding populations across the world. In 1971 the executive director of PPACA, Benjamin F. Lewis, summed up PPACA's beliefs about family planning: "In this time of excessive population growth, education towards family planning with a view to avoiding accidental childbirth seems particularly important. Perpetuating the idea of reasonable, responsible child spacing can be an aid to promulgating the good life for today's children and reducing the prospect of continuing generations being hopelessly trapped in a cycle of poverty" (*ibid.*, Box 8 Folder 5). During the 1960s and 1970s, PPACA supported birth control as a way to curb population growth, which they believed was threatening world resources and thus the quality of life for the entire population. This position naturally developed out of their earlier claim that family limitation was a solution to poverty and overcrowding in low-income neighborhoods, and thus a solution to raising welfare costs.

CWLU took issue with this philosophy toward family planning, in particular family planning as a way to stop population growth in poor neighborhoods in the U.S. and poor countries throughout the world. The members of CWLU believed that fears about the population explosion were exploited for racist and imperialist purposes. Those arguing for a reduction in birth rate, CWLU claimed, wanted a lower birth rate for certain populations, namely in poor communities, communities of color, and third-world nations, which CWLU regarded as an inherently racist position. CWLU published a statement on abortion aimed in particular at the population control argument supported by PPACA, connecting PPACA's position to the support of imperialism abroad: “The same myths about the population explosion that are used to justify planned parenthood clinics in the ghetto and sterilization of ADC [Aid to Families with Dependent Children] mothers, are also used to justify U.S.-financed sterilization of 5.5 million men and boys in India in exchange for a transistor radio” (Chicago Women’s Liberation Union 1970) . While CWLU, like PPACA, supported the right for all women to have access to birth control regardless of ability to pay, CWLU supported this belief from a *women's rights* standpoint, not a population control standpoint. It was a fundamental right, they believed, for women to have access to any form of health care and to have as few or as many children as they wanted, regardless of race or income.

Despite their disagreement these two organizations continued to work together for particular reforms; in particular PPACA, CWLU, and other reproductive rights organizations worked together in coalitions to present a united front in their fight against anti-abortion laws in Illinois (Staggenborg 1994). As they worked together, the growing popularity of the women's liberation movement eventually led to changes in PPACA. By the early 1970s PPACA recommended any panel discussions on homosexuality or abortion should include a “women's liberation spokesman” as well as a Planned Parenthood spokesperson. This recommendation was published in their internal literature. Later in the 1970s, PPACA changed their use of gender specific terms in their literature, such as “spokesman,” to gender neutral terms upon specific

recommendation from the women's liberation movement (PPACA Papers, Box 8 Folder 5). While CWLU adopted tactics used by PPACA, PPACA adopted progressive changes in their internal structure and external outreach promoted by CWLU.

This history of the reproductive-rights movement shows how a specific issue that spanned the first- and second-wave women's movements brought first-wave organizations and second-wave organizations into dialogue and cooperation, even when they were ideologically at odds with one another. While the approach to reproductive rights changed, and while the issues within this movement changed, there were continued connections between first-wave organizations and second-wave organizations around reproductive rights, and indeed, Planned Parenthood eventually began to look more like a second-wave organization. Planned Parenthood still exists today and the way it deals with reproductive rights is continuing to be influenced by contemporary feminist movements.

The reproductive-rights movement is one example of the interaction between organizations founded by different generations within the women's movement. I do not claim that CWLU would not have been focused on reproductive rights had it not been for Planned Parenthood, or that this example was unique to Chicago; rather it illustrates one instance of how two organizations founded in different periods directly connected within one another.

Shared Alignments: The Women's City Club of New York City

Just as those involved in the Black insurgency spontaneously formed new organizations in the 1950s and 1960s that brought new perspective to the movement, women in the second-wave movement chose to form their own organizations rather than joining existing organizations. These decisions kept the movement fresh and propelled the women's movement in decidedly new directions compared to the “doldrum” years. Sometimes, however, the political and ideological alignments of first-wave organizations enabled them to directly join the second-wave movements in their new endeavors. These first-wave organizations provided resources and legitimacy which had grown over the preceding decades to these burgeoning organizations which had yet to acquire these resources. This was the case with the Women's City Club of New York City.

The Women's City Club of New York City (WCCNYC) was founded in 1915 by a group of about 100 suffragists. The women who founded the club initially wanted to entice women to be an intelligent part of municipal government with the goal of increasing the standard of living for New York City, especially for women and children. They focused primarily on suffrage for their first few years, but their overall concern was municipal government. In the early 1920s, after the woman suffrage amendment passed, they continued to grow, attracting over 3,000 members by the early 1920s. Notable members of WCCNYC included Eleanor Roosevelt, Gertrude Stein (one of those responsible for the Armory Show), Rose Schneiderman (a member of the Women's Trade Union League and famous for her participation in the 1913 Garment Workers Strike), Dorothy Kenyon (who later worked with the National Organization for Women), and Florence Kelley (of Hull House and the National Consumers' League fame). Over the years they expanded their interests and causes, eventually focusing on federal legislation as well. Club work revolved around committees, which would investigate an issue, decide if it was important, and then recommend action to the Board. The Board would then seek a general consensus from members before approving an action. After approval from the larger membership, the Board would authorize the publication of a report on the issue and the entire

club would take action by writing letters or calling government officials, attending hearings, and publicizing their position.

WCCNYC addressed a variety of issues over the decades, taking up matters of class, race, and gender. One of their major committees was one on housing, which focused on researching tenement housing and encouraging the city to build more and better low-income housing units. They also focused on labor standards, including child labor, pushing for more protective labor laws such as city-wide minimum wage laws, and for higher standards for domestic workers. After WWII they advocated for full employment in the city and for a single-payer health care program. On issues relating to race they supported bills that prohibited labor organizations to discriminate because of race, creed, or color, a bill making it unlawful to interfere with the right to vote, and the passage of the New York Civil Rights Act. In 1952 they conducted a survey on discrimination in housing by sending out teams of two, preferably bi-racial, and they worked on various bills to prohibit discrimination in private housing, including the Sharkey-Brown-Issacs Bill in 1957.

While they were concerned with the standard of living for all New Yorkers, much of their work focused on gender issues. They fought to decriminalize birth control, they fought sex discrimination in New York City universities and the government, they endorsed the Sheppard-Towner Bill and the Cable Act, they supported protective labor legislation for women, and they pushed to decriminalize prostitution, claiming it should be a social rather than a legal issue. Some of their campaigns took many years to win, but they almost always faithfully saw these campaigns through. For decades they fought for an equal-pay-for-women law, which they finally won after WWII, and they saw an end to a fight they began in 1917 when, in 1964, New York City finally repealed a section of the Penal Code which prohibited the dissemination of contraceptive information by authorized clinics and physicians.

WCCNYC was working at full capacities when the second-wave women's movement began in the 1960s, and two features of the organization positioned it to effectively assist this newly developing movement. First, it had political legitimacy in the eyes of the city government because of its long service to the city and because of the thorough and careful research it brought to its campaign endorsements. As evidence of its official legitimacy, during the 50th anniversary celebration of the club in 1965, the mayor of New York City, Robert Wagner, declared September 30th "Women's City Club Day," and the *New York Times* published an editorial titled "Champion of the City," commemorating its many years of service to the city. When WCCNYC endorsed a campaign, the city listened.

Second, their commitment to adapt to changing political circumstances, and their willingness to change, enabled them to continually attract young members and thus stay at the forefront of political issues. WCCNYC not only continually incorporated the newest and most progressive political campaigns into their own work, they also displayed an eagerness to learn from these new campaigns and change their own organization accordingly. When the civil rights movement was beginning, for example, they too turned their attention to civil rights issues, advocating for the abolition of literacy tests for voting and holding a series of meetings with the NAACP on school integration. In the same year, 1963, they also formed the ad hoc Committee on Integration, whose purpose was to help club members "become better informed about the civil rights movement" (Women's City Club of New York City 1964). Later they established an Institutional Racism Committee, which was designed "to insure adequate consideration of the effect of WCC policies on minorities and to detect the inadvertent presence of institutional racism in Club positions" (ibid.). In short, their commitment to racial discrimination prior to the

civil rights movement put them in a strong position to support the civil rights movement as it was gaining momentum.

WCCNYC had a similar relationship to the second-wave women's movement. As the second-wave movement was just getting started, WCCNYC threw their full support behind it, including their vast resources. In 1966 they supported a bill to liberalize New York's abortion laws and worked to change New York's outmoded divorce legislation. In 1968 they partnered with NOW-NY to support the full repeal of New York abortion laws, providing money and people to the cause. By 1971 they were fully on board with the new women's movement. They sponsored a two day symposium on "The Status of Women," at which women's liberationist Gloria Steinem was scheduled to speak (she couldn't make that meeting, but spoke at a club meeting later that year) (Women's City Club of New York City 1974). In 1973 they organized study groups on the status of women modeled after the consciousness-raising sessions promoted by women's liberation groups. These study groups, they claimed, became a "consciousness-raising force for the entire club" (ibid., 9). After opposing the ERA for many years, in 1974 WCCNYC put all of its weight behind the adoption of an ERA to the state constitution (ibid., 3).

The benefits that WCCNYC's legitimacy brought to the new women's movement are illustrated by the following example. In 1974 WCCNYC joined other organizations to push the new mayor of New York City to fulfill his promise to establish a Commission on the Status of Women. The city did so in February, 1975, and, demonstrating the trust the city had in the club, the mayor appointed WCCNYC's president as chairman of the Commission.

The first- and second-wave movements blended together in the WCCNYC, as this first-wave organization provided resources for the new campaigns, and young "second wavers" helped change the organization's approach to both gender and race, changing the consciousness of the older generation in the organization. As with the case of Planned Parenthood, WCCNYC engaged with individuals and organizations from the second wave, providing opportunities for mutual influence and cooperation between generations. Rather than organizing around a particular issue, this case demonstrates a general mutual alignment between the politics of a first-wave organization and the second-wave generation.

Shared Ideas: Women Strike for Peace

Some organizations did not span the two waves but instead existed in the between-wave period, blending ideas from the first wave with organizational features that typically define the second wave and forming in essence wave hybrids. One example of this type of organization is Women Strike for Peace (WSP), founded in 1961, just before the popularization of second-wave feminism. This organization blended social feminist ideas—the notion that women have unique qualities as women that put them in a better position to push for social reform—with new left ideas—the belief in non-hierarchical and leaderless organizational structures.

WSP, in some locations known as Women for Peace, was founded by a group of women at the height of the cold war to protest against nuclear weapons and to advocate for reforms that would prevent a nuclear war. They were organized out of a national women's peace protest on November 1, 1961, organized in 60 cities across the nation. This protest, and the subsequent work by WSP, helped push the U.S. and the Soviet Union to sign a nuclear test-ban treaty two years later, and they were some of the first Americans to protest the Vietnam War (Swerdlow 1993).

Women Strike for Peace combined first-wave women's-movement politics with ideas

developing within the new left. On one hand, WSP, like many social feminist groups, used motherhood and traditional women's values—women as caregivers and nurturers—to motivate their political stance, in this case for peace. Shirley Lens, an organizer for Women for Peace, claimed, "As women and mothers we shall continue to exercise our rights to express freely our opposition to man's inhumanity to man. We shall not be diverted from the most important issue women have ever faced—the preservation of life in the nuclear age" (Lens 1962). This stance closely resembled that taken by the first-wave social feminist group, the Woman's Peace Party (WPP), co-founded by Hull House's Jane Addams. In 1915 the WPP platform declared:

As women we are particularly charged with the future of childhood and with the care of the helpless and unfortunate. . . . Therefore as human beings and the mother half of humanity, we demand our right to be consulted in the settlement of questions concerning not alone the life of individuals but of nations be recognized and respected. (quoted in Swerdlow 1993, 31)

Both WSP and the WPP believed that their roles as mothers and wives gave them, as first-wave feminist Crystal Eastman put it in 1917, a "more intimate sense of the value of human life" (quoted in Swerdlow 1993, 31). They believed they were in a better position to both understand the value of peace, and to demand social reforms that would ensure peace. The organizations for which the second-wave movement is typically known believed that men and women were not inherently different, and they explicitly disavowed ideas that women have a distinct perspective compared to men. In this way, WSP was closer to first-wave social feminist organizations than second-wave organizations.

On the other hand, WSP resembled later women's organizations, particularly those in the second-wave women's liberation movement, by developing a strictly non-hierarchical structure, with no official leaders or organizational hierarchies. They took this stance long before later women's organizations took up the anti-hierarchical call. Like many new left organizations, women's-liberation organizations, including CWLU and Redstockings, believed strongly in a leaderless structure. To ensure the absence of leaders some instituted "Speakers Bureaus," which would randomize who spoke to the press ensuring no one woman would monopolize public attention. To strengthen their commitment to non-hierarchies, some organizations instituted a chip system during their meetings, where every woman would have to give up a chip from her pile every time she spoke. If a member ran out of chips, she could no longer speak (Evans 1980; Echols 1989). Long before these organizations took up the non-hierarchical call, WSP insisted that they were "a grass-roots movement, not an organization," and that they had no leaders or spokeswomen (Lens 1962). Their commitment to a horizontal structure aligns them with second-wave organizations, as first-wave social feminist organizations were often committed to a hierarchical structure.

This blend of elements—their political stance stemming from unique women's values and a non-hierarchical structure—was nicely demonstrated when members of the national Women Strike for Peace were subpoenaed to appear before the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC). To register their objection to testifying in front of this committee hundreds of women came to support the accused, and they brought their children with them. As one reporter wrote about the hearing,

The ladies had been using the Congress as a baby-sitter. Their young crawled in the aisles and noisily sucked their bottles during the whole proceedings. . . . When Mrs. Wilson [one of the accused from Women Strike for Peace], trim and beguiling in red wool, stepped up to take the stand, a mother with a baby on one hip worked her way through the crowd and handed her a bouquet of purple and white flowers, exactly as if she were the principal speaker at a ladies' luncheon. There were smiles, cheers and a hint of tears. (McGory 1962)

When Mrs. Wilson was asked if she was the leader of the organization she responded, "Nobody controls anybody in the Women Strike for Peace. We're all leaders." When further asked who makes decisions in the organization, she responded, "It is something I find very difficult to explain to the masculine mind" (ibid.). Playwright Eric Bentley credits WSP and this hearing as playing a crucial role in dismantling the House Un-American Activities Committee (Bentley and Rich 2001).

The blending of ideas from social feminist organizations and new left organizations is another demonstration of the blurring of distinct women's-movement waves and illustrates another way in which the second-wave women's movement developed *out of* the first wave, rather than as a distinct or new movement. While the wave conception does capture some elements of the long-term trajectory of the women's movement, in particular the heightened activity in Period 1 and Period 3 and the general shift from social feminism to transformational feminism, it has also served to hide and distort the many continuities and connections between the waves. These three narratives are only a few examples of the interdependence of the first-wave and second-wave movements. As stated above, there are at least thirty-nine organizations that may have provided similar opportunities for the sharing of ideas between generations of feminists. While institutionalization is certainly a cause of the continuities between waves, this institutionalization happened through concrete connections between first- and second-wave organizations.

Conclusion

In chapters 3 and 4, I demonstrated that the structure and culture of regionally distinct women's-movement fields were persistent over time. This chapter explains that persistence. Insofar as they embody the skills and knowledge of a community, organizations are both a measure of civic capacity and city character and the vehicle through which capacity and character are carried over time. If city character shapes social movements, and if this character and its results persist over time, these characteristics materialize in part through the existence of different types of organizations within the women's-movement field. The data presented in this chapter support this view. While New York City and Chicago were broadly similar, with a similar number of women's-movement organizations in each city, the type of organizations in each city differed. New York City had more transformational feminist organizations in the first wave which translated to many more transformational feminist organizations in the second wave, suggesting a persistent institutional legacy of civic capacity within this city. Chicago, which did not have the legacy of transformational feminist organizations, produced only one in the second wave, a period known for the presence of this type of feminist organization. In Chicago, conversely, a type of labor feminism embedded in left organizations was institutionalized in the first wave and reappeared in the second wave, evidenced by the larger number of labor feminist,

labor, and disciplined left groups in Chicago. These institutional legacies were carried, at least in part, through co-existing first- and second-wave organizations and the mixing of first- and second-wave ideas. Organizations thus additionally provide the mechanisms through which institutional legacies persist.

This chapter suggests a different way of understanding the long-term trajectory of U.S. women's movements. I demonstrate the persistence of numerous organizations between the first- and second-wave movements which indicates a continuous and developing movement, not a movement made and then remade out of different cloth, as suggested by the wave heuristic. While the second-wave movement saw the founding of new organizations, these organizations were formed within a women's-movement field that was established decades prior to their existence. Understanding any one moment of the women's movement, I argue, requires understanding the long-term institutional legacies affecting this movement.

The history presented here potentially challenges our understanding of the current state of women's movements, as well as of other historical social movements in the United States. In the concluding chapter, I summarize the overall argument presented in this dissertation and then suggest possibilities for future research, on both historical movements and social movements today.

Chapter 6 — Conclusions and Future Trends

I began this dissertation with a question: Why were the opposing sides of the main debate dividing the second-wave women's liberation movement geographically bounded? The answer should now be clear. The opposing political positions taken by the majority of women in Chicago and New York City were not made of whole cloth in the 1960s. Rather, the women's-movement fields in each city were fundamentally different—they had different structures and were guided by different cognitive frameworks. The structure and culture of the different fields was established long before the second-wave women's liberation movement began and likely persisted long after this movement declined. The initial formation of these fields was largely shaped by the interaction between the women's-movement field and the regionally distinct left milieus. Each of these left milieus privileged a particular way of understanding and practicing politics, which affected political women in specific ways. A multitude of women's-movement organizations existed in both cities, each with its own approach to politics and its own beliefs about the political system. Not every organization fared equally well in New York City and Chicago, however. Organizations that were in sync with the larger left milieu in their city were promoted to central positions, sometimes inadvertently, and the organizations that were promoted were distinct to their respective cities. The organizations that were out of sync with their city's left milieu struggled or eventually moved out of the city. In sum, the most important conclusion from this study is that *women's-movement organizations cannot be understood apart from the city in which they were organized* (cf. Wilson 1960).

Overall, my argument proceeds as follows. Generally, a field is made up of a structure and a set of cognitive frameworks. Analyzing the structure of a field requires first identifying which organizations or actors are structurally dominant in the field and which are peripheral, and then determining the shape of the overall network, which indicates the relative influence of those dominant organizations. Centralized network structures mean dominant organizations have potentially more influence than their equivalent organizations in decentralized networks. In the case of the women's-movement fields, in the first wave, Heterodoxy was the most central organization in New York City while Hull House was the most central organization in Chicago. In the second wave, the Chicago Women's Liberation Union (CWLU) was the most central organization in Chicago while Redstocking was the main organization among a number of string organizations in New York City. The overall network structure of New York City was decentralized, and women's-movement organizations were relatively independent within this structure in both waves. The Chicago network, conversely, was relatively centralized, and women, or women's-movement organizations, were embedded within the male-dominated left, again in both waves.

Understanding why Hull House and CWLU were central in Chicago and Heterodoxy and Redstockings were central in New York City requires identifying the cognitive frameworks guiding these organizations. Analyzing literature produced by these four organizations, I found that both Hull House and CWLU in Chicago demonstrated a cognitive framework that assumed political change happens through institutions and is achieved through winning concrete short-term goals. Heterodoxy and Redstockings in New York City embodied a cognitive framework that assumed political change happens through individuals and is achieved through raising awareness about the effects of sexism on individuals.

After identifying the structure of each field and the cognitive frameworks underlying the dominant organizations within each, I then determined why those particular cognitive

frameworks were dominant. In this case, as the women's-movement field in each city was forming, it was interacting with and was embedded within the larger regional left field. As these two fields overlapped—the women's-movement field and the larger left—the women's-movement organizations that were in sync with the left were promoted to structurally central positions in their respective cities. These overlapping fields did not preclude certain organizations from existing, but they did make their struggle to exist more challenging. Because New York City and Chicago had different left milieus, their respective women's-movement fields were also different.

Some final historical details provide one last confirmation of my overall argument. There were “New York style” feminists in Chicago in both periods and “Chicago style” feminists in New York City in both periods, but the politics that did not match the dominant style in each city never became prominent. Instead, they remained marginal, or the individuals or organizations promoting an alternative style actually moved to the city that was a better fit.

For example, the first “salon,” similar in structure and style to Mable Dodge's Evenings, was actually in Chicago, not New York City. Margery Currey, wife of writer Floyd Dell, loved entertaining, and their home in Rogers Park in Chicago became a meeting place for artists, leftists, and writers where they promoted the intertwining of politics and culture. It grew even larger in 1913 when they moved to Fifty-Seventh Street, an area just becoming home to many artists and writers. This salon never grew as large as Dodge's salon, however, not due to a lack of enthusiasm on the part of its promoters, but because they could never attract a sizable audience, possibly because the style of politics they promoted did not match the Chicago left. Dell soon moved to New York City where he became an influential figure in Greenwich Village (Ben-Zvi 2005, 115). Similarly, in 1914 Margaret Anderson started the magazine *The Little Review* in Chicago as a venue for a new form of criticism for art. The magazine blended art and politics, advocating for feminism and anarchism along with new poetry, similar to the focus of *The Masses* did in New York City. *The Little Review* struggled to gain a readership in Chicago, and in 1917 Anderson moved to New York City where she felt more at home in Greenwich Village and where *The Little Review* thrived in the avant-garde literary scene (Anderson 1969).

In the other direction, New York City had settlement houses before Chicago, with the University Settlement Society of New York founded in 1886, three years before Hull House. None of the settlements in New York City became as famous as Hull House, and Hull House pioneered the unique public legislation we now associate with settlement houses. Florence Kelley first settled in New York City when she returned to the U.S. from years of living in Germany. During her time in Germany she had worked tirelessly to get U.S. women's movements to more seriously consider class issues by writing letters to movement leaders, by writing opinion pieces in movement literature, and by reporting on the German situation to the U.S. movement. When she moved to New York in the 1890s, she failed to find an organization that meshed with her beliefs. She soon moved to Chicago where she found, in Hull House, “a social movement capable of mixing class and gender” which she had been looking for since her time in Germany (Sklar, Schüler, and Strasser 1998, 17).

In the 1960s and 1970s in these two cities, there was a similar pattern. The two women who were instrumental in forming the first women's liberation group in Chicago, The Westside Group, were Shulamith Firestone and Jo Freeman, who were both radical feminists, not socialist feminists. Despite being founding members, these two women left the organized women's movement in Chicago early on, and women's liberation in Chicago moved steadily toward socialist feminism. In October of 1967 Firestone, for unknown reasons, left Chicago for New

York City, founding the first radical feminist groups in New York City and becoming a leading radical feminist intellectual (Echols 1989). Freeman, for reasons not entirely understood by her, was pushed out of The Westside Group in April of 1968, but she continued to write about women's liberation, producing many fundamental women's liberation texts, such as "The Tyranny of Structurelessness" (1972) and "The BITCH Manifesto" (1970), a radical feminist call to action. There were also a group of lesbian rights organizations that leaned more toward radical feminism. The Chicago Women's Liberation Union was at one point curious if there were radical feminist groups in Chicago, as there were in NYC. They set out to find them, but found only one, Chicago Lesbian Liberation, which, they claimed was not large and did not have a well formulated radical feminist theory (Chicago Women's Liberation Union). These groups were important, and they published a lesbian newspaper (Brody 1991), but they had a minimal presence in the women's liberation scene in Chicago compared to CWLU. Thus, there were women in Chicago who promoted a radical feminist analysis, but the radical feminist analysis remained a fringe position in Chicago. In the other direction, a group of socialist women in Brooklyn attempted to form a women's liberation union, modeled off on CWLU, which they called Half of Brooklyn. They did not last long, however, as they failed to attract any significant following (Rosalind Baxendall Files, Box 2 Folder 1).

In short, the different cultures and structures in Chicago and New York City did not preclude alternative organizations and ideology, rather the local context promoted certain types of organizations which had an easier time gaining members, while it discouraged other types by making their work much more difficult. Additionally, the reputations of these cities was well known, so individuals who leaned toward a particular style of organizing would move to the city that best fit their style, reinforcing the dominant political tendencies in each city.

The difficulty of organizing against the dominant style is further demonstrated through the relationship between the women's movement and class-based movements in each city. Individual women in each city, and women's organizations in both, were not only concerned with women's issues but also with issues of class. This was clear in Chicago, where the women's organizations embedded their feminist arguments within a class analysis, but women in New York City were no less concerned with class. The social base of both Heterodoxy and Hull House, for example, was mainly a group of white, middle-class women, many of them professionals or with higher degrees, but they wanted to use their education and social position to better everyone in society, including the working classes. Women in Heterodoxy were part of the Socialist Party and the Women's Trade Union League, and many, including Gilman, Crystal Eastman, and Emma Goldman, believed in the need for a radical economic restructuring of society. The position of *The Masses* sums up the left belief in Greenwich Village nicely: they believed in a socialist restructuring of the economy and a restructuring of society based on women's equality (Kaneko 1911), just as most in Greenwich Village believed. Additionally, women in New York City were quite involved in some of the largest working-class actions involving women, including the New York shirtwaist strike of 1909, called the Uprising of 20,000. This strike was one of the first strikes to include mainly women workers. Many social reformers and suffragists, some of whom would later be involved in Heterodoxy and *The Masses*, supported this strike, and many of the strikers in turn supported the suffrage movement. One of the workers involved in this strike was Rose Schneiderman, a leader of the Woman's Suffrage Party and later an officer for the Women's Trade Union League; another worker, Rose Paster Stokes, would later join Heterodoxy as one of their only working-class members, and would go on to co-found the Communist Party in 1919. It was not the level of commitment to

working-class politics that distinguished women reforms in New York City from those in Chicago, rather, it was their *approach* to social change around class that was different.

The experience of the IWW in Paterson illustrates the different ways radicals in Greenwich Village supported the working class compared to Chicago. In 1913, silk mill workers in Paterson, New Jersey, went on strike, prompted by the IWW who had been leafletting the mill. John Reed, a Greenwich Village bohemian who was enamored by the ideology of the IWW and labor strikes, traveled to Paterson to support the strike. While there he was promptly arrested, and he subsequently sent reports on the strike and his arrest to *The Masses*, making Greenwich Village radicals aware of the strike and the ensuing police repression. At one of Dodge's Evenings, IWW member Bill Hayward was complaining about the lack of publicity about the strike outside of the Paterson area, so, in true Greenwich style, Reed, Dodge, and other bohemians decided to produce a consciousness-raising pageant and fundraiser to be held at Madison Square Gardens. They enlisted over 1,000 strikers to participate, busing them into New York City for the pageant, and the pageant prominently featured IWW songs. The pageant drew an audience of thousands and was an artistic success, but it was a financial failure, costing more to produce than it raised. Its effects on the strike were mixed—some claimed it brought more attention to the strike and thus more support, while others claimed it caused more problems among workers with little gain. The Paterson strike eventually failed, and, following its failure, the IWW ended its attempts to gain a foothold on the east coast, retreating back to its home in the midwest (Rosenstone 1990; Luhan [1936]1985). While the IWW had no problems attracting support and members in Chicago, including the counter-cultural scene in Chicago, and while those in New York City in theory supported the IWW, the IWW would never establish itself as more than a small ideological presence in the New York City radical scene.

The movement between cities, and the failure of the IWW in New York City, suggest the potential role of social skill within social movements. Social skill plays a central role in the field theory of Neil Fligstein and Doug McAdam. Social skill, they claim, is “that complex mix of cognitive, affective, and linguistic facilities that render individuals more or less effective as skilled strategic actors supremely well adapted to the demands of collective action” (2012, 46). Movement leaders in the women's movement who were “well adapted” to collective action would, in theory, be able to “read” the climate of the city and adopt their political style to that climate. In the words of social-movements scholars, they would frame their issue to resonate with the larger city culture (Snow et al. 1986).

Using the data presented here, I do not differentiate between organizations that believed in a particular style of politics that was in sync with the left culture, and were thus inadvertently amplified by the larger left, and those organizations that recognized that they would fare better if they framed their issues to resonate with this culture, and thus strategically shifted the direction of their organizations to be in sync with their city. More research could explore this question further, but I imagine a bit of both is going on. Some organizations, and the leaders within those organizations, strategically shaped their organizations to resonate with the larger culture, while other organizations stuck to a particular style of politics because they believed it was the best way, either eventually failing, as was the case with Half of Brooklyn in New York City, or moving to a city better suited to their style, as was the case with *The Little Review*. Either way, this analysis leaves open the possibility for the role of social skill in shaping organizations and fields.

Because of this overlapping waves effect, where certain organizations struggle while others thrive, once a city milieu and its corresponding fields are institutionalized, they are

difficult to change. Individuals who are drawn to a particular form of politics are attracted to the city with organizations that embody that form; these individuals then join existing organizations or form their own organizations, assuring that city-specific institutions continued. Additionally, as new organizations are formed they bring new ideas and structures into the field but they are also influenced by the existing structure and culture of the field and must conform to it in order to succeed. The interaction between co-existing organizations additionally assures the continuity of fields over time. This is not to say fields never change, but changes within a field are more likely to be incremental than sweeping.

Causality, Mechanisms, and Field Theory

I argue that the differences between the women's-movement field in Chicago and New York City were produced by the overlapping of organizational waves which had different patterns, with the larger left cultural wave, which amplified some organizations and muted others. This is not a causal argument in the classic sense; I am not searching for the one variable, or a few variables, that explain the form and structure of women's-movement organizations. Instead, I am both describing the structure of the women's-movement field as a whole and explaining why these fields differed between cities. The larger left milieu is critical to this difference, but I have not yet endeavored to explain why the left itself differed between New York City and Chicago. It is possible that an unknown factor produced both the unique left in each city and the different women's-movement fields. My general approach, however, fits with that of field theorists, which is particularly useful to sociologists in general and comparative historical sociologists in particular.

According to field theory champion John Levi Martin, a field theory explanation of social phenomenon differs from both functionalist explanations and explanation via mechanisms (Martin 2003, 10). A mechanism, according to Martin, is “some readily understandable causal sequence that explains some theoretically accounted-for pattern” (ibid., 11). Martin's definition is similar to causal mechanisms in physics in which the transmission of force is explained by direct contact. An object does not move unless something pushes it. In sociology, a mechanism is a collection of entities and actions that, when organized in particular ways, regularly bring about a particular outcome. An alternative to the mechanisms explanation in sociology is the functionalist explanation in which society is seen as a complex system whose parts work together to promote its functioning. To understand why something is the way it is, according to functionalists, you must understand its role in the larger social system, and, importantly, this larger social system *must be as it is*. The system exists and could be no other way.

Field theory also assumes that to explain part of a system you must understand how it relates to the larger social system, but field theorists assume this global system *does not necessarily have to be as it is*. The form of the larger system is relatively arbitrary for field theorists, while for functionalists it is pre-determined. Unlike a mechanism-based explanation force does not have to be explained by direct contact for field theorists. While mechanisms directly connect events and entities to an outcome, field theorists allow for the existence of some unobserved or unmeasurable force that organizes action. Like gravity or magnetism in physics, where objects move without being directly acted upon, actors within a social field may act according to some invisible force—for example culture or Foucault's idea of power (Martin 2003, 9). Just as Greve and Rao (2012) argue that institutional legacies need not persist through actual organizations but through elusive and often unmeasurable concepts like norms and

cognitive models, fields may function overall according to these same cognitive models and norms. Thus, specific formulations of a field, such as the women's-movement field, may persist over time even as the specific organizations within a field change.

As I acknowledged, there may be some hidden variable that is shaping both the larger left in these two cities and the women's-movement fields for which I have not accounted. While trying to isolate the variables that cause the larger social system and predict the interactions within this system may be a desirable task, it also may be completely futile. Field theory allows, and positively promotes, the task of describing the interactions within a system and explaining the formation of part of that system, without recourse to direct causal interactions. In this dissertation I sought to explain the formation and persistence of one small part of the larger social system that is the United States: the women's-movement fields in two U.S. cities. While there remain many unanswered questions, to which I return below, this field description helps explain the progression of women's movements in the U.S. and the differences and debates happening within these movements. It also begins to clarify three processes that affect social movements and that occur between social movements and fields.

First, my explanation emphasizes the role of culture in social movements, specifically the role of the general left culture on more focused social movements. This left culture does not determine the types of organizations that exist in any one city, but it makes the organizing process easier for particular types of organizations. Social movements are difficult enough to organize—if you are fighting against the left culture in a location, it will be that much more difficult.

Second, my account further clarifies the interaction between related fields. No one field is isolated from other fields; fields interact and are affected by fields within which they are nested as well as other related fields. Changes within these nested and related fields can produce changes in other fields. My theory allows for that possibility and suggests how that interaction happens. If the larger left milieu changed in a city, for whatever reason, it would change the women's-movement field. Women would create new types of organizations that fit this new culture, or different organizations within the field would be amplified by the changing left wave. As the amplification goes both ways—women's-movement organizations that are in sync with the larger left also amplify that left culture—changes within the women's-movement field could also change the larger left field. The overlapping waves heuristic provides one way to understand these interactions.

Third, my explanation examines the relationship between structure and culture within a field. I argue that it is difficult to understand one constituent element of a field without understanding the other. The centralized structure of the women's-movement field in Chicago, for example, does help explain why women's movements in Chicago remained tied to the left, but this structure alone does not explain the specific cognitive framework guiding the main women's-movement organizations in Chicago. To understand this framework one must analyze the background assumptions guiding the organizations. Conversely, it is impossible to know which organizations of the many organizations within a city to focus on to measure these cognitive frameworks. While it may be possible to discern the implicit assumptions guiding *all* organizations, it is more likely that one cognitive framework guides most organizations and definitely the *dominant* organizations, while there may be organizations trying to compete with this dominant framework. Peripheral organizations may be trying to assert an alternative framework. To find which organizations are dominant and which are peripheral requires first understanding the overall structure of the field. Thus, measuring both structure and culture is

necessary to understand a field.

The question of macro-level structures is left out of these processes. The story up to this point has only included meso-level field structures, as Fligstein and McAdam (2012) call them. Other researchers have focused instead on macro-level structures affecting social movements, in particular on national policies and national political structures. Myra Marx Ferree et al. and Drew Halfmann for example, take a state-centered approach to address the framing of political issues within entire countries. They both use the issue of abortion as a case study for comparing the U.S. to other western countries. Both argue that, in contrast to the political structure of other nations, the structure of political parties in the U.S. allowed political and advocacy organizations to define the terms of debate around abortion much more than political parties or Congress. Ferree et al. (2002) conclude that the discourse surrounding abortion in Germany and the U.S. was shaped in part by the dominant players in the political field in each country. In Germany political parties and state actors dominated the arena, while in the U.S. political parties stayed backstage, allowing advocacy groups to dominate the scene. Halfmann (2011) similarly finds that the porousness of U.S. political parties allowed pro- and anti-abortion organizations to make abortion a political issue rather than a medical issue in the United States compared to Canada and the U.K, leaving advocacy groups to effectively dictate the terms of debate around the issue. These authors seek to explain national trends within a social movement and ignore differences internal to the United States.

National structures, and national trends are indeed important. Why, for example, were social settlements such a draw for progressive women activists in all cities during the Progressive Era? And why were national women's organizations, such as the General Federation of Women's Club, so effective in shaping policy during this period (see, e.g., Skocpol 1995)? Macro-level structures can help explain these phenomena. But, I argue, meso-level structures, often at work on the regional level, are critical to understanding differences within women's movements and the progression of these regional women's movements over time. Because large, national studies miss local variations, they may overstate the amount of conformity within the national movements. Even when making national comparisons, one should understand debates within the movement and understand local variations of movements to ensure the national examples are actually representative of United States movements. Just as I mapped the city-level women's-movement fields one could also map the national field, to better understand why some organizations stand out on the national scale and some do not.

Macro-level forces, and changes on the national scale may serve a purpose in my story—they may well help explain the differences between the two waves, something I did not emphasize in this dissertation but which is no less important. There were indeed meaningful differences between the two waves, and I want to mention a few here.

First, theorizing women's oppression was embedded in organizational literature in New York City in the 1970s in a way it was not in the 1910s. While radical feminist individuals were certainly developing feminist theory in the 1910s, developing this theory only became a central focus of organizations in the 1970s. Somewhat similarly, the Chicago Women's Liberation Union (CWLU) was a women-only organization who saw themselves as part of a larger women's movement. Hull House, alternatively, saws themselves as a community organization, not a women's organization, and were concerned with more general issues facing the community. Hull House's only ideological commitment was to democracy, while CWLU explicitly developed an independent socialist feminist theory. The socialist feminism that existed in the 1910s existed within male-dominated socialist organizations, while in the 1970s it existed through independent

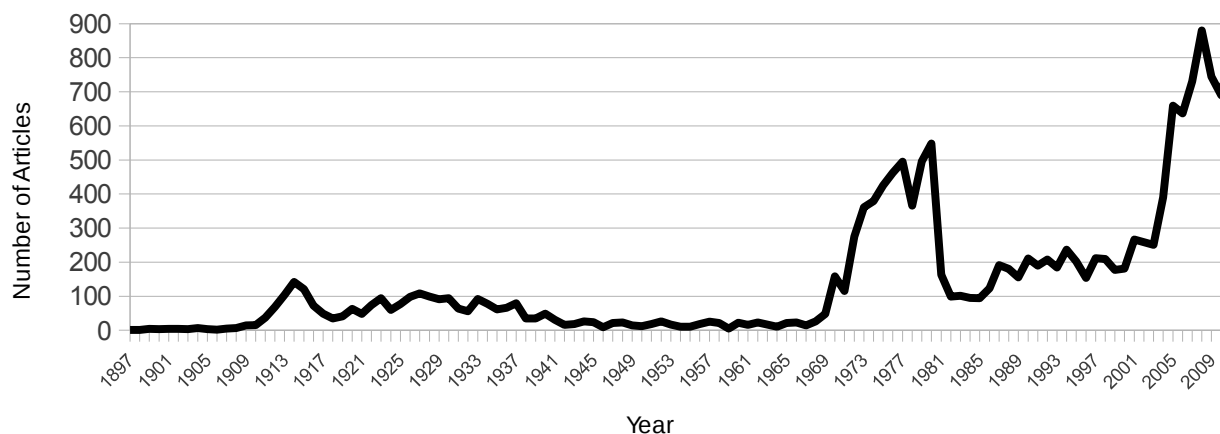
women's organizations. As the network analysis suggested, feminism became a more autonomous movement in both Chicago and New York City in the 1970s, and in some senses it became more committed to feminism as a social theory in both cities.

Second, the second-wave women's movement introduced feminist issues that were not explicitly present in the 1910s, suggesting that as political, social, and cultural reforms were won, new issues took center stage. These new issues included the right to a legal abortion, the right to protections against sexual harassment in the work place, laws around marital rape, and the legal rights of sex workers. Thus, the movement overall advanced, even as differences within the movement remained constant and the cognitive frameworks guiding the movement remained the same.

That the women's movement in general became more committed to feminism as a theory was reflected on the national scene. While the first-wave movement had notable achievements, not least of which was winning suffrage and removing barriers of entry into institutions of higher education and the professions, the second-wave movement was much more successful at making feminism in particular part of the popular consciousness. Newspapers, and in particular the *New York Times* (*NYT*), are often used as a proxy to measure the general attention of public discourse given to various issues. The *NYT* has the benefit of being a long-standing national newspaper, so it is convenient to use it as a general measure of public attention to issues over time. For example, mentions of the word *feminism* in the *NYT* can be a rough measurement of the changing prominence of “feminism” as a general concept in the mainstream media. Figure 6.1 shows the number of *NYT* articles between 1897 and 2012 that mention feminism.³⁵ This figure shows a small spike between 1912 and 1917, indicating the first-wave feminist movement, and a much larger spike starting in 1970. The number of mentions remains higher after the second-wave spike, suggesting a lasting effect from this movement. These newspaper data suggest the 1910s radical feminist movement never became a popular mass movement. The 1970s movement successfully made feminism a common and lasting household word (Reger 2012), changing in a fundamental way, and in a way the 1910s movement was unable to, the cultural conception of women's role in society.

35 This was done by doing a key word search for “feminism OR feminist” using *The New York Times* online archives, recording the numbers of articles per year mentioning either of the words.

Figure 6.1: Number of Articles that Mention the Words “Feminist” or “Feminism” in the *New York Times*, 1897-2012



Source: New York Times Online Index

What's Next?

This dissertation presented a detailed analysis of women's movements in two cities over seven decades. The restriction to just two cities was necessary in order to complete the detailed analysis required to fully understand these two fields. The pattern uncovered here may be similar in other cities. There was a lively women's movement throughout the twentieth century in Boston, for example, and Boston was home to some of the early women's-movement organizations in both the first and second wave. Boston was the artistic capital of the U.S. before New York City took over that title in the late 1800s, and, intriguingly, radical feminist organizations, not socialist feminist organizations, took root in Boston in the 1970s, similar to New York City. Seattle, conversely, had strong radical feminist *and* socialist feminist organizations in the 1970s, and Seattle has a rich radical history that matches that of other major cities such as Chicago. Adding these two cities to my analysis might help to generalize the story told here and to formulate a more complete typology of U.S. approaches to feminism.

The analysis developed in this dissertation could also be applied to other social movements, such as the labor movement and the civil rights movement. No doubt these movements operate according to different rules and logics, but some similarities may exist. Including more movements would lead to a typology of left milieus or a more generalizable typology of cognitive frameworks guiding social movements. Perhaps the cognitive frameworks I found in this analysis, and the accompanying left milieus, are just two of several frameworks guiding all social movements in the United States.

Extending this analysis to the present may also reveal critical changes in the way social movements function in the U.S. I started my analysis in the 1910s, when U.S. society was much more localized. A mass national media did exist, but traveling between cities was difficult and time consuming. Perhaps today, where travel is easier and, importantly, the internet has made communication less geographically bounded, the importance of city-specific political and cultural structures will fade. Recent research suggests this is not the case. Jo Reger, for example,

recently completed an ethnography of feminists and feminist movements in three different communities in the U.S. in the late 1990s and early 2000s (2012). She found that the “feminist community” in the United States is not a monolith; instead discourses and practices develop through the dynamics of meso-level structures specific to different communities. The ways feminism was understood and practiced were distinct in each location she studied. Studies like hers makes extending this temporal analysis to the present possible.

The internet, too, might function according to meso-level communities bounded not by geography but by some other criteria. Because online communication is readily available, it is possible to empirically study these communities and their relationship to offline communities. We may be witnessing another surge in feminist activism (see Figure 6.1), and the internet is playing an important role in this developing movement. To understand what is truly new about this present moment requires an understanding of women's-movements history and how today's activism fits into this history.

The possibilities for further research are vast. While the effects of national structures on social movements are well researched, the effects of meso-level structures, including the effects of communities on local movements, are still under-researched and under-theorized. If this study inspires more research along these lines, I will consider it a success. As important as national, international, and internet communities are, people still interact in their own local neighborhoods. As long as they do, the power of place will remain.

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Appendix 1: Archives and Collections Consulted

Chicago Historical Society Research Center

Chicago Woman's Club Records
 Planned Parenthood Association of Chicago Area Records
 Chicago Women's Liberation Union Records
 Women for Peace (Chicago, Ill.) Records

Columbia University Archival Collections, New York City

League of Women Voters of the City of New York Records
 League of Women Voters of New York State Records

Hunter College, New York City

Records of the Women's City Club of New York, Inc.

Newberry Library, Chicago

The Dill Pickle Club Records
 May Walden Records
 Selma Walden Papers
 The Fortnightly of Chicago Records

New York Public Library

"Woman's World"

New York University Tamiment Library

Carole Turbin Women's Liberation Collection
 Greenwich House Records
 National Organization for Women, New York City Chapter Records
 Rosalyn Baxendall: Women's Liberation Files
 Women's Trade Union League of New York Records

Northwestern University, Evanston, IL

Aleta Styers Papers on the National Organization for Women
 Womankind (Chicago, Ill.)

Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, PA

Women Strike for Peace Records

University of Illinois at Chicago Special Collections

Hull House Records
 Lea Damarest Taylor Collection
 League of Women Voters of Chicago Records
 National Women's Trade Union League Collection
 Sophonisba P. Breckenridge Collection
 Women's City Club of Chicago Records
 Women's Trade Union League of Chicago Collection

Online Archives

- “CWLU Herstory Project: A History of the Chicago Women's Liberation Union.” University of Illinois at Chicago Center for Women's Research. <http://www.cwluherstory.org/>
- “Documents from the Women's Liberation Movement: An On-Line Archival Collection. Special Collections Library, Duke University. <http://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/wlm/>
Women and Social Movements in the United States, 1600-2000. Center for the Historical Study of Women and Gender at Suny Binghamton and Alexander Street Press.
<http://womhist.alexanderstreet.com/>
- “Women's Liberation Movement Archives for Action.” Redstockings of the Women's Liberation Movement. <http://www.redstockings.org/>

Appendix 2: Articles from *The Masses* used in the text analysis

“A Highbrow Essay on Woman” by Eugene Wood
 “Woman Suffrage and Socialism” by Josephine Conger Kaneko
 “Women and Socialism” editorial
 “The Cheapest Commodity on the Market”
 “A Daughter of Delight” by Horatio Winslow
 “The Sex and Woman Questions” by Lena Morrow Lewis
 “Women Solving the High Cost of Living” by Eugene Wood
 “The Dream of Mirah” by Josephine Conger Kaneko
 “Co-Operation and Housewives” by May Wood Simons
 “The Metamorphosis of Dora” by Benjamin Keech
 “Woman Suffrage: Why?” by Lida Parce
 “Breaking up the Home” by Grace Potter
 “Magdalene Forgives” by Eleanor Wentworth
 “The Wonderful Lady that Mickey Met” by Ethel Knapp Behrman
 “Henry” by Inez Haynes Gillmore
 “Woman Suffrage”
 “Chuck Steak”
 “A New Movement”
 “As Mars Sees Us” by Inez Haynes Gillmore
 “Foolish Female Fashions” by Eugene Wood
 “It's Loaded!” by Bolton Hall
 “How Not to Get Woman Suffrage”
 “Woman's Place – A Nursery Rhyme” by Seymour Barnard
 “Feminism”
 “What Do You Know About This?”
 “Confessions of a Feminist Man” by J. O'B
 “Maud the Mutt” by Albert Edwards
 “Marital Privilege” by Bolton Hall
 “The Woman Rebel”
 “Feminism for Men” by Floyd Dell
 “Women and the Vote”
 “Margaret Sanger”
 “Not Utopian”
 “Is the Truth Obscene” by Max Eastman
 “Sweetness and Light” by Howard Brewbaker
 “Progress or Comstock” by Our Readers
 “Birth Control”
 “The Question of Birth Control” by W.J. Robinson
 “Privacy in Love Affairs” by Elsie Clews Parsons
 “Conversation” by E.B.T.
 “Revolutionary Birth Control” by Max Eastman
 “Last But Not Least” by F.D.
 “Is William Sanger to Go To Jail” by Leonard D. Abbott
 “Woman Returning” by Marguerite Wilkinson

“Confession of a Suffrage Orator” by Max Eastman
“To Everett P. Wheeler” by Alice Duer Miller
“Portrait of a Group” by Louis Untermeyer
“A Militant Nursery” by Howard Brubaker
“A Discontented Woman”
“To Suffragists” by Jeannette Eaton
“Criminals All” by Vachel Lindsay
“Birth Control”
“The Woman Rebel” by Walter Adolphe Roberts
“Birth Control and Emma Goldman”
“Emma Goldman's Defense”
“Birth-Control”
“Rejected Platforms”
“Birth Control”
“To a Girl on a Magazine Cover” by Seymour Barnard
“Successful Law-Breaking” by Jessie Ashley
“The Birth Control Review”
“Revolutionary Progress” by Max Eastman and H.M.
“Publicity”
“The American Commonwealth”
“Suffrage and Sedition”
“The Married Woman Speaks” by Jane Snow
“The President and the Pickets”