

From Rights to Liberation: The Women's Movements



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Next Week



- Exposures Gallery, Ohio Union, Rm. 236
 - March 8, 9:30-11:18
 - All exhibits must be put on display (bring nails and hammer!)
 - Reception March 8
 - Thursday March 10, 9:30-11:18
 - hand out take-home finals
- Quizzes and Participation grade
- Extra Credit
- Faces from the Past, Voices of the Present
 - Hale Center, 4-6 p.m.
 - Presenters should arrive by 3:30 to test out DVDs
 - DVDs and pictures

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Fulfilling and Redefining the American Promise

- America as an exceptional nation
 - Democracy, equality, opportunity, Christianity
- Challenging the Cold War consensus
- Demand for integration/equality of rights
 - Connections between race, gender, class, and sexuality
- Call for liberation/revolution
 - Critique standards for inclusion
 - International consciousness
 - "The Personal is Political"

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Goals of Civil Rights Movement

- rights of citizenship - legal equality
 - education, voting rights, public facilities
- integration in segregated south
 - over half of nation's 15 million African Americans in the South
 - only 10% of eligible southern black people voted
- Equal access to economic opportunities

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Strategies of the Civil Rights Movement

- Litigation
 - NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund
- *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954)
 - overturns *Plessey v. Ferguson* (1896)
 - "Separate but equal"
 - "Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal," a violation of the 14th amendment
- *Loving v. Virginia* (1967)
 - strikes down state anti-miscegenation laws

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Nonviolent Direction Action

- "We affirm...nonviolence as a foundation of our purpose, the presupposition of our faith, and the manner of our action....It matches the capacity of evil to inflict suffering with an even more enduring capacity to absorb evil, all the while persisting in love....Nonviolence nurtures the atmosphere in which reconciliation and justice become actual possibilities."
 - James Lawson, founding of SNCC (1960)
- Anti-Colonialism
 - 1945-1960 40 countries obtained independence
 - 25% of world's population



Mohandas Gandhi

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Mass Action and Civil Disobedience

- Refusal of patronage
 - Montgomery Bus Boycott (1955-1956)
- Demand for services and jobs
 - Sit-in Movements (1960-61) and Freedom Rides (1961)
- Test federal laws and force federal intervention



Elizabeth Eckford, one of the nine black students, seeking to integrate Central High in Little Rock, Arkansas (1957)



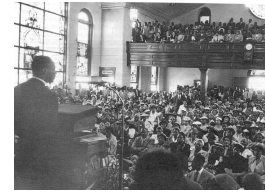
"A group of young white men came in and they started pulling and beating primarily the young women. They put lighted cigarettes down their backs, in their hair, and they were really beating people. In a short time police officials came in and placed all of us under arrest, and not a single member of the white group, the people that were opposing our sit-in, was arrested."

John Lewis, Nashville, Tennessee

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Women and the Civil Rights Movement

- Who are perceived as leaders?
- SCLC (1957) - nearly 100 black ministers
- Ella Baker, secretary to SCLC and advisor to SNCC (1960)
 - "Group-centered leaders" not "leader-centered groups"



Fannie Lou Hamer (MFDP) and Ella Baker

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Civil rights as springboard for women's consciousness

- March on Washington (1963)
 - 250,000 attended
 - approx. 50,000 whites
- Mississippi Freedom Summer (1964)
 - 900 volunteers, mostly white college students aid in voter registration and forming Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP)
 - White women constitute 50% of volunteers
- "We didn't come down here to work as maids this summer"
- "Like blacks, women 'seem[ed] to be caught up in a common-law caste system...forcing them to work around or outside hierarchical structures of power which may exclude them."
 - Mary King and Casey Hayden, 1965



Accomplishments: new federal laws and enforcement

- 1964 Civil Rights Act
 - public accommodations, economic discrimination, education integration
 - Outlawed discrimination in employment on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin
- Created Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
- 1965 Voting Rights Act
 - federal registration
 - Outlawed literacy and other discriminatory test



"When blacks had no political voice... some white folks would drive past your house in a pickup truck with guns hanging up on the back and give you hate stares....Those same people now call me Mrs. Hamer."

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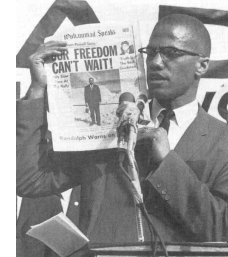
Limits to Goals and Strategies: From Civil Rights to Liberation Movements

- goals
 - legal equality versus persistent social, economic, and cultural inequality
 - fighting segregation in the South versus fighting discrimination in the North
- strategies
 - nonviolence versus armed self-defense
 - interracial organizations versus cultural nationalism and Third World Alliances

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Calls for Black Separatism

- Malcolm X (1925-1965)
 - cultural separatism
 - Nation of Islam (10,000 members)
 - anti-colonial internationalism
 - political independence
 - armed self-defense
- SNCC
 - interracial conflicts between organizers
 - freedom to leave
 - class differences
 - leadership development
 - whose lives and arrests count?
- Racism and colonialism
 - "working with white liberals perpetuated 'a paternalistic, colonial relationship'"
- "This is the twenty-seventh time I have been arrested - I ain't going to jail no more.... We want black power!" Stokely Carmichael (1966)



"all this non-violent, begging-the-white-man kind of dying"

Women and Black Power

- Masculine nationalism
 - “The only position for women in SNCC is prone.”
 - Stokely Carmichael, 1964
- Women’s leadership and activism
 - Party service programs
 - Free breakfast programs, health clinics, etc.
- “black is beautiful”



Huey Newton of the Black Panther Party (founded 1966)

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A Great Society

- “When I was young, poverty was so common that we didn’t know it had a name. An education was something that you had to fight for....It is now my opportunity to help every child get an education, to help every Negro and every American citizen have an equal opportunity to have every family get a decent home, and to help bring healing to the sick and dignity to the old.”
 - President Lyndon B. Johnson, 1965
- “A Great Society, [which] rests on abundance and liberty for all. It demands an end to poverty and racial injustice, to which we are totally committed.”
 - LBJ, 1964
- “An unconditional war on poverty”

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Affirmative Action

- E.O. 11246 (1965)
 - Banned discrimination on the basis of race, religion, and national origin by employers awarded government contracts (1/3 of labor force)
 - required employers to “take affirmative action to ensure equal opportunity”
- “to move beyond opportunity to achievement...[to achieve] not just equality as a right and theory, but equality as fact and as result.”
- required employers to bring composition of labor force into line with available pool of qualified candidates

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War on Poverty

- Aid to Families with Dependent Children
 - Launched by New Deal
 - 3 million to 10 million
- Medicare and Medicaid
 - medical insurance for the elderly under social security
 - health care for welfare recipients
 - paid medical costs for 20% of Americans (1976)
- 75% of social welfare payments went to the nonpoor (e.g. rising physician fees and hospital costs)
- War on Poverty vs. War in Vietnam
- white, middle-class backlash
 - 75% of poor were white and escaped poverty at a faster rate than blacks
 - but racial minorities perceived as recipients of aid
 - “special interest” legislation



- “There was no child we could not feed, no adult we could not put to work, no disease we could not cure, no toy, food or appliance we could not make safe, no air or water we could not clean.”
 - presidential aide

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The Reemergence of Women in Politics

- Women and the Cold War
 - SANE and Women Strike for Peace
 - “End the Arms Race – Not the Human Race”
 - Politicized maternity
- Womanpower needed to win the Cold War
 - Commission on the Status of Women (1961-1963)
 - Need for child care, paid maternity leave, unemployment and minimum-wage benefits for women previously not covered
- Equal Pay Act (1963)
 - Equal wage for equal work



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Women’s rights or liberal feminism


- Betty Friedan’s *Feminine Mystique* (1963)
 - the unhappy housewife
 - “the problem that has no name”
- National Organization for Women (NOW) - 1966
 - “a civil rights organization for women”
 - “The purpose of NOW is to take action to bring women into full participation in the mainstream of American society now, exercising all the privileges and responsibilities thereof in truly equal partnership with men.”
 - 1,000 (1967) to 15,000 (1971)
 - 25% men



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Women's Liberation/ radical feminism

- daughters of the postwar middle class
- Civil Rights, New Left and anti-war movements
 - “Girls say yes to guys who say no”
- Sexual liberation or sexual exploitation in the counterculture?
 - Birth control pill (1960)
- Summer of Love (1967)
 - 20,000 in S.F.
 - 17 murders, > 100 rapes
- “Sisterhood is Powerful”
 - “We need not only separate groups, but a separate movement.”
- “The Personal is Political”
 - “There is no private domain of a person's life that is not political and there is no political issue that is not ultimately personal.”
 - CR groups
 - Naming the Problems



The National Women's Liberation party protested against the Miss America pageant in 1968. The demonstration included a “freedom trash can” into which women threw false eyelashes, hair curlers, brassieres, and girdles, i.e. symbols of female oppression.

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Women's bodies, violence, and health

- Rape
 - Not merely an individual act committed by deviant men motivated by sexual desire
 - Endemic violence against women
 - Rape occurs every 5-6 minutes in present time
 - 1/5 women will experience rape or attempted rape
- Domestic violence
 - 34-1/2 of North American women could expect to experience domestic violence
 - 1/3 of all police calls concern domestic violence
- Child Abuse
 - 90% of adults who report experiencing child abuse are women
 - 7-34% girls
 - 3-29% boys
- *Our Bodies, Our Selves*
- abortion
 - Est. 1/4-1 million illegal abortions during 1940s and 1950s, 40% of all deaths of pregnant women
 - 90% of perinatal pregnancies
 - 1/4 wives had abortions (Kinsey Report, 1953)
- *Roe v. Wade* (1973)
 - reproductive freedom as fundamental right
 - Medically safe abortions until third trimester
 - Federal funds prohibited for use for poor women and parental approval required (1978)

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Homophile Movement

- Kinsey Reports (1948 and 1953)
 - Documented widespread practice of remarital, extramarital, and homosexual intercourse
- Homophile organizations
 - Daughters of Bilitis (DOB) - 1955
 - reduce discrimination in employment, armed forces, social and cultural life
 - Middle-class/professional women

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Gay Liberation and Lesbian Feminism

- Stonewall Riot (1969)
 - Gay bars and police harassment
 - “Say it Loud, Gay is Proud”
- “Lesbianism as the most complete form of female autonomy”
 - “As separatists, we stopped trying to justify our lives to straight society and instead concentrated on ourselves.”
 - the “Lavendar Menace”
 - “Man-hating”

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Socialist-Feminists

- “The establishment will have no problem whatsoever in assimilating [liberal feminists] by meeting their basic demands....In the future we can expect limited and elitist day-care programs,....abortion repeal; an effective end to job discrimination at least on the elite level....All of these programs give the illusion of success while in fact assuring the destruction of any hope for women's liberation.”
 - Marlene Dixon
- “Women's liberation does not mean equality with one...[because] equality in an unjust society is meaningless.”
- Individual vs. collective approach
- Patriarchy vs. class oppression

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Women of Color and Feminism

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| <p>Ms. I got into a thing With someone Because I called her Miss am/hears/rockerfeller/hughes Instead of Ms. I said It was a waste of time Worrying about it. Her lips pressed white Thinning words like pins Pricking me – a victim of sexism. I wanted to Call her what She deserved But knowing it would please her Instead I said,</p> | <p>White lace & satin was never soiled by sexism sheltered as you are by mansions built on Indian land your diamonds shipped with slaves from Africa your underwear washed by Chinese laundries your house cleaned by my grandmother So do not push me any further. And when you quit Killing us For democracy And stop calling ME gook. Whatever you like.</p> |    |
|---|---|---|

Janice Mirikitani

The counterrevolution

- STOP-ERA
 - Stop Taking Our Privileges
 - Women who want to be women
 - Family, Liberty and God
- “God Almighty created men and women biologically different and with different needs and roles.”
 - Jerry Falwell
- “The less time women spend thinking about themselves...the happier they are...women are ordained by nature to spend themselves in meeting the needs of others.”
 - Connie Marshner, antifeminist
- Pro-Life vs. Pro-Choice
- Another version of politicized maternalism



Phyllis Schlafly

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A Selective Glance Forward in Time

- Feminization of poverty
 - ¼ children lived below poverty line in 1990s
 - Up from 1/5 in 1980
 - 70% of adults women
 - Race and single mothers
 - 28.8% white
 - 47.5% blacks
 - 52.2% Latinos
- The Glass Ceiling, Sex Segregation, and the Wage Gap
- The Double Shift
 - Expectations of women in the home
 - “family friendly benefits”
- Women and Political Representation/Activism
 - 13% of Congress, 0% in Senate for women of color (2001)
- Women’s Studies and Women’s History
- The F Word

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