Cycles of Conflict, a Century of Continuity: The Impact of Persistent Place-Based Political Logics on Social Movement Strategy[1]

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The women's liberation movement hotly debated both the cause of women's oppression and the best approach to changing it. When treated as a moment within 1960s political polarization, these debates can seem esoteric and arbitrary. When examined across the longue durée, the debates prove to reflect complex and stable differences in interpretation that were tied to place more than to the political moment. Using a combination of network analysis, computational text analysis, and qualitative interpretation, the author examines women's movement discourses across the first and second waves of activism and between two sites, New York City and Chicago. Place, she finds, serves to capture differences in political logics that generate durable differences within movement discourse.

The U.S. women's liberation movement, the antipatriarchal and anticapitalist branch of the second-wave feminist movement (ca. 1964–79), emerged almost simultaneously in 1967 in Chicago and New York City. Despite being in the same branch of the same movement, activists in these two cities vigorously debated the causes and solutions to women's oppression. As recounted by

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movement participants, Chicago women represented one side of this debate, emphasizing the structural basis of oppression and the fundamental role of (capitalist) institutions in producing and perpetuating inequality. New York City women represented the other side, claiming patriarchy as the fundamental cause of inequality and embodying an approach epitomized by the phrase "the personal is political."

This seemingly esoteric and idiosyncratic debate is mentioned with interest by scholars, most often referenced alongside similar political debates happening in the new left, civil rights, and antiwar movements. When examined as intellectual trends within one movement cycle, these political debates can indeed appear relatively arbitrary. We know, however, that social movements tend to reoccur in sites already activated before the current generation was there (Van Dyke 1998; Greve and Rao 2012), and we know that *places*, defined as the political, cultural, and social environment embodied in recognizable and namable localities, have distinct and durable cultures and organizational and political logics of their own (Molotch, Freudenburg, and Paulsen 2000; Lounsbury 2007). If these debates are examined over the longue durée, they may potentially reveal more complex, coherent, and stable foundations rooted in these durable local cultural and political traditions.

Using the long arch of the U.S. women's movement as a case study, I explore the possibility that political logics embedded within place contributed to stable patterns across social movement waves. The regional contours of the debate within the women's liberation movement, I argue, captured local organizing traditions that were established much earlier than the 1960s generation, going as far back as the founding of the first wave of the women's movement in 1840s. By expanding the comparative lens to include both time (movement waves) and place (Chicago and New York City), I show that the ideological differences within the second-wave movement were both more complex and more stable than previously acknowledged and, crucially, that these differences are more aptly captured by place, not the political moment. These persistent differences within the women's movement were, I argue, rooted in the different urban characters defining early New York City and Chicago. The avant-garde and Bohemian spirit characterizing New York City at the turn of the 20th century coincided with social movements pursuing individualist and abstract political goals, while the revolutionary and collectivist spirit characterizing Chicago coincided with movements pursuing institutional and concrete goals. In short, place, I find, has a consolidating and stabilizing effect on organizational logics, leading to durable differences in mobilization and movement discourse.

Explaining the origins of this political debate is not only an interesting historical puzzle; the answer illustrates how social movements make use of the past while they adapt to the present. Research has shown that, on the one hand, as society changes social movements strategically adapt to the present

in order to remain effective (Tilly and Tarrow 2015), reflected in changing opportunities for support (Ferguson, Dudley, and Soule 2018) and changes in tactics (Wang and Soule 2012), frames (Meyer and Whittier 1994), and strategies. On the other hand, where social structures persist, the underlying structure of social movements also persist, producing durable social movement configurations via sustained patterns of thought embedded in institutional practices (Molotch et al. 2000; Greve and Rao 2012). Treating these as complementary dynamics, I provide a detailed empirical narrative demonstrating how these two processes interact: the political and organizing traditions embedded in place serve to anchor emerging tactics and frames in a stable and coherent organizing logic, contributing to enduring social movement configurations.

Confirming existing historical accounts of the women's movement, I find that specific issues, frames, and tactics within this movement thoroughly changed over time. But despite intervening transformative historical events, I also find there was a stable core to this movement that reflected distinctive features of place. This core represents stable political logics (Armstrong 2002) deeply embedded in each city. I introduce the concept of *persistent place-based political logics* to capture the mesolevel of organizational history shaping the discursive configurations of social movements. The influential women's movement organizations in Chicago in both the first and second waves followed a strategy I call *policy-oriented community organizing*, in which they fought to win policy reforms to address the concrete needs of the community. The influential women's movement organizations in New York City, again in both the first and second waves, followed an alternative strategy I call *narrative-based consciousness-raising*, in which they leveraged personal narratives to raise awareness about the social causes of women's oppression and to change society by mobilizing this awareness.

These findings challenge existing historical accounts that characterize the differences within the women's movement using categories such as liberal versus radical, reform versus revolution, and top down versus grass roots. The complex and stable core I find is a less abstract and more compelling set of premises for how and why activists organized as they did. Additionally, historians and women's movement activists themselves have claimed that three features differentiated second-wave from first-wave feminism: transforming social and cultural structures in addition to political structures, framing personal problems as political problems, and using consciousness-raising as a political tactic (e.g., Evans 1980; Rosen 2000). I instead find that this triad existed in almost identical form during the first wave, and in both eras, they characterized ways of understanding the political world in New York City.

My findings are based on extensive archival data analyzed with multiple complementary methods. I first used network analysis techniques to map

organizational influence across 77 women's movement organizations to find structurally comparable organizations. I then used computational text analysis techniques to identify both temporal and regional linguistic patterns across the text produced by these organizations, interpreting these patterns through further deep reading of the text to uncover the discursive patterns detailed above. This article thus contributes new approaches to historical analysis by combining computational methods with case-specific expertise to generate and test new historical and theoretical insights.

WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS ACROSS THE WAVES

The wave metaphor, first publicized by journalist Martha Weinman Lear in 1968 (Lear 1968) and further formalized by women's movement activist Ellen DuBois in 1971 (DuBois 1971), remains the most influential heuristic used to describe the historical trajectory of the U.S. women's movement. While collective action around women's rights goes back centuries, the beginning of the first wave of the movement is typically marked by the 1848 Seneca Falls Convention. The woman suffrage movement, as it came to be known, reached its height in the 1910s and culminated in 1920, when the Nineteenth Amendment was fully ratified by Congress.

While the first wave is popularly known for its suffrage organizing, women's rights activities during the first wave went far beyond this one issue. Many different approaches to women's rights activity existed during this period, both competing and complementary. Social justice feminists, or what some call the municipal or social housekeeping movement (Buechler 1990; Sklar, Schüler, and Strasser 1998), organized through political and cultural women's clubs and settlement houses. These groups advocated for Progressive Era municipal reforms important to women, for example, those around education, sanitation, and health and family planning. Liberal feminists, active through large organizations such as the National American Woman Suffrage Association and the National Woman's Party, focused on winning legal, political, and economic equality for women in the public sphere, including equal pay, access to property rights, and access to education and the professions. Labor feminists, such as those in the Women's Trade Union League and the National Consumers' League, fought to ease the double burden on working-class women through protective labor laws and equal representation in unions (Milkman 1985; Tax 2000; Cobble 2005). The women's wing of the Socialist Party and feminist organizations such as Heterodoxy alternatively believed only a revolutionary transformation of society would lead to gender (at the time called sex) equality, and they fought for a more fundamental restructuring of social, political, and economic rights.

While the period between 1920, the end of the first wave, and the 1950s has been referred to as the doldrums (Taylor 1989), women's movement

activity continued during this period through movement organizations such as the National Woman's Party and the League of Women Voters, via government agencies involved in the New Deal (Storrs 2013), and through union activism (Cobble 2005), among other activities. The beginning of the second wave is typically marked by the publication of *The Feminine Mystique* by Betty Friedan in 1964. Second-wave mobilization took two forms, with the National Organization for Women (NOW) and other large, nationally oriented groups forming alongside the local, smaller, more radical anticapitalist and antipatriarchal women's liberation organizations. Second-wave activism peaked in the late 1970s, with the failed attempt to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment in 1979 taken to mark the end of this wave. As in the first wave, the second-wave groups took multiple different approaches, but the early moments are seen as divided primarily between liberal feminists organized around NOW and other policy-centered national organizations, and women's liberationists organized in smaller, locally oriented groups (Ferree and Hess 2000).

The women who were involved in the women's liberation wing came of age in the charged political environment of the 1960s. Shaped by and shaping the broader new left, they founded their own organizations starting around 1967, quickly becoming a national phenomenon. The division shaping the early moments of this movement was between politicos and radical feminists, with the former more strongly tied to the new left belief that women's issues should be part of the general struggle against capitalism. While many radical feminists were also anticapitalist, they identified patriarchy rather than capitalism as the primary root of women's oppression. These two approaches were recognized at the time as feminist camps that hotly debated how to understand the causes and consequences of women's oppression, how to frame the movement, and their overall change strategy.

Chicago was home to one of the main politico organizations, the Chicago Women's Liberation Union (CWLU), while New York City was home to the earliest and most well-known radical feminist organizations, including New York Radical Women (NYRW), Redstockings, and New York Radical Feminists. Contemporary participants often defined the politico/feminist debate in geographic terms, as a debate between Chicago feminists and New York City feminists ("Chicago Women's Liberation Union Papers," n.d., Chicago Historical Society; Echols 1989; Rosen 2000). The geographic boundaries of this debate, I argue, are crucial to understanding the discursive configurations of these political differences, but this dimension has largely been ignored by scholars. A brief history of the political and organizational logics contained within Chicago and New York City suggests how historical political and social developments of place may help explain the discursive configuration of the politico/feminist debate during the second-wave movement, decades later.

THE POWER OF PLACE

From 1890 to 1970 New York City was the largest U.S. metro area, and Chicago ranked just below, giving Chicago its "second city" nickname. As reported by the U.S. census, during these years each city had a similar percentage of workers in manufacturing and in professional occupations and a similar proportion of women employed. Their ethnic makeup was also largely similar. In 1900 both New York City and Chicago had a predominantly first- or second-generation population; only 26% of residents had parents who were born in the United States. In 1940, long after immigration from Europe stalled, the cities had similar racial makeups: 92% and 94% white in Chicago and New York City, respectively.

Both New York City and Chicago also have similar histories of political machine Democratic parties. Tammany Hall controlled the New York City government from the 1850s through the 1950s (Allen 1993; Burrows and Wallace 1999), while the Cook County Democratic Party, one of the most powerful political machines in U.S. history, controlled the Chicago government from the 1890s through at least the 1980s (Royko 1988). Both cities are additionally well known for their progressive and radical activism (Storch 2007) and for their countercultural activities throughout the 19th and 20th centuries (Wetzsteon 2002; Rosemont 2003).

Despite these broad similarities, New York City and Chicago developed remarkably different political characters as they formed into major urban centers. New York City became known as America's *bohemia*, attracting avant-garde artists, writers, and revolutionaries to Greenwich Village. In the mid to late 1800s, "The Village" inaugurated a distinct individualized style of politics, claiming that a combination of new artistic, literary, and cultural styles and a political mix of Freud and Marx would create more advanced individuals, who would then spearhead positive social change (Wetzsteon 2002). As New York City was becoming the progressive cultural and artistic capital of the United States, Chicago was becoming its anarchist and socialist capital, attracting individuals, groups, and a press that advocated for revolutionary politics focused on changing institutions. By the 1860s Chicago was, according to labor intellectual Joe Gruenhut, a "working class democracy, the like of which had never existed before" (quoted in Schneirov 1998, p. 139). These differences persisted into the mid-20th century, illustrated by New York City becoming home to the emerging Beats movement and Chicago to Saul Alinsky's version of community activism.

These differences in character extended to the first-wave women's movement. While the women's movements in Chicago and New York City shared large and thriving branches of the major social justice, liberal, and labor organizations of the period, the differences between these cities were also striking. The early women's movement in Chicago was the center of community,

women's rights, and at key moments, interracial organizing (Flanagan 2002). In 1888, 25 women's reform organizations came together to form the interracial Illinois Women's Alliance, one of the first to prioritize the interests of working women. This emphasis on labor and race was repeated across other women's reform organizations there, including the Women's National Committee of the Socialist Party, led by Chicago resident Mary Wood-Simons, and the Political Equality League, another early interracial women's organization (Buechler 1986).

New York City was also home to many influential working-class and socialist organizations—the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union was, for example, founded in New York City in 1900—but it also made its mark as the location of the first self-proclaimed feminists and feminist organizations in the United States (Cott 1987). Heterodoxy, founded in 1912, was the earliest and largest first-wave feminist organization. With a membership list in the one hundreds and lasting well into the 1940s, it was one of the largest and longest lasting of any Progressive Era organization. Members of Heterodoxy were involved in virtually all the issues of the time, including movements for suffrage, birth control, and equality under the law. Their main action, however, was to promote feminist consciousness through their closed-door meetings, sharing stories and readings to cultivate an alternative society away from the power of men (Schwarz 1982). The Feminist Alliance, a second Greenwich Village feminist organization founded in 1914, was focused on professional women. They convinced all the leading law and medical schools in the area to admit women and almost succeeded in building a feminist-inspired communal apartment complex to enable women to be mothers and to work (Wetzsteon 2002).

The history of New York City and Chicago as I tell it here is meant to provoke a question: Can the geographic differences noted by participants of second-wave feminism be explained by the enduring political cultures of the two cities? Were the organizational choices and discourses that so divided the early moments of the women's liberation movement rooted in these long-standing logics of social change? By comparing the women's movement in the first and second waves and in both cities, I offer methodological and theoretical tools for identifying what I call place-based political logics and describing how these logics shape movement strategy, including discourse and practice.

CYCLES OF CONTENTION AND ROLLING INERTIA

Researchers point to both temporal cycles and a rolling inertia as characteristic of social movements. Social movements interact with larger structures of political and cultural power that inevitably shift over time, providing

more or less open opportunity structures for their action (Tilly and Tarrow 2015). *Cycles of contention* result from these changing political and discursive opportunity structures (Tarrow 1994). When political regimes open, social movement activity accelerates. As multiple movements interact with the same institutions and power structures, and as they directly borrow claims and repertoires from other contemporary movements, a spillover effect ensues (Meyer and Whittier 1994; Ferguson et al. 2018). Multiple movements develop similar types of strategies and tactics that reinforce each other, producing movement cycles.

Within these cycles, however, there also exist important regional variations (Hellman 1987; Ray 1999; Enke 2007; Guenther 2010). Once differences between cities or other local units become established, through political events, the founding of organizations, or cultural developments, these differences tend to persist over time, shaping movements long after the initial event or movement has waned (Greve and Rao 2012). This "rolling inertia" (Molotch et al. 2000, p. 816) happens via institutionalization through organizational forms and networked relations (Saxenian 1996), explicit stories of successful political action passed from one generation of activists to the next (Molotch et al. 2000), and the general endurance of systems of thought through texts and discourse (Haydu 1998).

When viewed as complementary rather than competing, these two accounts of social movement trajectories suggest a temporal model that mixes strategic reactions to changing social structures in the form of new issues and tactics, with a coherent and stable core identity exhibited through enduring diagnoses and discourses rooted in a specific place. I use the U.S. women's movement as a case study to empirically identify how place emerges not just as a geographic site but as an analytic category that captures the persistent parts of identities and discourses. To analyze this movement over a long historical period, in a way that can systematically compare both time and place, I employ a mix of network analysis, computational text analysis, and qualitative and interpretative methods.

ANALYTIC APPROACH

I hypothesized that place-based political logics anchor social movements, contributing to durable discursive configurations. To test this hypothesis my analysis proceeded in four steps: I (1) used network analysis to identify structurally comparable organizations from each place-time local social movement sector, (2) collected and digitized a corpus of the public-facing literature produced by the comparable organizations, (3) used quantitative methods to distinguish the distinctive and shared linguistic features of the claims-making discourse in this literature, and (4) did a qualitative deep

dive into the literature to test whether these features corresponded to practical differences in political approach—that is, to the form, function, and strategic direction of these organizations.

One lens for characterizing social movements is via the claims-making work that they do politically. Claims making refers to the process of performing or articulating claims that bear on the interests of a group of people. Encompassing a broader array of social movement processes compared to the similar concept of *frames*, claims making includes the content of the claim being made (political, social, or otherwise), the target of the claim (a specific target such as city government, or a more general institutional target such as social norms) and the way the claim is publicly staged (public protests, statements and press releases, direct actions, etc.; Lindekilde 2013). Claims are often conveyed via printed text produced by social movement organizations, providing concrete data to measure these claims. These claims may be distinctive to a particular organization, or they may provide a common discourse across multiple organizations. While it is not the only way to measure social movements, I used claims making as a way to concretely operationalize women's movement discourse and practice across the first and second waves.

In both waves of organizing, the U.S. women's movement had many competing organizations that invoked different ideological premises and offered a variety of types of claims making. The choice of which organizations to compare is thus methodologically significant. Rather than compare ideologically similar organizations, which may over- or understate the importance of that organization to the local social movement sector, I used quantitative network analysis to identify the most structurally influential organizations in each city for each time period.

Using the public-facing text produced by these influential organizations as data, I then used a computational grounded theory approach (Nelson 2020) to compare claims making across cities and waves. Computational grounded theory combines the capability of computers to extract patterns across large bodies of text with the ability of humans to interpret discursive patterns and contextualize them with rich narrative detail. This framework includes multiple complementary methods: computational methods to inductively identify patterns in the data, qualitative methods to contextualize and refine those patterns, and quantitative methods to confirm those patterns. This approach allows for patterns to emerge from large amounts of text without losing the historical details and context crucial for comparative analyses.

MAPPING THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT: IDENTIFYING STRUCTURALLY COMPARABLE CASES

I began my analysis by treating each place-time combination as a local movement sector, including all organizations that, in the aggregate, constituted

the recognized women's movement in each city separately in the first wave (1865–1920) and the second wave (1964–79; DiMaggio and Powell 1983, pp. 148–49). Through an extensive search of both primary and secondary historical material on women's movements (app. A provides a complete list of archives consulted), I identified every organization I could find within the movement in New York City and Chicago in the first and second waves that met the qualitative criteria of being a social justice, liberal, labor, or radical women's movement organization as described in the literature and for which there existed primary archival material documenting their members and activities (app. B provides a complete list). I then calculated the network structure of each of the four place-time sectors by recording a tie between organizations if they shared members any time during their existence, using membership lists and by reading through primary and secondary documents for mentions of members.[2] This produced four adjacency matrices, two containing all ties between the organizations active in the first wave in Chicago and New York City, respectively, and two containing all ties between organizations active in the second wave in the two cities.

I used eigenvector centrality, a common measure of influence in a network (Bonacich 1987), to determine which organizations were the most influential in each city and period. Unlike betweenness centrality, which identifies organizations that connect to groups of organizations that are otherwise unconnected (e.g., bridging ties), eigenvector centrality measures both the number of ties an organization has as well as the importance of the organizations linked via that tie. I assumed membership in an organization indicated that the activists wanted their names publicly associated with that organization or that they were active in the organization and thus directly shaped its activities and ideas. In this context, eigenvector centrality measures which organizations had the greatest number of shared members with other important organizations, indicating a level of prestige and influence among those involved in the women's movement field in that city.

The eigenvector centrality measure indicated one organization as most influential in each of the four adjacency matrices: Hull House in Chicago and Heterodoxy in New York City in the first wave and the CWLU in Chicago and Redstockings in New York City in the second wave (see table B1 for the full data of this measure and figs. B1–B4 for the resulting visual network graphs). Importantly, I do not claim that these four core organizations are representative of the full range of claims-making strategies within this movement. These four organizations represent the most quantifiably

[2] Much of the secondary literature on this movement lists the organizations individuals were involved in and the key people involved in each organization, enabling me to construct robust membership lists even when they were not published by the organizations.

influential comparable cases in these two cities and two periods, and in themselves they suggest differences in what types of organizations were important to those involved in these movement sectors. Fortuitously, and, partially resulting from historical patterns of race and ethnic segregation and discrimination within the women's movement, my own archival research as well as my reading of secondary sources indicate that these four core organizations had similar membership demographics: members were largely white and middle class, and when the members had jobs, they most often were professionals.

BRIEF ORGANIZATIONAL HISTORIES

The histories of each of these organizations verify their importance to both the women's movement and the very political fabric of the United States. Founded in Chicago in 1889 by Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr, Hull House was a settlement house open to recently arrived European immigrants. Hull House was a part service, part activist, and part lobbying organization. The significance of Hull House to the political scene in Chicago and the nation is difficult to overstate. Hull House as an organization and the individual women and men who were members were at the forefront of most community initiatives and policy reforms for which Chicago became nationally known, including the notion of a universal right to a childhood, after-school childcare, home health care for mothers and children, domestic violence shelters, the campaign for birth control and family planning services, and, of course, suffrage. Prominent members included Florence Kelley, who helped found the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the League of Women Voters, and Frances Perkins, who became the U.S. Secretary of Labor from 1933 to 1945.

Heterodoxy was one of the largest and most important feminist organizations during the first wave. Founded by 25 "unorthodox women" in Greenwich Village, it was a group for "women who did things and did them openly" (Luhan 1985, p. 144). The membership list quickly expanded to over 100 and included many influential early 20th-century progressive women.[3] Heterodoxy primarily existed as an emotional and political support group for women who were economically and sexually independent. Heterodoxy took seriously the role of women's personal experience to theorize about society, and through the organization women sought to define their own sexual nature apart from the dominant norm of the heterosexual, monogamous,

[3] Prominent members include the physician Sarah Josephine Baker, the socialist lawyer Crystal Eastman, the playwright Susan Glaspell, the suffragist and labor lawyer Inez Milholland (the famous woman in white leading the suffrage parades), and the labor activist Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. There are rumors that Eleanor Roosevelt attended Heterodoxy meetings.

married couple. Heterodoxy additionally supported its members as they fought for reforms that would allow them to achieve sexual freedom: the right to family planning, pensions for mothers, maternity insurance, and a change to New York State laws that prohibited married or pregnant women from working in certain professions. Unlike many Progressive Era left organizations that collapsed during World War I and the subsequent first Red Scare, Heterodoxy lasted well into the 1940s.

Existing from 1969 to 1977 in Chicago, CWLU is considered one of the first, largest, 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, p. 136). Like Hull House, CWLU was a part educational, part activist, and part service organization. Members provided abortion counseling, staffed a health clinic, and ran a legal clinic and a rape crisis hotline. They also worked on a variety of political and social issues, including protesting at the Playboy mansion in Chicago, participating in antiwar actions, and lobbying the city government for equal pay and to provide all Chicagoans free childcare. They also started the popularly attended Liberation School, holding classes on politics, theory, and practical activities such as self-defense and car repair, and, rounding out their activities, they had their own rock band and graphics collective.

Also founded in 1969 but in New York City, Redstockings (a splinter from NYRW) was a nationally known radical feminist organization. The structure of Redstockings can best be described as small, intimate, and difficult to find. While they participated in larger, public actions—most notably a protest against the Miss America contest in 1968 (when Redstockings was called New York Radical Women) and public abortion speak-outs—their main tactic was consciousness-raising or "rap" sessions. During these long sessions, small groups of women would meet to talk about their personal experiences with beauty standards, sex with men, sex with women, working as mothers, and so on, with a goal to study "the whole gamut of women's lives" (Sarachild 1978, p. 145). Redstockings played a major role in popularizing the phrases "consciousness-raising" and "the personal is political," encouraging thousands, if not millions of women to question their role in society, in the home, and in personal relationships.

CLAIMS-MAKING LITERATURE

To analyze claims making by these four organizations I collected the literature each organization produced to convey its activities and ideas to the general public. Organizations typically (but not always) present their political arguments, ideas, and activities to their constituents through public-facing

literature, often in the form of newsletters, bulletins, journals, or magazines. The content of this literature is one way movement claims are publicly staged, but this literature also describes in detail an organization's claims-making repertoire.

In the first-wave women's movement, Chicago-based Hull House regularly maintained an outreach publication that began in 1897 as the Hull House *Bulletin*, which was published up to 12 times per year. In 1906 the publication changed its name to the Hull House *Year Book*, which was 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 of Hull House. New York City–based Heterodoxy did not publish any official literature. 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. A sizable proportion of the women who wrote for the *Masses* were members of Heterodoxy.[4] The *Masses* was closer to a Heterodoxy publication than anything else in New York City, and the feminist articles in this magazine were a direct reflection of the feminist ideas that were developed through Heterodoxy. The data for Heterodoxy, then, consisted of the articles focusing on women's issues in the publication the *Masses*.[5]

In the second-wave women's movement, Chicago-based CWLU and the New York City–based Redstockings regularly produced publications for public consumption. CWLU started publishing a journal called *Womankind* in 1971 as a monthly outreach publication, in which they detailed their activities and published political analyses. NYRW/Redstockings published three collections that presented different activities, political ideas, and ideological positions within the radical feminist movement in New York City: *Notes from the First Year* in 1968, *Notes from the Second Year* in 1970, and *Feminist Revolution* in 1975. *Feminist Revolution* consisted of a collection of articles written by radical feminists between 1973 and 1975.[6]

[4] Heterodoxy authors include Louise Bryant, Mabel Dodge Luhan, Inez Milholland, Crystal Eastman, Alice Duer Miller, Elsie Clews Parsons, Grace Potter, and Mary Heaton Vorse. Heterodoxy never published a membership list, so it is possible that all of the women who wrote for the *Masses* were also members of Heterodoxy, given the close relationship between the magazine and the feminist organization.

[5] These articles included those listed under the "women" and "feminism" tabs in the *Masses* subject index (Watts 2000), but I also browsed through all the articles myself to find relevant articles. See app. C for a list of the articles from the *Masses* included in the analysis.

[6] One article, "The Personal Is Political," was published in both *Notes from the Second Year* and *Feminist Revolution*. I only included the article once. *Notes from the Second Year* contained a section with the manifestos of a number of women's organizations. I did not include this section as the writing was from other organizations. See app. C for a complete list of articles included from these publications in the analysis.

TABLE 1
Summary of Corpus

City/Organization	Wave	Publication	Years	Word Count	Page Count	Article Count
Chicago:						
Hull House	First	*Bulletin/Year Book*	1900–1917	200,747	357	~56*
CWLU	Second	*Womankind*	1971–73	303,306	364	. . .†
New York City:						
Heterodoxy	First	*Masses*	1911–17	70,393	78	67‡
Redstockings . . .	Second	*Notes from the First Year*, *Notes from the Second Year*, and *Feminist Revolution*	1968–75	264,248	332	76‡

* Hull House did not publish a table of contents or an index, so I calculated the approximate number of articles by multiplying the number of articles in one issue by the number of issues included in the analysis.

† *Womankind* did not produce a table of contents or an index, and it was difficult to distinguish what counted as a distinct article.

‡ See app. C for a list of articles.

Table 1 summarizes my complete corpus, composed of 12 *Bulletins/Year Books* published by Hull House between 1900 and 1917, 67 articles that dealt with women's issues from the *Masses* spanning the years 1911–17 (see app. C for a complete list), all of the issues of *Womankind* published by CWLU from 1971 to 1973, and 76 articles from *Notes from the First Year*, *Notes from the Second Year*, and *Feminist Revolution* published by Redstockings between 1968 and 1975 (see app. C for a complete list).[7] I treated each page from each publication as one "document."[8] My corpus consisted of these documents and the associated metadata for each: publication name, date of publication, city of publication, and organization.

I used the claims making conveyed in this corpus to operationalize discursive and organizational configurations (i.e., form, actions, and strategies) and the computational grounded theory approach to identify patterns within

[7] I collected *Bulletins* and *Year Books* from the Hull House collection at the University of Illinois at Chicago Special Collections. This archive had a limited number of the *Bulletins/Year Books*. 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. Given the repetitive nature of this publication, it is unlikely that adding additional bulletins would have changed the results, although this could easily be tested if the data were available.

[8] Delineating each page as one document ensured that each document was close to the same length, necessary for topic modeling algorithms. I converted scanned copies or digital photos of each page into text using the free optical character recognition software Tesseract, which has a 98% accuracy rate. I then corrected the output by hand, achieving 100% accuracy.

and across this literature. Table 2 summarizes my findings described and elaborated on below. In short, I found that the two cities had distinct linguistic configurations, with Chicago organizations using more concrete and specific words, and distinct discursive configurations, with Chicago organizations seeking change through concrete reforms within city and state institutions while New York City organizations sought to change individual hearts and minds. These two approaches, I claim, represent distinct place-based political logics that capture durable differences within the women's movement across the waves.

SHARED LINGUISTIC CONFIGURATIONS

To identify distinct and shared linguistic features across this corpus, I used two statistical methods to extract lists of words that are indicative of each organization's literature: (1) a difference of proportions calculation and (2) a topic modeling algorithm (see app. D for details). The difference of proportions calculation indicates the words that are most distinctive to one organization compared to another; I did four pairwise comparisons, comparing the two cities within each wave and the two waves within each city. To examine common themes across this literature, I used structural topic modeling (STM), a probabilistic topic model that measures the co-occurrence of words within documents to estimate common topics or themes across a corpus (Roberts et al. 2014). Unlike latent Dirichlet allocation, another popular topic modeling algorithm, STM allows document-level covariates as input to improve the coherence of the topics or themes; I used the publishing organization as a document-level covariate. Unlike clustering algorithms that cluster text into mutually exclusive groups, STM allows each document to be composed of multiple themes and is thus better suited for longer documents such as these.

STM simultaneously estimates topics, with each topic represented as a distribution over weighted words, and classifies documents into those topics, with each document represented as a distribution over weighted topics. The output of STM is thus both a coherent list of potentially thematic words in sets of text and a topic weight, calculated as the association of each document with each theme. Like the difference of proportions analysis, the lists of words suggest insightful linguistic patterns in the corpus. Translating these patterns into meaningful discursive configurations requires close interpretation of the texts as wholes. The topic weights for each document enabled the targeted, qualitative close reading I used to identify such discursive configurations.

QUANTITATIVE RESULTS

Starting with the difference of proportions analysis, the two within-city but across-wave comparisons (Hull House vs. CWLU and Heterodoxy vs.

TABLE 2
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

City/Organization	Difference of Proportions	STM	In Their Own Words	Concreteness/ Specificity Scores (Pattern 1)	Qualitative Analysis	Named Entity Recognition (Pattern 2)	Political Logic
Chicago:							
Hull House (first wave)	Concrete and specific words, e.g., club, school, children, boy	Concrete and specific topics, e.g., public institutions	"Abstract minds at length yield to the inevitable or at least grow less ardent in their propaganda," while the "concrete minds [at Hull House], dealing constantly with daily affairs, in the end demonstrate the reality of abstract notions."*	Higher	Documents outline the concrete material needs of the community and detail practical solutions to meet those needs, including policy change	Documents mention more organizations (5,567) than persons (3,371)	Policy-oriented community organizing: social change happens through institutions, and it is achieved through short-term goals around particular issues that win concrete changes that affect women's lives
CWLU (second wave)	Concrete and specific words, e.g., center, children, school, hospital	Concrete and specific topics, e.g., childcare	"With 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."†				

New York City:							
Heterodoxy (first wave)	Abstract and general words, e.g., will, thing, know, life	Abstract and general topics, e.g., women's lives	"Feminism means more than a changed world. It means a changed psychology, the creation of a new consciousness in women."[‡]	Lower	Authors use stories and narratives to raise awareness about the causes and consequences of women's oppression	Documents mention more persons (2,776) than organizations (1,799)	Narrative-based consciousness-raising: social change happens through individuals, and it is achieved through building solidarity based on generalizing the experiences of individual women and mobilizing individual consciousness through abstracting from these experiences to make claims about social structures
Redstockings (second wave)	Abstract and general words, e.g., movement, radical, oppression, consciousness	Abstract and general topics, e.g., movement theory	"Our chief task at present is to develop female class consciousness through sharing experience and publicly exposing the sexist foundation of all our institutions."[§]				

[*] Addams 1910, p. 194.
[†] Chicago Women's Liberation Union Hyde Park Chapter 1972, p. 10.
[‡] Howe 1914, p. 29.
[§] Redstockings 1969.

Redstockings) are presented in table 3 columns 1–4, which list the top 40 words that are distinctive between these organizations in each pair. Columns 5–8 show the two within-wave but across-city comparisons (Hull House vs. Heterodoxy and CWLU vs. Redstockings).

Comparing within as well as across the panels, the lists show similarities across time in each city that suggest a difference in the level of abstraction the activists emphasized. The words distinct to Hull House in Chicago during the first wave, such as *club*, *school*, *members*, and *classes* (table 3 col. 5), indicate concrete entities—things that can be experienced through the senses. The words distinct to Heterodoxy in New York City during the first wave, such as *know*, *life*, *think*, and *right* (col. 6), indicate abstract ideas and concepts—things that cannot be directly experienced through the senses. Similarly, the words distinct to CWLU, such as *children*, *union*, *vietnam*, and *school* (col. 7), are mostly concrete entities, compared to the abstract concepts indicated by the words distinct to Redstockings, such as *radical*, *feminist*, *history*, and *oppression* (col. 8). These word lists thus suggest a linguistic pattern: the words distinguishing both Chicago organizations from their New York City counterparts are more specific and concrete, while the words distinguishing both of the New York City organizations from their Chicago counterparts are more general and abstract.

Turning to the STM, table 4 displays the three most prevalent topics for each organization, the percentage of words from the full text produced by that organization aligned with each of these topics, and the top-weighted words by topic (see app. D for details).[9] The most prevalent topics for Heterodoxy were what I labeled Sanger and Birth Control (24% of the total words from the Heterodoxy literature were aligned with this topic), Women's Lives (12%), and Women's Resistance (9%).[10] For Hull House, the most frequent topics were Social Activities (23%), Public Institutions (22%), and Hull House Practical Activities (16%). The frequent topics for Redstockings were Forms of Resistance (9%), Movement History (9%), and Movement Theory (7%). The top topics for CWLU were Antiwar (9%), Liberation School (8%), and Childcare (7%). The top-weighted words for these topics suggest a similar pattern uncovered using the difference of proportions analysis: the topics in Chicago, as well as the top-weighted words, are specific and concrete (e.g., Public Institutions and Childcare), while the topics

[9] As is common practice, the topics were labeled by me by examining the top-weighted words and reading the top-weighted documents per topic (see app. E for excerpts from the two top-weighted documents for the topics examined below).

[10] Thus, close to a quarter of the words produced by Heterodoxy and included in this analysis are about, or connected to, the topic of birth control.

and top-weighted words from New York City organizations are general and abstract (e.g., Women's Lives and Movement Theory).[11]

The results from the difference of proportions analysis and the STM suggest a linguistic pattern across this corpus.

PATTERN 1.—*The two Chicago organizations focused on concrete and particular issues and solutions, while the two New York City organizations focused on more abstract and general issues and solutions.*

Two additional computational techniques confirm this pattern is not an artifact of the two methods I used above. To directly measure the concreteness of the language used by these four organizations I used a crowd-sourced database that contains an averaged human-rated concreteness score for close to 40,000 English lemmas (Brysbaert, Warriner, and Kuperman 2014). To measure the specificity of the language, I used the lexical resource WordNet (Fellbaum 1998). Among other things, WordNet organizes English nouns and verbs hierarchically through the "type-of" relationship—hypernyms and hyponyms. I calculated the number of hypernyms for each noun and verb in the text that was also mapped in WordNet; the more hypernyms a word has, the more specific it is (see app. D for details on both of these methods).[12]

Table 5 shows statistics comparing the concreteness and specificity calculations for the first wave (the concatenated Hull House and Heterodoxy literature) compared to the second wave (the concatenated CWLU and Redstockings literature) and for Chicago (the concatenated Hull House and CWLU literature) compared to New York City (the concatenated Heterodoxy and Redstockings literature). These results confirm that the two Chicago organizations were significantly more concrete and specific compared to the two New York City organizations, and while the second wave was more abstract and general compared to the first wave, this difference was much smaller than the difference between the two cities.

As a baseline comparison, separately for the concreteness and specificity measure, I constructed four fictive random organizations with the same number of mapped words produced by the real organizations (words that were mapped to the concreteness dictionary or WordNet, for the respective calculations), repeating this 1,000 times. These fictive organizations represent the

[11] The most prevalent topic in the Heterodoxy literature was Sanger and Birth Control, a seemingly concrete topic. The *Masses* provided extensive coverage of the arrest of Margaret Sanger and her husband and the ensuing court cases. Despite this one prevalent and seemingly concrete topic, the Heterodoxy literature still proves to be more abstract, providing more evidence to my overall claim. Many of the articles that focused on birth control did so by providing narratives about individual experiences with birth control, which fits into the narrative-based consciousness-raising theme in New York City.

[12] For example, a chair is a type of seat, which is a type of furniture, which is a type of furnishing, and so on.

TABLE 3

Forty Most Distinctive Words in Four Pairwise Difference of Proportions Calculations, by Place and Time

Chicago		New York City		First Wave		Second Wave	
Hull House (1)	CWLU (2)	Heterodoxy (3)	Redstockings (4)	Hull House (5)	Heterodoxy (6)	CWLU (7)	Redstockings (8)
club	women	will	women	club	will	chicago	movement
miss	can	sanger	movement	miss	woman	work	women
year	get	home	liber	year	man	center	men
class	will	life	group	school	women	children	male
given	liber	man	male	given	thing	union	radic
member	peopl	littl	men	member	can	school	feminist
mrs	center	law	radic	chicago	know	day	polit
hous	right	day	feminist	class	like	nixon	oppress
play	like	woman	oppress	meet	say	peopl	femal
resid	way	busi	polit	hous	get	offic	group
boy	work	mrs	femal	play	sanger	vietnam	woman
meet	thing	great	power	children	life	citi	love
school	woman	world	feel	resid	world	cwlu	histori
social	chang	thing	histori	room	said	year	liber
room	call	shall	black	boy	think	rape	power
present	dont	children	organ	present	just	govern	person
italian	union	birth	action	held	men	will	femin
held	make	upon	even	italian	way	hospit	revolut
danc	just	wife	abort	build	dont	health	conscious

associ	know	well	issu	danc	littl	abort	action
larg	see	last	sexual	mrs	home	help	sexual
build	feel	everi	person	even	law	war	class
summer	tri	good	job	organ	take	vietnames	theori
greek	war	give	peopl	work	sex	legal	thai
entertain	govern	public	experi	social	right	care	man
attend	must	hand	problem	two	make	home	must
lectur	say	pamphlet	first	mani	must	pay	even
music	control	year	also	attend	never	mother	human
children	men	old	realli	parti	now	medic	realli
various	take	know	chang	number	one	two	left
neighborhood	support	inform	femin	music	mass	call	individu
parti	worker	suffrag	conscious	associ	good	worker	bitch
public	problem	take	revolut	open	mean	month	organ
interest	legal	come	system	entertain	human	car	orgasm
two	doctor	mass	class	summer	believ	get	idea
street	live	matter	theori	citi	love	south	social
made	need	henri	use	various	come	american	role
director	help	case	real	director	see	doctor	issu
dramat	black	birthcontrol	must	committe	busi	clinic	psycholog
hall	fight	arrest	left	lectur	wife	week	consciousnessrais

NOTE.—Words with the highest and lowest difference of proportions in the organization literature. Columns 1–4 compare the Hull House texts to the CWLU texts (cols. 1 and 2) and the Heterodoxy texts to the Redstockings texts (cols. 3 and 4) to identify between-wave and within-city linguistic patterns, and cols. 5–8 compare the Hull House texts to the Heterodoxy texts (cols. 5 and 6) and the CWLU texts to the Redstockings texts (cols. 7 and 8) to identify within-wave and between-city linguistic patterns. Words were stemmed using the Porter Stemmer. For example, the word “hous” is the stem of “house,” “houses,” and “housed.”

null hypothesis, or what the measures would be if the level of concreteness and specificity were randomly distributed across the language used by the four organizations.

The percentage difference on the concreteness score scale (1–5) for the two waves is 3.5% with a test statistic (produced through an independent samples *t*-test) of 39.95, with a percentage difference and test statistic between the cities almost twice as much at 6.3% difference and a test statistic of 65.29 (a difference of around 0.3% and a test statistic around 3 would indicate no difference). The specificity score confirms this pattern. The percentage difference on the specificity score scale (1–18) between the waves was 0.5% with a test statistic of 8.86, while it was a little over twice as large for the two cities, at 1.1% difference and a test statistic of 24.57 (a difference around 0.2% and a test statistic around 3 would indicate no difference).[13]

In sum, the two inductive (difference of proportions and STM) and two deductive (the crowd-sourced dictionary and WordNet) quantitative text analysis methods suggested and confirmed a linguistic difference in the level of abstraction used by the Chicago and New York City organizations. To test whether this linguistic pattern corresponded to practical differences in the political approach and discourse of these organizations, I did a qualitative deep dive into the literature.

SHARED DISCURSIVE CONFIGURATIONS

Using the topic STM weights associated with each document, I read the 10 documents with the highest weight for each of the 12 most prevalent topics (see app. E for sample documents from each), as well as five documents from each of the remaining topics, writing short memos on any patterns I found within and across these documents that suggested patterns in discourse or practice. I found the linguistic pattern identified above translated into differences in form, function, and strategic direction of these organizations, as conveyed in their literature. I present key passages identified through this close reading below.

The State, Institutions, and Community Service in Chicago

The documents produced by Hull House and CWLU describe a similar political approach: identify specific problems or needs in the community and

[13] Results from the random, null-hypothesis calculations and for the four organizations separately are available on request. The *P*-values for each of the comparisons were under the .001 cutoff by magnitudes of 10 or more. Some of the randomly generated comparisons also had *P*-values less than .001, suggesting standard *P*-value cutoffs should not be used when doing statistical comparisons of texts. Because of this, I only discuss the test statistic in the text, not the *P*-value.

TABLE 4

HIGHEST RATED WORDS FOR THE THREE MOST PREVALENT TOPICS FROM A STRUCTURAL TOPIC MODEL BY ORGANIZATION

Top Topics for Hull House (Chicago, First Wave)			Top Topics for Heterodoxy (New York City, First Wave)			Top Topics for CWLU (Chicago, Second Wave)			Top Topics for Redstockings (New York City, Second Wave)		
Hull House Social Activities (23%)	Public Institutions (22%)	Hull House Practical Activities (16%)	Sanger and Birth Control (24%)	Women's Lives (12%)	Women's Resistance (9%)	Antiwar (9%)	Liberation School (8%)	Childcare (7%)	Forms of Resistance (9%)	Movement History (9%)	Movement Theory (7%)
club	hullhous	class	sanger	home	woman	vietnam	women	children	women	histori	women
year	school	hullhous	law	woman	man	peopl	liber	work	feminist	movement	group
hullhous	chicago	work	will	one	home	war	will	famili	movement	action	oppress
boy	miss	year	public	look	will	vietnames	chicago	center	radic	radic	men
member	resid	exhibit	control	henri	one	south	center	childcar	femin	feminist	role
social	children	museum	inform	just	like	govern	school	job	liber	consciousnessrais	problem
meet	year	miss	birth	littl	thing	american	union	welfar	polit	peopl	person
class	hous	art	new	day	want	nixon	group	care	lesbian	idea	male
miss	work	even	children	never	say	north	cours	need	left	first	polit
danc	public	societi	case	like	world	bomb	work	mother	male	experi	one
even	offic	build	year	went	witch	will	class	parent	now	origin	therapi
room	citi	school	one	will	peopl	forc	meet	school	issu	one	action
two	investig	cours	give	tad	sweetheart	prison	call	home	group	new	conscious
one	associ	one	book	well	men	militari	new	child	cultur	write	chang
organ	neighborhood	use	life	take	know	countri	film	feder	sex	even	theori
hall	visit	held	knowledg	mrs	way	use	session	day	new	book	line
parti	summer	saturday	mass	see	suffrag	struggl	legal	year	revolut	time	experi
girl	court	product	prevent	call	old	one	test	chicago	men	group	worker
given	made	labor	pamphlet	cours	great	indian	citi	program	art	present	psycholog
gymnasium	mani	shop	time	life	day	two	offic	money	right	theori	think

NOTE.—Top three most prevalent topics from each organization, calculated using the 40-topic STM. The words are the top-weighted words, or most distinctive words, for each topic, suggesting the content of the topic. The topic labels suggest the content of each topic, and I chose the labels by interpreting the highest weighted words and documents for each topic. See app. E for sample documents from each topic. Words were stemmed using the Porter Stemmer. For example, the word "hous" is the stem of "house," "houses," and "housed." Percentage of total words from the organization's literature structured from each topic are parentheses.

TABLE 5
CONCRETENESS AND SPECIFICITY CALCULATIONS

	Concreteness Score*			Specificity Score†		
	Mean	% Difference	Test Statistic‡	Mean	% Difference	Test Statistic‡
Temporal comparison:		3.5	39.95		.5	8.86
First wave	2.57			6.69		
Second wave	2.43			6.61		
Place-based comparison:		6.3	65.29		1.1	24.57
New York City	2.32			6.53		
Chicago	2.56			6.72		

* Calculated using the Brysbaert, Warriner, and Kuperman (2014) database, which includes 40,000 English lemmas rated by crowdworkers on a scale from most abstract (1) to most concrete (5).

† Calculated using WordNet to count the number of hypernyms per word. The most general words in the corpus had only one hypernym, while the most specific words in the corpus had 18 hypernyms.

‡ Calculated using an independent samples t test. As is generally the case with bigger data, the P-value for each test was infinitesimal; I focus instead on the test statistic.

then either provide direct services to address those needs or persuade a specific city or state institution to do the same. For example, one of Hull House's major successes was to convince the state to pass laws in Illinois to improve the lives of the women and children working in factories: "It was an indirect result of [Hull House's] 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" (Hull House 1916, p. 55). Hull House was one of the first institutions to investigate community living conditions as a cause for tuberculosis, and they used this information to advocate for better health codes. They lobbied for—and won—the establishment of a juvenile court system so children would not be tried as adults, and they successfully fought to get women hired to civil servant positions in Chicago, providing higher paying stable jobs for the women in the community.

These actions, accomplished during the first wave, are comparable to those described by CWLU during the second wave. For example, a report in *Womankind* detailed how CWLU convinced the city government to change its review process for day care centers to better meet the needs of women in the community: "Attempts to put pressure on the city Licensing Review Committee, set up to review and revise licensing procedures for daycare 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 . . . 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" (*Womankind* 1972*a*). In addition to advocating for childcare, CWLU sued the city and won a policy requiring higher wages for women custodians, and they fought for family visitation rights and a nursery space at a local prison.

Both Hull House and CWLU first identified specific issues facing the community (e.g., sweatshop labor in the 1910s in Chicago or the lack of childcare in the 1970s) and then identified specific policies, institutions, and organizations to address the issue (e.g., a state factory law in the 1900s and the Licensing Review Committee in the 1970s). When the organizations failed in their campaigns to persuade the city or state to better meet the needs of women, they directly offered the services themselves. For years Hull House housed a U.S. post office so that immigrant workers sending money back home could do so without the risk of going to predatory brokers (Hull House 1913, p. 36). They established spaces for women to support one another, such as the "Jane Club," a "co-operative boarding club for young women"; they ran after-school activities for children so mothers could work and sent nurses and teachers to those who could not make it to Hull House themselves; and they provided an early version of a domestic violence shelter. Over the years, they provided many other services that they always hoped would eventually be taken over by other specific organizations (see, e.g., Hull House 1906, p. 54).

During the second wave, CWLU also directly provided needed services to their community, although the specific services were different from those provided by Hull House. For example, CWLU provided legal clinics for women in the community: "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" (*Womankind* 1973). They also established a rape crisis line to "help women who have been raped with counseling and medical and legal services" (*Womankind* 1973), and they set up a center that provided "a place for women to meet together to talk about Women's Liberation" and that also included "legal counseling, Liberation School classes, and pregnancy testing" (*Womankind* 1972*b*). The Liberation School 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" (*Womankind* 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 years earlier (Kaplan 1997).

In sum, while the specific issues important to the community were different across these two waves of mobilization in Chicago—having a post office was important in the 1900s, while providing illegal abortions was important in the

1960s—both of these organizations in Chicago pursued a strategy focused on identifying and meeting the immediate and practical needs of the community.

From the Individual to the Social in New York City

I identified two themes on the basis of a close reading of the documents from the New York City literature: (1) the documents narrated the experiences of women in order to highlight general social structures affecting both women's lives and their psychologies, and (2) they identified lifestyle changes as an effective approach to social change. Consider the following two passages that explain how love as a social structure has barred women from participating in cultural activities. From the *Masses*, published in 1911:

> Magdalene was born a woman, this fact, according to the dictates of man, prohibiting her from every field of life except love. . . . Society, with the unaccountable, contradictory attitude it sometimes manifests, censured her for doing the only thing that it allowed her to do. . . . She was not allowed to forget her individual misfortunes by depicting in literature or on canvas or in music the lives of the aggregate of individuals. She was not allowed to forget her own needs by busying herself with the needs of society as a whole. All these paths of endeavor, that of the musician, the painter, the writer, the statesman and the physician, were bolted and barred against her.
>
> (Wentworth 1911, p. 14)

From Redstockings, published in 1970: "Women and Love are underpinnings. Examine them and you threaten the very structure of culture. What were women doing while men created masterpieces? . . . Men were thinking, writing, and creating, because women were pouring their energy into those men: women are not creating culture because they are preoccupied with love" (Firestone 1970, p. 19). Rather than identifying specific and practical concerns facing women, as was common in the Hull House and CWLU literature, both of these documents identified abstract structures affecting women ("society" or the "structure of culture") and emphasized how these structures affect women's lives: "paths of endeavor[s] [are] barred [from women]," or women are "not creating culture because they are preoccupied with love." In the example from the *Masses*, the fictional story is about an individual woman, Magdalene, while in the Redstockings literature the argument is about women in the abstract.

To emphasize how these structures affected women's everyday lives, these documents also included stories detailing women's daily experiences. In the *Masses*, stories included one about an individual civic worker who, unlike her male colleagues, had to worry about the way she looked in front of cameras (*Masses* 1914), a woman being sexually harassed on a train (Hall 1914), and the experience of being a woman while working (F. D. 1915). Documents

in the Redstockings literature described women fighting to succeed in male-dominated careers, their experiences working while pregnant, and women working while supporting their families, among other subjects. The goal of these stories, and the situations described within, was to demonstrate what it meant for women to live in male-dominated society through the rhetorical device of storytelling.

The desired outcome from this narrative storytelling, in both waves in New York City, was to demonstrate how women's common social situation produces a common psychology, or common experience, among all women. From the *Masses*: "But one thing this treatment of women has done—it has produced a certain feminine psychology, a mob psychology, that will take much exorcising before it disappears" (Kaneko 1911, p. 10). From Redstockings: "The central radical idea of feminism was that there was a common situation of women, a political and historical situation of oppression by men, and that until male supremacy was overthrown there would be no personal solutions, only personal compromises" (Redstockings 1978, pp. 191–92).

Other documents detailed individual but abstract strategies for women to escape this oppressive situation. In the first wave, one strategy proposed was widowhood. One story from the *Masses*, for example, described a single woman who faked being a widow in order to have access to a wider range of lifestyle options and to be, and feel, more free (Gillmore 1911). In the second wave, one of these strategies was lesbianism: "Radical feminists, starting with Simone de Beauvoir analyzed lesbianism as one of the fundamental life patterns deriving from woman's common situation. Like all the ways women now live it is both a form of compromise with male supremacy and a form of resistance to it" (Redstockings 1978, p. 191).

Rather than pointing to specific laws or policy changes or identifying specific organizations that could address community grievances—important strategies for the two organizations in Chicago—these documents described creative lifestyle responses as a form of resistance and as a way to transform individual women from the inside out. While the specific solutions proposed differed between the two periods (e.g., widowhood in the first period, lesbianism in the second period), the underlying strategy was similar: raise awareness about women's common situation in order to change women's beliefs about themselves and what they can accomplish and then suggest ways women can act as individuals to escape this situation.

In addition to interpreting and contextualizing the output from the computational techniques, a second linguistic pattern emerged through this close reading stage.

PATTERN 2.—*The two Chicago organizations more often referred to organizations and groups, while the two New York City organizations more often referred to individuals.*

Using named entity recognition (NER), a subtask within information extraction that automatically assigns elements of text into predefined categories (e.g., people, organizations, locations) (Bird 2006), I found that the documents from New York City did indeed more often mention people (the two New York City organizations combined mentioned 2,776 persons and 1,799 organizations), while the documents from Chicago more often mentioned organizations (the two Chicago organizations combined mentioned 5,567 organizations and 3,371 persons; see app. D for details).[14] There was no clear pattern when comparing named entities across the two waves, with more organizations compared to people mentioned in both waves (the two first-wave organizations mentioned 2,392 persons and 2,576 organizations, while the two second-wave organizations mentioned 2,754 persons and 4,790 organizations). These quantitative results confirm pattern 2 and provide more evidence for linguistic differences between these two cities: Chicago organizations more often mentioned organizations, while NYC organizations more often mentioned individuals (see table 2 for a summary of all quantitative and qualitative findings).

DISCUSSION: PERSISTENT PLACE-BASED POLITICAL LOGICS

Regional Stability through Social Change

Between 1860 and 1975 the United States experienced a series of disruptive historical events and social and economic progression, leading to economic, political, and social change. Importantly for social movement scholars, this period witnessed three distinct cycles of protest: the 19th-century modular social movements focused on the state (Tilly 1997), the early 20th-century social movements focused on class and economic justice (Tilly 1986), and the mid-20th-century "new" social movements focused on identity and society (Habermas 1985; Melucci 1996). During this period the women's movement also went through two distinct waves of mobilization that mirrored, in part, the general trajectory of social movements over this period: a shift from mass protest and lobbying aimed at the state (the first wave) to smaller, locally focused actions motivated by social identities and personal change (the second wave). Within each of these waves women vigorously debated the best approach to achieving social change.

Using an inductive approach within a structured comparative framework to reevaluate the discursive configurations of this movement across these two waves, I found that the specific issues addressed and the framing of ideas—the content of their claims—did indeed change between the two waves of

[14] Hull House published its entire resident list in each *Bulletin* and *Year Book*. Because I am interested in the named entities mentioned in relationship to their political work and political theory, I removed the membership lists before doing this analysis. None of the other organizations published membership lists in these documents.

mobilization, as described by historians. Some of these changes included a focus in the second wave on birth control and abortion as a fundamental right for women, not just a relevant health concern (abortion was only explicitly mentioned in the second wave); explicit antihierarchical organizational structures to address power imbalances; the incorporation of the phrase "third world women" into politics alongside an awareness about imperialism, international power differentials, and agency; and a shift from a focus on European ethnicities (e.g., Greek and Italian immigrants) in the first wave to the role of race in the second wave, in particular Black women and women from the Global South. These conceptual shifts were both a strategic reaction to the political reality of the 1960s and 1970s and a result of spillover from the civil rights and the new left movements.

As women responded to the political moment of the 1960s, however, the discursive configuration and organizing logics were rooted in local political models and understandings. These place-based differences in Chicago and New York City that spanned the two waves were both more comprehensive and more coherent than scholars have previously acknowledged. The political approach used by the two core organizations in Chicago in both the first and second waves is what I am calling policy-oriented community organizing. The women in these organizations targeted institutions and organizations, in particular state and city institutions, and sought to build community capacity and solidarity by winning concrete changes that would immediately affect the daily lives of those in the community. The political approach followed by the two core organizations in New York City, again in both the first and second waves, I am calling narrative-based consciousness-raising. The women in these organizations targeted individuals instead of formal institutions, and they sought to change individual hearts and minds and build group solidarity by narrating experiences of individual women to expose the political roots of these common circumstances. These different approaches are comprehensive, including ideology, practices, frames, and leadership styles, among other dimensions.

These two political approaches reflect a difference in the underlying political logics within these two cities (Armstrong 2002), a difference that persisted between the two waves. Political logics are presupposed and constitutive theories about the nature of the world that guide both the decisions actors make and the articulated political debates. These persistent place-based political logics—political logics tied to place and coherent enough to persist over eight decades of social change—can, I claim, explain both stability and change within the women's movement, and they also demonstrate how these two dynamics interact. The strategic choices people make when faced with new ideas and new political opportunities are always framed by something (Calhoun 1983). Place is one of those things, fundamentally shaping both our individual and collective identities (Brown-Saracino

2018) that guide activism across decades of change. The political logics reflected in the claims-making strategies from these four women's movement organizations directly mirror broader differences in the enduring political and social characters of these two cities, from the avant-garde Bohemians to the Beat generation in New York City and the revolutionary working-class activists to the community-based organizers in Chicago.

Place-based political logics comprise one important category that explains durable configurations shaping social movements. As demonstrated by the changes that happened between the waves, these logics do not dictate action. They are flexible enough to allow for agency in defining the specific issues, tactics, and ideas that are well suited to a political moment. Place-based political logics thus allow for both change and innovation within a movement and coherence and stability. In the case of the women's movement, place-based political logics provided the background political models that reconciled the many strategic choices made by activists during the tumultuous 1960s.

The results from this comparison of place and period within the women's movement challenge the typical historical account of this movement. While the wave metaphor used to describe U.S. women's movements is useful in some respects—for example, drawing attention to periods of heightened collective political action—it has masked systematic within-wave differences and between-wave continuities. In particular, I found that the form of feminism typically associated with second-wave feminism, epitomized by the phrase "the personal is political," existed in almost this exact form 70 years before the second wave, originating during the first wave of the movement, and in both waves this form happened in New York City.

These results were produced via a unique analytical strategy. Starting with a theoretically motivated comparative framework capturing both space and time, I used network analysis to identify comparable cases, computational text analysis to inductively and deductively identify linguistic patterns across discourse, and qualitative reading to provide depth and context to the linguistic patterns. This approach contributes a new analytic strategy for comparative historical research, combining both quantitative and qualitative methods to enhance existing comparative methods.

Political Logics and Cultural Resonance

The conclusions presented above emerged from comparing the most influential organizations in Chicago and New York City in the two waves. There were over 77 organizations within the women's movement, however, and the four analyzed above do not represent the entire range of organizations within this movement. In one sense, it is strange to compare Hull House to Heterodoxy; these were explicitly different types of organizations with different

goals. The fact that Hull House and Heterodoxy were the most influential organizations in their respective city during the first wave, however, is indicative of what type of organization was able to gain traction among activists in each city. This methodological choice, comparing not the most discursively similar organizations but the most structurally similar organizations, revealed patterns in women's movement discourse not previously identified by scholars.

These networks on their own provide additional insight on the women's movement in these two cities. While a complete structural analysis is outside the scope of this article, a brief look at some of the more peripheral organizations in these two cities further supports the place-based political logics model.

There were organizations in each city that did not match the local models of political action, but these organizations struggled to survive and thus remained on the periphery of their respective sectors. In Chicago, for example, the anarchist and feminist magazine the *Little Review* was in many ways similar to New York City's the *Masses*, combining art and politics in order to effect a better society. The *Little Review* was established in Chicago in 1914 but struggled to find an audience there. In 1917 it moved to New York City, to the same neighborhood that was home to the *Masses*, where it became one of the most influential magazines of the Progressive Era (Anderson 1969).

Greenwich House, alternatively, was founded in New York City and explicitly modeled itself on Chicago's Hull House. In their literature, the members of Greenwich House wrestled with their struggle to gain members, concluding that their neighborhood was a "community individualistic in tone" and one in which "no local consciousness of social and neighborhood needs has been developed."[15] Greenwich House remained on the periphery of the New York City women's movement throughout its existence.

Similarly, in the second wave, women in New York City founded an organization called the Brooklyn Women's Liberation Union, modeled explicitly on the Chicago organization CWLU. Unlike CWLU, the Brooklyn Women's Liberation Union never attracted more than a handful of members and only lasted a few months before it completely dissolved.[16] These examples underscore the agency of activists within this movement—they strategized, they had opinions about the best way to organize, and they built organizations according to these beliefs, not dictated by underlying political models. Recruiting members and other resources, however, was made

[15] Mary Kingsbury Simkhovitch, "Annual Report of the Directory" (1903), Greenwich House Records, TAM.139, the Tamiment Library and Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives, New York University.

[16] "Rosalyn Baxandall and Lindon Gordon Research Files on Women's Liberation," Tam.210, the Tamiment Library and Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives, New York University.

much more difficult if their discursive configuration did not resonate with their respective place-based political logic. In addition to better explaining persistence, the place-based political logics perspective thus also helps describe the interaction between structure and agency within a social movement and suggests avenues for further comparative research.

CONCLUSION

In this article I analyzed one theoretically interesting social movement, the women's movement, across two cities and over two waves of mobilization by using a strategic bricolage of quantitative and qualitative methods, finding more similarities between cities than between waves. The esoteric and seemingly arbitrary debate dividing the early moments of second-wave feminism I found was actually rooted in coherent, distinct, and stable political models present in Chicago and New York City during the first wave. While my analysis focused on one historically specific debate, other political positions taken within the women's movement and debates within and between other social movements likely exhibit a similar historical and local pattern. Scholars should continue to take seriously how social and political cultures rooted in namable places shape not just the capacity for action (e.g., Greve and Rao 2012) but also the durable discursive and organizational configurations of that action.

The complexity of comparing social movement across locations and over time, of course, leads to many interesting questions for further research. First, what was the initial cause of the differences between Chicago and New York City? Was this difference specific to the women's movement, or was it driven by broader social, structural, or political features in these two cities? Preliminary evidence suggests that the differences between the political approaches in Chicago and New York City are rooted in the way Chicago and New York City formed as urban centers in the early and mid-1800s and that these differences extend well beyond the women's movement. Further research could expand this analysis to other long-running social movements, such as progressive left movements, the civil rights movement (see, e.g., Ralph 1993), and right-wing movements, to examine questions around the emergence and institutionalization of local political models more broadly.

Second, once these place-based differences are established, what are the mechanisms of persistence? There are several possibilities. One mechanism could be concrete ties between the waves, as people and organizations overlapped and transferred ideas via direct contact (Taylor 1989; Staggenborg 1996; Reger 2012). Another is the natural "rolling inertia" that comes via socialization and stories of successful action (Molotch et al. 2000; Greve and

Rao 2012). There could also be a certain path dependency created by entrenched organizations that, once established, is difficult to change. Relationships with external organizations or institutions, such as the mass media, have their own inertia and may also contribute to persistence (Seguin 2016). Each of these mechanisms deserves its own investigation; future research could isolate the effects of different mechanisms to better understand how they interact to contribute to the persistence of political models.

Third, while my analysis used claims making as a measurable lens to analyze the women's movement, further research could analyze stability and change across other aspects of the movement, such as specific tactics, organizational structures, or the overall network structure between organizations (see, e.g., Saxenian 1996). Do all these aspects covary, or are there notable differences between ideas, tactics, strategies, and structure?

Finally, did these place-based political models persist through the third wave of this movement, and are they shaping contemporary iterations of the women's movement? Further research could extend this analysis to contemporary movements to examine whether new communication technologies such as the internet are disrupting the effects of place-based political models.

Unanswered questions aside, even the most esoteric debates are grounded in something, and what that something is helps explain why movements do what they do. The findings presented here suggest that place helps explain not just the presence of social movements but enduring discursive configurations of mobilization.

APPENDIX A

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.

American Journal of Sociology

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 Baxandall: Women's Liberation Files
Women's Trade Union League of New York Records

Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois

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

Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania

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 B

Structural Analysis of 77 Women's Movement Organizations by Wave and City

TABLE B1
List of Organizations in Each Social Movement Sector and Their Corresponding Eigenvector Centrality Scores

Organization	Centrality Score	Organization	Centrality Score
Chicago, First Wave		New York City, First Wave	
Alpha Club	.10	Birth Control League	.05
Chicago Woman's Club	.25	Brooklyn Women's Club	.00
Federation of Colored Women's Clubs	.22	Committee of 100	.16
Frederick Douglass Center	.22	Cosmopolitan Club	.04
Hull House	.28	Dodge's Evenings	.18
Illinois Equal Suffrage Association	.24	Equality League	.30
Illinois Federation of Republican Colored Women's Clubs	.07	Feminist Alliance	.12
Industrial Workers of the World	.09	Greenwich House	.16
Ida B. Wells Club	.12	Heterodoxy	.40
Illinois Woman's Alliance	.13	The Liberal Club	.24
Immigrant Protective League	.20	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People	.30
Intercollegiate Socialist Society	.09	National Consumers' League	.17
Juvenile Protective League	.21	National Woman's Party	.26
Little Review, The	.00	Progressive Party	.07
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People	.23	Provincetown Players	.14
National Consumers' League	.23	Socialist Woman	.26
PAWC	.17	Sorosis	.00
Phyllis Wheatley Club	.16	Teacher's Union	.00
Political Equality League	.27	Women's International League for Peace and Freedom	.34
Socialist Woman	.10	Women's Trade Union League	.35
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom	.21	Women's City Club of New York City	.27
Women's Trade Union League	.27		
Women's City Club of Chicago	.26		
Woman's Peace Party	.22		

TABLE B1 (*Continued*)

Organization	Centrality Score	Organization	Centrality Score
Chicago, Second Wave		New York City, Second Wave	
Coalition of Union Women	.00	The Beats	.00
Congress on Racial Equality	.37	Congress of American Women	.00
Chicago Women's Liberation Union	.48	Congress on Racial Equality	.19
Chicago Lesbian Liberation	.00	Daughters of Bilitis	.05
Jobs and Income Now	.26	National Black Feminist Organization	.15
La Leche League	.00	National Organization for Women	.26
National Organization for Women	.11	New York Radical Feminists	.39
New University Conference	.37	New York Radical Women	.42
Presidential Commission on the Status of Women	.02	Presidential Commission on the Status of Women	.05
Planned Parenthood	.00	Radical Lesbians	.17
Progressive Labor Party	.00	Redstockings	.43
Students for a Democratic Society	.46	Southern Conference Educational Fund	.18
Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee	.37	Student Christian Leadership Council	.16
Women for Peace	.26	Students for a Democratic Society	.15
		Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee	.36
		The Feminists	.31
		WITCH	.15
		Women Strike for Peace	.05

NOTE.—Centrality scores use Bonacich's (1987) centrality measure.

Fig. B1.—Sociogram of the women's movement sector in Chicago, first wave (1865–1920). Nodes are organizations, and ties indicate that the organizations shared at least one member. Node fonts are weighted by eigenvector centrality score (Bonacich 1987), edges are weighted by the number of shared members, and the layout was done using the Fruchterman-Reingold layout. See table B1 for a full list of the organizations and corresponding eigenvector centrality scores. This network indicates Hull House was the most influential organization in Chicago during the first wave. See app. A for a list of archives consulted to construct this network.

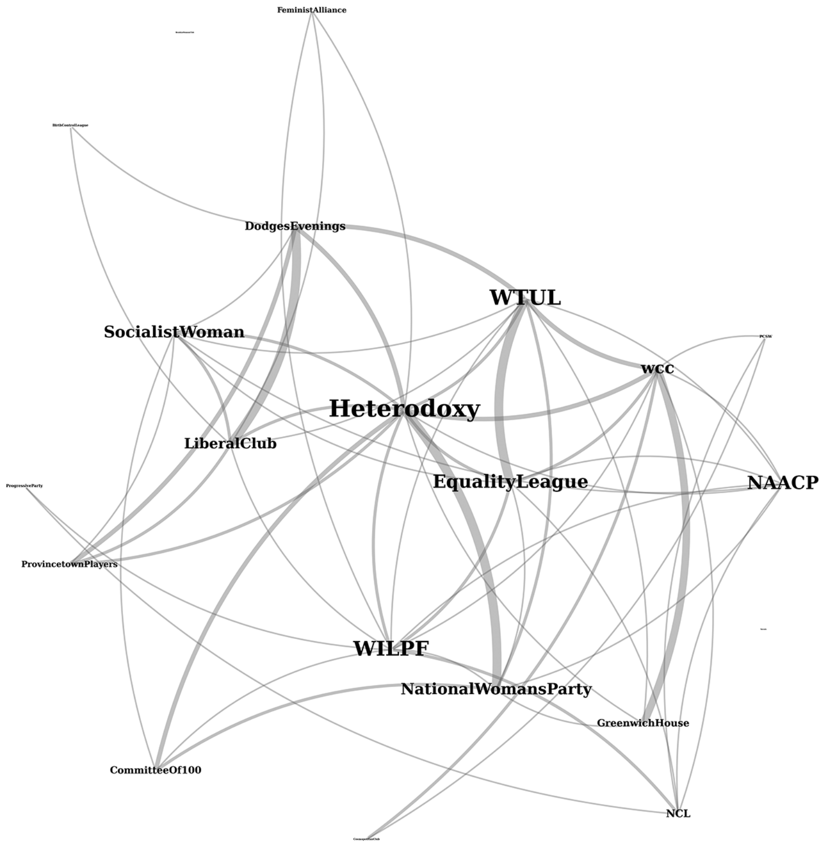


FIG. B2.—Sociogram of the women's movement sector in New York City, first wave (1865–1920). Nodes are organizations, and ties indicate that the organizations shared at least one member. Node fonts are weighted by eigenvector centrality score (Bonacich 1987), edges are weighted by the number of shared members, and the layout was done using the Fruchterman-Reingold layout. See table B1 for a full list of the organizations and corresponding eigenvector centrality scores. This network indicates Heterodoxy was the most influential organization in New York City during the first wave. See app. A for a list of archives consulted to construct this network.

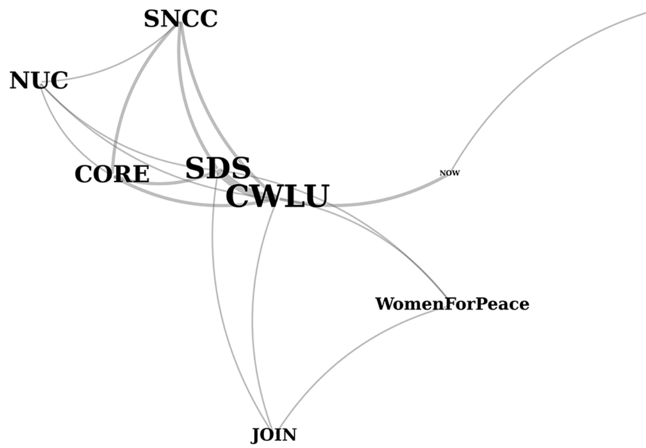
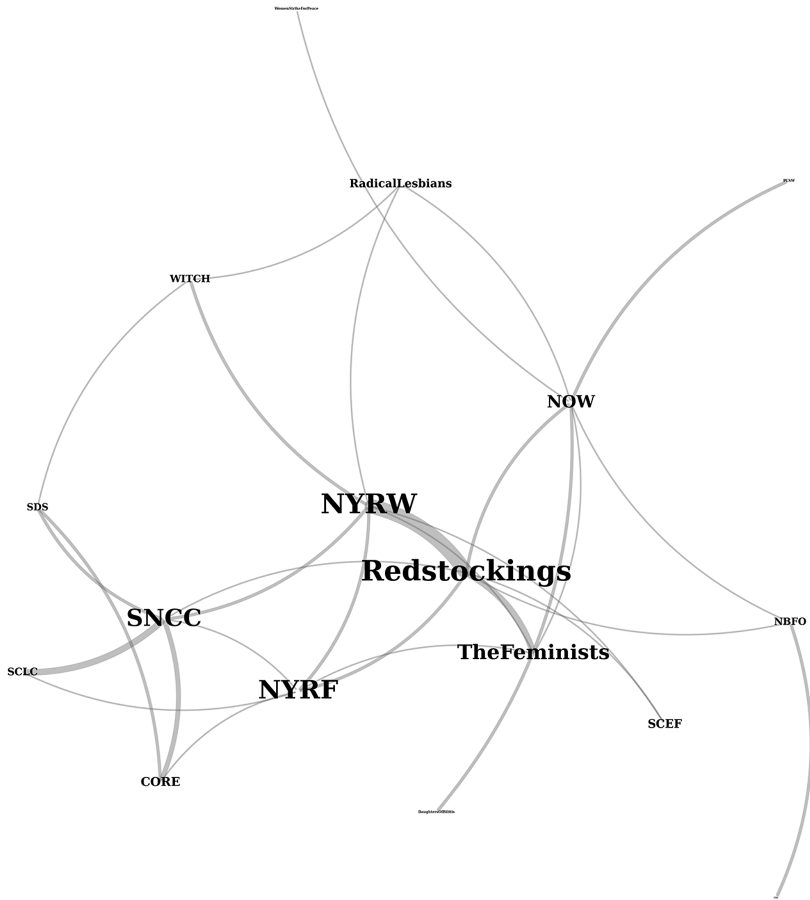


Fig. B3.—Sociogram of the women's movement sector in Chicago, second wave (1964–75). Nodes are organizations, and ties indicate that the organizations shared at least one member. Node fonts are weighted by eigenvector centrality score (Bonacich 1987), edges are weighted by the number of shared members, and the layout was done using the Fructerman-Reingold layout. See table B1 for a full list of the organizations and corresponding eigenvector centrality scores. This network indicates CWLU was the most influential organization in Chicago during the second wave. See app. A for a list of archives consulted to construct this network.



Fɪɢ. B4.—Sociogram of the women's movement sector in New York City, second wave (1964–75). Nodes are organizations, and ties indicate that the organizations shared at least one member. Node fonts are weighted by eigenvector centrality score (Bonacich 1987), edges are weighted by the number of shared members, and the layout was done using the Fruchterman-Reingold layout. See table B1 for a full list of the organizations and corresponding eigenvector centrality scores. This network indicates Redstockings was the most influential organization in New York City during the second wave. See app. A for a list of archives consulted to construct this network.

APPENDIX C

List of Articles Included from the *Masses* and the Redstockings Literature

Articles from the *Masses*

“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"

Articles from the Redstockings Literature

Notes from the First Year

"The Women's Rights Movement in the U.S.: A New View" by Shulamith Firestone
"The Myth of the Vaginal Orgasm" by Anne Koedt
"Woman as Child" by Jennifer Gardner
"When Women Rap about Sex" by Shulamith Firestone
"The Jeannette Rankin Brigade: Woman Power? A Summary of Our Involvement: A Letter to Ramparts; Funeral Oration for the Burial of Traditional Womanhood" by Kathy Amatniek

"Women in the Radical Movement" by Anne Koedt
"On Abortion" by Shulamith Firestone

Notes from the Second Year

Women's experience

"The Bitch Manifesto" by Joreen
"Woman and Her Mind: The Story of Everyday Life" by Meridith Tax
"Love" by Shulamith Firestone
"The Politics of Housework" by Pat Mainardi
"A Female Junkie Speaks" by Lucille Iverson

Theories of radical feminism

"Radical Feminism" by Ti-Grace Atkinson
"The Institution of Sexual Intercourse" by Ti-Grace Atkinson
"Female Liberation as the Basis for Social Revolution" by Roxanne Dunbar

Founding a radical feminist movement

"Women and the Left" by Ellen Willis
"Sequel: Letter to a Critic" by Ellen Willis
"Hard Knocks: Working in a Mixed (Male-Female) Movement Group," by Carol Hanisch
"Them and Me" by Anonymous
"The Economic Function of the Oppression of Women" by Suzie Olah
"'Consumerism' and Women" by Ellen Willis
"The Personal Is Political" by Carol Hanisch
"A Program for Feminist 'Consciousness-Raising'" by Kathie Sarachild
"Resistances to Consciousness" by Irene Peslikis
"False Consciousness" by Jennifer Gardner
"Man-Hating" by Pamela Kearon
"A Critique of the Miss America Protest" by Carol Hanisch
"On Abortion and Abortion Law" by Lucinda Cisler
"An Abortion Testimonial" by Barbara Susan
"A Report from the Law School, 1968–69" by Marion Davidson
"What Women Want: For Starters." by Congress to Unite Women
"The 'New Feminist Analysis'" by Bonnie Kreps
"The Founding of the New Feminist Theatre" by Anselma dell' Olio
"On Class Structure within the Women's Movement" by Barbara Mehrjof
"Power as a Function of the Group" by Pamela Kearon

Feminist Revolution

"The Pseudo-Left/Lesbian Alliance against Feminism" by Anonymous
"Mother Love-Mother Work" by R. L. Annchild

"The Housework Poster Rip-Off" by Shirley Boccacio
"The Retreat to Cultural Feminism" by Brooke
"What's Wrong with Sex Role Theory" by Brooke
"Thoughts on Consciousness-Raising" by Anne Forer
"Letter to a Folksinger" by Carol Hanisch
"The Liberal Takeover of Women's Liberation" by Carol Hanisch
"Men's Liberation" by Carol Hanisch
"Blacks, Women, and the Movement in SCEF" by Carol Hanisch
"The Personal Is Political" by Carol Hanisch
"An Experience with Worker Consciousness-Raising" by Carol Hanisch
"The Male Supremacist Attack on Monogamy" by Barbara Leon
"The Consequences of the Conditioning Line" by Barbara Leon
"Dirty Tricks in the U.S. Student Movement: Excerpts from a Redstockings Update" by Redstockings
"Separate to Integrate" by Barbara Leon
"Letter to a Lover When She Left Him" by Anonymous
"The Truth about the British Suffragettes" by Faye Levine
"Four Types of Men" by Faye Levine
"The Myth of Docility" by Faye Levine
"The Marriage Question" by Patricia Mainardi
"Letter on Movement Pioneers" by Patricia Mainardi
"Women Artists and Women's Studies" by Patricia Mainardi
"Stop Leaving Women out of the Proletariat" by Rosario Morales
"The Double Standard of Organization" by Elizabeth Most
"MS. Politics and Editing: An Interview" by Robin Reisig
"The First Self-Help Clinic" by Colette Price
"New Ways of Keeping Women out of Paid Labor" by Colette Price
"Consciousness-Raising: A Radical Weapon" by Kathie Sarachild
"The Power of History" by Kathie Sarachild
"Psychological Terrorism . . ." by Kathie Sarachild
"Going for What We Really Want" by Kathie Sarachild
"Who Are We? The Redstockings Position on Names" by Kathie Sarachild
"Italian Women Speak Up for Abortion" by Edith Schloss
"From a Finnish Notebook" by Victorial Schultz
". . . et Terrorisme Psychologique" by Claudine Serre
"Sex and Women's Liberation" by Anonymous
"Gloria Steinem and the CIA" by Redstockings
"Tactics and Tools" by Third World Women's Alliance
"On the National Black Feminist Organization" by Michele Wallace
"The Conservatism of MS." by Ellen Willis

APPENDIX D

Methodological Appendix

Difference of Proportions

Using equation (D1), this technique calculates words with the largest and smallest difference of proportions for two sets of text. In this case, each text consisted of all the documents from each organization used in the analysis. This method has been used by others to calculate the different ways in which political issues are discussed by different groups (Monroe, Colaresi, and Quinn 2008). I conducted four pairwise comparisons: between-city comparisons within each wave (Hull House in Chicago vs. Heterodoxy in New York City during the first wave, and CWLU in Chicago vs. Redstockings in New York City during the second wave) and between-wave comparisons within each city (Hull House during the first wave vs. CWLU during the second wave in Chicago, and Heterodoxy during the first wave vs. Redstockings during the second wave in New York City).

The observed proportion is defined as

$$f_w^{(i)} = \frac{y_w^{(i)}}{n^{(i)}}, \tag{D1}$$

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 proportions is defined as $f_w^{(i_1)} - f_w^{(i_2)}$.

Structural Topic Models

STMs are a version of probabilistic topic modeling. Unlike latent Dirichlet allocation, another topic modeling algorithm, STM allows document-level covariates. These covariates generally improve the quality of the topics produced. As I was analyzing potential differences in time and place, I only included document source as a document-level covariate, to improve the coherence of the topics. Before estimating the model, I first did common preprocessing steps on the text: I converted the text into lower case, removed punctuation, removed very common words, and stemmed the words using the Porter Stemmer.

STM requires the researcher to indicate the number of topics the model estimates. The current standard is to run multiple models, each with a different number of topics indicated, picking the model that produces the most substantively coherent and helpful topics (DiMaggio 2015). I ranged the number of topics for the STM from 20 to 60, examining the top-weighted words for each model. The 20-, 30-, 40-, and 50-topic models contained

many comparable topics. The 40-topic model, however, produced the most semantically coherent topics according to my analysis of the top-weighted words per topic, and it was additionally the model that produced the highest top topic weight across the most documents, a way of determining coherence. I used this 40-topic model for the subsequent analyses. Using equation (D2), I calculated the three most prevalent topics for each organization in order to compare across all four organizations. I present these topics and top-weighted words in table 4. The topic labels were chosen by me by interpreting the top-weighted words and documents for each topic.

The percentage of words from organization *o* aligned with topic *k* is defined as

$$\sum \frac{w_d^{(k)} \times wc_d}{wc_d}, \tag{D2}$$

where $w_d^{(k)}$ is the weight of topic k for document d and wc_d is the word count for document d.

Measuring Concreteness

To measure word concreteness, I used a crowd-sourced database that contains an averaged human-rated concreteness score for close to 40,000 English lemmas (Brysbaert et al. 2014). To create the database, Brysbaert et al. recruited participants on Amazon's crowd-sourcing website Mechanical Turk to rate words on a concreteness scale from 1 (most abstract) to 5 (most concrete), with an average concreteness score close to 3. They defined concrete words as "something that exists in reality; you can have immediate experience of it through your senses" and abstract words as "something you cannot experience directly through your senses or actions. Its meaning depends on language" (p. 14). Researchers have used this database to measure the concreteness of various types of texts and their relationship to social processes (Snefjella and Kuperman 2015).

This is a time-locked dictionary—it is based on the concreteness ratings of words in 2014. Words can, of course, change meaning over time. Others have used sophisticated machine learning and word embedding models to induce domain-specific meanings in a corpus to capture changing valence over time (Hamilton et al. 2016). Using these more sophisticated methods, scholars have found that the English language has become more concrete over time in two ways: the language uses more concrete words, and individual words have shifted toward greater concreteness (Snefjella, Généreux, and Kuperman 2019). Rather than use a more sophisticated method to induce the valence of words in my data, which introduces its own set of biases

and errors and is more difficult to interpret in a straightforward way, I used the time-locked but easier-to-interpret dictionary created by Brysbaert et al. (2014) as a conservative test of my theory. If words have shifted to be more concrete over time, this dictionary will overestimate the concreteness of language in the 1960s and will overestimate the concreteness even more in the 1900s. By choosing a dictionary that will likely overestimate the concreteness of language in 1900 more than in 1960, I am biasing my results toward confirming the commonly accepted historical story rather than my own hypothesis. If I find that language in the movement did get more abstract, this is likely an overestimate of the change; if I find the language in the movement got more concrete over time, this is likely an underestimate of the change. Using this conservative estimate, I find less change over time than I do difference between cities, providing more support for my overall argument.

Named Entity Recognition

To count named entities in the text, I used Python's natural language processing library NLTK to tag named entities. After tagging persons and organizations, I went through the list by hand and removed all false positives. My results thus are all true positives, but I do not know how many named entities the algorithm missed. I have no reason to expect the false negatives are correlated in any way with either city or period, and the results do not suggest any sort of period or city effect on errors. Thus, I believe the relative differences are accurate.

APPENDIX E

Excerpts from the Two Top-Weighted Documents by Organization from the 40-Topic STM Model

Topic: Public Institutions

Document 1: Excerpt from Hull House Bulletin*, 1900*

THE COFFEE ROOM.

The following extract is clipped from the December number of the House Beautiful:

"The chief characteristic of the new coffee room is one which is sufficiently rare to make its presence anywhere a distinction. This quality lies in the fact that the room is structurally what it seems to be, and that for the most part all charm of color and of texture proceeds directly from the actual material of which the room is built. This seems such a sensible thing to do, that it is necessary to remind ourselves that our usual custom is to build a very rough

brick wall and to cover its roughness with plaster, the unpleasant surface of which has in its turn to be covered with wallpaper or colored decorations. In this interior, the architects, Messrs. Pord & Pond, have done away with this threeply decoration, and have allowed the structural brick-work and the tile arches to speak for themselves; and very prettily they do so, with an accent that is clear and, as stated, somewhat distinguished."

Document 2: Excerpt from Hull House Bulletin*, 1900*

Masque of the Seasons

Last autumn the Masque of the Seasons were given by the Hull-House Music School, assisted by the Merry-Go-Round Club. The Masque, in four scenes—Spring, Summer, Autumn and Winter—was compiled and composed by Miss Eleanor Smith, the scenery was designed and executed by Miss Benedict, Miss Nancrede and Mr. Hazenplug. The spirit of mood of each season was expressed in verse, song, and dance. As there was no plot in the Masque, merely a succession of incidents, some one figure was needed to bind together the component parts, and Father Time was used for this purpose. An effort was made to express in the four seasons of the year the corresponding four seasons in a day: Spring, dawn: Summer, high noon: Autumn, evening: Winter, night. A symbolic color was chosen for each scene, blossoms, naturally suggesting pink and white for Spring; yellow, orange, and red for Summer: purple and brown for Autumn; grey, black, and white for Winter. Two hundred and twenty-five people took part in the performance. The Masque was given several times at Hull-House and repeated at the Coliseum during the Child Welfare Exhibit.

Topic: Hull House Social Activities

Document 1: Excerpt from Hull House Bulletin*, 1901*

Mrs. Bowen and others have made many generous donations of books to the club library, which now numbers over 400 volumes. The social event of the year was the reception given to the members of the club by Mrs. J. T. Bowen, Friday evening, January 4th. The programme in the Auditorium consisted of two plays—a little comedy, acted by Miss Neal and Mr. Battis, and an operetta, given by Mr. Basil Tetson, Mr. Victor Sincere and Miss Florence Holbrook. This was followed by a supper in the Coffee House. As each member of the club brought a guest, the 200 chairs were twice filled. The candles, flowers and festive toilets gave the room the gayest appearance it has ever known. The president, in behalf of the club, presented the hostess, a former club president, with a bunch of roses. This presentation voiced the enthusiasm and good will of the club.

Document 2: Excerpt from Hull House Year Book*, 1916*

The Marionette Club

The Marionette Club is a club of children from twelve to fifteen years of age. They have presented "Esban and the Witch," first as the Christmas play for the entertainment of all the Hull-House club children, and then in January as a public performance, and have given five performances of "A Midsummer Night's Dream," by William Shakespeare, with Mendelssohn's music, performed by the Marionette Club Trio. The first outdoor performance of a Hull-House play was given in June, when the Marionette Club repeated their performance of "A Midsummer Night's Dream" at the Joseph T. Bowen country Club in Waukegan. This year the club is preparing "Twelfth Night," by William Shakespeare, to be given in March. The club also runs a Punnet Theater and gives, with the puppets, fairy plays for the Hull-House children.

Topic: Hull House Practical Activities

Document 1: Excerpt from Hull House Year Book*, 1916*

Cafeteria

In the Cafeteria the service is more informal than that of the Coffee House proper. It is sustained on the lower floor of the Smith building and is opened only dining the noon hour. The Coffee House and the Cafeteria are under the management of Miss Elizabeth McManus, assisted by Andrew Gabriel, with a staff of twenty people.

Document 2: Excerpt from Hull House Year Book*, 1913*

Research

Study of Greek Colony

Appreciating that its neighborhood contained the largest Greek colony in the city and that little was known of this new element in Chicago's complex population, a study of the Greeks was begun by Hull-House in the summer of 1908. In this preliminary investigation 350 apartment or tenement houses in which Greeks lived were visited and schedules filled for 1,467 persons. In the spring of 1909 a special study of the Greek boys who work in the "shoe-shine parlors" and fruit stores in the loop district was made by the House in co-operation with the League for the Protection of Immigrants.

Topic: Sanger and Birth Control

Document 1: Excerpt from "The Question of Birth-Control," Masses*, 1915*

THE QUESTION OF BIRTH-CONTROL Dr. W.J. Robinson, Pioneer

Dr. William J. Robinson's new book on "The Limitation of Offspring" is only the latest incident in a pioneering career. Dr. Robinson has for years, through his journal, the Critic and Guide, advocated the legalized of contraception. He has persistently discussed its medical, legal, sociological and ethical aspects; answered all the objections to it that ignorance or fanaticism or intellectual perversity brought forward; and by his editorials, his contributions to other journals, his lectures, his pamphlets and his books, he made it a public issue. Those who have known of Dr. Robinson's work will be glad to circulate this new book; and those who read him for the first time will find themselves in pleasant and enlightening contact with a sane, genial, cultured and essentially human personality.

Document 2: Excerpt from "Revolutionary Birth-Control," Masses*, 1915*

It behooves us here more than anywhere else, to refrain from dogmatism, for the varieties of sexual disposition are as the varieties of men. They are the varieties of men. And no one need think that when he has "made an experiment of twenty-odd years," as one correspondent has, and reached a conclusion, that his conclusion of necessity applies to anyone but himself. We are not advocating that the public should prevent conception, or trying to enforce a particular solution of sex-problems; we are advocating that the knowledge which is relevant to these problems be accessible to all.

Topic: Women's Resistance

Document 1: Excerpt from "Confession of a Suffrage Orator," Masses*, 1915*

All that is to be ended. And this is the chief thing we expect of women's citizenship. It will formulate in the public mind the higher ideal that shall develop the young girls of the future. They will no longer grow up, to be, outside the years of motherhood, mere drudges or parlor ornaments. They will no longer try to satisfy their ambitions by seeing who can parade the most extreme buffooneries of contemporary fashion on the public highway. They will grow up to be interested and living individuals, and satisfy their ambitions only with the highest prizes of adventure and achievement that life offers.

Document 2: Excerpt from "Adventures in Anti-land," Masses*, 1915*

What if I were right, after all?

Suppose it were true that women are like men, only, to us, sweeter, lovelier, more desirable companions, and with the same sense, the same interests, the same need of work and play?

I could go on living in that kind of world. And frankly, I can't live in the other. I'd just as soon commit suicide. The nightmare of anti-suffrage oppresses me. I will go back to my own country, where a woman is a person, with a mind and will of her own, fit for all the rough, sweet uses of this harsh and happy life.

Topic: Women's Lives

Document 1: Excerpt from "Maud the Mutt," Masses*, 1914*

(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-smeared 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.)

(Jake regards her dispassionately.)

Maud, the Mutt: Nuttin' doin', Jake, nuttin' doin' fur the last week. I asin't et nuttin' since day b'fore yusturday.

Jake, The Puller-In: Awhell!

(The woman stands irresolute a moment, then staggers out upon the sidewalk, down front. Her teeth chatter audibly.)

Maud: Ther' ain't nobody gives a damn fur me.

Document 2: Excerpt from "Magdalene Forgives," Masses*, 1911*

Magdalene was born a woman, this fact, according to the dictates of man, prohibiting her from every field of life except love. And, therefore, she loved. But her love was as pearls cast before swine; it was abused and thrown aside.

Society, with the unaccountable, contradictory attitude it sometimes manifests, censured her for doing the only thing that it allowed her to do. It gave her no helping hand to overcome her grief. It gave her no opportunity to forget her pain by ministering to the pains of others, or bringing joy to others. She was not allowed to forget her individual misfortunes by depicting in literature or on canvas or in music the lives of the aggregate of individuals. She was not allowed to forget her own needs by busying herself with the needs of society as a whole. All these paths of endeavor, that of the musician, the painter, the writer, the statesman and the physician, were bolted and barred against her. Only one road lay open, its bed besprinkled with glittering dust to hid the mire beneath.

With a feeling of bitterness, Magdalene took the road, and again Society with inexplicable but doubtless faultless logic, railed at her for following the only course it allowed her to take.

Topic: Liberation School

Document 1: Excerpt from "Our Programs," Womankind*, 1973*

The Liberation school for Women holds three sessions each year to help us learn, develop skills, and work together. For information, call the CWLU office 348-2011 or Sarah Edelken 935-9138 or Barbara Peart 935-9628.

Womankind

The CWLU puts out a monthly newspaper, WOMANKIND, that spreads the ideas of women's liberation, talks about CWLU activities, and has a variety of other articles. Subscriptions are $4 a year.

HEALTH CARE

The CWLU health project tries to meet some of the problems women face in health care. Part of this project includes pregnancy testing and an abortion counselling service. The phone number for the counselling service is 643-3844; leave your name and phone number and you will be called back within two to four days. Call the CWLU office 348-4388 for the locations and times of pregnancy testing.

Document 2: Excerpt from "Our Programs," Womankind*, 1972*

RAPE PROJECT

The Rape Project at the Sister Center, 1545 W. Morse in Rogers Park, has a crisis line where women who have been raped can call for someone to talk to, someone to go to the hospital with them, and if they want, someone to go to the police with them. The Crisis line phone number is 728-1920. It is open from 6 pm to midnite, Monday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday.

Topic: Antiwar

Document 1: Excerpt from "Vietnam Will Win," Womankind*, 1973*

Two months after promising to sign the Draft Agreement to bring an end to the war in South Vietnam and after weeks of negotiations which promised to end the killing, Henry Kissinger announced December 16 that the talks had reached a "fundamental" impasse. Kissinger attributed this to demands by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam) to change the agreement. This is completely false. It was the U. S. and its puppet Saigon government that consistently demanded more concessions from the DRV. How can Nixon and Kissinger expect us to believe that "North Vietnamese demands to change the agreement" have caused the delay? This particular lie is contradicted by every statement made by the DRV representatives in the last two months. For example, as Nguyen Thanh Le, DRV spokesman at the Paris talks, said on Dec. 17, "If the American government really desires to settle

the Vietnam problem peacefully . . . it should sign the agreed accord without delay and with out any modification."

Document 2: Excerpt from "How the War Began," Womankind*, 1972*

This move suited the U.S.' interests, because, having spoken out severely against French colonialism, the U.S. could not openly support the French previous to this time. The installation of Bao Dai as a "legitimate" ruler let the U.S. support the French, since they were now protecting a "legitimate" government against rebellion and aggression.

Topic: Childcare

Document 1: Excerpt from "Childcare Is a Woman's and a Child's Right," Womankind*, 1971*

We want childcare that: helps children realize their full potential as human beings; frees both parents and children from the isolation of the home; allows adults and children to work together to develop the direction and content of their own lives. If childcare is to be available to anyone who needs or wants it, it must be free.

Document 2: Excerpt from "So Who Needs Daycare?," Womankind*, 1973*

Working full-time it is very difficult to provide adequate care for my children, aged 3 and 5, especially for my five year old, who is in kindergarten for half a day. Both my children have been in daycare centers and I am pleased with their experiences. As a teacher in a daycare center and a visitor of several centers around the city during the past months, I know these are some of the happiest places I've been, with children and staff sharing and learning from each other.

Topic: Movement History

Document 1: Excerpt from "The Power of History,"
Feminist Revolution*, 1972*

Firestone, in fact, was the only one in the group to write an extensive article about the earlier feminists in the 19th century, pointing out that they were predecessors we could be proud of, and far more radical than has been acknowledged, in this very same journal she was calling "First Year." What is more, "First Year" referred simply to the record of our group, which was accurate and descriptive, and even somewhat limited in its description. As the first theoretical journal of radical women, later to call themselves

radical feminists, it really did reflect the first year of visible stirrings of the independent radical women's liberation movement.

Document 2: Excerpt from "The Power of History," Feminist Revolution*, 1972*

Let's look at some simple facts, for a start: There is something around now called the women's liberation movement that millions of people all over the world know about and have reacted to, for or against, and in which large numbers of women—I shall use the term masses—have been involved, and which more people, men and women, feel themselves supporters of.

This movement was started by women. The movement which bears the name women's liberation was begun by women who considered themselves radicals, and who openly and publicly called themselves radicals.

Topic: Movement Theory

Document 1: Excerpt from "Psychological Terrorism," Feminist Revolution*, 1973*

There is a tactic that has been wreaking havoc within the Women's Liberation Movement, a tactic we call psychological terrorism. It is the use of personal attack to prevent political issues from being clarified and acted on. We call it psychological, even though it is really political, because its character is to deny the political by expressing itself perpetually in personal terms, often in moralistic or psychological jargon, and because it generates the psychological effects of confusion, guilt, fear, and despair among women. It takes advantage of these feelings to achieve a certain aim: to curb the action and power of the radicals of the Women's Liberation Movement.

Document 2: Excerpt from "Psychological Terrorism," Feminist Revolution*, 1973*

The liberal fears and opposes clarity and effectiveness because she fears angering the powerful; she does not want to fight. In order to preserve peace, the liberal resists any idea that requires real change of the status quo, in action or in theory. The liberal wants to go easy, not to expose too clearly, not to attack too hard. A truth that exposes too clearly, attacks too hard. Traditionally the liberal claims to be against violence as a means of struggling for freedom and justice. She is not tactically opposed to violence because of a present position of weakness. She opposes the use of force for any purpose on moral principle and libertarian theory. She remains pacifist even when

acknowledging that one side, the oppressor, is already using force and violence to maintain his position.

Topic: Forms of Resistance

Document 1: Excerpt from "Men's Liberation," Feminist Revolution*, 1973*

Many forms of reactionary tactics are being used to hold back or stop the women's liberation movement; "Men's liberation" is one of them. Just consider the name: men's liberation. What else can this possibly mean besides the liberation of men from women, especially from the achievements of women's growing power? The term women's liberation grew out of the realization that men have more power than women and thus can exploit and oppress us. Therefore we need liberation from that oppression and exploitation. The term men's liberation was derived from the term women's liberation and thus insinuates that women have power over men.

Document 2: Excerpt from "Separate to Integrate,"
Feminist Revolution*, 1973*

Although questions could be raised about either the extent or the effect of male participation in NOW, the group clearly rejected female separatism as a tool for winning women's rights on the grounds that to exclude men would mean to acquiesce to segregation. They presented themselves as idealists in this respect—they would not be guilty of the same bigotry as men—although one always sensed an undercurrent of fear: fear of being called man-haters, of turning off other women, of confronting the reality of men's power over women and deciding what actions would be necessary to end it.

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