

THE INFLUENCE OF WOMEN'S ISSUES ON
THE 1972 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

by

Dixie Lee Cody
B.A., Texas Christian University, 1971

Submitted to the Department of
Speech and Drama and the Faculty,
of the Graduate School of the
University of Kansas in partial
fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts.

Redacted Signature

Instructor in charge

Redacted Signature

For the department

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like first to thank my thesis advisor, Dr. Wil Linkugel, for the time he spent in helping me complete this volume. His suggestions about resources and organization of the material were invaluable.

Additional thanks go to the other two members of my committee, Dr. Cal Downs and Dr. David Berg. Dr. Downs has provided tremendous aid in the composition of Chapter V. Dr. Berg particularly helped my thought processes about communicative strategies for feminists for Chapter VI.

Finally, my thanks go to the professors and graduate teaching assistants who allowed me to administer my questionnaire in their classes.

D. L. C.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. INTRODUCTION.	1
II. WOMEN'S ROLE IN THE NATIONAL CONVENTIONS.	11
THE BEGINNINGS OF THE NATIONAL WOMEN'S POLITICAL CAUCUS.	11
THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION	14
THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION	25
WOMEN OF NOTE AT THE TWO CONVENTIONS.	33
EVALUATION.	39
III. THE CAMPAIGNS	47
THE ROLE OF THE CANDIDATES' WIVES	47
CAMPAIGN LITERATURE AND SPEECHES.	52
IV. FEMINIST OPINION ON THE CANDIDATES AND CAMPAIGNS.	75
V. OPINION AMONG AMERICAN WOMEN ABOUT THE 1972 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION AND WOMEN IN POLITICS	90
QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY CONDUCTED IN LAWRENCE, KANSAS: METHOD	90
RESULTS	92
OBSERVATIONS AND ANALYSIS	98
THE 1972 VIRGINIA SLIMS AMERICAN WOMEN'S OPINION POLL.	102
VI. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FEMINISM.	113
BIBLIOGRAPHY.	120
APPENDIXES: A. THE WOMEN'S PLANK OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY PLATFORM	130
B. THE WOMEN'S PLANK OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY PLATFORM	134

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

It would appear that women have hit the American political scene with a considerable amount of force and with enough conviction for them to be considered a viable political entity. The history of emerging woman power is long and arduous, beginning in Seneca Falls in 1848 with the first women's rights convention. The issue was the right to vote, and the fight took seventy-two years. In 1920 women were finally granted the right to vote. Some of the suffragists tried to shift the energies of women to other areas of concern as soon as the voting right was established, but World War I was just over, the men were returning home, and most women seemed willing to stop working, stop pressuring for their rights, and go home. In 1923 the Equal Rights Amendment was first proposed, but the impetus was gone, and the issue received little notice until right after World War II and then again in very recent times.

There has been a resurgence of feminism since 1963 with the publication of Betty Friedan's The Feminine Mystique, and with it has come renewed insistence that the Equal Rights Amendment be passed and ratified. The major differences in the old feminism of the pre-1920 era and the new feminism of post-1963 seems to lie in the scope of women's concerns. The early feminists, for the most part, wanted the right to vote but did not concern themselves so much with other issues. Today's

feminist is much quicker to question the entire situation in which women find themselves---from the role expectations instilled in them as children to equal pay for equal work, and from day care centers to sexism in the English language. One journalist expressed the breadth of concern like this:

I'd been working for Motive magazine for six months when I was sent, as token woman on the editorial staff, to the first national women's liberation conference in Lake Villa, Illinois. Nothing has been the same since. Now every song on the radio, every magazine ad and TV commercial, every casual conversation, every store window is political.¹

The year of a presidential election campaign provides an arena for the expression of political concern on the part of many groups. The 1972 campaign was a particularly good chance for women to express their new sense of unity, cooperation and power.

It will be the purpose of this thesis to evaluate the efforts of women to influence President Nixon and Senator McCovern in their race for the presidency. This must necessarily involve an examination of what constitutes a "woman's issue" as well as a look at many aspects of women's participation in the 1972 political process.

It is important to note the characteristics that set feminists apart from other American women. Feminism involves a primary commitment to the concerns of women, sometimes exclusively. It involves a sense of sisterhood with all other women, even those who do not reciprocate and resist women's liberation. Feminism is chiefly a self-definitional term. Those who apply it to themselves are sometimes members of specific liberation groups, generally believe that woman's plight is a political phenomenon, and are often found organizing to improve their lot in the political arena. True feminists are a minority of women in

America. There seem to be a wide variety of responses to feminism by women who do not include themselves in the feminist ranks ranging from covert support to open hostility. In assessing the influence of women on the 1972 presidential campaign this distinction between feminists and other women is important. Much of the progress made in terms of power and influence was spearheaded by feminists and the groups they have formed. This is not to indicate that women who do not consider themselves to be feminists did not participate and contribute to women's influence in the campaign. While there are many non-feminist women who were openly opposed to women taking a larger role on the political stage, many others supported feminist efforts and contributed to woman power in their own sphere in their own way. However, it was and is the feminists who, for the most part, define women's issues, receive coverage in the media, and provide the leadership for such action groups as the National Women's Political Caucus. The activities of feminists as well as of women outside the feminist ranks will be examined for their contribution to the impact women had in 1972 politics.

What then are the issues considered to be women's issues? One statement of these issues came from feminist and Congresswoman Bella Abzug in an article written soon after the establishment of the National Women's Political Caucus.

Among the goals endorsed by the Women's Caucus are passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, which died in the Senate last fall; repeal of laws affecting a woman's right to decide her own reproductive and sex life; changes in the Social Security system to end discrimination against families with working women; enforcement of all anti-discrimination laws; adequate shelter for all Americans, and an end to discrimination against women, especially families with women heads and welfare workers; elimination of the many tax inequities

that affect women and children, including full tax deduction for child care and household expenses; maternity leave and voluntary parental leave for childbirth; and an end to the social and economic degradation of women.²

The National Women's Political Caucus is by no means the only activist women's group, but Ms. Abzug's statement gives a concise listing of the diverse issues of concern to women. They are concerned that women should receive the same pay as a man for the same job and be accorded a fair opportunity to advance to management and decision-making jobs. They want marriage laws that do not take away a woman's identity and divorce laws that are fair to men and women. Welfare is an issue that makes the women's movement more than a middle and upper class struggle. It is the issue that helps bridge the class gap. Women's groups want welfare laws that do not drive families apart "by a Federal program that often forces husbands to desert the home so their wives and children can be eligible for some welfare money."³ Women want adequate day care facilities to aid not only welfare mothers who want to work to support their families but other women whose child-rearing responsibilities restrict their career opportunities. Women want for both men and women the right to control completely their sex and reproductive life in all areas including birth control, voluntary sterilization and abortion. All of these are political issues, and women know that their success in these questions lies in their ability to gain the political power commensurate with their strength in numbers in the American population. Consequently they have been particularly active this year in seeking to acquire equal representation in the party convention delegate selection process, in campaigning for women office seekers, and in trying to persuade the two major parties to their way of thinking on other women's issues.

Probably no one woman, not even a feminist, would be supportive of all these issues and certainly could not personally support action in all areas. However, what has been attempted here is a broad outline of the wide spectrum of women's issues. Perhaps, to put it philosophically, a statement by Betty Friedan explains the awakening of political consciousness in large segments of the female population:

The great philosophers from the Greeks to our own time have said that when men exercise political passion, participating in the decisions that write the ongoing human story, they are most human. It was this condition that defined the free man as opposed to the slave who was little better than an animal, doing the work needed for biological survival, but never leaving a mark behind. That kind of work has defined women, too, until now. We have not had the voice in human destiny, the political participation in which we could find and use our fullest human power.⁴

This thesis focuses on how these issues were tied directly to the 1972 presidential campaign. The procedure of investigation has been conducted in several ways. First, letters were written to specific men, women and organizations considered to be of potential help. Letters were sent to President Nixon and Senator McGovern via their campaign headquarters, and the staff of each responded with campaign literature which will be described more fully in another chapter. Shirley Chisholm and Frances Parethold were contacted because of their national prominence as presidential and vice-presidential candidates and their connections with the Democratic candidate and his campaign. Letters also were sent to spokeswomen of the feminist movement such as Gloria Steinem and to women's political groups such as the National Women's Political Caucus and the League of Women Voters. Specific women in the Democratic and Republican organizations were also contacted such as Amanda Smith, Women's Fights Coordinator/McGovern for President; Barbara Franklin, special advisor to the

president; and Carol Casey and Anne Armstrong, members of the Democratic and Republican national committees respectively. It was hoped that these letters would elicit source information, possible interviews, specific written information about the candidates' stands on women's issues, their campaign literature and speeches. Replies were not received from all of the sources; however, those replying were helpful. One interview was granted with Frances "Sissy" Farenthold. Campaign literature was received from each candidate's headquarters.

The second procedural step was to write approximately forty women's organizations such as Women Strike for Peace, Women United, the Women's Rights Project of the American Civil Liberties Union, and the Women's Equity Action League. These letters requested information about each organization and any attempts it might be making to influence the candidates about women's issues. Many of these letters were answered; unfortunately the answers were not as helpful as had been anticipated. A number of groups sent information about the organization but ignored the other questions. Several others replied with the information that as tax exempt organizations they could not seek to sway a candidate on the issue of concern to them by any offer of support or threat of non-support. Apparently most of these organizations are public information and opinion services and not politically active in the sense of power-seeking or power-swaying. For this reason, the major organization dealt with will be the National Women's Political Caucus.

A chance conversation led to an interview with Biddy Hurlbutt of Tonganoxie, Kansas, who was a delegate to the Republican Convention and a woman greatly concerned with women's issues. She provided some

insight into the workings of the convention as well as much of the NWPC literature that was available at the convention for the women delegates.

Publications, particularly in journals, have been the greatest source of helpful information. Women at the conventions, the role of Pat Nixon and Eleanor McGovern in the campaign, the National Women's Political Caucus, women office-seekers, and feminists seeking reforms have all received a great deal of coverage in popular journals. The traditional women's magazines such as McCall's and Vogue along with the familiar news magazines such as Time, Newsweek, and U.S. News and World Report have provided features on some of these topics as well as interviews and reporting.

Friends of the author have provided some pertinent newspaper clippings. The New York Times carried numerous helpful articles as did the Kansas City Star. The most useful publications have been those less traditional "women's" publications such as The Epokeswoman, Women Today, The Woman Activist, and Ms. Most helpful of all has been Ms. which each month since July, 1972, has published at least one article highly pertinent to the 1972 presidential campaign. The Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature, the Social Science and Humanities Index, and the Public Affairs Information Service Bulletin were valuable resources for published material. In addition, Louis Harris and Associates conducted a nation-wide poll to solicit American women's opinion about numerous topics including women's participation in politics, women in public office, and women as voters. This poll contains much valuable information and will receive close attention in Chapter V.

One of the biggest difficulties has been that of getting copies of the candidates' speeches pertaining to women's issues. McGovern

made one speech directly aimed at women voters at a Women's Rally sponsored by the Southeastern Michigan Women's Advisory Council for McGovern/Shriver on October 25, 1972. This was his only speech received by this author which dealt exclusively with women's concerns. Nixon apparently made no such speeches although comments aimed toward women can be gleaned from other speeches found in Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Richard Nixon, 1971 and 1972 and in Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents. These will be further discussed in Chapter III.

Because of the immediacy of the topic of this thesis there is very little available in the way of related studies other than current journals and press articles.

The contents of the remaining chapters will be as follows:

Chapter II will deal with women's participation in the national conventions, women's planks in the parties' platforms, the National Women's Political Caucus, and women who ran for national offices, especially Shirley Chisholm and Frances Parenthold.

Chapter III will examine the escalated role of the candidates' wives and other female campaign strategists, staffers and reporters. It will also include examination of the campaign literature and the candidates' comments and past records on women's issues.

Chapter IV will consist of a look at the feminist viewpoint of the candidates as shown in publications such as The Woman Activist and Ms. This will be an attempt to determine the feminist opinion of the extent to which President Nixon and Senator McGovern were committed to the women's issues.

Chapter V will be an attempt to examine the difference between the

feminist view, as presented in Chapter IV, and the average female voter in the U.S., as represented by national opinion polls. It will contain the results of a questionnaire which was conducted in Lawrence, Kansas, to compare the female student population with the "average female community member" in terms of attitude toward women's influence in politics in 1972.

NOTES

¹Joanne Cooke, "Here's to You, Mrs. Robinson: An Introduction," in The New Woman ed. by Joanne Cooke, Charlotte Bunch-Weeks, and Robin Morgan (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1970), p. 1.

²Bella S. Abzug, "Our White, Male, Middle-Class, Middle-Aged Congress," Journal of the American Association of University Women, LXV, no. 12 (November, 1971), 34.

³Lenore Romney, "Men, Women--And Politics," Look, April 6, 1971, p. 11.

⁴Betty Friedan, "It's Nonsense That There Are 'No Qualified Women' to Run for Office," McCall's, September, 1971, p. 134.

CHAPTER II

WOMEN'S ROLE IN THE NATIONAL CONVENTIONS

The effect of women at the two national party conventions is primarily a story of the National Women's Political Caucus. Accordingly, this chapter will deal with the history, purpose, and activities of the NWPC up to the time of the Democratic National Convention as well as the Caucus's role at each of the conventions. It will also include some background material on the key women at each convention, especially the women running for national office. Finally, this chapter will deal with some journalistic evaluations of the gains made by women in both conventions.

The Beginnings of the National Women's Political Caucus

The National Women's Political Caucus had its beginnings on July 10 and 11 of 1971. The organizational meeting in Washington, D.C. was attended by more than 300 women of diverse backgrounds. "The Women's Caucus is not a political party--and there are no plans at present to turn it into one. It is nonpartisan and any woman may join who supports its causes."¹ The Caucus is probably best defined by its avowed purposes. In a membership pamphlet issued by the NWPC, that purpose is stated: "To awaken, organize, and assert the vast political power represented by women."²

Members of the Caucus were motivated at least in part by the recognition that women make up fifty-three percent of the nation's

voting population and as of the time of the formation of the Caucus were represented by only 12 female House members out of 435 and one Senate member out of 100. The Caucus's aim was to make some inroads in this and other areas of politics.

The strategy, according to a statement of purpose adopted at the Washington meeting, is to "confront our own party structures, and, when necessary, cross party lines or work outside formal political parties in support" of women candidates who are willing to wage war "against sexism, racism, institutionalized violence and poverty."³

Guidelines were adopted on issues to be used in deciding whether or not to support a candidate, male or female. The only rule agreed upon was that no candidate who held racist views would be supported by the Caucus. Other guidelines for what to look for in a candidate included support for:

Passage of a proposed Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution, banning discrimination against women.

Repeal of all laws, such as those on abortion and contraception, that limit a woman's right to decide her own reproductive and sexual life.

Immediate withdrawal from Vietnam and an end to physical violence as a way of resolving conflict.

Adequate income for all Americans, with the level "based on the determination of adequacy by the National Welfare Rights Organization."

Fair treatment of working women, including full tax deductions for child care and household expenses.⁴

In addition to these guidelines for candidate selection and support, additional hopes and goals were expressed. These hopes grew at least partially out of the belief that "there is a strong community interest among the huge numbers of American women, a strong commitment to changing the direction of our society."⁵ The women hoped not only to triple their representation in Congress in the 1972 elections but also to increase their representation to the national conventions from roughly fifteen percent to no less than fifty percent.⁶

Action toward fulfilling the stated goals was promptly initiated. By the spring of 1972 Caucus branches had been formed in forty-six states. The Caucus interviewed presidential candidates on women's issues and sent the results to state branches. Further action by the Caucus included encouraging branch chapters to question local and state candidates on their views on women's issues. Women running for local offices received encouragement and campaign support from local members and even national Caucus figures.

Perhaps the biggest single effort was to get women elected as delegates to the national conventions. The first step in assuring that women would participate fully in the Presidential nominating processes of the two major parties was to meet with the chairmen of the parties to discuss ways of achieving the fifty percent women delegates goal. The new delegate selection rules of the Democratic party seemed compatible with the NWPC goal. The February 1972 NWPC Newsletter indicates that Caucus members received the following pledge from Democratic party chairman, Larry O'Brien:

The National Committee will send written instructions to all state parties informing them of the guidelines and requiring them to circulate the instructions to local and district groups as well as file their affirmative action programs with the DNC by mid-January.

Any delegation which does not include 50% women will be considered prima facie evidence of discrimination and will be subject to challenge. Such delegations must then prove that the process by which the delegates were chosen was open and non-discriminatory.⁷

This was helpful to the NWPC in that the burden of proof lay on the Democratic party machinery in each state, and "it is in the best interests of the state party and their presidential candidates to come to the convention with balanced delegations lest they face a credentials challenge."⁸

The Republican party had no such helpful rules regarding delegate selection. The Caucus meeting with Republican party chairman, Senator Robert Dole, "resulted in a strong statement to take all possible steps toward insuring equal representation at the 1972 convention. This was followed by a public announcement to the Republican National Committee."⁹

A special project called WEDS (Women's Education for Delegate Selection) was given the task of seeing that women were present at local delegate selection conventions. WEDS did this by holding educational conferences for women on the rules and procedures for delegate selection in each state and by helping interested women through the stages of the process. The Caucus also planned to give leadership to all women delegates in the country by sponsoring meetings in each stage of the process for every state and by holding a mass national meeting the day before each party's convention for all women delegates to that convention.¹⁰ The women of the National Women's Political Caucus were determined and well-organized. They concentrated on getting women into the delegations but were not hesitant to use the challenge process where necessary, as will be seen at the Democratic Convention.

The Democratic Convention

The National Women's Political Caucus's role at the Democratic Convention was described by one feminist writer like this:

The National Women's Political Caucus rode into Miami on a homemade contraption stuck together with bobbi pins and lubricated with scalding female tears. Instead of tough pros like Mankiewicz and Gary Hart at the wheel, we've got--- that is to say, we are--the damndest crew of amateurs and crazies, frustrated housewives and cockeyed feminists I've ever seen.¹¹

Shana Alexander goes on to describe how much, in her opinion, the

Women's Caucus had accomplished in its brief year of being. She was writing one week after the 1972 Democratic Convention and cites the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, the unseating of Congressman Celler by a thirty year old woman, the increase in women delegates, the appointment of Jean Westwood as chairwoman of the Democratic National Committee, and the adoption by the convention of a comprehensive woman's plank as NWPC victories.

Other female journalists writing immediately after the convention were not so enthusiastic about women's accomplishments and reacted with more bitterness to the way McGovern forces handled several floor votes on women's issues. Lynn Sherr for Saturday Review deemphasized women's accomplishments to report on some events she felt no one else was reporting. Her article is critical of the media coverage women received and of the male commentators on the major networks. She reports a statement by Gloria Steinem that, "The world is watching, and this time it's watching women." Ms. Sherr added, "Well, yes, the world was watching women--but only when it was convenient, and then usually through the unliberated eyes of the TV networks' newsmen."¹² Later she reports on the women's reactions to the South Carolina vote and the less than understanding commentaries made by Theodore White, Eric Sevareid, and Walter Cronkite. She says,

From the tube, you wouldn't know how double-crossed the women feel. Theodore White is pontificating about "the idea that there must be reasonable representation of certain biological groups--women, youth, blacks. I believe that a woman can represent me just as well as a man," he says, grandly. Eric Sevareid ponders the thought, then adds, "If you are going to carry it all the way, who's going to represent the left-handed Lithuanians?" Walter Cronkite reports that the South Carolina challenge is lost and "the ladies" are angry. Anyone who calls us "ladies" could never understand how we feel.¹³

Germaine Greer for Harper's wrote perhaps the most blistering critique of the convention and of George McGovern from her viewpoint as feminist, journalist, and liberal. She is critical of almost everyone, even her sisters. She feels that the atmosphere at most of the women's caucuses was one of self-congratulation for what had already been accomplished rather than serious planning of a feminist strategy. She says, "We allowed ourselves the luxury of believing that sisterhood is strong, although the events of the day had left me feeling that the mere fact of femaleness does not constitute sisterhood, and sisterhood itself does not automatically confer power."¹⁴ Her main concern is that the McGovern forces which had inspired great hope in liberal Democrats seem at the convention to be just another political machine sacrificing its scruples and principles to the expediency of gaining power. She is especially critical of the treatment of the two major women's issues, the South Carolina challenge and abortion. She says of the women:

They were in Miami as cards in McGovern's hand, to be led or discarded as he wished, not as players at the table. He could rely on the intensity factor to work them hard and stack the hall with his supporters, and he was not obliged to offer them a bent nickel in recompense: they would vote him to the nomination because they had no alternative. The right wing could threaten him with secession, but not his captive women, blacks, Latins, and kids. They were just not cynical enough to grasp that fact, or else they would have considered an alternative play, a vote for Humphrey or even for Nixon. . . . Womanlike, they did not want to get tough with their man, and so, womænlike, they got screwed.¹⁵

Gloria Steinem gives a more balanced view of women's accomplishments. She is a journalist, editor of Ms., and was the NWPC spokeswoman at the Democratic Convention. She notes four major accomplishments which she attributes to the National Women's Political Caucus.

They are:

- 1) the great increase in the percentage of women convention delegates over 1968,
- 2) the fact that there was a woman co-chairing the convention, Yvonne Brathwaite,
- 3) the women's plank, and
- 4) the fact that most of the challenges to delegations without a fair representation of women had either been won or negotiated to a compromise before the Credentials Committee before the convention got under way.¹⁶

She then gives a good discussion of the South Carolina challenge and the reproductive freedom issue as they were worked out in convention. There is some bitterness that the McGovern forces for whom many women worked so hard withdrew crucial support on these two issues which they had promised and which the feminists badly needed.

Finally another female journalist sums up what in her opinion women were seeking from both major party conventions. She says, "In essence, what women want from the '72 conventions is an opportunity to participate in a meaningful way."¹⁷

The diversity of opinion reflected in these commentaries by women is indicative of the mixed feelings of and about women in the Democratic Convention concerning what was accomplished by women and what was learned by their first major foray into the national political arena. In order to assess these questions more thoroughly a description of the events of the convention that related specifically to women's issues seems in order.

The June 1972 Newsletter of the National Women's Political Caucus

included the proposed women's plank for each of the major party platforms. The newsletter encouraged Caucus supporters around the country to raise the issue of the women's plank with convention delegates, platform committee members, and party officials in each state to make them aware of the need for the plank. The plank proposed by the NWPC, to each of the major parties' platform committees is given below.

We must take positive action on:

CIVIL RIGHTS

1. A priority effort to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment.
2. Amendment of existing civil rights legislation to prohibit discrimination on the basis of sex. Such change to:
 - eliminate discrimination against women in public accommodations and public facilities;
 - eliminate discrimination against women in public education;
 - eliminate discrimination against women in all federally-assisted programs and federally-contracted employment;
 - extend the jurisdiction of the Civil Rights Commission to include denial of civil rights on the basis of sex.

HUMAN RIGHTS

1. Implementation of the recommendations of the Presidential Commission on Population Growth and the American Future. In consonance with this study, all laws that affect a woman's right to decide her own reproductive and sexual life should be repealed.
2. Passage of comprehensive child care legislation.
3. Comprehensive legislation to provide preventive health care for all Americans, including provisions for maternity, abortion, and birth control aid regardless of age or marital status.
4. An immediate and concerted effort to end hunger and malnutrition for all Americans.
5. Fair treatment in housing to assure adequate shelter for all Americans, giving special attention to the elimination of discriminatory practices against women and families headed by women.
6. Reform of the criminal justice system, especially in those areas directly concerned with women.

ECONOMIC RIGHTS

1. Elimination of all tax inequities that affect women and children, such as higher taxes for single women.
2. Amendment of the Social Security Act to provide equitable retirement benefits for families with working wives, widows, women heads of households, and their children.

3. Extension of temporary disability benefits to cover pregnancy, childbirth, miscarriage, abortion and recovery.
4. Extension of equal pay, minimum wage, overtime and unemployment insurance to cover all workers.
5. Amendment of the Internal Revenue Code to permit families to deduct from gross income as a business expense reasonable amounts paid for a housekeeper, nurse, or related service for care of children or disabled dependents.
6. A guaranteed adequate income for all Americans.

NATIONAL COMMITMENT TO WOMEN

1. Appointment of women to positions of top responsibility in all branches of the Federal government to achieve an equitable ratio of women and men. Such positions include Cabinet members, agency heads, and Supreme Court justices.
2. Inclusion of women advisors in equitable ratios on all government studies, commissions and hearings.
3. Passage of the Women's Equality Act to implement the recommendations of the President's Task Force on Women's Rights and Responsibilities.
4. Passage of the Women's Education Act of 1973 which authorizes the Secretary of HEW to make grants to conduct special educational programs and activities concerning women.
5. Enactment of legislation authorizing Federal grants on a matching basis for financing State Commissions on the Status of Women.¹⁸

During the Democratic Platform Committee meeting on June 26, Flora Crater, feminist and editor of The Woman Activist, offered an amendment. She stated,

I am offering this amendment as a minimal expression to correct the injustice and violation done to women of this country by laws written and passed by men. I feel there should be no governmental interference in the right of a woman to control her reproductive life.¹⁹

Her amendment read, "the right of women to control their own reproductive lives." It was to be included in a section of the platform dealing with the Democratic party's commitment to resuming the march to equality. Ms. Crater's own explanation of what happened to the amendment is given below.

Shirley MacLaine, member from California, made the following substitute: I would like to offer a substitute motion to the amendment by Ms. Crater. I would like to state that

the lack of a recommendation on abortion law reform violates the personal belief of myself as well as many of the other members of the committee. We feel that it is a woman's right to control her own body, and therefore to abortion on demand. It is a basic human female freedom. Because it is a woman's basic freedom we must fight for and will fight for its recognition and win. And I, and others who share these feelings, intend to carry on that fight. But that fight should occur outside of the partisan distortions which would arise in a presidential campaign as they are here tonight. (Failed on roll call vote 41 to 59). Crater Amendment was then voted on and failed on hand vote 31 to 55. The following minority report was filed the next morning by Jennifer Wilke, member from Alaska:

MINORITY REPORT #7

(III. Rights, Power and Social Justice)

Addition to The Rights of Women, page III - 6:

In matters relating to human reproduction, each person's right to privacy, freedom of choice and individual conscience should be fully respected, consistent with relevant Supreme Court decisions.²⁰

In numerous statements both before and during the convention it became obvious that Ms. MacLaine's motivation was primarily to get abortion off the platform because she feared it would hurt George McGovern to have to campaign against Nixon with that plank in the platform. Her primary commitment was to see that McGovern was nominated and then that he not be burdened with such a controversial issue that could so handily be used against him in the campaign. The final draft of the women's plank, minus any mention of reproductive freedom, was proposed by the Platform Committee under the section on "Rights, Power and Social Justice."

During the week before the convention was to start, members of the NWPC met in Miami to plan strategy for the convention. They knew they would be under-staffed, under-experienced and under-financed compared with some other forces on the convention floor. They also knew

that they would need to make a unified fight on two issues of importance to women at a minimum:

- 1) any remaining challenges to delegations without enough women
- 2) the minority reproductive freedom plank.

One other potential show of woman power was the nomination of a woman for the Vice-Presidency.²¹

As the convention got under way the first major accomplishment of women became apparent in the number of women on the convention floor. In 1968 women had made up only about thirteen to fourteen percent of the delegations and had otherwise been seen mostly in the roles of official hostesses or of wives at luncheons. In 1972 Gloria Steinem commented as she surveyed the convention hall, "We've changed the population here. It almost looks like the country."²² Women made up about forty percent of the Democratic delegates in 1972.

Meanwhile, on a diet consisting primarily of wheat germ and yogurt, the staff of the NWPC was keeping busy at headquarters in the Betsy Ross Hotel. They made an attempt to contact at least one woman in each delegation and churned out many press releases explaining complicated issues and procedural questions.

A brief discussion of the women's issues on the convention floor is given below.

- 1) The South Carolina Challenge: The Women's Caucus chose the South Carolina challenge as their floor fight "partly because they were indeed under represented there, and partly because a victory would have established a definition of "affirmative action" that would have helped all traditionally excluded groups in the future."²³ The women had worked for days to organize a floor structure that could at least

contact most of the 1270 women delegates. The women had also received a pledge of support from McGovern on the issue. Unfortunately, the South Carolina challenge became entangled with the California challenge and was defeated by the McGovern forces. The question revolved around who owned California's 271 delegates. McGovern, having won the June 6 primary, had them all according to California's winner-take-all policy. In late June as the party's Credentials Committee was meeting, a stop-McGovern coalition was formed; some called it the A.B.M. movement for "Anybody But McGovern." They succeeded in nullifying California's winner-take-all rule, taking away 151 McGovern delegates and sending the fight to the convention floor. This play was expected to prevent McGovern from winning on the first ballot, and some thought it might throw the whole nomination open. On the floor the matter narrowed down to:

Should McGovern's 120 delegates--the proportional share he was entitled to by winning 44% of the primary vote--be permitted to vote when the credentials question came up? And what would constitute a majority on the question--the 1509 needed to nominate or the 1433 that represented a majority after the contested California delegates were subtracted?²⁴

Larry O'Brien ruled that only a majority of those voting, not 1509, was necessary to decide credentials disputes. The important thing about the South Carolina challenge which preceded the California challenge on the floor was not to win or lose so narrowly that O'Brien's ruling on what constituted a majority would come up for a floor test during the South Carolina debate. If it did, the 151-Anti-McGovern delegates would be eligible to vote on the issue. This would make McGovern's strength on the key question about the California delegates much less when it came up on the convention floor than if he could postpone the test until the California credentials case when the 151

would be ineligible.²⁵ Consequently, when the South Carolina challenge was being voted on Gary Hart, McGovern campaign manager, made the decision that South Carolina would have to be sacrificed in order to insure a California victory. The word was spread and McGovern delegates began voting "no" on South Carolina. The final vote was 1557.75 to 1429.05 against the women's challenge.

2) The women's Plank: The women's plank of the platform passed with no difficulty. It was the first time in history that women's rights had been included in a major party platform. A copy of this plank can be found in Appendix A of this thesis.

3) The challenge to the Chicago delegation of Mayor Daley which had far too few women, minorities and young people was passed.

4) The Reproductive Freedom Plank: There was considerable pressure on the Women's Caucus to withdraw the minority plank on reproductive freedom proposed by Jennifer Wilke. The plank did not mention the word abortion, but abortion was considered to be the issue nevertheless. The pressure to withdraw the plank came from both sides, from those who opposed abortion and from those who were for it but did not wish to see McGovern saddled with it since it could be used against him in the campaign. However, the consensus of the meetings of women delegates held by the Caucus was to fight; in one vote taken, support for the plank ran 9 to 1.²⁶ Three women delegates spoke for the plank including Jennifer Wilke and Frances "Sissy" Farenthold who personally questions abortion but believes every woman has the right to decide for herself.²⁷ Speaking against the plank were St. Louis Attorney Eugene Walsh, a right-to-lifer, and Shirley MacLaine who left the vote to each delegate's conscience but indicated her opinion

that the issue did not belong in the platform. The issue failed on the convention floor, but made a good showing. Political expediency once again caused McGovern to withdraw support. The final vote was 1101.+ voting yes, 1572.+ voting no, with 211.+ abstaining.²⁸ It is probable that the plank would have passed if it had retained support from the McGovern forces. It is interesting to speculate on the number of yes votes and abstentions and wonder if those votes were cast primarily by the women delegates. This author has been unable to find material to answer these questions.

5) The Vice-Presidency: After initial confusion over whether or not to nominate Shirley Chisholm as a vice presidential candidate, the NWPC had one afternoon to launch a campaign for Sissy Farenthold. The Caucus was committed to help Chisholm if she decided to run, and they did not know until Thursday that she did not plan to run. Sissy had the support of some of the young people who helped run her campaign for the governorship in Texas, as well as that of Shirley Chisholm, John Kenneth Galbraith, Sam Houston Johnson (LBJ's brother) and several senators who were sympathetic to her cause but unwilling to make nominating speeches because Tom Eagleton was a fellow senator and McGovern's choice. It was a short campaign, only several hours really. Sissy was nominated by Gloria Steinem, spokeswoman of the NWPC. The seconding speeches were made by David Lopez representing the Spanish-speaking caucus; Fannie Lou Hamer, a civil rights leader signifying the black caucus; and Allard Lowenstein, an anti-war leader and adviser to the Youth Caucus.²⁹ The other two vice-presidential candidates opposing Eagleton were better known than Sissy and both had longer, stronger campaigns. In the final vote, however, Sissy came in second

only to Tom Eagleton winning 412 votes.

In addition to the votes on the convention floor, women's political influence was evident in their greater visibility as delegates and on the podium. A child care center was established for the first time. There was at least one female reporter on a national network, and women at the convention received more media attention via television and journalism than at any preceding convention.

The Republican Convention

Bobbie Greene Kilberg, a Republican and member of the National Women's Political Caucus Policy Council writing for the Washington Post, noted four accomplishments of women at the Republican Convention including the women's plank, a section of the plank concerning day care, much discussion of the abortion issue among delegates even though it was not brought to the floor, and a strongly worded rule for positive action in seeking participation by women and minority members in future delegate selection processes.³⁰

Many journal accounts about women's role at the G.O.P. Convention spent considerable verbiage comparing them with the women at the Democratic Convention. Some felt that because Republican women were less flamboyant, they accomplished less. Others after comparing the styles of the two groups felt that each group accomplished much in their own way. Betty Friedan is quoted as saying, "I'm a Democrat, but the emergence of women at this convention may be more important than what the women did at the Democratic Convention."³¹ Again an examination of the events of the convention concerning women is in order.

Five different women's groups testified before the Republican Party Platform Committee on women's issues. One of them was the

National Council of Jewish Women. Patricia Burnett and JoAnn Gardner testified for the National Organization of Women. Copies of these two testimonies have been unavailable.

Joy R. Simonson, President of the Interstate Association of Commissions on the Status of Women, testified in the name of that organization. She proposed ten planks which had been adopted by the Second Annual Conference of the IACSW in June of 1972. They follow:

1. Equal Rights Amendment. An all-out effort to complete the ratification of this Amendment is essential for both its legal and psychological implications for full citizenship for women.
2. Federal and State laws which prohibit all forms of discrimination must be vigorously enforced; the agencies charged with such enforcement must be adequately staffed and funded.
3. Affirmative action to appoint women and other underrepresented groups to important positions in all branches of federal and state governments is required. The Republican Party should also actively encourage members of these groups to run for elective office at all levels.
4. Legislative and administrative efforts to combat sexist stereotyping and inequalities in education for all age groups are important.
5. Increased public support of quality child care programs, not limited to welfare or low income families should be provided.
6. The Fair Labor Standards Act should promptly be extended to household workers and to state and local government employees.
7. Tax and social security inequities should be eliminated.
8. The American Revolution Bicentennial Commission and the State Commissions should increase the involvement of women and should emphasize the history, contributions and concerns of women in all phases of the Bicentennial observances.
9. The Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor, as the focal point of the Federal Government's concern for women, should be elevated in status and given increased resources with which to assist the women and women's organizations of the country.
10. Federal matching grants and increased state funding to finance the work of the state Commissions on the Status of Women should be authorized.³²

Casey Eike from Lawrence, Kansas, as national president testified on behalf of the Intercollegiate Association of Women Students. In

her testimony, Ms. Eike praised President Nixon's accomplishments in the area of women's rights. She noted that her organization had endorsed The Report of the President's Task Force on Women's Rights and Responsibilities. Of the Task Force's recommendations, many had already been implemented, Ms. Eike said. Several others were to be considered of high priority to women and were suggested as part of the platform.

They were:

1. The establishment of an Office of Women's Rights and Responsibilities, whose Director would serve as a special assistant reporting directly to the President. This office should be concerned with the overall responsibility for Federal legislative and executive action in the area of equal rights and responsibilities for women, as well as the recruitment of women to policy-making positions.
2. Elimination of sex discrimination in public education, such as in the area of career education, counseling, and optional courses.
3. Amendment to Title II of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to prohibit sex discrimination in public accommodations.
4. Amendment of the Social Security Act to equalize social security benefits for women workers, to provide benefits to husbands and widowers of disabled and deceased women workers, and to equalize benefits for families with working wives.
5. Amendment of the Internal Revenue Code to permit families in which both spouses are employed or one spouse is employed and one disabled, and families headed by a single person, to deduct from their gross income as a business expense some reasonable amount paid for a housekeeper, nurse, or institution for care of children of disabled dependents.
6. Enactment of legislation authorizing Federal grants matching basis for financing State Commissions on the Status of Women.
7. Establishment of Priorities for women in manpower training programs along with a guarantee that all training programs are non-discriminatory in terms of numbers of women involved and job opportunities provided.
8. The Republican Party should lead in the drive for ratification of the ERA by pledging technical and financial assistance to the states for changing their laws to comply with Equal Rights Amendment.³³

Ms. Eike also included as a part of her speech a discussion of other priority concerns for young women voters including more high level

appointments for women in capacities such as agency heads, Cabinet members, and Supreme Court justices; government funded child care facilities; and the rights for women to determine their own reproductive lives.³⁴

The testimony for the National Women's Political Caucus was given by its Republican spokeswoman, Jill Ruckelshaus. The plank proposed by the Caucus included:

1. Elimination of all economic discrimination, especially in the areas of credit and consumer rights;
2. Provision for comprehensive public and private child care and development programs;
3. Repeal of laws that restrict the right of every woman to determine her own reproductive life;
4. Ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment; and
5. A national commitment by the Republican Party to full participation at all levels in the political process.³⁵

Each of these planks was explained at length with examples of the problems and specific recommendations.

Prior to the convention, all women delegates and alternatives received a mailing from the NWPC informing them of the purpose of the Caucus and where NWPC headquarters would be located during the convention. The cover letter encouraged women to support the NWPC women's plank by contacting platform committee members. Included in the mailing was a copy of the proposed plank and a list of Platform Committee members. The copy of the proposed plank was identical to the one printed in The Woman Activist in July, 1972 for both parties and was a condensed version of the Ruckelshaus testimony.

The National Women's Political Caucus staff and Republican members descended on Miami a week before the convention began as had their Democratic counterparts. They began sending out press releases, and by the time the women delegates arrived, the Caucus had prepared

numerous printed items to be distributed. (It is presumed that similar material was prepared for the Democratic women delegates, but such material was not available to this author). Material received by the women delegates either by mail or at convention registration included delegate selection statistics, the women's plank, a list of Platform Committee members, a Miami Fact Sheet, a WEDS information sheet on "How a Proposed Rule Becomes a Party Law," an article on "Women and the Platform," and the report of the Delegates and Organizations (D.O.) Committee. WEDS also provided a booklet for the delegates which contained information on the convention committees, the agenda, the proposed rule modifications, the women's plank, lists of committee members, the percentage of women in each state's delegation, and some information about the Equal Rights Amendment. It also gave a list of events to be held of particular interest to women such as the following:

August 20,	11:30-1 p.m.	NWPC: Women's Caucus '72, All women attending the con- vention invited.
August 21	8 a.m.	Breakfast Honoring Women Candidates
	9:30-12 noon	Women's Workshops
August 22	10-12 noon	Women of Achievement Brunch
August 23	10-12 noon	Women in Politics Workshop
	2-5 p.m.	Reception, National Federation of Republican Women. ³⁶

The Women of Achievement Brunch received considerable criticism from feminists who found the narration by Pat Boone and Mrs. Sammy Davis, Jr. puerile and offensive.³⁷ The women being honored were modeling period costumes of other women of achievement in history. There was a luncheon for women held at the Democratic Convention also which was criticized by Germaine Greer, but the mention of it was not nearly so consistent as was that of the Republican brunch.

Even without party delegate selection guidelines such as the Democrats had, the percentage of women delegates at the Republican Convention increased from seventeen percent in 1968 to thirty percent in 1972. Three states, Arkansas, North Dakota and South Dakota, had fifty percent women delegates while thirteen more states were represented by forty and forty-five percent women.³⁸

Unlike the Democratic Convention, very little in the way of issues was fought out on the convention floor. It was a quiet, amenable convention, a show of party unity and support for the incumbent President. However, four issues of concern to women were fought out behind the scenes before and during the convention.

1) The women's plank: Slightly over half of the women's rights plank of the Republican Platform is in praise of the Nixon Administration's efforts on women's behalf. Another section concerns day care and is followed by a list of pledges from the Republican party for continued progress for women's rights. A copy of the Republican Platform's women's plank is to be found in Appendix B.

2) Child Care: A major triumph was won by Republican women on the issue of child care. The original draft of the platform made no positive mention of day care programs beyond the tax deduction provisions which are already law. The final draft, however, states,

We believe the primary responsibility for a child's care and upbringing lies with the family. However, we recognize that for economic and many other reasons many parents require assistance in the care of their children.

To help meet this need, we favor the development of publicly or privately run, voluntary, comprehensive, quality day care services, locally controlled but federally assisted, with the requirement that the recipients of these services will pay their fair share of the costs according to their ability.

We oppose ill-considered proposals, incapable of being

administered effectively, which would heavily engage the Federal Government in this area.³⁹

Nixon vetoed one comprehensive child care bill and is known to oppose involving the Federal government in day care programs because he feels it may tend to weaken the family. The woman primarily responsible for pushing the Platform Committee to endorse the strong pledge was Congresswoman Peggy Heckler. She spent many hours working over ninety-six drafts of the proposal and negotiating with the White House and with the other Platform Committee members. She finally succeeded with this proposal and won a promise from Platform Chairman John Rhodes to co-sponsor a child care measure with her as well.⁴⁰

3) Abortion: Evidently, there were not as many women at the Republican Convention who were as strongly in favor of abortion being included in the women's plank as were in the Democratic ranks. First, since Nixon is known to be against abortion such a clause would have been embarrassing to him. Second, it could have caused disharmony on the convention floor which would have clashed considerably with the other peaceful proceedings. However, the issue was discussed in Subcommittee II and the full Platform Committee. Also a group of thirty-five to forty women delegates were found who supported the notion that abortion is a matter for personal decision. They could have brought the matter to the floor but decided not to because it would be disloyal to Nixon⁴¹ and would also give right-to-life opposition a prime television time forum.⁴² One of these women, Biddy Hurlbutt of Tonganoxie, Kansas, said in a later interview that she had been disappointed. She said Jill Ruckelshaus promised at a women's meeting on issues on Wednesday morning that the abortion issue could be heard on the floor. Ms. Hurlbutt commented that she felt it did not come up because the

administration "didn't want any dissension and they didn't really want it discussed."⁴³ Consequently, the time for the women's plank on the floor was taken up with other issues than abortion; nevertheless, the issue fared not much worse at the Republican Convention than at the earlier Democratic Convention.

4) Rule #32: Convention Rule 32 contains the anti-discrimination clause of the Republican Party Rules. The NWPC proposed amending the clause to include sex so that it would read,

(a). . . each State shall take positive action to achieve the broadest possible participation by everyone in party affairs, including such participation by women, young people, minority and heritage groups, and senior citizens in the delegate selection process.⁴⁴

The women also supported another clause recommended by the Delegates and Organizations (D.O.) Committee which said,

(c). . . Each state shall endeavor to have equal representation of men and women in its delegation to the Republican National Convention.⁴⁵

These were the two clauses eventually adopted by the full convention on August 22. However, when the Rules Committee work was completed on August 16 the words "positive action" were missing and in their place was the phrase "strive to achieve." A member of the NWPC Policy Council explained the importance of restoring "positive action" as follows:

Thus, while we had gained specific reference and targeting of women, youth, minorities, ethnic groups and senior citizens in the delegate selection process, we had lost important action words that would require a strong effort at the inclusion of those groups. While "positive action"--as a synonym for "affirmative action"--had a legal and legislative history outside the party framework, "strive to achieve" had none, and that suited the opposition just fine.⁴⁶

Ms. Kilberg explains that the change occurred on August 16 while the Rule was being retyped. She says it left the meeting room reading "positive action" and returned reading "strive to achieve." It was

then passed while many who voted did not realize the change had been made or did not understand the importance of the original wording.

She says,

In seeking and winning a restoration of the stronger language in the Convention Rules Committee and its acceptance by the Convention itself, we found that we had the votes of both the real reformers and those who were royally miffed at the thought of someone having pulled a fast one on them.⁴⁷

Women of Note at the Two Conventions

It goes without saying that with so many women present at the conventions it would be impossible to mention all of them or even to take note of all the ones who received mention in the media. The purpose of this section then will be to give some information about some of the most prominent women at the conventions and to make note of women running for national offices.

At the Republican Convention there were three women other than Pat Nixon and her daughters who received the most attention and perhaps got the most done. They were Anne Armstrong, Jill Ruckelshaus and Margaret Heckler. Anne Armstrong was co-chairperson of the Republican National Committee. A Republican from Texas, she was the first woman ever to give a keynote address at a major national political convention. Her address was, in large part, an appeal to win over disenchanted Democrats to the Republican ticket. She was a good person to make the appeal since she is herself a Republican convert; she became a Republican when she married wealthy Texas rancher Tobin Armstrong.⁴⁸

Jill Ruckelshaus is a Catholic mother of five and the wife of the director of the Environmental Protection Agency. These roles alone however would not have carried her to national prominence. She is also a member of the NWPC Policy Council and was the NWPC spokeswoman

to the Republican Convention.⁴⁹

Margaret "Peggy" Heckler is a Congresswoman for Massachusetts. She received most notice because of her very determined fight in the Platform Committee for a child care clause in the women's rights plank.⁵⁰

Women at the Democratic Convention were more vocal and more numerous than the Republicans. There are, therefore, more of them to mention here. The woman perhaps most in the spotlight was the Convention's co-chairperson, Yvonne Brathwaite. She is a black attorney from East Los Angeles and has been a state legislator. She ran in the 1972 election for Congress from the 37th Congressional District and won that race. She is a supporter of child care legislation and of women's right to abortion through the first six months of pregnancy. She sought out and gained support of well known feminists for her campaign.⁵¹

Jean Westwood of Utah was of note primarily because as McGovern's choice she was elected to follow Lawrence O'Brien as chairperson of the Democratic National Committee. After McGovern's defeat, she was replaced in that office.

Actress Shirley MacLaine was prominent both at the convention and indeed throughout the campaign. Beginning in late 1971 she worked as an unpaid, full-time volunteer and worked herself into a position of trust. McGovern consulted with her and made her co-chairperson with Bella Abzug of McGovern's Advisory Council on Women. She raised funds, contributed funds, traveled for and with McGovern, made speeches to large groups and met with smaller groups for living-room coffees. At the convention she was a McGovern delegate from California and helped in the fight to keep abortion off the platform for which she came under considerable attack from some of the more issue-oriented women of the

feminist persuasion.⁵²

Betty Friedan, referred to occasionally by some feminists as "the mother of us all," was present at both conventions. She is a Democrat and took an active part in the women's caucus meetings of the Democratic women. She was at the Republican Convention observing for McCall's magazine but attempted to wield some influence among the women there, too, especially encouraging the abortion issue. She has been a leader of the women's movement for years and is sometimes credited with rekindling it in 1963 with the publication of her book, The Feminine Mystique. She was the organizer and first president of the National Organization of Women and one of the convenors of the National Women's Political Caucus.

Gloria Steinem has been known in political circles for years. She was well known in the Kennedy era as part of that set prior to her feminist awakening. She is a journalist and one of the editors of the feminist magazine Ms. She has been acquainted with McGovern for years and gave considerable fund raising support to his campaign. She supported Shirley Chisholm's campaign wherever Chisholm was running in primaries and McGovern wherever Chisholm was not in the running.⁵³ Ms. Steinem was a convenor of the NWPC in 1971, is a member of its Policy Council and was the Caucus's spokeswoman at the Democratic Convention.

Bella Abzug was elected to Congress from New York City's Nineteenth District in 1970. Before the 1972 election N.Y.C. was redistricted, and her district was no more. She ran against Congressman William Ryan in the Twentieth District and lost the primary. Before the election, however, Ryan died of cancer and Bella won over Ryan's

widow in the election. She has received considerable media attention due to her appearance, style and general flamboyance. Feminists believe however that Bella's legislative accomplishments have been glossed over because "she operated outside, in spite of, and often against the fraternal system" of Congress.⁵⁴ Concentration on her personality allowed her effectiveness to be discounted. She is a feminist leader, convenor of the NWPC and a member of its Policy Council. She served with Shirley MacLaine as Co-chairperson of McGovern's Advisory Council on Women. She strongly supported women's issues at the convention even when it came to a choice between the issues and the candidate of her choice.

Two women ran in the primaries of the Democratic Party in 1972. They were Congresswoman Patsy Mink of Hawaii and Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm of New York. Congresswoman Mink's candidacy received much less attention than did Ms. Chisholm's perhaps because Chisholm's support was stronger. Chisholm had the support of the feminists and some of the black voters. She is herself a black woman, a convenor of the NWPC and member of the Policy Council. She has said,

I've met much more discrimination as a woman than as a black in politics. There is a basic discrimination against women in politics. Men do not fear women per se, but they fear women with ability. Women are going to have to do the same thing blacks have--rise up--get rid of the albatross of white male role expectations around our necks.⁵⁵

She was in the running primarily to be a force pushing the other candidates to the left since there seemed to be so much pressure toward the right. Her own statement of declaration of her candidacy perhaps best explains why she ran.

I am a candidate for the Presidency of the United States. I make that statement proudly, in the full knowledge that,

as a black person and as a female person, I do not have a chance of actually gaining that office in this election year. I make that statement seriously, knowing that my candidacy itself can change the face and future of American politics--that it will be important to the needs and hopes of every one of you--even though, in the conventional sense, I will not win.⁵⁶

Ms. Chisholm's role in the convention was not a large one. She was on hand to display party unity by appearing with George McGovern on the podium after his acceptance speech. She chose not to allow her name to be put in nomination for the vice-presidency by the NWPC but endorsed the candidacy of Sissy Farenthold.

Frances Tarleton Farenthold, best known as Sissy, was elected to the Texas legislature in 1968. She became associated with and a leader of reform politics in Texas. She says of her experience there, "A lot has happened in four years. If there had been a place for me in the system, I'd have worked in it."⁵⁷ She went her own way in Austin because there was not a place for her in politics-as-usual, but she says there are some advantages to that because now she is not dependent on the system. In 1971 Sissy decided to run for governor in Texas. She surprised a lot of people in the primary by coming in second over Lt. Governor Ben Barnes. Her opponent in the run-off was Dolph Briscoe, a former legislator and millionaire rancher. She feels it was finances that was the biggest obstacle to her becoming governor. Briscoe spent two million dollars while her campaign expenditures were around \$600,000. She says the first reaction is ridicule, people take you lightly because you are a woman.⁵⁸ She found this to be true even in her own family. She also feels that women, because they relate to dominant white men rather than to minority status, "can move back and forth so we don't identify with our own plight,"⁵⁹ but for her,

being a woman gives greater understanding of and empathy with those minority groups who suffer even greater barriers. Her campaign in Texas came from a coalition of young people, blacks, and Chicanos, with strong backing from several labor unions. At the convention Sissy was leading the McGovern faction of the Texas delegation. Her nomination as a vice-presidential candidate was more than a gesture of feminist strength. There were good reasons for choosing her.

Even the skeptical male press, many of whom would not have covered the Farenthold announcement at all had it not accidentally followed Eagleton's, was impressed with Sissy's record and qualifications. McGovern had chosen Eagleton partly for his ticket-balancing qualities: he was a Catholic from a border Southern state who had good relations with labor and was an impressive campaigner. Sissy could duplicate each of these advantages, and was no more obscure at the national level than Eagleton himself. Furthermore, she had put together a coalition of women, blacks, Chicanos, young people and workers--exactly the sort of traditionally excluded groups that McGovern would have to forge into a political force if he were to win. "If she can do it in Texas," one of the reporters admitted grudgingly, "she can do it anywhere."⁶⁰

Sissy is no longer nationally obscure. Her surprising strength brought her in second to Eagleton and surpassing two men whose efforts at the nomination had gone on for months. Since that time she has been elected to the top office of the National Women's Political Caucus.

It should be briefly noted that one other woman was running for the office of President of the United States. Linda Jenness was the presidential nominee of the Socialist Workers Party. She was nominated at their national convention in August, 1971. She and her running mate, Andrew Pulley, a black activist, got more than 500,000 signatures on the petitions necessary to put them on the ballot in twenty-three states and the District of Columbia. Feminism was a big part of Ms. Jenness's campaign. She supported universal child care, elimination of job dis-

crimination, and put special stress on abortion as the "cornerstone struggle in the Women's Movement today."⁶¹

One final comment about the women at the conventions should be made. One male reporter at the Democratic Convention noted that it is not the big names who know what political power is all about. It is the women who were elected to their states' delegations, who voted for a candidate even at the sacrifice of an issue; these women are where real woman power comes from.⁶² It is the opinion of this author that women have gained much in the political arena; all women, the delegates, the nationally known feminist leaders, and women totally divorced from the political process have gained some new awarenesses because of what happened in Miami in July and August. These awarenesses as well as women's setbacks will be discussed in the final section of this chapter.

Evaluation

It can perhaps be said that not much in the way of tangible results was gained by women in politics in 1972. Certainly Germaine Greer indicates this in her major article about the Democratic Convention for Harper's. Other people have looked at the setbacks women suffered and questioned what was accomplished. For instance, it has been suggested that it would have been at least courteous and perhaps quite sensible for McGovern to offer the vice-presidency to Sissy Farenthold after Eagleton was removed from the ticket since she was the convention's second choice.⁶³ The other major setback for women was the fact that reproductive freedom was not permitted into either party's platform. This setback is especially ironic in light of a Gallup Poll taken in August of 1972 which indicated that sixty-four percent of all Americans

are in favor of legalized abortion. Even Catholics in the sample approved by fifty-six percent.⁶⁴ Reproductive freedom is, of course, much more than the right to have an abortion. It applies to all aspects of birth control, sterilization, and choice of sexual partner. As Gloria Steinem notes, the issue "has become distorted, emotionalized, and nearly immune to common sense. So far, the courts have proved to be more concerned with the rights of women than have political leaders."⁶⁵ She points out the diversity of the issue and says, "By focusing on abortion alone, it also obscures the related issues involved in government interference in our reproductive and sexual lives."⁶⁶ The reproductive freedom plank failed in both conventions; Nixon opposes abortion; McGovern hedged on the issue; but even so some gains have been made. One journalist points out that abortion above all else is politicizing women and teaching them the power tactics politics seems to require. She says,

Men have always used their vote directly to improve the quality of their own lives. . . . Up until now, by contrast, women have demanded nothing strictly for themselves. The most they ever asked was better schools for their children. They had the vote for over 50 years without really using it, without understanding its power. Through abortion reform they begin to understand.⁶⁷

Thus it appears that even this apparent setback can be seen as a valuable lesson in politics for women.

In other ways women as a group still have much to learn about politics. Shana Alexander's analysis of the situation takes note of women's lack of confidence in the political arena. She also questions,

How can women be so righteously, passionately committed to the cause of power-to-the-powerless, and at the same time be individually so turned on to power themselves? Perhaps the answer is that all women--"liberated" women and "leaders" especially--are more like men than some sisters care to admit. Machismo may indeed be a dirty word, as Gloria

once suggested. But the most important lesson for women in 1972 is to learn that female sexism, the urge to bawl male-chauvinist-pig, is equally obscene. Only a female chauvinist pig does that.⁶⁸

Betty Friedan simply notes that women at both conventions were too inexperienced to achieve all they hoped for or wield all the power of which they are capable.⁶⁹ A problem the women faced was the decision between candidate and issues. At the two conventions this decision was solved in different ways by different women. Particularly at the Democratic Convention where the effort was to challenge an incumbent, some women voted against issues to which they were personally committed in order to elect a candidate they liked. Others put issues first. Gloria Steinem supported McGovern and yet felt that issues had to come first for women. One of her articles points to another problem and another lesson women need still to learn.

There must be some ever-changing middle ground between being a mindless mechanic in the service of a candidate and organizing around issues to bring outside pressure to bear. I had done first one, then the other. The issues must be more important than the candidate. But, like all of us who have so much at stake in this election, I'll have to find a way to both pressure and communicate. I'll have to find the difference between courage and pride.⁷⁰

Not all the women at the conventions would call themselves feminists. Some of the women in the delegations did not attend caucus meetings for women. Some were put on their delegations to satisfy the party guidelines for delegate selection not because they were qualified but because of who they were married to. Nevertheless, many women who would not consider themselves feminists attended caucus meetings. Some cooperated with feminist strategy; others were not interested. Among Democrats some felt the feminist objective should be to elect McGovern. Others sought to put issues first. Among Republicans some

put re-electing Nixon first on the basis of his record on women's job opportunities. Others sought to challenge the party on the issues in which it had been weak. Some women at the conventions went virtually untouched by women's issues or by the activities of the National Women's Political Caucus. Certainly there were women at each convention who would not care to acknowledge the influence of the NWPC on their decision process if it was there. Others were actively participating with women's issues in mind. Such diversity can only strengthen the participation of women in the long run. No one expects all women to adopt one, solid bloc with a unified approach and opinion. What is expected and desired is that women take their place in the political process in proportion to their strength in the population. A beginning toward that goal was made at the conventions of 1972.

The media has described 1972 as the Year of the Woman in politics. That in itself has had its effects on the future of women in politics. Because of the activities of the NWPC and other groups, the public at least became aware of the inequities that have discriminated against women and minority groups in the past in delegate selection and other areas. Both parties have passed reforms that will substantially help alleviate these troubles in the future. Finally, the groundwork has been laid not only for more women in the delegations with less pressure and threat of challenge but also for more influence by women, feminists and others, and women's issues.

NOTES

¹"Women's Political Caucus: What It Is, What It Wants," U. S. News and World Report, August 16, 1971, p. 67.

²National Women's Political Caucus, "The National Women's Political Caucus," membership recruitment brochure, Caucus Office, Washington, D. C.

³"Women's Political Caucus: What It Is, What It Wants," p. 67.

⁴Ibid., p. 68.

⁵Bella S. Abzug, "Our White, Male, Middle-Class, Middle-Aged Congress." Journal of the American Association of University Women. LXV, no. 12 (November, 1971), 34.

⁶"Never Underestimate . . .," Newsweek, July 26, 1971, p. 29.

⁷National Women's Political Caucus, "Newsletter II," Washington, D. C., February, 1972, p. 1.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Ibid., p. 2.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Shana Alexander, "A Letter to the Founding Mother," Newsweek, July 24, 1972, p. 37.

¹²Lynn Sherr, "Democratic Women," Saturday Review, August 5, 1972, P. 6.

¹³Ibid., p. 8.

¹⁴Germaine Greer, "McGovern, The Big Tease," Harper's, October, 1972, p. 62.

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 62-63.

¹⁶Gloria Steinem, "Coming of Age with McGovern: Notes from a Political Diary," Ms., October, 1972, p. 104.

¹⁷Ponchitta Pierce, "What Do Women Want at the Conventions," McCall's, July, 1972, p. 42.

¹⁸National Women's Political Caucus, "Newsletter V," Washington, D. C., June, 1972, pp. 1-2.

¹⁹"1972 Democratic Platform Amendments on Women's Rights Re: The Abortion Issue," The Woman Activist, II, no. 7 (July, 1972), p. 2.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Steinem, "Coming of Age," p. 104.

²²"Eve's Operatives," Time, July 24, 1972, p. 25.

²³Steinem, "Coming of Age," p. 104.

²⁴"Introducing the McGovern Machine," Time, July 24, 1972, p. 18.

²⁵"How McGovern Brought It Off," Newsweek, July 24, 1972, p. 20.

²⁶Steinem, "Coming of Age," p. 104.

²⁷Elizabeth Frappollo, "The Ticket That Might Have Been: Vice-President Farenthold," Ms., January, 1973, p. 116.

²⁸"Newsweek's 1972 Democratic Convention Score Card." The Woman Activist, II, no. 7 (July, 1972), p. 4.

²⁹Frappollo, "The Ticket That Might Have Been," pp. 118-120.

³⁰Bobbie Greene Kilberg, "Republican Women Assessing Their Gains and Losses," The Washington Post. This article was given to the author by Ms. Biddy Hurlbutt of Tonganoxie, Kansas. The page was undated, and the author has been unable to locate the date of publication.

³¹"How to De-Radicalize," Time, September 4, 1972, p. 18.

³²Interstate Association of Commissions on the Status of Women, "Press Release," Washington, D. C., August 16, 1972.

³³Casey Eike, "Women's Rights," testimony of the Intercollegiate Association of Women Students before the Republican Platform Committee, available through the Dean of Women's Office, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas, pp. 3-4.

³⁴Casey Eike, "Other Concerns of Top Priority to Young Women Voters," auxillary section of testimony of the Intercollegiate Association of Women Students before the Republican Platform Committee, pp. 1-2.

³⁵"Testimony of the National Women's Political Caucus Before Subcommittee II, Human Rights and Responsibilities, of the Resolutions Committee of the Republican National Convention," August 16, 1972, pp. 2-3.

³⁶Women's Education for Delegate Selection (special project of the National Women's Political Caucus), Do 8, handbook for women delegates to the 1972 Republican National Convention, p. 7.

³⁷Sally Quinn, "GOP Has 'Firsts' Parade," Fort Worth Star Telegram, August 23, 1972, Section B., p. 1.

³⁸Do 8, p. 19.

³⁹"The Woman's Plank of the Republican Platform," The Woman Activist, II, no. 9 (September, 1972), 4.

⁴⁰"How to De-Radicalize," p. 18.

⁴¹Louise Hutchinson, "Women Abandon Plank on Abortion," Chicago Tribune, August 23, 1972.

⁴²Kilberg, "Republican Women Assessing Their Gains and Losses."

⁴³Ms. Biddy Hurlbutt, interview in her home, Canaan Farms, Tonganoxie, Kansas, October 5, 1972.

⁴⁴Kilberg, "Republican Women Assessing Their Gains and Losses."

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷Ibid.

⁴⁸"How to De-Radicalize," p. 18.

⁴⁹Ibid.

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹Barbara Marcus, "The Year of the Women Candidates," Ms., September, 1972, p. 66.

⁵²"Show Biz in Politics," Newsweek, September 25, 1972, p. 37.

⁵³Steinem, "Coming of Age," p. 100.

⁵⁴Judith Nies, "The Abzug Campaign: A Lesson in Politics," Ms., February, 1973, p. 78.

⁵⁵Shirley Chisholm, question and answer session at a reception following her speech at the University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas, November 14, 1972.

⁵⁶Gloria Steinem, "The Ticket That Might Have Been: President Chisholm," Ms., January, 1973, p. 73.

⁵⁷Frances Farenthold, interview at The Old Capitol Club, Rice Hotel, Houston, Texas, January 6, 1973. ⁵⁸Ibid. ⁵⁹Ibid.

⁶⁰Frappollo, "The Ticket That Might Have Been," p. 118.

⁶¹"Linda Jenness for President," Ms., March, 1973, p. 84.

⁶²Jimmy Breslin, "How Women Are Taking Over Politics," Cosmopolitan, November, 1972, pp. 178-181.

⁶³Frappollo, "The Ticket That Might Have Been," p. 119.

⁶⁴"A Vote on Abortion," Time, September 4, 1972, p. 8.

⁶⁵Gloria Steinem, "Sexual Politics," Newsweek, July 10, 1972, p. 32.

⁶⁶Ibid.

⁶⁷Shana Alexander, "The Politics of Abortion," Newsweek, October 2, 1972, p. 29.

⁶⁸Alexander, "Letter to the Founding Mother," p. 37.

⁶⁹Betty Friedan, "What Have Women Really Won?," McCall's, November, 1972, p. 172.

⁷⁰Steinem, "Coming of Age," pp. 104-105.

CHAPTER III

THE CAMPAIGNS

Women were not as obvious a force in the campaigns of President Nixon and Senator McGovern as they were at the conventions, nor were women's issues as influential and prominent as feminists had hoped. Nevertheless, each of the parties attempted to represent their First Lady nominee as a new kind of woman with a special, important role in a campaign and an administration. Campaign literature for each candidate also attempted to appeal to women voters. This chapter contains an examination of the roles of Pat Nixon and Eleanor McGovern in the campaigns and an evaluation of the campaign literature and speeches of each candidate that directly appealed to women.

The Role of the Candidates' Wives

The Nixon campaign was based primarily on two strategies. The first was to stress the President's record, to represent him as competent and responsible, while keeping him personally off the campaign trail as much as possible. The other strategy was to show McGovern as a radical challenger to the basic American institutions. The plan was explained as follows:

The President plans to stay on the job. He will leave the rest of the work to what are called "presidential surrogates": a collection of Cabinet heads, Congressmen, and others who will carry the Nixon message. They will act as shields in the basic strategy: keep Richard Nixon the President from having to answer George McGovern the challenger. No debates on television, no debates in the press, stick to the issues

and to what Republican strategists characterize--and intend to exploit--as the McGovern challenge to America's basic institutions.¹

The McGovern campaign, on the other hand, was primarily based on a comparison of personalities. The strategy was to tap a "general resentment against the powerlessness of individuals and the power of big Government, business and labor" by portraying Nixon as "the champion of bigness" and the Administration as "deceptive, secretive and unwilling to 'level with the people'."² By contrast McGovern was to be shown as more sincere, more candid and receptive to new ideas, and generally more trustworthy.

The differences in the general strategies of the two campaigns seem to be reflected in the media images and the campaigning of Pat Nixon and Eleanor McGovern. Jane Muskie once reflected during an interview that "the First Lady accurately mirrors her time."³ Of Pat Nixon, Mrs. Muskie said that she had at first personified only wife and mother, "but, more recently, probably responding to the new political awareness of women, has begun to take on a more active image."⁴ The interview took place during the primaries when Senator Muskie was still in the running for the Democratic nomination. Mrs. Muskie took an active role in campaigning, interpreting her husband's views and policies as well as expressing her own. The author notes,

Not many men in high office and seeking even higher would put their own careers on the line by sending their wives out to tangle with the public and the press on the gut issues of our time. Eleanor McGovern . . . is the only other wife of a presidential hopeful who is holding forth on her own in the same way as Jane Muskie--and it is probably no accident that the two women are good friends.⁵

The Republican National Convention paid tribute to Pat Nixon in a ten minute film narrated by actor Jimmy Stewart. She received thun-

derous applause following the film and reportedly charmed the convention, the press and the crowds in Miami. Her daughter, Tricia Cox, reported that her mother had always been outgoing, vivacious, talented and capable, but most reports of her indicate a change in her since she entered the White House. She is more confident and less diffident. As the President's wife she has traveled as a special emissary to Africa and Peru and accompanied Mr. Nixon on his historic visits to China and Russia. She herself claims that she has not changed but has simply received more news coverage as First Lady than she did in the past.⁶ She, along with her two daughters, Tricia Cox and Julie Eisenhower, were a big part of the team of "presidential surrogates" who hit the campaign trail right after the convention.

The emphasis of the campaigning of the three Nixon women was the youth and women's votes. Julie Eisenhower particularly made a strong pitch for the youth vote, and all three women emphasized the Administration's program to recruit women to top Government jobs.⁷ Their job was to "take the White House to the people." They worked separately for the most part with occasional joint appearances. Pat also joined with her husband for a few of the biggest events. She dealt on occasion with issues raised by questioners but stuck carefully to her husband's positions. On her first solo-campaign tour she visited seven states in six days including Illinois, Montana, Wyoming, California, Oklahoma, and Texas. She was present for the commemoration of the 100th anniversary of Yellowstone National Park, part of the Oklahoma state fair, and the dedication of a cornerstone to Mr. Nixon's late mother at a California retirement village.⁸ She kept a busy schedule and, for the most part, was well received and considered highly effective.

Sissy Farenthold, in an interview by this author, was asked, "In your opinion is Eleanor McGovern really a new brand of politician's wife or was that image created for the sake of getting the vote of 'the new woman'?" She responded that to her Mrs. McGovern appeared to be "incredibly disciplined and very sharp--very much her own person."⁹ This description seems to be borne out in the journal descriptions of Eleanor McGovern's activities during almost two years of the McGovern campaign. Senator McGovern declared for the presidency early in 1971, and there began immediately rugged campaigning in the states where primaries were to be held.

Eleanor McGovern has been a campaigner for years. She managed her husband's first House race in 1956 and took over the 1962 Senate campaign when McGovern got hepatitis just three weeks before the election. In the Presidential campaign she traveled more than half a million miles, wrote most of her own speeches and dealt with important political issues like Vietnam and corruption in government.¹⁰ She was the first wife of a presidential candidate ever to be interviewed on NBC's "Meet the Press."¹¹ She campaigned four or five days a week from the beginning except for a brief enforced rest stop in the hospital in October, 1972, when her taxing schedule finally wore her down.

The rest of the McGovern family also did some campaigning. Daughter Ann, Mrs. Wilbur Mead, spent three to four days a week at the job.¹² The McGoverns have five children, two son-in-laws and three grand-children. The family has been described as including,

a school dropout; a would-be school dropout; a college student who's been arrested for possession of marijuana; a one-time self-proclaimed "Socialist revolutionary"; a young woman deeply into women's lib; a convert to Catholicism; an ex-Marine Vietnam veteran; a talented musician; a would-be

poet; a bubblingly happy nursing mother; and three bouncing young grandsons.¹³

It has been suggested that it is the problems they have faced as a family that helped McGovern identify with youth.

It is obvious that of the two candidates McGovern was the first choice of most feminists. It is also true that Eleanor McGovern was more active on the important issue-level of campaigning than Pat Nixon. She pledged to be an activist First Lady which must have been pleasing to feminists, but at the same time she was not all they hoped for either. She described her role as serving as her husband's alter-ego. She said, "I can say things about him that he can't say himself. I can talk about his strength of character, his commitment."¹⁴ Of the wife's role in politics she said, "I think wives are expected to talk more about the issues nowadays."¹⁵ Eleanor McGovern's favorite issue dealt with "the importance of child-care centers and early enrichment for our most deprived youngsters, an area in which I am passionately interested."¹⁶

A comparison of the two women seems to indicate that both are at home with campaigning and enjoy it. Both are content to be supporters of their husband's careers. Eleanor McGovern dealt more directly with the issues and gave her own opinions even when they differed with the Senator's. This issue orientation and challenge of the present administration was in line with general strategy of the entire McGovern campaign. Pat Nixon on the other hand, reported knowing very little of most of the issues about which she received questions. This also seems fitting in light of the overall campaign strategy followed by the Republicans. Mrs. McGovern came closer to pleasing the feminists even though she firmly believes in a mother staying home with

young children, an opinion not entirely acceptable to hard-core feminists. However, the impact of both candidate's wives probably reached much closer to the majority of American women voters, the wives, mothers, housewives who could identify with Pat and Eleanor as mothers and wives at the same time admiring the two women for their campaign activities, charm and political consciousness.

Campaign Literature and Speeches

The campaign literature available through each party's headquarters also reflected the general strategies of the respective campaigns. Almost every piece of literature from the Republican party concerning women dealt with past accomplishments. Promises were few and very general. On the other hand, McGovern literature emphasized two things. First, McGovern's past record on women's issues was stressed, especially as compared with Nixon's which was shown as less outstanding than the Republican literature indicated. Secondly, the Democratic literature made more promises and those more specific than the Republican pledges. Examples of the literature of both candidates is further examined below.

Materials received from the Republican party include several campaign brochures on women; letter and fact sheet on Nixon accomplishments for women from Anne Armstrong, Vice-chairperson of the Republican National Committee; the report of the Citizen's Advisory Council on the Status of Women; and numerous fact sheets from and articles about Barbara Franklin, Special Staff Assistant to the President for the recruitment of women for federal jobs.

In April of 1971 President Nixon took three steps to help place more women in top jobs in the Federal government. He directed the heads of executive departments and agencies to develop and implement

action plans to attract and place more women in top and middle management positions in the Federal government. He appointed Barbara Hackman Franklin to establish a talent bank of women from all over the country to fill openings in policy-making positions. Finally, he appointed Jayne Baker Spain the first woman in ten years to be Commissioner and Vice-Chairman of the Civil Service Commission and asked her to do everything possible to see that women in the career Civil Service are guaranteed equal opportunity for employment and advancement.¹⁷ In addition one Republican National Committee brochure outlined other Nixon achievements. In July, 1969, Nixon ordered his top officials to hire more women for high level federal positions. In August of that same year he issued an Executive Order restating the principle of equal employment opportunity in the government. In October, 1969, he set up a Task Force on Women's Rights and Responsibilities.¹⁸ The same brochure emphasized that Nixon was in support of the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. Two other campaign brochures called "Women to Win" emphasize "Phase I: How to Recruit Women Candidates" and "Phase II: How to Win With Women Candidates."

Information received both from the Republican National Committee and from Barbara Franklin puts considerable stress on the firsts accomplished for women in the Nixon administration. Some of the women most often mentioned as Nixon appointees are Helen D. Bentley, chairperson of the Federal Maritime Commission; Catherine May Bedell, Chairperson, U.S. Tariff Commission; Dr. Dixy Lee Ray, member, Atomic Energy Commission; Isabel Burgess, member, National Transportation Safety Board; Eileen Donovan, U.S. Ambassador to Barbados; Nancy Hanks, chairperson, National Endowment for the Arts; Patricia R. Hitt,

Assistant Secretary of HEW for Community and Field Services; Virginia Knauer, Special Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs; Elizabeth Koontz, Director, Women's Bureau, Labor Department; Charlotte T. Reid, Commissioner, Federal Communications Commission; Marina von Neuman Whitman, member, Council of Economic Advisers; and, of course, Jayne B. Spain and Barbara Franklin. Nixon named the first woman admiral and the first Army and Air Force brigadier generals. Campaign material points out that more than half of these appointees hold positions never before held by women.¹⁹ The complete list of appointees is considerably longer, but these are some of the appointees most often mentioned in the literature.

Other women's issues were dealt with very little in the Republican campaign literature. Child care is mentioned in several brochures in only enough length to say:

The President's record is clear. He has proposed strong child care provisions for families as part of the Welfare Reform Act H.R. 1, now awaiting action by Congress. He has also supported and signed into law the Revenue Act of 1971 which allows tax deductions for child care in middle and low income families.²⁰

Other issues of concern to women were nowhere specifically mentioned.

Campaign material for the Democratic Party came primarily from the McGovern for President organization and the Women's Caucus of the United Auto Workers whose Vice-President, Olga Madar, is a member of the National Women's Political Caucus Policy Council. In accordance with the flavor of the whole campaign, the Democratic literature emphasizes the past record of Senator McGovern on women's issues and favorably compares McGovern's record with Nixon's.

In a letter to prospective contributors McGovern is credited with the following explanation of his reasons for the kind of campaign he

conducted:

I realize it is unprecedented for a presidential candidate to make such detailed, specific proposals. I realize it has made me a much easier target for the opposition than if I had confined my public statements to safe generalities, as candidates usually do. But I feel that 1972 is a turning point in the affairs of this nation. It is a time when we must decide what kind of people we are, and what kind of country we want. Such a time demands concrete proposals and a clear choice.²¹

This statement was made in reference to McGovern's economic proposals, but the content applies equally to women's issues and others.

From the material available it would appear that McGovern had more women actively involved in key campaign positions than Nixon. A National Women's Advisory Council for McGovern-Shriver in '72 was organized with Bella Abzug and Shirley MacLaine as co-chairwomen, Xandra Kayden as Executive Director and Anne Martirdell as Deputy Campaign Director. In addition, Amanda Smith and Penny Addis served consecutively as women's rights co-ordinator for that organization. The aim of that position was to increase McGovern-Shriver feminist press coverage and "to help get the National Women's Advisory Council operating in each state to insure women's participation in the campaign at all levels and to insure that McGovern's position on issues of concern to women is made known to all of us women voters."²² In the Republican literature received by this author no mention was made of attempts to influence or be in contact with feminists. By contrast, McGovern's campaign structure actively included well-known feminists and sought to reach feminists and all of their concerns in addition to reaching other women who would not identify themselves with the feminist cause. Another indication of this was an article sent to this author by the McGovern for President committee entitled "Gloria Steinem

Aids McGovern's Cause" which states, "Beyond her speeches, Miss Steinem is a symbol of a general effort by the McGovern campaign to support the women's movement and its organizational resources in all the primary states."²³

The McGovern appeal to the women's vote was much stronger in the campaign literature than Nixon's. He emphasized a greater number of women's issues while Nixon concentrated on employment alone, especially his accomplishments in employment in top Federal government jobs of highly educated, capable, middle to upper class women. McGovern's literature emphasized day care more and gave emphasis to other issues like welfare, educational discrimination and the problems of older women.

At least partly because of the Nixon strategy of avoiding open debate during the campaign, McGovern's literature attempts to fulfill this purpose. Much of it emphasizes the differences between Nixon and McGovern's records on women's issues. Examples of the comparisons from the Democratic campaign literature follows.

Women in Higher Education

Nixon: The Nixon Administration has not implemented the recommendations of the President's Task Force on Women's Rights and Responsibilities that would have extended equal pay provisions to executive, administrative and professional employees and would have established a Women's Unit in the Office of Education. The Administration has also failed to enforce an Executive Order 11375 which forbids sex discrimination in institutions receiving federal contracts.

McGovern: McGovern endorsed the Task Force recommendations and co-sponsored the Women's Equality Act which was designed to implement them. He urged strong enforcement of Executive Order 11375. He co-sponsored an amendment to the Public Health Services Act forbidding sex discrimination by medical schools. He co-sponsored the Omnibus Education Amendments Act of 1971 which would prohibit distribution of federal funds to schools that are biased in admission or educational policies. He proposes if elected to upgrade the Office

of Education to full Cabinet-level status and pledges to name a woman to head up the new department.²⁴

Day Care

Nixon: In 1969, Nixon called for a "national commitment to provide all American children an opportunity for a healthful and stimulating development during their first five years of life." He did not initiate such a program, but Congress did. That legislation would have provided for three of the five million day care places currently needed and would have assured comprehensive services for both pre-school and school children. The President vetoed the bill claiming it was fiscally irresponsible, administratively unworkable, and would "weaken" family structure.

McGovern: The Senator has consistently and actively worked for the extension of comprehensive day care facilities for children of all economic levels. He co-sponsored the Comprehensive Child Development Act and called the veto a "shameful treatment of millions of Americans" noting that the veto "makes impossible our hopes to enable the working poor to provide more adequately for their children." McGovern pledged himself to quality day care in a McGovern administration.

The Problems of Older Women

Nixon: After four years of Nixon women's Social Security benefits remain 20% below those of men.

McGovern: The campaign literature indicates support for the Kennedy-Mills plans for health care. McGovern advocated equal Social Security benefits for men and women, and called for the extension of benefits to widows aged 62.

On Equal Employment

Nixon: Nixon prevented the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission from enforcing women's rights.

McGovern: McGovern fought to give the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission power to ensure the civil rights of women.

On Women's Rights

Nixon: Nixon ignored the Equal Rights Amendment in his 1972 State of the Union address.

McGovern: McGovern co-sponsored the Equal Rights Amendment in the Senate.

On Women in Government

Nixon: Nixon had 150 chances

McGovern: McGovern took the

to appoint women to Federal judgeships. He appointed one. He had five chances to nominate a woman to the Supreme Court. He has nominated five men. He has no women in his Cabinet. He had four years to fill top administrative posts with women. After three years, only 150 out of the 10,000 supervisory posts were held by women.

leadership in opening up the Democratic Party to equal representation for women. He has pledged to appoint a woman to the U.S. Supreme Court. He is committed to appoint women to his Cabinet. He nominated the first woman ever to lead a national political party--Jean Westwood.²⁵

It is apparent from the above comparisons that even in the area Republicans emphasized as their strength, the Democrats were critical and pledged to do better. Specific McGovern pledges to women included appointing women to the Cabinet as Agency and Bureau heads; choosing a woman for the Supreme Court which he urged Nixon to do in the past; naming women to the National Security Council; sending a woman ambassador to the U. N.; elevating the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor to the status of an independent Women's Employment Administration with its own Assistant Secretary of Labor; appointing a Special Assistant to the President for Women's Rights; supporting comprehensive child care; and ending the tokenism of the present Administration by promoting women to full equality with men at all levels of the Federal government.²⁶

From the Women's Caucus of the United Auto Workers this author received a packet of material including one article from the Detroit Free Press and one from The Detroit News reporting McGovern's campaign visit and speech in that city on October 25, 1972; a list of "McGovern's Promise to Women" from the Michigan Labor Committee for McGovern-Shriver; a comparison of the Nixon and McGovern records on women's issues called "Women Can Make the Difference: McGovern vs. Nixon"; a bulletin called "A Special Message to Richard Nixon. . ."

outlining women's dissatisfactions; and two speeches made by McGovern addressed specifically to women. A comparison of Nixon and McGovern addresses to women follows.

There is no evidence in Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Richard Nixon, 1971 and 1972 or Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents that President Nixon made any speeches addressing and concerning women that could be called campaign speeches during the time following the Republican Convention and before the election. During 1971 and 1972 there are several brief statements and two major addresses concerning women. A listing of some of the most pertinent statements and addresses to or about women made during 1971 or 1972 follows:

April 3, 1971---Statement about Policy on Abortion at Military Base Hospitals in the United States.

April 21, 1971---Memorandum About Women in Government for the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies.

June 1, 1971---Text of Nixon's June 1 televised news conference in Nixon: The Third Year of His Presidency, section on the employment of women.

July 9, 1971---Message about the Death of Dorothy Elston Kabis.

August 6, 1971---Remarks to Delegates to the Girls Nation Annual Convention.

September 20, 1971---Statement Announcing Nomination of Romana A. Banuelos as Treasurer of the United States.

October 22, 1971---Remarks at the Convention of the National Federation of Republican Women.

January 2, 1972---Columbia Broadcasting System Interview, The President's Conversation with Dan Rather.

January 20, 1972---The State of the Union: The President's Message to Congress.

February 10, 1972---National Center for Voluntary Action: The President's Remarks at the Center's First Annual Awards Dinner.

March 18, 1972---Letter notifying Senate Minority Leader Hugh Scott of his support of H J Res 208 (the Equal Rights Amendment).

April 28, 1972---Status of Women in the Administration.

August 22, 1972---Arrival at Miami, Florida: The President's Remarks Upon Arrival at Miami International Airport to Attend the Republican National Convention.

August 23, 1972---Acceptance Speech as published in U.S. News and World Report, September 4, 1972.

August 26, 1972---Women's Rights Day Proclamation 4147.

September 21, 1972---Advisory Committee on the Economic Role of Women.

From even a brief analysis of excerpts from these speeches it is obvious that the audience Mr. Nixon hoped to reach did not include feminists. He was concerned to show women that he believes they should have equal opportunities, but his emphasis was almost always on the issues that speak to a large majority of American women who are housewives or who are in careers and feeling sex discrimination in pay and promotion opportunities. He not only neglected many feminist issues but treated some issues directly opposite to the way feminists hoped. His statement of April 3, 1971, is a good example. Most feminists want repeal of laws which restrict anyone's sexual and reproductive life to include laws on sterilization, birth control, permissible sexual activities, and abortion. They are not satisfied with the policy taken by both Nixon and McGovern that the matter of abortion should be left to the states. They want the laws repealed in every state and feel the federal court system should back that as constitutionally right. Nixon's statement directed that the policy on abortion on military bases should coincide with the laws of the states where the bases are located. This was a reversal of regulations issued

the previous summer which had liberalized the rules on abortion in military hospitals. About abortion Nixon said:

From personal and religious beliefs I consider abortion an unacceptable form of population control. Further, unrestricted abortion policies, or abortion on demand, I cannot square with my personal belief in the sanctity of human life--including the life of the yet unborn.

A good and generous people will not opt, in my view, for this kind of alternative to its social dilemmas. Rather, it will open its hearts and homes to the unwanted children of its own, as it has done for the unwanted millions of other lands.²⁷

Such a statement from any man flies in the face of feminists. They might argue that the United States has not, in fact, accepted, much less opened its heart, to illegitimate children, nor is it just for those in power, men who cannot get pregnant, to make and maintain laws which force those not generally in power, women in this case, to continue unwanted pregnancies.

An examination of the language of Mr. Nixon's statements about women from a feminist viewpoint again puts him in an unfavorable light. Feminists do not want to be called "ladies," a word which Nixon uses repeatedly in referring to women. Most feminists prefer the use of "Ms." to "Miss" or "Mrs." Nixon has said, "I guess I am a little old-fashioned, but I prefer the 'Miss' or 'Mrs.'" But if they want to do it the other way, of course, we accept it. I can assure you some of the things that have come in letters are quite amusing."²⁸ Nixon's use of language cannot be safely generalized to indicate an attitude toward women's liberation. He can probably not be attacked in this instance even though the use of "Ms." is a feminist preference because it is indeed a matter of personal choice. The inclusion of the last sentence, however, which seems to indicate a less than respectful and

slightly flippant attitude toward the women's movement does not do him credit.

President Nixon's statements show a definite lack of understanding of the purposes and meaning of the Women's Liberation Movement. He seems to believe that the movement encourages women not to be wives and mothers, that feminists do not believe wives and mothers make a contribution to society. That is not the position of feminism, but an example of Nixon's misunderstanding follows. In addressing delegates to the Girl's Nation Annual Convention he said,

I am convinced that you will play a role. Some of you may be tempted to think, "Unless I play a role of spending my whole time in politics or business, in other words, unless I become like a man"--and this is what our Women's Lib people might say--"then I really haven't done my share."

Don't you believe it. There are millions of women in this country who, without ever running for office, without ever becoming involved in business full time, have an influence on the country as homemakers, as wives, and as mothers, that is perhaps far greater than most of the men.

Don't ever downgrade that. It is terribly important, and I just know as I look at this group that you are going to be fine Americans in the years ahead.²⁹

In the same speech he said,

A woman has this advantage over a man: that she can exert leadership without ever being elected to office, without ever holding a position. I refer to the influence that a woman can have in her home, the influence that she has over her children, the influence, of course, that she has over her husband.³⁰

In fairness it must be noted that Nixon also said several things in his speech of which feminists would approve. He noted that women are important politically because they are the greater number of potential voters. He noted that many women hold active and responsible positions in government. Most importantly, he noted the national and world leaders who are women as illustration of his point that leadership does not come in terms of whether one happens to be male or female.

The statement most often quoted in Republican campaign literature about Nixon's view of women's role in society also came from this speech. It follows:

In the United States today we have got to have the best people in positions of leadership. We have got to look beyond all of the usual tests that we make, and if a woman has that capacity, we want her. We want women in the House; we want them in the Senate; we want them in government positions; we want them in elected positions everywhere.³¹

While approving of Nixon's appointments of women and of statements such as this, most feminists would remain critical of Nixon's misunderstanding of the women's cause. There is not a single speech in which he discusses women's potential leadership role in society that does not include a counter about the importance of women as wives and mothers based on his perception that women's liberation is encouraging women to abandon those roles in favor of becoming "like men." That is, of course, not the case. Feminists might simply argue that women have received more than adequate encouragement and socialization for the roles of wife and mother and need much more encouragement to express their strengths by individual and organizational political effort. Women do not need more reinforcement from the highest office in the land for the roles they have been brought up to fulfill. He makes the same error by feminist terms in his speech to the National Center for Voluntary Action. Noting that at least half of the people present at the Center's first annual Awards Dinner were women, Nixon said, "There is no area in which the women of America can render greater service to their country than in the field of volunteerism."³² This in itself is not an offensive statement except insofar as voluntary action has been a traditional avenue for women, and in a society that seemingly values only work that is paid for, feminists would

encourage women to think highly enough of themselves and what they can do, including housework and the raising of children, to seek and expect pay for it. Nixon, however, compounds his error with this statement: "We are proud of what the men have done, people like Henry Ford and Ted Etherington. We recognize that they stand up here and they may make the speeches and bows, but we realize that women do the work, and we thank them for doing it."³³ That is exactly the situation out of which women's liberation and specific organizations such as the National Women's Political Caucus were formed. Women were tired of doing the work and watching the men make the speeches and bows. If women are doing the work, they want more than thanks; they want recognition equal to the share they have contributed.

To Nixon's discredit from a feminist viewpoint is the fact that he did not mention women's issues in his acceptance speech in Miami. He thanked the Convention for its tributes to Pat Nixon, and he criticized the proposal of quotas to assure non-discrimination, but these were the only mention of women or women's issues in the speech.³⁴ In Nixon's favor is the letter sent to Senate Minority Leader Hugh Scott on March 18, 1972, just four days before the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment by the Senate which mentions that in 1951 he had co-sponsored a resolution supporting an equal rights amendment and states, "Throughout 21 years I have not altered my belief that equal rights for women warrant a constitutional guarantee--and I therefore continue to favor the enactment of the constitutional amendment to achieve this goal."³⁵

These issues, however, are probably not prominent in the consciousnesses of most American women voters. They are most interested

in only three areas of feminist concern: job discrimination, equal opportunity for advancement, and equal pay for equal work. In these areas Nixon's appeal was stronger. As has been noted, in April, 1971, Nixon took several steps to insure greater participation by women in governmental departments and agencies. He made numerous appointments of women to top level jobs. Though most feminists chose McGovern as their candidate, many Republican women, even feminists, decided that a man with such a record deserved votes and a chance to do even better in a second administration. Others questioned the statistics. It would appear that statistics are also a political game. The interpretation makes considerable difference. For example, one might say as Nixon did in the 1972 State of the Union Message to Congress:

Within the Government, more women have been appointed to high posts than ever before. . . . The number of women appointed to high-level Federal positions has more than doubled--and the number of women in Federal middle management positions has also increased dramatically. More women than ever before have been appointed to Presidential boards and commissions. Our vigorous program to recruit more women for Federal service will be continued and intensified in the coming year.³⁶

On the other hand, opponents might interpret the statistics and say:

Mr. President, women make up more than 50 percent of the population, but it seems that men have a lot of the top Government jobs. Out of the top 10,000 Federal supervisory posts, only 150 are filled by women, and in 2-½ years you have appointed only 200 women to Federal jobs, 62 of them in one single arts commission.³⁷

It is impossible to distill such conflicting interpretations in order to expose either attitudes or the truth of such situations. It can be said on behalf of Nixon that some efforts have been made and he has shown action to fulfill pledges such as the following:

There are many women who are the best qualified people for jobs in Government, and wherever we can get women to

take those jobs, they will be appointed.

I have asked my staff--and particularly in this case we have Miss Franklin working on this--to give me any recommendations that they possibly can that will bring qualified women into Government, because finding qualified people is very difficult and we don't want to rule out such a great source of qualified people as the women provide.³⁸

That his primary target audience did not apparently include feminists in the long run did not harm Nixon politically and was probably of little concern to people other than feminists themselves.

After Shirley Chisholm who, of course, never really had a chance for the Democratic nomination, George McGovern was the choice of most feminists although some Republican feminists, as was noted before, chose to vote for a sure thing rather than an unknown. McGovern's campaign literature included copies of three speeches made by him in 1971 as printed in the Congressional Record. One was about "Women in Medical Education" made July 15, 1971. Another, made August 6, 1971 concerned "Equality for Women in Higher Education" in which he said,

I hope that before the end of the 92nd Congress the U. S. Constitution will be amended to outlaw all discrimination on grounds of sex. Until such time as the equal rights amendment is passed, there is available to us another effective way of fighting discrimination. I urge my colleagues to take every opportunity to prohibit Federal funding of sex discrimination. While amending individual bills in no way reduces the need for the constitutional amendment, it does provide at least a step-by-step attack giving women equality in at least those areas covered by the specific bills.³⁹

After outlining some of the blatantly discriminatory acts against women in higher education, McGovern continued, "I urge the passage of this amendment to assure that no funds from S. 659, the Omnibus Education Amendments Act of 1971, be extended to any institution that practices biased admissions or educational policies."⁴⁰

In June of 1971 McGovern, who was already campaigning, addressed

the Women's National Democratic Club. In that address he mildly criticized Nixon for ignoring the report of his own Task Force on Women's Rights and Responsibilities. He then outlined the promises to women in a McGovern administration. They included a woman on the Supreme Court, a woman as ambassador to the United Nations, and women in the Cabinet and on the National Security Council.⁴¹

Also on July 15, 1971, McGovern made another address in the Senate called "Equal Rights for Women." It is a comprehensive look at many of the problems women face. He dealt with numerous issues and made a proposal for the solution of each one. Examples follow.

<u>Issues</u>	<u>Proposed Solution</u>
Job and Pay Discrimination	The Equal Employment Commission must be empowered to enforce Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act in cases of sex discrimination.
The conflict between Federal laws which prohibit sex discrimination and state laws which permit it.	Passage of the Equal Rights Amendment would eliminate the problem.
A woman may claim only partial tax deductions for the care of her children while she is at work.	Anyone below a certain income level who must pay for child care in order to work should be able to deduct from gross income the full cost of a housekeeper or school for preschool children.
Good child care for children.	Passage of the Comprehensive Child Development Act of 1971.
Higher Education Discrimination.	Federal funds should not go to any institution that discriminates against women in admissions, hiring, promotion or salary.

McGovern also indicated that Social Security Inequities must be resolved and encouraged passage of S. 2185, the Women's Equality Act, which he co-sponsored to implement many of the recommendations from the Task

Force on Women's Rights and Responsibilities.⁴²

McGovern made two comments in that speech which indicated a much clearer understanding on his part of women's issues than Nixon demonstrated. His understanding of the thoroughness with which women are brought to accept restricted life styles and opportunities is demonstrated in the following statement.

The barrier that restricts a woman's life is invisible, based on unspoken assumptions. It is like a glass wall. First grade readers show boys making things while their sisters watch helplessly but admiringly. Studies of the three major readers show they mention 144 adult careers for a boy to dream of, and only 24 for a girl. By the time a girl reaches the working world, she may accept that it is quite reasonable that a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Barnard College must take a typing test to get a job. And it often does not occur to the man who hires her to consider her for the jobs that he is trying to find men to fill.⁴³

McGovern further demonstrated his superior understanding of women's dilemma by criticizing some of the statistics of which Nixon was so proud. He said:

In 1968, women held 1.03 percent of the Federal jobs paying over \$30,000. Now they occupy 1.04 percent. It is obvious that the President has no concept of the seriousness of this problem.

But he has instructed his staff to give me any recommendations they possibly can that will bring qualified women into Government.

This reiteration of the phrase "qualified women" shows how far behind the times he is. It implies that a qualified woman is hard to find, an assumption that is not only offensive, but wrong. And it further implies that if no woman is appointed, it is because none is qualified. Certainly no one is suggesting he hire unqualified women.⁴⁴

McGovern's concern covered a wider scope of the problems considered to be women's issues than Nixon's. He also demonstrated more subtle understanding of the reasons for the existence of the women's movement.

On October 25, 1972, McGovern addressed a crowd at a Women's

Rally sponsored by Southeastern Michigan Women's Advisory Council for McGovern/Shriver. His speech has been called the most comprehensive speech on issues of concern to women ever made by a major presidential candidate in the history of our country. The speech is primarily a criticism of the Nixon administration and demonstration of how "women have felt as much as any group in the nation the impact of the Nixon administration's failures and favors for the few."⁴⁵ McGovern demonstrated some knowledge of the history of feminism by discussing the accomplishments of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Sojourner Truth. He said, "The greatest women in our national history have always stood for what is best in our national character."⁴⁶ McGovern's critique of Nixon began as follows:

Mr. Nixon and his re-election committee do not believe that women care about serious questions or are capable of understanding them. In fact, the GOP political manual provides detailed instructions for the wives of candidates on everything from how to dress to a warning against discussing the issues. It makes one wonder what instructions they would have for the husbands of Bella Abzug, Shirley Chisholm and Martha Griffiths. But more important, it indicates this administration's stunning ignorance of women's demand for a full role in the life and leadership of the country.

So unlike Richard Nixon, who categorically refuses to face the issues, and sends out female surrogates who are advised to avoid the issues, I have come here to talk with you about the great questions of 1972.⁴⁷

Once again the scope of McGovern's concern for women was great.

The first issue discussed was peace. Concerning women and peace

McGovern said:

And here, as in so many areas, women pay a heavy price for the Nixon policies. Thousands of them have buried sons or husbands who have come home from Indochina--not in glory to the cheers of a grateful country--but in coffins to the bitter tears of friends and families. And other women wonder and worry whether the men they love will ever return from the prison cells of Hanoi. They have a right to demand peace, because prisoners are freed only when a war is over.

What pain there must be for these women in the Nixon slogan of "Four More Years."⁴⁸

Concerning the economy McGovern stressed the role of women as consumers who have suffered from "blatant pandering to big money interests at the expense of the workers and consumers."⁴⁹ He said:

And the Nixon inflation has hurt you in another way. It has been used by the Nixon administration as an excuse to oppose and veto domestic programs that are vital to the country, and especially to women. Mr. Nixon has vetoed three bills to provide funds for the education of your children. He has vetoed three bills to provide health care for our sons and daughters and for the rest of us. He has opposed higher minimum wage and the extension of minimum wage coverage to household domestics.

.
At the same time, the unemployment rate for women increased from less than 4% in 1969 to 5.7% in July 1972. . . .

.
Mr. Nixon's economic advisors now say that the high rate of unemployment is not significant because most of the unemployed are young people or women. I cannot imagine that this argument is persuasive to the families of working women.⁵⁰

McGovern discussed the problems of elderly women due to inequitable Social Security benefits. He also discussed again the problems of job and pay discrimination and his proposals for dealing with these difficulties. Finally under the whole area of economic justice he dealt with child care and his past record on adequate child care proposals.

The final major question McGovern dealt with concerned human rights. He criticized Nixon for not challenging the state legislatures to pass the Equal Rights Amendment. He said he agreed with Nixon that a quota system is not the best way to secure equality. He also favored a merit system, but said of Nixon, "Does he really believe that there is not one woman, one Jew, one Black or one Polish-American who merits appointment to the Supreme Court or to his cabinet?"⁵¹ McGovern

concluded his speech with an emphasis on how much women had at stake in the 1972 election and the importance of renewing "the American commitment to the ideal of liberty and justice for all."⁵²

This speech like others is typical of the McGovern campaign rhetoric. He appealed to all those who have received minority treatment. He attempted to show understanding of women's problems. He criticized the Nixon record and pledged in rather specific terms to do better in a McGovern administration.

NOTES

- 1 "The Coronation of King Richard," Time, August 28, 1972, p. 11.
- 2 "St. George Prepares to Face the Dragon," Time, July 24, 1972, p. 9.
- 3 Jean Libman Block, "What Politicians Don't Know About Women," Good Housekeeping, April 1972, p. 194.
- 4 Ibid.
- 5 Ibid.
- 6 "Pat Nixon Does it on Her Own," Newsweek, September 4, 1972, p. 36.
- 7 "The President's Family--In Campaign Spotlight," U. S. News and World Report, September 4, 1972, p. 27.
- 8 "The First Lady: Neither Snow Nor Rain. . .," Newsweek, October 2, 1972, p. 17.
- 9 Frances Farenthold, interview at The Old Capitol Club, Rice Hotel, Houston, Texas, January 6, 1973.
- 10 "Eleanor Power," Newsweek, October 23, 1972, p. 43.
- 11 "Mrs. McGovern Speaks Out Against the Nixon Regime," Lawrence Journal World, Lawrence, Kansas, October 2, 1972, p. 8.
- 12 "Daughters Help McGovern," Lawrence Journal World, Lawrence, Kansas, October 2, 1972, p. 8.
- 13 Isabelle Shelton, "The Unconventional McGoverns," Ladies Home Journal, October, 1972, p. 60.
- 14 "The Mate Who Also Runs," Newsweek, July 24, 1972, p. 35.
- 15 Ibid.
- 16 Eleanor S. McGovern, "My Husband, George McGovern," Good Housekeeping, February, 1972, p. 149.
- 17 Anne Armstrong, "Anne Armstrong Reports: To Republican Women Leaders," a Fact Sheet on Women in the Federal Government, from the office of Anne Armstrong, Washington, D. C.

¹⁸The Committee to Re-Elect the President, "Women: President Nixon's Goals for a Greater America. . . To Eliminate Sex Discrimination," campaign brochure, Republican National Committee, 310 First Street, S. E., Washington, D. C.

¹⁹Finance Committee to Re-Elect the President, "President Nixon: The Choice of America's Women," campaign brochure, 1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹George McGovern, untitled letter to prospective contributors, McGovern for President Committee, 1910 K Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.

²²Penny Addiss, letter to this author, Women's rights co-ordinator, National Women's Advisory Council, McGovern for President Committee, 1910 K Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., October 2, 1972.

²³Christopher Lydon, "Gloria Steinem Aids McGovern's Cause," New York Times, undated article sent from McGovern for President Committee to this author, estimated date of publication--February 12, 1972.

²⁴McGovern for President Committee, "Women in Higher Education," promotional information sheet, 1910 K Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.

²⁵McGovern for President Committee, "Day Care," "Responding to Older Women," and "The Choice: Concern of Neglect," three pieces of campaign literature, 1910 K Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

²⁶McGovern for President Committee, "McGovern for Women's Equality," campaign brochure, 1910 K Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

²⁷Richard Nixon, "Statement about Policy on Abortion at Military Base Hospitals in the United States, April 3, 1971," Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Richard Nixon, 1971, Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1972, p. 500.

²⁸Richard Nixon, "Columbia Broadcasting System Interview: The President's Conversation with Dan Rather, Broadcast Live on Television and Radio, January 2, 1972, comments on the Role of Women," Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents, XIII, no. 2 (January 10, 1972), p. 421.

²⁹Richard Nixon, "Remarks to Delegates to the Girl's Nation Annual Convention, August 6, 1971," Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Richard Nixon, 1971, Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1972, p. 867.

³⁰Ibid., p. 866.

³¹Ibid., p. 865.

³²Richard Nixon, "National Center for Voluntary Action: The President's Remarks at the Center's First Annual Awards Dinner, February 10, 1972," Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents, XIII, no. 7 (February 14, 1972), p. 421.

³³Ibid.

³⁴"Nixon's Bid to Disenchanted: 'Join Our New Majority'--- President's Acceptance in Full Text," U. S. News and World Report, September 4, 1972, pp. 66-67.

³⁵"Equal Rights: Amendment Passed Over Ervin Opposition," The 28th Annual Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 92nd Congress, 2nd Session--1972, XXVIII, 1972, p. 199.

³⁶Richard Nixon, "The State of the Union: The President's Message to the Congress, January 20, 1972, Section on Equal Rights for Women," Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents, XIII, no. 8 (January 24, 1972), p. 85.

³⁷Richard Nixon, "Text of Nixon's June 1, 1971 Televised News Conference, Section on Employment of Women," Nixon: The Third Year of His Presidency, Washington: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1972, p. 145-A.

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹George McGovern, "Equality for Women in Higher Education," Congressional Record, August 6, 1971, Washington D. C., reprint paid for by McGovern for President Committee.

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹George McGovern, "Women in Government," excerpts from remarks delivered to the meeting of the Women's National Democratic Club, June 17, 1971, copy sent to this author by the McGovern for President Committee.

⁴²George McGovern, "Equal Rights for Women," Congressional Record, July 15, 1971, Washington, D. C., reprint from the McGovern for President Committee.

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵George McGovern, "McGovern Speaks to Women," delivered at a women's rally sponsored by Southeastern Michigan Women's Advisory Council for McGovern/Shriver, Hazel Park High School, October 25, 1972, transcript available from Women's Caucus, United Auto Workers, Solidarity House, 8000 E. Jefferson Ave., Detroit, Michigan, 48211.

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷Ibid.

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹Ibid.

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²Ibid.

CHAPTER IV

FEMINIST OPINION ON THE CANDIDATES AND CAMPAIGNS

As was mentioned in the first chapter, feminism is a self-definitional term and the large majority of women in the United States are not feminists. Nevertheless, much of what has been accomplished by women in recent years has been organized and led by feminists. For that reason alone it is important to examine feminist literature for an understanding of the feminist viewpoint about the two candidates for president in the 1972 campaigns.

Four publications were examined for feminist commentary about the candidates. They were Ms., The Spokeswoman, The Woman Activist, and Women Today. It was discovered that Women Today is not an opinion-oriented publication. Its stated purpose is to be a national clearinghouse for information. The Spokeswoman seems to serve much the same purpose. It gives news, not opinions, on the formation of women's political organizations and campaign coverage of anti-racist, anti-sexist candidates. Little was discovered in either of these two publications to indicate the feminist viewpoint except by inference. Both The Woman Activist and Ms. are more direct in expressing opinion and were therefore more helpful for this purpose.

Several women's organizations conducted interviews with Nixon and the major contenders for the Democratic nomination. One of the first such interviews reported appeared in Ms. in the spring issue of

1972. In explaining their purpose and methods, the authors state:

After all, actions are based on character and emotion at least as much as on intellect and facts; perhaps more. It's the whole person who will live in the White House and it's the whole person we must try to find. What do the candidates think about women? Just as important, how dependent are they as people on the traditional 'masculine' role?

To find the answers, we sent out a questionnaire on a wide range of women's concerns, as well as recording the candidates' answers and attitudes during our interviews with them. We also researched their voting records, statements by them, and statements about them.¹

They put the information on each candidate into three categories with the highest score being 5 positive (+) and the lowest being 5 negative (-). A zero on the chart they say means "just that: a big nothing."²

The categories were as follows:

1) Taking Women Seriously: includes both political and personal attitudes.

2) Making Waves: a quality of independence -- fine sentiments aren't much good without the courage to challenge the status quo.

3) The Machismo Factor: this category is in two parts; (a) personal rejection of the traditional masculine role and (b) opposition to militarism and violence.³

A chart of the results of this survey follows.

	Taking Women Seriously	Making Waves	Machismo Factor (a)	Machismo Factor (b)
Chisholm	4½+	4+	4+	4+
Humphrey	0	4-	0	3-
Jackson	3½-	4-	3-	4½-
Kennedy	1-	1½+	½-	2½+
Lindsay	1+	2+	½-	3+
McCarthy	3½+	4+	3½+	4½+
McCloskey	1½+	3+	1½+	3+
McGovern	3½+	4+	3½+	4½+
Mills	½+	3-	½+	½+

	Taking Women Seriously	Making Waves	Machismo Factor (a)	Machismo Factor (b)
Muskie	2+	1+	1-	1+
Nixon	5-	4-	5-	4½-

Shirley Chisholm received the highest total score as might be expected from a feminist viewpoint. McCarthy and McGovern tied with the second most positive ratings. Nixon's score was the most negative. Because primary interest is in the two ultimate candidates, a closer look at the explanation of results on McGovern and Nixon follows.

McGovern did not grant the women an interview but was nevertheless seen in a favorable light due mostly to his past record and speeches. On "Taking Women Seriously" the authors cite McGovern's campaign promises to women as favorable. They also approved the fact that he was the first candidate to urge Nixon to appoint a woman to the Supreme Court when a vacancy occurred, even suggesting twelve qualified women. They note that McGovern refused an invitation to the prestigious but all-male Gridiron Club dinner. At that time he maintained a position favoring repeal of all state laws governing abortion. He received a high score at least in part because of his votes for comprehensive child care and his introduction of a guaranteed \$6,500 annual income for a family of four. Finally it was noted that although women held 55% of McGovern's Senate staff jobs and only 40% of the total salary in the first six months of 1971, he had done better in the campaign staff where women held 40% of the jobs including policy-making positions and 36% of the salary. One of the major criticisms leveled at McGovern over and over by feminists was that even though he himself treated women on his staff well, he did not

insist that the men on his staff take women seriously.⁴

The high score on "Making Waves" was due to McGovern's view that marriage partners should be legal equals both during marriage and its dissolution and to the work he did on party reform to assure women and minorities fairer representation at the Democratic Convention.⁵

Finally, concerning the "Machismo Factor," it was noted that McGovern's first speech on the Senate floor was an attack on President Kennedy's Vietnam policy and that with Senator Hatfield he introduced the End the War Amendment. He was called one of the most outspoken enemies of the military establishment.⁶

President Nixon's speeches have a tendency to offend feminists as is evident by their citation of his speeches as reasons for the low rating he received. On "Taking Women Seriously" his speech to the Girl's Nation Annual Convention is cited. These feminists criticize Nixon's encouragement of girls to aspire to be wives and mothers. To his comment that "Wherever a woman has the capacity, she can make it," they respond that he had appointed no women to his Cabinet or the Supreme Court and that women held only 1.5 percent of the top jobs in his administration. They note that he is firmly anti-abortion and that he vetoed the child care legislation. On women's rights Nixon said, "My view is, don't be too concerned about the fact that women don't have an equal chance." The feminists criticize his stance on welfare. They state:

Richard Nixon is neither a ladies' man nor a women's rights advocate. He seems to be nowhere when it comes to women. "Let me make one thing perfectly clear," he said last summer when asked about Women's Liberation, "I wouldn't want to wake up next to a lady pipe-fitter."

Nixon feels that women voters are "the real haters. Any Machiavellian scheme they go for." A recent newspaper

account indicated that Nixon's attitude toward the National Women's Political Caucus was one of ridicule.⁷

On "Making Waves" Nixon is criticized because his idea of leadership is patriarchal, because of displays of bad temper, and because of his detachment and personal isolation from those around him which "still comes as a surprise to his closest aides, who have seen him blankly shake hands with his own wife at official receptions."⁸ Much of the information in this section seems more appropriate to the "Machismo Factor" particularly as it affects Nixon's personal life style. The authors note that Nixon is impressed with athletic prowess. They seem unimpressed with the list of men Nixon admired enough to make New Year's Eve telephone calls to: Guy Lombardo, Jackie Gleason, Billy Graham and John Wayne. They mention that, "Nixon's rhetoric often emphasizes the need for victory, saving face, and tests of courage,"⁹ a few of the symptoms of personal machismo. Finally, under the "Machismo Factor" Nixon is noted for "his need to be 'tough,' and his equation of 'masculine honor' with the foreign policy of the United States."¹⁰

At about the same time in the spring of 1972, the National Women's Political Caucus was interviewing the candidates on women's issues. The results were sent to the various state branches.

Chisholm was given the highest ratings. Senator George McGovern (D S.D.) was praised as "the only male candidate who is consistently pushing women's issues as part of his campaign." . . .

Other candidates, including President Nixon, did not respond to caucus requests for position statements. The caucus described their silence as "persuasive evidence of a lack of commitment to women's issues."¹¹

Later in 1972 The Woman Activist published a report of a rating made in January and April of that year of senators and representatives

according to their voting record on four women's issues; equal rights, employment, education, and child care. Congressmen and women were rated from 100 percent to zero percent according to how many times they voted in favor of women. The report encourages women to help return to Congress those people scoring 100 percent. In the same commemorative issue of the publication three articles appeared which give support to one of the presidential candidates. In an attempt to give equal coverage three feminists contributed articles about Nixon, McGovern, and Linda Jenness, the Socialist Workers Party candidate. The article about Nixon by Republican feminist, Ellen Pattin, is chiefly a listing of Nixon accomplishments in the areas of equal employment, the Equal Rights Amendment, and civil rights.¹² The article about McGovern by Flora Crater, Virginia delegate to the Democratic Convention and editor of The Woman Activist, is also typical of the McGovern rhetoric except for a lack of criticism of Nixon. McGovern is praised for his reform efforts in the Democratic party and for his consistent support of women's issues. Ms. Crater also stressed the specific pledges and proposals McGovern made to women and says, "Women should nominate and elect McGovern President "¹³

Feminist comments on Nixon are not apparently as numerous as those on McGovern. That is not too surprising when it is realized that a great deal of publicity on feminist activities went to the National Women's Political Caucus. At least at the organizational meeting of the Caucus there were many fewer Republicans than Democrats (18 Republicans and 149 Democrats). This may explain the scarcity of published material by feminists about Nixon. The Republican feminist material on Nixon is of the nature cited above and in the campaign

literature. One woman, Karen DeCrow, Chairwoman of NOW's Politics Task-force, in a letter to the women who were to testify for NOW before the Republican Platform Committee says:

Since 30% of the delegates will be women, your biggest and most enjoyable task will be consciousness-raising with them. The Republicans present a fertile and interesting field, since there is no nonsense about not "ruining things for McGovern by being too radical." We all want to ruin things for Nixon/Agnew. Remember, that Nixon vetoed he child care bill. Remember, that Agnew said three things were hard to tame: fools, the ocean and women.¹⁴

It is not clear that the author of this statement is a Republican; however, at least three of the recipients of the letter (i.e., those who were to testify before the platform committee) must be Republicans.

The only other criticism of Nixon located by this author from a Republican feminist was in an interview with a convention delegate. When asked if she thought Nixon had sincerely made any adaptations to the women's movement she said, "No, but I think other people around him are beginning to hear it."¹⁵ When asked if she thought it would make a difference for Nixon to be in office a second term she said, "I don't. Except I think it's hard to back up from the kind of statements he's been making. . . . When they can point to a . . . specific statement that he's made I think he attempts to live up to it."¹⁶ She further indicated her opinion that Nixon is a "typical white male chauvinist" with no real understanding of women's problems and said, "I don't think he'll make any real change."¹⁷

Most other feminist commentary on Nixon came from Democrats. In a discussion session with Shirley Chisholm following a speech at the University of Kansas one week after Nixon's re-election, she made two comments of particular interest to women. About Nixon's stand against a quota system she indicated it is an artificial issue. She said the

fact is that if we do not talk about quotas some people will not ever move to get people in who have not had chances. She indicated that she thought there would be attempts to dilute and by-pass equal opportunity legislation in Washington, but said it was a matter of time until they could not do that any more because groups are taking action on many particular cases. She said she was frightened about what may happen in the next two years if the administration does not change some of its policies. She said finally that in terms of women's legislation in the second Nixon administration she is not hopeful. She indicated her belief that Nixon has no commitment in this area and is paying lip service only. She said she did not expect to see many women appointed to office and policy-making positions and expected blacks even to lose some.¹⁸

Germaine Greer, well-known feminist author of The Female Eunuch, who was not at all complimentary to the Democrats and McGovern, was even less so to the Republicans and Nixon. She says,

McGovern offered a chance, albeit slender, of a change for the slightly better: more Nixon threatened a change for the much worse. . . .

.
 The myths of the Republican regime are repulsive. Nixon has survived on the notions that the poor remain poor through their own fault; that America lacks the resources to assure every American the fundamental necessities of life; that national health services are too expensive to maintain; that unemployment is essential to the American economy--and that all these notions shelter beneath the banner of the New Prosperity.¹⁹

Bella Abzug, feminist organizer of the National Women's Political Caucus and Democratic Congresswoman from New York, has nothing nice to say of Nixon. In her diary of her first year in Congress she records Nixon's reported reaction to the formation of the NWPC and her response.

July 14: We got some characteristic reaction from the White House on the Women's Caucus. Secretary of State William Rogers brought the subject up when he and Nixon were getting their pictures taken with Henry Kissinger, . . .

Kissinger said he heard Gloria Steinem was at the Woman's Caucus.

"Who's that?" the President asked.

"That's Henry's old girl friend," Mr. Rogers said, jokingly. Then Rogers mentioned a photograph of me, Betty Friedan, Gloria Steinem, and Shirley Chisholm, which one of the wire services had circulated.

"What did it look like?" Nixon asked.

"Like a burlesque," said Rogers.

"What's wrong with that?" asked Nixon.

Isn't that something? Obviously, these guys are accustomed to viewing women in terms of flesh shows. It's insulting, I must say, but hardly surprising.²⁰

Later in the article Ms. Abzug gives her response to Nixon's veto of the child care legislation.

December 7: Well, we did it. The House and Senate have both finally passed a child-care law as part of an overall anti-poverty bill. . . . Nixon has already made it clear that he's not happy with it and that he's considering a veto. It would be a perfect opportunity for him, after all, to express his disdain for women, minorities, and youth--all of whom are benefited by this bill--in one swoop. This time our people-be-damned President is even toying with some new victims: children.

December 9: Incredible! He vetoed the child-care law. "Fiscal irresponsibility," he said. This, mind you, is from the same man who spends billions for death in Vietnam. He also made another remark about the law's "communal approach" and "family-weakening implications" that's so ignorant and hypocritical it makes me sick. He doesn't care that millions of women have to work and leave their kids home alone or with off-and-on babysitters.²¹

Finally, in November of 1972 just before the election Ms. ran an article called "The Bulletin Board: Memo for Election Day " It is a review of the words and deeds of Nixon on issues of vital concern to women. The issues covered include women and the economy, the Nixon staff, child care, welfare, reproductive freedom, women in politics, the Equal Rights Amendment, violence as a means of resolving conflict, and women in government. In every instance Nixon's actions are criti-

cized and shown as totally inadequate. He is held up for criticism due to lack of understanding of the magnitude of the problems. Even on the issue of women in government, the one area in which Nixon claimed strength, the article is critical as follows:

Nixon press releases say his Administration has placed 118 women in "top" policy-making jobs, those at the GS 16 level and up, paying at least \$28,000 a year. Although they are an increase from prior administrations, the appointments still constitute less than 1 percent of the 12,488 federal jobs at that level. (Altogether, women currently occupy 3 percent of these positions).

The list includes women in traditional female positions in government, such as the Nixons' personal secretaries and the head of the Women's Bureau. About six women made the list because of military promotions. Some of the women have had their titles changed, or have been moved from one department to another, but remain in approximately the same position in terms of their authority to "make policy." Others, long in government, have qualified for inclusion on the "top" job list because of pay increases, although they hold the same jobs as before, and wield the same power.

Nixon responded to unprecedented pressure from American women to name a woman to the U.S. Supreme Court last year by ignoring the list of qualified women prepared by the National Women's Political Caucus and proposing a female candidate who could not qualify for endorsement by the American Bar Association.²²

All of these comments by feminist activists and spokeswomen lead to the conclusion that feminists, for the most part, were critical of Nixon and turned to McGovern as a source of hope. This is not to say, however, that there was no feminist criticism of McGovern. As will be seen he was not considered ideal by feminists, but of the two candidates he was considered much more promising.

Sissy Farenthold said of McGovern, "If there was ever a woman's candidate, it was McGovern."²³ Most feminists would probably agree, but many would say even McGovern had a lot to learn about women and women's issues. The most critical article about McGovern was written by Germaine Greer, covering the Democratic Convention for Harper's.

She criticizes McGovern and his staff's treatment of the women's issues on the convention floor. She indicates that the women were used as pawns for political ends. She also criticizes the women at the convention for putting up with such treatment. The article reflects Ms. Greer's cynicism in many respects about white, well-fed liberals. She says,

We all needed so intensely to believe that our case was not hopeless and that we were not totally hypocritical in our well-fed radicalism, we were so ready to love the man who would agree to represent us . . . that within hours of arriving in Miami Beach we were all maudlin and ripe for being screwed in every office of the mind and heart.²⁴

She criticizes the women for being too soft on McGovern, for not pushing the abortion issue harder, and for being too self-congratulatory. She says, "None of the caucuses really existed as policy-making bodies or influential entities on the convention floor."²⁵ She criticizes the convention as a mere television show with the delegates as studio audience. She criticizes the delegate population of which McGovern and even feminists were so proud saying,

The presence of women, blacks, and youth was visible; what had changed was the party's image, so crucial in the age of media politics. The attributes one could not see, like class, income, and education, are more fundamental to politics in many ways than the obvious sexual and ethnic differentiations, and when it came to representing these less obvious categories the Democratic National Convention was markedly inadequate. More than two-thirds of the delegates came from the over-\$15,000-a-year bracket, which accounts for only 23 percent of the American population; 39 percent of the delegates had done post graduate work, when only 4 percent of the population has enjoyed that privilege.²⁶

Ms. Greer's lengthy article is entirely critical of McGovern, the convention and American politics except for the final paragraph. She says,

When the shouting was all over, I realized that despite the secret dealings, the hypocrisy, the tantalization and

the bamboozlement, the coarsening and cheapening of every issue, the abandonment of imagination and commitment for the gray areas of consensus, there was no alternative for the American liberals but to let McGovern tease them a little while longer. In their alienation, their impotence, and their guilt they have no other alternative. Through the disappointment and the dismay that clouded my mind, another flicker of hope began to burn, against all reason and probability. I wish and painfully hope that the women, the kids, the blacks, the Latins, and the "intellectual pseudosnobs" bring off the impossible for him in November, in spite of himself, his baloney machine, and his Machiavellis, even though they will take the credit for it. The Big Tease has just begun.²⁷

Finally, one of the most balanced articles written about McGovern came from Gloria Steinem in Ms. It covers eight years of her friendship with McGovern. Ms. Steinem has campaigned for him and raised money for him on several occasions. In July, 1969, McGovern phoned her to say that Senator Ribicoff was putting together a group to discuss McGovern's potential campaign and that she was to be included. One month later after the meeting took place, McGovern explained to her why she had not, after all, been invited. She says,

Ribicoff had deleted my name from the list, with the simple comment: "No broads." According to McGovern, he then explained to Ribicoff that I had been his advance "man," helped to write speeches, raised money, and so on. Ribicoff listened patiently to it all, and then repeated: "No broads."²⁸

Because of such treatment Steinem says,

I wonder what purpose I am serving here. Clearly, I haven't deepened their understanding of the political system as it affects women. . . . I have served interchangeably with men, working longer and raising more money than most of them, but even those supposedly worthwhile acts haven't opened the doors for other women. McGovern, for instance, would never have let a Ribicoff get away with saying "No blacks," or "No Jews." "No broads" was bad form, but somehow acceptable.²⁹

Steinem's basic criticism of McGovern is that he lacks the kind of understanding on women's issues that he showed on other issues such as peace in Vietnam. Nevertheless she describes him as the best white male candidate. Of the campaign she says,

There are women involved in most areas of the campaign . . . and they believe McGovern favors the economic and legislative changes they need. But . . . the women are still more the workers than the decision makers, especially in the eyes of the young and sometimes arrogant men who are managing the campaign.³⁰

This criticism of the attitude of McGovern's male staff members was raised over and over, not only by Steinem but others as well.

Ms. Steinem, like other feminists at the Democratic Convention, was angry and disappointed by the way women's issues were handled. After it was over she made several comments that bear repeating as they show not only her criticisms of McGovern but also her feeling that he was still worthy of feminist support. She notes that at a meeting of McGovern and Shriver with members of the Women's Caucus, McGovern made one of his leading staff men apologize for saying there were not enough women with political experience and that they just did not know how to organize. Earlier Steinem said of McGovern,

Unfortunately, the change in society's most fundamental division of labor--the division by sex--is still one he's following, not leading. But he is measurably better than the other candidates on issues of interest to women. . . .

 He won't lead the humanist revolution . . . but he may be one of the few leaders who will let fundamental change happen.³²

In a similar vein after McGovern's nomination by the Democratic party, Steinem made this comment which seems to be the sum of feminist opinion about McGovern.

McGovern is still less instinctively good on women's part in the humanist revolution than he is on any other.

But he's learning--and he was measurably better than all the other Presidential candidates to start with. If there is agitation, even anger around McGovern, it is usually because his record inspires hope, as Richard Nixon's does not. And hope is a very unruly emotion.

We're learning, too. There is and should be no such thing as a perfect leader. There can only be a constituency for change--and a compassionate listener.³³

NOTES

¹Brenda Feigen Fasteau and Bonnie Lobel, "Rating the Candidates: Feminists Vote the Rascals In or Out," Ms., Spring, 1972, p. 74.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., p. 80.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid., p. 82.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹"Campaign '72: Women's Struggle for Larger Role," Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, XXX, no. 17 (April 22, 1972), pp. 884-885.

¹²Ellen Pattin, "Women, Women's Issues and President Nixon," The Woman Activist Guide to the '72 Elections published by The Woman Activist, August 26, 1972, Commemorative Issue, p. 14.

¹³Flora Crater, "Women Should Nominate and Elect McGovern President," The Woman Activist Guide to the '72 Elections published by The Woman Activist, August 26, 1972, Commemorative Issue, p. 15.

¹⁴Copy of a memo from Karen DeCrow, Chairwoman, Politics Taskforce, National Organization of Women, to Wilma Scott Heide, Jacquie Michot Ceballos, Patricia Burnett, Jo Ann Evans Gardner, and Nola Claire regarding the Republican National Convention, August 6, 1972.

¹⁵Ms. Bidy Hurlbutt, interview in her home, Caanan Farms, Tonganoxie, Kansas, October 5, 1972. ¹⁶Ibid. ¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Shirley Chisholm, question and answer session at a reception following her speech at the University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas, November 14, 1972.

¹⁹Germaine Greer, "McGovern, The Big Tease," Harper's, October, 1972, pp. 57-58.

²⁰Bella S. Abzug, "The Diary of a Fighting Congresswoman," McCall's, July, 1972, p. 60.

²¹Ibid., p. 138.

²²"The Bulletin Board: Memo for Election Day," Ms., November, 1972, p. 108.

²³Frances Farenthold, interview at The Old Capitol Club, Rice Hotel, Houston, Texas, January 6, 1973.

²⁴Greer, "McGovern, The Big Tease," p. 58.

²⁵Ibid., p. 63.

²⁶Ibid., p. 64.

²⁷Ibid., p. 71.

²⁸Gloria Steinem, "Coming of Age with McGovern: Notes from a Political Diary," Ms., October, 1972, p. 99.

²⁹Ibid., p. 100.

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Ibid., p. 106.

³²Ibid., p. 100.

³³Ibid., p. 106.

CHAPTER V

OPINION AMONG AMERICAN WOMEN ABOUT THE 1972 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION AND WOMEN IN POLITICS

In 1971 and 1972 Louis Harris was commissioned by Philip Morris to do a large-scale survey of women's opinions to help promote their woman-directed cigarette, Virginia Slims. The poll was composed and analyzed by a woman, Carolyn Setlow. It presents interviews with 3,000 women from a nation-wide cross-section and a comparable group of 1,000 men. The poll is valuable to examine here as a more representative sample of women's opinion than the previous chapter on feminists' opinions.

At the same time a smaller poll conducted in Lawrence, Kansas, will be examined. The two polls have definite and significant dissimilarities which will be further explained, but it can also be demonstrated that they show similar trends. This chapter then will examine first the author's questionnaire and second the 1972 Virginia Slims American Women's Opinion Poll.

Questionnaire-Survey Conducted in Lawrence, Kansas: Method

The survey conducted in Lawrence consisted of a questionnaire given to two groups of students and to women from the community. The survey was conducted during the month prior to the Presidential election of 1972. The sample included three groups. First, 62 women in the community (Group A) were chosen from the phone book somewhat at random

except that an attempt was made not to include single female students in the typical college age range (18-25) in the telephone survey. The population still included some students, women returning to school or getting a late start, but for the most part was made up of elderly women, full time housewives and working women of the community. Second, the same questionnaire was given to 171 female students enrolled in Speech 1B classes (Group B). These are generally freshman and sophomore students though it is quite possible for students in the upper classes to be found taking the beginning speech course. Third, the other group of students (Group C) who received the questionnaire was comprised of 82 women enrolled in upper-division women's courses such as The Rhetoric of Women's Rights and Women in Contemporary Society. These were more often junior, senior or graduate women with professed interests in women's studies. It was expected that in general the women in the upper-division women's classes would be more like feminists in their responses, i.e., more favorable to McGovern and to the Women's Liberation Movement, than the women of the community. Some of the women in these courses are feminists; others would not claim to be; however, it was expected that their attitudes would be closer to those of feminists than the other two groups. It was further expected that the other group of students would fall somewhere between the women of the community and the students in women's studies courses in their answers. A Chi-square analysis was employed and the .05 level of significance accepted. The totals on each question differ because the unanswered questions and the unclear answers were excluded from the analysis in each case. Only question 5 contains the responses of the total group questioned.

The questionnaire included the following questions:

1. Do you think the presidential candidates are being influenced by women's issues and by women's groups? (Yes or No).

2. Are the issues that are considered to be women's issues of particular concern to you? (day care, equal pay, reproductive freedom, etc.).

3. Will the candidate's responsiveness to women's interests be a factor in your decision about who to vote for? (Yes or No).

4. Do you think one of the candidates is more responsive to women's interests than the other? Those who answered "yes" were further asked, "Which one?" and "Is this the candidate you are going to vote for?"

5. What do you think of the Women's Liberation Movement? The responders were asked to place themselves on a scale of (VF) very favorable, (SF) somewhat favorable, (N-N) neither favorable nor opposed, (SO) somewhat opposed, or (VO) very opposed.

Results

Table 1: Influence of Women's Issues on Presidential Candidates*

	Group A	Group B	Group C	Totals
Yes: O	20	83	45	148
%	44.6	51.3	62.5	
E	24.75	85.32	37.92	
No: O	27	79	27	133
%	57.4	48.7	37.5	
E	22.25	76.68	34.08	
Totals	47	162	72	281

*O stands for the observed values.

% stands for the percent of the total answers by each group represented by the observed value.

E stands for the expected values in a random distribution.

The totals are of the observed values.

The three groups were not found to be significantly different on this question. There was also no significant difference shown when both groups of students taken together were compared with the women of the

community (0.250) and when the two student groups were compared (0.250).

None of the groups indicated strong opinions that the candidates either were or were not being influenced by women's issues. The women in all three groups were further asked for a verbal response to the question, "Is there anything particular that you can cite that makes you think this?" These verbal responses give rise to speculations about differences between the groups in their reasons for the answers given. This will receive further discussion later in the chapter.

Table 2: Concern about Women's Issues

	Group A	Group B	Group C	Totals
Yes: O	19	135	75	229
%	39.5	85.9	94.9	
E	38.70	126.60	63.70	
No: O	29	22	4	55
%	60.5	14.1	5.1	
	9.30	30.40	15.30	
Totals	48	157	79	284

The groups were found to be significantly different at the .001 level when all three were compared. The community women showed considerably less concern for women's issues than would be expected in randomly distributed groups while Group C showed much greater personal concern than would be normal with random distribution. Group B showed a slightly higher concern than would be expected; however, it was expected that the college women at every level would tend to be more concerned about such issues if for no other reason than the likelihood that they would have had greater exposure information about the issues. Again, the verbal responses reflecting specific areas of interest of each group showed some differences that will receive further discussion later in the chapter.

A comparison of the total student group with the community women was also significant at the .001 level. The comparison of the two student groups showed significant difference at the .05 level.

Table 3: Women's Interests as a Factor in Voting

		Group A	Group B	Group C	Totals
Yes:	O	8	75	54	137
	%	15.6	51.0	81.9	
	E	26.47	76.28	34.25	
No:	O	43	72	12	127
	%	84.4	49.0	18.1	
	E	24.53	70.72	31.75	
Totals		51	147	66	264

While there were many mixed verbal responses on this question, there was also considerable difference in the groups in definite positive or negative answers with significance at the .001 level. The community women were much more likely than the student groups to say that a candidate's responsiveness to women's issues would not be a factor in their decision about who to vote for. This would appear to follow logically from the fact that these women showed much less personal concern for women's issues than the other groups on question 2. The Group B women were very close to the expected responses while the women in Group C were much more likely than the other groups or than randomly distributed groups to say that the candidates' responsiveness to women's issues would be a factor in their decision.

Significant difference was also found at the .001 level in comparing all the students with the community women and in comparing the two student groups.

Table 4: Choice of Candidate

		Group A	Group B	Group C	Totals
No:	O	48	118	20	186
	%	80.0	74.2	25.3	
	E	37.45	99.24	49.34	
McGovern					
Yes:	O	6	30	54	90
	%	10.0	18.8	68.3	
	E	18.12	48.02	23.86	
McGovern					
No:	O	4	8	4	16
	%	6.7	5.0	5.1	
	E	3.22	8.54	4.24	
Nixon					
Yes:	O	2	2	1	5
	%	3.3	1.0	1.3	
	E	1.01	2.67	1.32	
Nixon					
No:	O	0	1	0	1
	%	0	.6	0	
	E	.20	.53	.27	
Totals		60	159	79	298

On this question the three groups were significantly different at the .001 level. The community group showed much more likelihood than Group C to have the opinion that neither of the candidates was more responsive than the other. Group C also showed a much greater tendency to say that McGovern was more responsive and they planned to vote for him than would be expected with randomly distributed groups while Group A showed less than expected tendency to choose McGovern. Group B also was less likely to choose McGovern as the man they planned to vote for than would be expected. None of the groups gave strong indication that they found Nixon to be the more responsive of the two candidates.

The comparison of the total student group with the community group was significant at the .005 level, and the comparison of the two student

groups was significant at the .001 level.

Table 5: Opinion of Women's Liberation Movement

		Group A	Group B	Group C	Totals
VF:	O	1	36	46	83
	%	1.6	21.0	56.0	
	E	16.34	45.06	21.61	
SF:	O	21	81	31	133
	%	33.8	47.3	37.8	
	E	26.18	72.20	34.62	
N-N:	O	23	31	3	57
	%	37.1	18.1	3.6	
	E	11.22	30.94	14.84	
SO:	O	10	11	2	23
	%	16.1	6.4	2.4	
	E	4.53	12.49	5.99	
VO:	O	7	12	0	19
	%	11.2	7.0	0	
	E	3.74	10.31	4.95	
Totals		62	171	82	315

The comparison of the three groups was significant at the .001 level. Significant difference was also found at the .001 level in comparing the total student group with the community women and in comparing the two student groups. Women in Group A were much more likely to say they were neutral or opposed in some degree to the movement and much less likely to say they were very favorable than would be expected. Group B tended to be fairly close in its answers to the expected number of each possible response. Group C was more likely to be either very favorable or somewhat favorable to the movement to a great degree. In fact, while 64.4% of Group A's answers were either neutral, somewhat opposed or very opposed, only 6% of Group C's responses fell in those three possible answers combined.

A summary of each group's answers shows that Group A did not tend to think the candidates were being much influenced by women's issues and women's groups. They tended not to have a great degree of personal concern about women's issues. This was also reflected in their answers to question 3; for the most part, they said it would make little difference in their decision about who to vote for whether the candidates were responsive to women's issues or not. Most of them (80%) indicated that they saw no difference between Nixon and McGovern in their responsiveness to women's issues. The majority of women in Group A were either neutral or opposed to the Women's Liberation Movement.

Group B showed little indication that they found the candidates to be influenced by women's issues. 85.9% of Group B said they were personally concerned with one or more women's issues as opposed to only 39.5% of Group A who gave that response although their expected and observed responses were not greatly different. They were almost evenly divided about whether the candidates' responsiveness would be a factor in their choice of candidate and, again, not very divergent from the expected responses. They tended not to choose McGovern as often as was expected and were more likely to say they found neither candidate more responsive than was expected. 68.3% of Group B was very favorable or somewhat favorable to the Women's Liberation Movement.

Women in Group C indicated no significant opinion that the candidates were influenced by women and their issues although there is a slight tendency for them to say the candidates were influenced a greater percent of the time than Group A (62.5% of Group C as opposed to 44.6% of Group A). 94.9% of Group C said they were personally concerned with women's issues, and 81.9% said the candidates' responsiveness to those

issues would be a factor in their voting decision. Relatively fewer of the Group C women saw no difference between the candidates, and 68.3% of them indicated they thought McGovern was more responsive and that they planned to vote for him. Only 10% of Group A and 18.8% of Group B said McGovern was more responsive and their choice of candidates. 93.8% of Group C was either very favorable or somewhat favorable to the Women's Liberation Movement.

Observations and Analysis

It was expected that Group A and Group C would show the greatest differences in their answers and that Group B would generally fall somewhere between. This expectation was based on the knowledge that feminists, for the most part, favored McGovern over Nixon. Group C, though not entirely made up of feminists, is roughly analogous to feminists in opinion. On the other hand, Nixon's support came more often from middle-class working people of whom the women are less likely to have feminist sentiments. This group is more like the population of Group A. Both men had some support from students although McGovern's was probably slightly stronger. For this reason it was expected that the general population of students (Group B) would fall between the more extremely different groups A and C. Group C, it was expected, would be the group most likely to say that women's issues were influencing the campaign, that women's issues were of concern to them, that they would take the candidates' responsiveness to women's issues into account in deciding who to vote for, that they found McGovern more responsive and planned to vote for him, and that they were either very favorable or somewhat favorable to the Women's Liberation Movement. With the exception of question 1, results on all the questions showed highly

significant differences between the groups, and the expectations were confirmed.

Several conclusions seem to be indicated. With these particular groups it appears safe to say that those leaning toward feminism are generally more concerned about women's issues, more aware of what is happening in politics concerning those issues, and more favorable to McGovern. Because the groups were not purely and distinctly made up of feminists and non-feminists it is not possible to generalize to broader populations, but the data does lend itself to some speculation about the effect of feminism on women.

On question 1 none of the groups indicated strong convictions that the candidates either were or were not being influenced by women's issues or women's groups. However, because the other four questions so strongly indicate differences between the groups, it is suspected that the reasons for the answers differed between the groups. The groups were specifically asked for verbal responses on this question about what in particular made them reply the way they did to the first question. The responses tend to support the expectation that particularly Groups A and C had different reasons for their similar answers. For the most part it is obvious that the women in Group C had been looking harder for information about the candidates' stands on women's issues. The women in the community (Group A) usually based their answer, yes or no, on what they saw on television and what they read in newspapers. Those who answered "no" said they just had not noticed the candidates being influenced by women. Those who said "yes" generally cited the most obvious signs of women's greater participation in politics such as women representatives to the convention, or they said things like,

"They would have to be influenced somewhat." On the other hand the responses from Group C were more specific. Some who said "yes" had specific things to cite as examples beyond the well-known accomplishments of women. Those who said "no" sometimes indicated disappointment, and those who said "yes" frequently added that the candidates were not being influenced enough. Apparently then, the women in Group C were more aware of what was going on, but because of higher expectations for woman-power were not on the whole impressed by the candidates' responsiveness to women's issues and women's groups. The other questions bear out that the women in Group C thought McGovern was the better candidate on women's issues whether or not women's groups and issues had had any influence on him in the course of the campaign.

From the results on question 2 it is obvious that the women in Group C showed more concern about women's issues than other groups of women. In this case it is also interesting to examine the verbal responses given in addition to "yes" and "no" answers. While a simple one-word answer would have been sufficient, many people gave extra opinions. In general Group C indicated interest in more of the issues than the community group. Frequently they indicated interest in all the issues suggested on the survey sheet (day care, equal pay, reproductive freedom) and several added additional interests such as job opportunities, ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, and philosophical statements about raising the awareness in the country about women's problems and allowing freedom and growth opportunities for all human beings. A few specified equal pay as their most vital concern. Most who made additional comments listed at least two concerns, and abortion or reproductive freedom was much more likely to be listed from this

group. The main interest of those in the community who had any interest in women's issues at all was equal pay. This supports the expectation that women with feminist leanings are more concerned about a broader range of issues of interest to women.

Following closely from this conclusion is the assumption that such concern would tend to manifest itself in the way one votes. Question 3 essentially asks that question. Some women in each group replied that the candidates' responsiveness to women's interests would be a factor in their decision about who to vote for but not a major one. This response was much more frequent in Groups A and B than in Group C however. Group C had the highest percentage who indicated this would be a vitally important or even a major factor in their decision than the other two groups. And, of course, the statistics reinforce the assumption that strong feminist concern will tend to be a decisive factor in voting decisions. Question 4 further supports this. It indicates two things. First, the women in Group C were either wanting to believe that one of the candidates was truly responsive to their concerns or because of their interest, were more aware of the differences between the candidates on these issues. It has been shown in the previous chapters that there were definite differences and that, in general, feminists were much more favorable to McGovern because, though not perfect, he was more amenable to women's issues than Nixon. This, too, is borne out by question 4. It shows that more women in Group A than would normally be expected in randomly distributed groups saw no differences between the candidates, and, of those who did see differences, significantly fewer than would be expected planned to vote for McGovern. The opposite is true of Group C with more extreme differences between expected and actual scores.

It is speculated that this is due to greater awareness of the candidates' positions on women's issues on the part of the women in Group C. On this question as on others, the 1B group fell between the other two.

Question 5 shows the greatest degree of significance coming from groups A and C. Group A showed a great many more women giving the neutral response about the Women's Liberation Movement than would normally be expected while many fewer indicated neutral responses in Group C than would be expected. Again, the reason would appear to be the higher degree of awareness of the need for and reasons behind the movement among women with feminist leanings. As would be expected, too, Group C showed many more "very favorable" responses and fewer "somewhat opposed" or "very opposed" responses than would be expected with randomly distributed groups. The trend was exactly opposite in Group A.

This survey has at least one advantage over the Harris-Virginia Slims poll. That poll was conducted in late 1971 when McCovern was hardly even considered a contender for the Democratic nomination. The survey conducted in Lawrence was done in late October and the first few days of November of 1972 when it could be narrowed down to the two major party candidates. However, it is valuable to examine the Harris poll because it treats so many questions in a broad cross-section of American women and provides an interesting comparison with the feminist opinion reflected in Chapter IV.

The 1972 Virginia Slims American Women's Opinion Poll

According to an article about women voters by Gloria Steinem, "Men in politics have made a lot of assumptions about the way women vote."¹ These include that women are less likely than men to vote in the first place and that if they vote it is usually for the same

candidate that their husband chooses, or their father if they are unmarried. Other popular beliefs about women voters are that they will generally vote for the most sexually attractive candidate (an apparent contradiction of the first assumption if men are supposed to ignore the sexual attractiveness of a candidate in their choosing), that they are less likely than men to vote for a woman, that they are more conservative than men in general, and that black women in particular are less concerned than white women about sex discrimination and more against the Women's Liberation Movement as a whole.² Ms. Steinem says,

Some of the assumptions were true in the past, or for one part of the population. Some were self-fulfilling prophecies. Some were both. But the truth is that these ideas have been acted upon with little proof of their accuracy, and often with no serious study at all.

The 1972 Virginia Slims American Women's Opinion Poll is an effort toward studying sex as a determinant of voting behavior and contains valuable material concerning "Women's Participation in Politics," "Women in Public Office," and "Women as Voters." Some of the myths about women as voters are disproved by these results. In the introduction to the published results it says,

The survey . . . reveals increasing outspokenness and independence on the part of American women. In growing numbers women today favor strengthening and changing their status in society. This is especially true . . . of an essentially urban coalition of young women, well-educated women and black women. More and more women are responding to the efforts of bona fide women's organizations, although there is still considerable resistance to the "women's liberation" movement.⁴

In the total group surveyed, 48% favored strengthening or changing women's status; 36% were opposed. This was an increase of 8% in favor from the 1971 poll and a decrease of those opposed of 6%. Men in 1972 were also in favor by 49% over 36% opposed.⁵ The findings further indicate that,

women's organizations are gradually earning the respect of more and more women. It would appear that this trend will continue as dedication and hard work replace isolated protests and demonstrations. However, large numbers of women (44%) and a majority of men (51%) are still not convinced that women have found productive organizational channels.⁶

The responses toward groups with the label of "women's liberation" is less positive. 49% of the total group of women were unsympathetic as were 42% of the men. Much greater sympathy exists among smaller groups within the survey such as single, black, and young women, those who live in cities, those who are poor, and those who are college-educated.⁷ This should serve to quell the myth that black women are less concerned about discrimination and more against women's liberation. This tends to support the results found in the Lawrence survey. A difficulty with the survey in Lawrence was the wording of the questions. The use of "Women's Liberation Movement" in the fifth question may have had the effect noted by the commentator of the Harris poll who says, "The phrase 'women's liberation' remains an emotionally charged expression with negative implications for many women."⁸ In the Harris Poll there were some positive responses evoked by the word such as equal rights and opportunities, better jobs and better pay, and liberation from housework, but there were sharply negative responses also such as women wanting to take over men's roles, "radical, militaristic, revolutionary, aggressive women," "silly and faddish," women trying to get into things they don't belong in, and "bunch of frustrated, insecure, ugly, hysterical, masculine-type women."⁹ This may further illuminate why the differences were so marked in the Lawrence survey. The community group doubtless has many of the negative responses to the "women's liberation" term while the women in women's studies courses have a much clearer understanding of the purpose behind the words.

Concerning women in politics, the Harris Associates found clear-cut agreement among men (76%) and women (79%) that, "While women hold few public offices, they work behind the scenes and really have more influence in politics than they're given credit for."¹⁰ There seem to be some contradictions on the matter of women and politics. For instance, 63% of the women and men agree that, "Most men are better suited emotionally for politics than are most women."¹¹ 33% of the women and 30% of the men disagree. 55% of the women and 62% of the men agree that, "To be really active in politics, women have to neglect their husbands and children"¹² with 42% of the women and 35% of the men disagreeing. On the other hand, 56% of the women and 51% of the men agree that, "This country would be better off if women had more to say about politics."¹³

Women by almost 2 to 1 (64% to 33%) do not agree that, "When it comes to politics, women don't have a mind of their own and tend to vote the way their husbands tell them to."¹⁴ This would appear to disprove the myth that women vote like their husbands. Men also disagree 60% to 37%.

A total of 59% of the women and 55% of the men believe that women should become more active in politics;¹⁵ however, only 17% of the women said they were personally very active or somewhat active in politics. 26% of the men fell in those two categories. 55% of the women said they were not at all active while only 39% of the men gave that response.¹⁶ 52% of women favor organizations to strengthen women's participation in politics.¹⁷ It appears that women think they should be involved in politics as a group but assume other women are doing or will do the job for them. This also indicates that even though there is resistance to "women's liberation" groups, other organizations such as the League of

Women Voters and the National Women's Political Caucus may find increasing support from women in all categories but especially the single or divorced, black, young, poor, very wealthy, or highly educated. women.¹⁸

Further, 73% of the women said they were registered to vote. 54% had voted in the 1970 Congressional election and 67% in the 1968 Presidential election. 78% of the men were registered, and 63% and 72% of them had voted in the two previous elections respectively. For groups within the totals the percentages seem to increase with additional age, income, and education in each category for both men and women.

Another contradiction appears in the section on Women in Public Office. Earlier 3 out of 5 women had said most men are better suited emotionally for politics than most women, In this section, however, 3 out of 4 women agree that, "Women in public office can be equally logical and rational as men."¹⁹ Similarly a majority of women (57% to 34%) reject the statement that, "No woman can be a good wife and mother and be active in politics too"²⁰ even though elsewhere in the survey a majority (55% to 42%) said that women would have to neglect their husbands and children to be really active in politics.

One of the polls is called "Feelings About the Differences Between Men and Women." 78% of the women and 68% of the men feel, "Women are more sensitive to the problems of the poor and the underprivileged than men are."²¹ Women are generally considered by both men and women to have more artistic ability and appreciation of the arts, to be more emotional and less logical than men, and to attach greater value to human life than men do.²² On the last three statements there was less difference between the percentages of women who agreed and disagreed. Still a plurality of women felt that men have more physical stamina

than women, men are more aggressive, and men are better at economics and business than women. Larger percentages of men tended to agree with those feelings than women.²³

With regard to women in public office the poll commentator says,

With significant pluralities, men and women agree that women could do "just as good a job as men" in dealing with health problems, improving our educational system, working for peace in the world, protecting the environment, maintaining honesty and integrity in government, improving the prison system, making decisions on whether or not to go to war, strengthening the economy, improving justice for minority groups, balancing the federal budget, getting us out of Vietnam, solving the urban crisis, conducting diplomatic relations with other countries and dealing with student demonstrations.

In four of these areas, pluralities of women feel that women in public office could do even "better" than men, and in most instances, men agree: 69% of women and 66% of men feel that women would do a better job than men in dealing with family problems; 48% of women and men agree that women would do a better job in encouraging the arts; 48% of women and 44% of men feel that women would fare better in protecting the interests of the consumer. In assisting the poor, a 47% plurality of women feel that they'd do a better job. Men are not as certain about this, with 42% saying "a better job" and 44% "just as good a job."

There are two areas where both sexes agree that women would have a hard time doing as good a job as men. In dealing with big business, 47% of women and 52% of men feel that women in public office would do "a worse job" than men. And in directing the military, 69% of women and 75% of men feel that women would do a "worse job."²⁴

Another myth about women voters is that they are less likely than men to vote for a woman for president. The Harris poll disproves this. They attempted to measure people's likelihood of voting for a woman candidate for president if she was running against an equally qualified male. Only 17% of the women said they would be "more likely" to vote for the women, but an even lower 7% of the men gave that response.²⁵ Apparently both men and women are more receptive to a woman as vice-president. 21% of the women and 12% of the men said they would be "more likely" to vote for a male presidential candidate with a woman

vice-president if they were running against equally qualified males.²⁶ 40% of women feel there are too few women delegates at national conventions as opposed to 5% who felt there are too many.²⁷ Only 32% of women, however, said half of the delegates should be women while 58% said it does not make much difference.²⁸ 42% of women said they think the country is ready to accept a woman on the Supreme Court now.²⁹ An even stronger percentage (57%) said they personally would like to see a woman appointed justice to the Supreme Court now.³⁰

Finally, in the section on Women as Voters, several surveys indicated what was found in the 1971 Virginia Slims Poll, that, "in general women attach greater value to human life than do men."³¹ This is indicated in the 1972 poll by their listing drug abuse and war as the two most serious problems facing the nation. This would seem to support Gloria Steinem's opinion that women vote as "conservers of life" which does not necessarily mean they vote conservatively.³²

This poll cannot be compared with the Lawrence survey in terms of women's leanings toward the candidates because at the time it was taken Senator McGovern was considered barely in the running. The poll commentator says,

Many women are still uncertain about the abilities and personalities of several of the possible Presidential candidates, particularly Senator McGovern. Senator Muskie leaves 2 out of 5 women unable to describe him. Compared with President Nixon, both of these men suffer from lack of exposure.³³

McGovern was not even included in a poll to determine who people said they would vote for if the election were held at the end of 1971. Nixon, Muskie, Kennedy, Humphrey, and Wallace were compared in various combinations. However, of those compared,

Men show a slightly higher preference for re-electing President Nixon than do women, no matter who his opponents

are. Among women, the President's greatest support comes from the married and widowed, white, women 40 years of age and over, those with incomes of \$10,000-\$15,000, the college educated and women in suburbs.³⁴

This does seem to be substantiated by the Lawrence poll since this description, at least in terms of age, race, and marital status, more nearly fits the community group than either of the student groups.

Two concluding observations of interest in the Harris poll are, 1) More women than men are Democrats and would opt for a Democratic candidate for President, and 2) overall, as a candidate, President Nixon runs better among men than he does among women.³⁵

Since the Democratic party's candidate and platform in 1972 were generally conceded to be more liberal than the Republican, this should further disprove the myth that women voters are more conservative. A conserver of life votes conservatively on some issues and quite liberally on others. But this would lead one to believe that McGovern should have done quite well among women voters. In an article called "Why Women Voted for Richard Nixon" Gloria Steinem and Carolyn Setlow, author and analyst of the Harris poll, say,

There were two common assumptions about the women's vote. First, that there might well be more of it than ever before, with women taking advantage of their potential as 53 percent of the electorate to outnumber male voters by more than 8 million. Second, that George McGovern was likely to benefit decisively from this new force.³⁶

They go on to document fairly sound reasons for these beliefs and not just among feminists and others who might be accused of wishful thinking. People were also becoming aware for the first time that sex may well be one of the determinants of voting behavior. However, after November 7, 1972, it was found that women did not go to the polls in increased numbers, that women's turnout was lower than that of men, and that among

women who did vote, "there was no appreciable difference between their pro-McGovern or pro-Nixon voting and that of men."³⁷ They note that a study of opinion polls isolates the time of the apparent shift of women away from McGovern. Right after the Democratic Convention, as before, McGovern polled stronger among women than among men, but by late August both men and women gave Nixon the lead by the same percentages, 63% to 29%. They note that, "The final difference between the male and female votes was, for the first time in many Presidential years, a negligible one; not even big enough to count."³⁸ They indicate that this was not because women changed their minds on the issues or were defecting from the Democratic party in general but rather because,

women had lost faith in McGovern; they no longer thought of him as being more competent than Nixon to bring about the peace they so greatly desired. . . . At the same time that Nixon was being increasingly identified in polls as "the statesman," McGovern was rapidly becoming "the politician."

.
By the last preelection poll women were more likely than men to support the statement that "McGovern seemed to be different, but lately he's become just another politician promising voters what they want."³⁹

Setlow and Steinem speculate about several possible reasons for this. One is that McGovern compromised too much, or at least appeared to, on such issues as the Vice-Presidency, welfare, abortion, inflation controls, and amnesty. They say, "Sticking to his original principles, as he did in the primaries, seemed to please voters--and especially women--far more."⁴⁰ Another explanation is that,

McGovern's legitimately good record on issues that could improve the lives of women in a concrete way. . . may have inspired a false confidence on the part of his campaign staff; a conviction that he had the women's vote in his pocket. For whatever reason, those issues were not emphasized in the campaign. . . .

Having personally vetoed the Child Development Bill, Nixon was very vulnerable on this issue--as he was on his lukewarm support of the Equal Rights Amendment, his refusal to put

teeth in antidiscrimination measures, a clear and very personal rejection of reproductive freedom, . . . and the many Nixon statements showing insensitivity to the aspirations of women. Yet these issues were never selected for major emphasis by the McGovern staff.⁴¹

These two authors speculate that as women abandoned the McGovern cause they also lost their enthusiasm for going to the polls. This is, of course, disappointed feminist speculation. Perhaps women would not have had as much effect on the election as feminists hoped anyway. Doubtless, there will be many analyses of what went wrong with the McGovern campaign. This author has found no better explanation of what happened to the expected support for McGovern from women than this one.

There are perhaps two things to be learned by feminists and by politicians from these two polls. The Lawrence poll indicates that a leaning toward feminism does affect a woman's voting behavior, tending to make one more likely to allow women's issues to be a factor in determining voting behavior. The Harris poll shows that even though women still fear the term "women's liberation," they are generally favorable to the groups that organize around various women's issues to seek political gains concerning that issue. The poll also showed that women do think on their own politically. If such interest in women's political groups continues to grow, women do have great political potential, and it would be a mistake to underestimate their concerns.

NOTES

¹Gloria Steinem, "Women Voters Can't Be Trusted," Ms., July, 1972, p. 47.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., p. 48.

⁴The 1972 Virginia Slims American Women's Opinion Poll, a study conducted by Louis Harris and Associates, 1972, p. 1.

⁵Ibid., p. 2.

⁶Ibid., p. 3.

⁷Ibid., p. 4.

⁸Ibid., p. 5.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 15.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 16.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 16.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 20.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 21.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 29.

²⁰Ibid., p. 30.

²¹Ibid., p. 33.

²²Ibid.

²³Ibid., p. 34.

²⁴Ibid., pp. 31-32.

²⁵Ibid., p. 36.

²⁶Ibid., p. 37.

²⁷Ibid., p. 42.

²⁸Ibid., p. 43.

²⁹Ibid., p. 45.

³⁰Ibid., p. 46.

³¹Ibid., p. 75.

³²Steinem, "Women Voters," p. 50.

³³1972 Virginia Slims Poll, p. 101.

³⁴Ibid., p. 103.

³⁵Ibid., p. 113.

³⁶Carolyn Setlow and Gloria Steinem, "Why Women Voted for Richard Nixon," Ms., March, 1973, p. 66.

³⁷Ibid., p. 67.

³⁸Ibid., pp. 67 & 109.

³⁹Ibid., pp. 109-110.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 110.

⁴¹Ibid.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FEMINISM

Women, mostly feminists, have commented repeatedly that if women do not take up their own cause and do not fight political battles for their own concerns, no one will.

Until women of all races take their problems as women seriously enough to ferret out issues of self-interest--whether or not those issues are emphasized by the press, and whether or not they are espoused in ideal form by the candidate--women will not be able to use the political machine to better their own lives. Other powerless groups identify crucial issues on their own initiative, and hold candidates accountable. Women must learn to do the same.¹

It has also been pointed out that no one is going to give women their share of political power. They must take it themselves.

To get true political power women will have to take it from its present holders--men. . . . Chivalry will not play a part. The political world is brutal. . . . Only time will show how much of it women can seize, wrest, grab. It will not come as a gift nor as an act of proportion.²

This statement appears to indicate that women, in order to gain the political power required to improve their situation, will have to become as brutal as the arena or the opponent requires. Certainly women in 1972 received some lessons in ruthless manipulation not by doing but by being done unto. The statement above implies that women must learn to be as ruthless as those who used them unjustly in 1972; however, this must be a cause for conflict in the feminist ranks. The philosophy behind feminism is a very humanistic one. The intended beneficiary of the liberation movement is not women alone but men as well as women. It is there-

fore philosophically difficult to set up men as "the enemy" to be conquered and manipulated in the struggle for power.

As Gloria Steinem suggested in another context, "there must be some happy middle ground" that would accommodate both political power and philosophical purity. It is certainly true that women cannot afford to ignore or abandon their potential power if they want to see women's lot in society improved. But the problems of women have two dimensions. One dimension is the political, legal, institutionalized bias against women which can best be fought in the courts of law and in legislative bodies at local, state and national levels. The other dimension is more elusive and more difficult to combat because it has to do with attitudes. On the whole, men and women have accepted certain culturally defined sex-role conceptions as being the natural and therefore correct order of things. The idea of changing those roles or even the way the roles are conceived can be very threatening. Someone who feels this way will naturally fear the radical connotations that accrued to the Women's Liberation Movement in the early days of its reawakening in the 1960's.

Feminist philosophy would not seek to force a woman out of the traditionally conceived roles of full-time wife and mother. It would seek to show women other viable options, but the choices belong to each woman alone. That does not sound very threatening. The problem then in battling the attitudinal dimension of women's problems is one of communication. A way must be found to help people, men and women, to push aside their fears of "Women's Liberation" long enough to hear the philosophy behind the label. Feminists need to communicate the philosophy in such a way that this is possible.

A first step in that direction has already happened. The image of

the movement, in the opinion of this author, has changed for the better. Some of the feminist leaders have gained respect and even the admiration of fairly traditional people and groups. For example, Gloria Steinem was chosen "Woman of the Year" by McCall's in 1972. The presence in offices of responsibility of women who are identified with the movement such as Shirley Chisholm and Frances Farenthold is good for taking the radical edge off the movement in the public's estimation. The media has in the past several years covered the action of women such as these rather than seeking out bra-burning sensationalism. Bella Abzug still comes on too strong for the general American public, but she does adhere to the mainstream feminist philosophy. The movement needs activist as well as philosophical leadership especially in politics. But the truly radical (i.e., socialist, anti-men, etc.) leaders and groups such as Valerie Solanis and Ti Grace Atkinson no longer receive attention in the media as they once did. The radical fringe of feminism is reported now mainly in underground newspapers which are not the everyday reading fare of the general American public. Feminists seeking to communicate their philosophy should cultivate the aura of responsibility that accrues to such groups as the National Women's Political Caucus. Even people who do not want the same things as women's political groups cannot deny the fact that these groups are seeking the changes they desire in time-honored American political fashion.

Attention to specific concerns via lobbying or other types of political groups has the possibility of taking away some of the fear associated with "Women's Liberation" as it draws attention away from accusations and conflict. This leads to the second point that feminists should keep in mind in communicating their philosophy. Men as a group

hold more power in this country than women. If women want to share that power they should not attempt to gain it by threatening or accusing those who hold it. Setting up a category of people as large as "men" as the advocate serves little purpose. It is too generalized a target to serve as a unifying agent for women and too loosely applied to have any effect on men. Specific individuals, men or women, who happen to hold power and who are blocking just change in specific areas of concern are better targets for unifying women. Specific charges against such individuals may also be more effective than tirades against a generalized "devil" figure.

In the same vein feminists need to make every effort to reach men and women where they are. The communication strategy should be to use the concerns of the people one hopes to influence as a means to achieve the goals. This means that in order to reach men and women, feminists need to do several things. They need to know the values and concerns of the people they hope to reach. They need to show that they are not opposed to those values. Feminists need to indicate for example that their values include a person's right to work for a living and to choose the occupation he or she desires. They can use data to show that women have not in fact had equal opportunities in exercising this right. A moral persuasion tactic could then be employed to generate in them a sense that women have been unjustly treated. More data could be used to show men and women how they would benefit from a more equitable system. For instance, men whose wives wished to work would be relieved of the pressure to be the sole bread-winner for their families. Since it is suspected that such pressure is the chief reason that men tend to die sooner than women, this data touches very close to something of

value to a man. Women would receive the obvious material benefits of equal opportunities as well as the opportunity to make choices about their life styles.

After establishing in people's minds the benefits they might gain from feminist proposals the implementation of such proposals will perhaps be viewed with less trepidation than otherwise. For instance, in order for women to participate fully in the business world, it will be necessary to have many more day care facilities than are now available. Child care and maternity benefits will be required. More flexible work schedules would allow families more choice about who will work, when, and for how long. Better distribution of birth control information and implementation would allow more welfare women to earn a living. These changes might seem threatening if proposed singly, but when it can be shown that they only serve to implement a proposal that will strengthen the work ethic and be beneficial to both men and women, the threat may be diminished considerably.

In summary then, if real, fundamental, society-wide change is to be made, feminists will need to do two things. First, they will need to communicate their philosophy to men and women. They need to show men that men too are victims of society's injustices to women. They need to help other women recognize the discrimination in the society and in their own lives. They need to appeal to basic American values and show how their philosophy and proposals would strengthen those values. They need to indicate the personal and material benefits possible for men and women of proposals they make, and they need to appeal to people's sense of justice. This effort at communication attempts to deal with the attitudinal level of women's problems. Second, feminists

need to continue working on the political level. Responsible political action is a way for feminists to communicate to both men and women that their purpose is not to punish or threaten but to share responsibility in every area of life, business and politics as well as home and family. It is unfortunate that the exigencies of political participation may coerce feminists to violate the purity of their philosophy. Perhaps purity of philosophy and power-seeking activities will never co-exist in peace. Women learned much in 1972 about power politics. It is certain they will use what they have learned in the future to seek to implement their philosophy. It is hoped that power will not corrupt the philosophy. It is a battle in feminism that is sure to be fought, and only time will reveal the outcome.

NOTES

¹Carolyn Setlow and Gloria Steinem, "Why Women Voted for Richard Nixon," Ms., March, 1973, p. 110.

²Elizabeth Hardwick, "Election Countdown '72: One Woman's Vote," Vogue, August 15, 1972, p. 8.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

- Cooke, Joanne. "Here's to You, Mrs. Robinson: An Introduction." The New Woman. (Eds.) Joanne Cooke, Charlotte Bunch-Weeks, and Robin Morgan. Indianapolis. Bobbs-Merrill, 1970.
- "Equal Rights: Amendment Passed Over Ervin Opposition." The 28th Annual Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 92nd Congress, 2nd Session - 1972. Washington: Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1972.
- Nixon, Richard. "Text of Nixon's June 1, 1971 Televised News Conference, Section on Employment of Women." Nixon: The Third Year of His Presidency. Washington: Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1972.

Periodicals

- Abzug, Bella S. "The Diary of a Fighting Congresswoman." McCall's, July, 1972, pp. 54-60, 138.
- _____ "Our White, Male, Middle Class, Middle-Aged Congress." Journal of The American Association of Univeisity Women, LXV, No. 12 (November, 1971), 33-34.
- Alexander, Shana. "A Lector to the Founding Mother." Newsweek, July 24, 1972, p. 37.
- _____ "The Politics of Abortion." Newsweek, October 2, 1972, p. 29.
- Barrer, Lester A. and Myra E. Barrer. "Barbara Hackman Franklin: President Nixon's New Woman," New Woman, October, 1971, pp. 37-38, 106, 108.
- "The Battle for the Democratic Party." Time, July 17, 1972, pp. 11-16.
- Block, Jean Libman. "What Politicians Don't Know About Women." Good Housekeeping, April 1972, pp. 89, 190-194.
- Breslin, Jimmy. "How Women Are Taking Over Politics," Cosmopolitan, November, 1972, pp. 178-181.

- "The Bulletin Board: Memo for Election Day." Ms., November, 1972, pp. 108-110.
- "Campaign '72: Women's Struggle for Larger Role." Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, XXX, No. 17 (April 22, 1972), pp. 883-885.
- "The Confrontation of the Two Americas." Time, October 2, 1972, pp. 15-20.
- "The Coronation of King Richard." Time, August 28, 1972, pp. 9-15.
- Crater, Flora. "Women Should Nominate and Elect McGovern President." The Woman Activist, August 26, 1972 (commemorative issue), pp. 1-25.
- "The Democratic Principals." Time, July 10, 1972, pp. 44-45.
- "Eleanor Power." Newsweek, October 23, 1972, pp. 43-44.
- "Eve's Operatives." Time, July 24, 1972, pp. 25-26.
- Fasteau, Brenda Feigen and Lobel, Bonnie. "Rating the Candidates: Feminists Vote the Rascals In or Out." Ms., Spring, 1972, pp. 74-84.
- "The First Lady: Neither Snow Nor Rain. . .," Newsweek, October 2, 1972, p. 17.
- Franklin, Barbara H. "Examples of Outstanding Women: Appointed to High-Level Federal Positions," Spotlight on Women in Public Affairs, Public Affairs Department, Chamber of Commerce of the U.S., V, No. 1, (1972), 2-3.
- Frappollo, Elizabeth. "The Ticket That Might Have Been: Vice President Farenthold." Ms., January, 1973, pp. 74, 76, 116-120.
- Friedan, Betty. "It's Nonsense That There are 'No Qualified Women' to Run for Office." McCall's, September, 1971, pp. 52, 54, 56, 134.
- _____ "What Have Women Really Won?" McCall's, November, 1972, pp. 74-78, 172.
- Greer, Germaine. "McGovern, The Big Tease." Harper's, October, 1972, pp. 56-71.
- Hardwick, Elizabeth. "Election Countdown, '72: One Woman's Vote." Vogue, September 1, 1972, p. 178.

- "How McGovern Brought It Off." Newsweek, July 24, 1972, pp. 19-20 and 27-28.
- "How to De-Radicalize." Time, September 4, 1972, pp. 17-18.
- "Increase in Female House Members in 1971 Expected." Congressional Quarterly, July 10, 1970, pp. 1745-1748.
- "Introducing the McGovern Machine." Time, July 24, 1972, pp. 18-23.
- "Is It an Era--Or Only on Hour?" Newsweek, July 24, 1972, pp. 16-18.
- "Linda Jenness for President." Ms., March, 1973, p. 84.
- "Madam President." Time, March 20, 1972, p. 34.
- Marcus, Barbara. "The Year of the Women Candidates." Ms., September 1972, pp. 64-69.
- "The Mate Who Also Runs," Newsweek, July 24, 1972, p. 35.
- McGovern, Eleanor S. "My Husband, George McGovern." Good Housekeeping, February, 1972, pp. 74, 146-150.
- McGovern, George. "Equality for Women in Higher Education," Congressional Record, CXVII, No. 109, (August 6, 1971). (Mimeographed reprint furnished to this writer by the McGovern for President Committee).
- _____ "Equal Rights for Women." Congressional Record, CXVII, No. 100, July 15, 1971. (mimeographed reprint furnished to this writer by the McGovern for President Committee).
- "McGovern Tries Giving 'Em Hell." Newsweek, October 16, 1972, pp. 29-30.
- Meyer, Lawrence. "American Success Story." Ms., November, 1972, pp. 84-87, 128-131.
- Moynihan, Daniel P. "Emerging Consensus?" Newsweek, July 10, 1972, pp. 22-23.
- "The New Democratic Delegates." Time, July 10, 1972, pp. 48-49.
- "Newsweek's 1972 Democratic Convention Score Card." The Woman Activist, II, No. 7 (July, 1972), 4.
- "Never Underestimate. . .". Newsweek, July 26, 1971, pp. 29-36.
- Nies, Judith. "The Abzug Campaign: A Lesson in Politics." Ms., February, 1973, pp. 76-79, 107-112.

- "1972 Democratic Platform Amendments on Women's Rights Re: The Abortion Issue." The Woman Activist, II, No. 7 (July, 1972), 2.
- "Nixon's Bid to Disenchant: 'Join Our New Majority'." President's Acceptance in Full Text, U.S. News and World Report, Sept. 4, 1972, pp. 66-70.
- "The Outsiders on the Inside," Newsweek, July 24, 1972, pp. 32, 35-36.
- "Pat Nixon Does It on Her Own." Newsweek, September 4, 1972, p. 36.
- Pattin, Ellen. "Women, Women's Issues and President Nixon." The Woman Activist, August 26, 1972 (commemorative issue), p. 14.
- Peer, Elizabeth. "Shirley's Road Show." Newsweek, Sept. 25, 1972, pp. 36-38.
- Pierce, Ponchitta. "What Do Women want at the Conventions." McCall's, July, 1972, p. 42.
- "The President's Family--In Campaign Spotlight." U.S. News and World Report, Sept. 4, 1972, p. 27.
- "Promises Republicans Make." U.S. News and World Report, Sept. 4, 1972, pp. 28-29.
- "Ready or Not, Here They Come to Miami." Time, July 10, 1972, pp. 43-44.
- "The Republicans Orderly Beat." Time, July 10, 1972, pp. 49-50.
- Romney, Lenore. "Men, Women--and Politics." Look, April 6, 1971, p. 11.
- "St. George Prepares to Face the Dragon." Time, July 24, 1972, pp. 9-10, 17.
- Scott, Ann. "The Equal Rights Amendment: What's In It for You?" Ms., July, 1972, pp. 82-86.
- "A Setback for McGovern." Time, July 10, 1972, pp. 15-16.
- Setlow, Carolyn and Gloria Steinem. "Why Women voted for Richard Nixon." Ms., March, 1973, pp. 66-67, 109-110.
- Shelton, Isabelle. "The Unconventional McGoverns." Ladies Home Journal, October, 1972, pp. 60-64, 186 and 194.
- Sherr, Lynn. "Democratic Women." Saturday Review, August 5, 1972, pp. 6-8.

"Show Biz in Politics." Newsweek, Sept. 25, 1972, pp. 34-35, 37.

Steinem, Gloria. "Coming of Age with McGovern: Notes from a Political Diary," Ms., Oct. 1972, pp. 39-43, 97-100, 103-106.

_____ "Sexual Politics." Newsweek, July 10, 1972, pp. 32-33.

_____ "The Ticket That Might Have Been: President Chisholm." Ms., January, 1973, pp. 73, 120, 124.

_____ "Women Voters Can't be Trusted." Ms., July, 1972, pp. 47-51, 131.

Thimmesch, Nick. "And at the Republican Convention. . ." Cosmopolitan, November, 1972, p. 181.

"III. Rights, Power and Social Justice," the women's plank of the Democratic Platform, The Woman Activist, II, No. 7 (July, 1972), 3.

"Toward Female Power at the Polls." Time, March 20, 1972, pp. 33-34.

"A Vote on Abortion." Time, Sept. 4, 1972, p. 8.

"The Woman's Plank of the Republican Platform." The Woman Activist, II, No. 9 (September, 1972), 4.

"Women in Government." U.S. News and World Report, January 17, 1972, pp. 60-69.

"Women's Political Caucus: What it is, What It Wants." U.S. News and World Report, August 16, 1971, pp. 67-68.

Newspapers

"Daughters Help McGovern." Lawrence Journal World, Lawrence, Kansas, Oct. 2, 1972, p. 8.

Hutchinson, Louise. "Women Abandon Plank on Abortion." Chicago Tribune, Aug. 23, 1972 (p. unknown.) Article received by this author from Biddy Hurlbutt, Tonganoxie, Kansas.

Kilberg, Bobbie Green. "Republican Women Assessing their Gains and Losses." The Washington Post. (Undated article given to author by Biddy Hurlbutt, Tonganoxie, Kansas.)

Lewine, Frances. "Women: More on the Ballot." The Kansas City Star, Nov. 5, 1972, p. 6AA.

- Lydon, Christopher. "Gloria Steinem Aids McGovern's Cause." New York Times, February 12, 1972 (approx.). Undated article sent by McGovern for President Committee to this author.
- McGrory, Mary. "Finest Hour for Texas Gal Liberals," The Evening Star, Washington, D.C., May 9, 1972. Reprint sent to this author from the McGovern for President Committee.
- Mitchell, T. Wayne. "Mrs. McGovern to Missouri: Fence-Mending Mission," The Kansas City Times, September 20, 1972, p. 13A.
- "Mrs. McGovern Speaks Out Against the Nixon Regime." Lawrence Journal World, Lawrence, Kansas, Oct. 2, 1972, p. 8.
- Quinn, Sally. "GOP has 'Firsts' Parade." Fort Worth Star-Telegram, Section B, pp. 1-2.
- Quinn, Sally. "The Republican Women's Attempt at Semi-Activism." Washington Post, August 24, 1972, p. A18.
- Ter Horst, J.F. "McGovern Pushes Corruption Theme." The Detroit News, October 26, 1972, pp. 1, 22A.
- Tyson, Remer. "McGovern Campaigns Here." Detroit Free Press, pp. 3A, 8A.

Government Documents

- Nixon, Richard. "Columbia Broadcasting System Interview: The President's Conversation with Dan Rather, Broadcast Live on Television and Radio, January 2, 1972--Comments on the Role of Women." Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents, XIII, No. 2 (January 10, 1972), 25.
- Nixon, Richard. "Memorandum About Women in Government. April 21, 1971." Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Richard Nixon, 1971. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972.
- Nixon, Richard. "National Center for Voluntary Action: The President's Remarks at the Center's First Annual Award Dinner, Feb. 10, 1972." Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents, XIII, No. 7 (February 14, 1972), 419-421.
- Nixon, Richard. "The Presidents Remarks Upon Arrival at Miami International Airport to attend the Republican National Convention. August 22, 1972." Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents, VIII, No. 35 (August 28, 1972), 1260-1261.

- Nixon, Richard. "Remarks at the Convention of the National Federation of Republican Women. October 22, 1971." Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States. Richard Nixon, 1971. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972.
- Nixon, Richard. "Remarks to Delegates to the Girl's Nation Annual Convention, August 6, 1971." Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Richard Nixon, 1971. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972.
- Nixon, Richard. "The State of the Union: The President's Message to the Congress, January 20, 1972, Section on Equal Rights for Women." Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents, XIII, No. 4 (January 24, 1972), 85.
- Nixon, Richard. "Statement About Policy on Abortion at Military Base Hospitals in the United States, April 3, 1971." Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Richard Nixon, 1971. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972.

Campaign Literature

- "Anne Armstrong Reports: To Republican Women Leaders," Fact Sheet on women in the federal government, sent to the author from the office of Anne Armstrong, Co-Chairman, Republican National Committee, 310 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C.
- Finance Committee to Re-Elect the President. "President Nixon: The Choice of America's Women." Campaign brochure, 1701 Pennsylvania, N.W., Washington, D.C.
- McGovern for President Committee. "The Choice: Concern or Neglect." Campaign literature. 1910 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.
- McGovern for President Committee. "Day Care." Campaign literature. 1910 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.
- McGovern for President Committee. "McGovern for Women's Equality." Campaign brochure. 1910 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.
- McGovern for President Committee. "Responding to Older Women." Campaign literature. 1910 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.
- McGovern for President Committee. Untitled letter from George McGovern to prospective contributors. 1910 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

- McGovern for President Committee. "What President George McGovern Would Do." Campaign brochure, 1910 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.
- McGovern for President Committee. "Women in Higher Education." Promotional information sheet. 1910 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.
- National Women's Political Caucus. "Women and the Platform." Campaign literature. 1302 18th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.
- Republican National Committee. Undated form letter from Bob Dole to party leaders. 310 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C.
- Republican National Committee. "Women: President Nixon's Goals for a Greater America. . .To Eliminate Sex Discrimination." Campaign brochure. 310 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C.
- Women's Caucus, United Auto Workers. "A Special Message to Richard Nixon. . ." Campaign brochure. Solidarity House 8000 E. Jefferson Ave., Detroit, Michigan.
- Women's Caucus, United Auto Workers. "McGovern's Promise to Women." Campaign leaflet. Solidarity House, 8000 E. Jefferson Ave., Detroit, Michigan.
- Women's Caucus, United Auto Workers. "Women can make the Difference: McGovern vs. Nixon." Campaign leaflet. Solidarity House, 8000 E. Jefferson Ave., Detroit, Michigan.
- "Women to Win, Phase I: How to Recruit Women Candidates," campaign brochure sent to the author from the office of Anne Armstrong, Women's Division, Republican National Committee, 310 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C.
- "Women to Win, Phase II: How to Win with Women Candidates," campaign brochure sent to the author from the office of Anne Armstrong, Women's Division, Republican National Committee, 310 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C.

Miscellaneous

- Addiss, Penny. Letter to this writer. Women's Rights Co-ordinator, National Women's Advisory Council, McGovern/Shriver '72, 1910 K Street, Washington, D.C., October 2, 1972.
- Chisholm, Shirley. Question and answer session at a reception following her speech at the University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas, November 14, 1972.

Copy of a memorandum from Karen DeCrow, Chairwoman, Politics Taskforce, National Organization of Women, to Wilma Scott Heide, Jacqui Michot Ceballus, Patricia Burnett, JoAnn Evans Gardner, and Nola Claire regarding the Republican National Convention, August 6, 1972.

Eike, Casey. "Other Concerns of Top Priority to Young Women Voters." Auxilliary section of transcript of testimony of the Intercollegiate Association of women students given before the Republican Platform Committee, Miami, Florida, 1972, pp. 1-4.

_____ "Women's Rights." Transcript of testimony of the Intercollegiate Association of women students given before the Republican Platform Committee, Miami, Florida, August, 1972, pp. 1-4.

Excerpt from 1972 Republican Platform referring to equal rights for women received by this writer from Biddy Hurlbutt, Oct., 1972.

Farenthold, Francis. Private interview at the Old Capitol Club, Rice Hotel, Houston, Texas, January 6, 1973.

Franklin, Barbara Hackman. Letter to this writer, Staff Assistant to the President, the White House, Washington, D.C. November 17, 1972.

Hurlbutt, Biddy. Private interview, Tonganoxie, Kansas, Oct. 5, 1972.

Interstate Association of Commissions on the Status of Women.
"Press Release," Washington, D.C., August 16, 1972.

Louis Harris and Associates, The 1972 Virginia Slims American Women's Opinion Poll. A survey of the attitudes of women on their roles in politics and the economy, 1972.

McGovern, George. "McGovern Speaks to Women." Address delivered at women's rally sponsored by Southeastern Michigan Women's Advisory Council for McGovern/Shriver, Hazel Park High School, October 25, 1972. (Transcript available from Womens Caucus, United Auto Workers, Solidarity House, 8000 East Jefferson Ave., Detroit, Michigan 48211.

_____ "Women in Government." Excerpts from remarks delivered to the meeting of the Women's National Democratic Club, June 17, 1971. (mimeographed reprint furnished to this writer by the McGovern for President Committee.)

National Broadcasting Company transcript of a television interview with Gloria Steinem and Jill Ruckelshaus on "Meet the Press," XVI, No. 36 (Sept. 10, 1972), 1-9.

- National Women's Political Caucus. "The National Women's Political Caucus." Membership recruitment brochure, Washington, D.C.
- National Women's Political Caucus. "Newsletter II," Washington, D.C., Feb., 1972, pp. 1-4.
- National Women's Political Caucus. "Newsletter V," Washington, D.C., June, 1972, pp. 1-4.
- National Women's Political Caucus. Press release dated August, 1972. 1302 18th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.
- Transcript of remarks by Barbara Hackman Franklin, Staff Assistant to the President to the Texas Association of Women Deans and Counselors, Fort Worth, Texas, June 21, 1972, pp. 1-16.
- "Testimony of the National Women's Political Caucus Before Subcommittee II, Human Rights and Responsibilities, of the Resolutions Committee of the Republican National Convention," Miami, Florida, August 16, 1972, pp. 1-17.
- Women's Education for Delegate Selection Committee, National Women's Political Caucus. DO 8, handbook for women delegates to the 1972 Republican National Convention, pp. 1-45.

APPENDIX A
THE WOMEN'S PLANK OF THE
DEMOCRATIC PARTY PLATFORM

III. RIGHTS, POWER AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

Rights of Women

Women historically have been denied a full voice in the evolution of the political and social institutions of this country and are therefore allied with all under-represented groups in a common desire to form a more humane and compassionate society. The Democratic Party pledges the following:

- *A priority effort to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment;

- *Elimination of discrimination against women in public accommodations and public facilities, public education and in all federally-assisted programs and federally-contracted employment;

- *Extension of the jurisdiction of the Civil Rights Commission to include denial of civil rights on the basis of sex;

- *Full enforcement of all federal statutes and executive laws barring job discrimination on the basis of sex, giving the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission adequate staff and resources and power to issue cease-and-desist orders promptly;

- *Elimination of discriminatory features of criminal laws and administration;

- *Increased efforts to open educational opportunities at all levels, eliminating discrimination against women in access to education, tenure, promotion and salary,

*Guarantee that all training programs are made more equitable, both in terms of the numbers of women involved and the job opportunities provided; jobs must be available on the basis of skill, not sex;

*Availability of maternity benefits to all working women; temporary disability benefits should cover pregnancy, childbirth, miscarriage and recovery;

*Elimination of all tax inequities that affect women and children, such as higher taxes for single women;

*Amendment of the Social Security Act to provide equitable retirement benefits for families with working wives, widows, women heads of households and their children;

*Amendment of the Internal Revenue Code to permit working families to deduct from gross income as a business expense, housekeeping and child care costs;

*Equality for women on credit, mortgage, insurance, property, rental and finance contracts;

*Extension of the Equal Pay Act to all workers, with amendment to read "equal pay for comparable work;"

*Appointment of women to positions of top responsibility in all branches of the federal government to achieve an equitable ratio of women and men. Such positions include Cabinet members, agency and division heads and Supreme Court Justices; inclusion of women advisors in equitable ratios on all government studies, commissions and hearings; and

*Laws authorizing federal grants on a matching basis for financing State Commissions of the Status of Women.

APPENDIX B
THE WOMEN'S PLANK OF THE
REPUBLICAN PARTY PLATFORM

EQUAL RIGHTS FOR WOMEN

The Republican Party recognizes the great contributions women have made to our society as homemakers and mothers, as contributors to the community through volunteer work, and as members of the labor force in careers outside the home. We fully endorse the principle of equal rights, equal opportunities and equal responsibilities for women, and believe that progress in these areas is needed to achieve the full realization of the potentials of American women both in the home and outside the home.

We reaffirm the President's pledge earlier this year: "The Administration will. . .continue its strong efforts to open equal opportunities for women, recognizing clearly that women are often denied such opportunities today. While every woman may not want a career outside the home, every woman should have the freedom to choose whatever career she wishes - and an equal chance to pursue it."

This Administration has done more than any before it to help women of America achieve equality of opportunity.

Because of its efforts, more top-level and middle-management positions in the Federal Government are held by women than ever before. The President has appointed a woman as his special assistant in the White House, specifically charged with the recruitment of women for policy-making jobs in the United States Government. Women have also been named to high positions in the Civil Service Commission and the Department of Labor to ensure equal opportunities for employment and advancement at all levels of the Federal service.

In addition we have:

- Significantly increased resources devoted to enforcement of the Fair Labor Standards Acts, providing equal pay for equal work;
- Required all firms doing business with the Government to have affirmative action plans for the hiring and promotion of women;
- Requested Congress to expand the jurisdiction of the Commission on Civil Rights to cover sex discrimination;
- Recommended and supported passage of Title IX of the Higher Education Act opposing discrimination against women in educational institutions;
- Supported the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972 giving the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission enforcement power in sex discrimination cases;
- Continued our support of the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution, our Party being the First national party to back this Amendment.

Other factors beyond outright employer discrimination - the lack of child care facilities, for example - can limit job opportunities for women. For lower and middle income families, the President supported and signed into law a new tax provision which makes many child care expenses deductible for working parents. Part of the President's recent welfare reform proposal would provide comprehensive day care services so that women on welfare can work.

We believe the primary responsibility for a child's care and upbringing lies with the family. However, we recognize that for economic and many other reasons many parents require assistance in the care of their children.

To help meet this need, we favor the development of publicly or privately run, voluntary, comprehensive, quality day care services, locally controlled but federally assisted, with the requirement that the recipients of these services will pay their fair share of the costs according to their ability.

We oppose ill-considered proposals, incapable of being administered effectively, which would heavily engage the Federal Government in this area.

To continue progress for women's rights, we will work toward:

- Ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.
- Appointment of women to highest level positions in the Federal Government, including the Cabinet and the Supreme Court.
- Equal pay for equal work.
- Elimination of discrimination against women at all levels in Federal Government.
- Elimination of discrimination against women in the criminal justice system, in sentencing, rehabilitation and prison facilities.
- Increased opportunities for the part-time employment of women, and expanded training programs for women who want to re-enter the labor force.

- Elimination of economic discrimination against women in credit, mortgage, insurance, property, rental and finance contracts.

We pledge vigorous enforcement of all Federal statutes and executive orders barring job discrimination on the basis of sex.

We are proud of the contributions made by women to better government. We regard the active involvement of women on all levels of the political process, from precinct to national status, as of great importance to our country. The Republican Party welcomes and encourages their maximum participation.