# NONPROFITS AND ADVOCACY

## Engaging Community and Government in an Era of Retrenchment

EDITED BY
Robert J. Pekkanen, Steven Rathgeb Smith,
AND Yutaka Tsujinaka

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY PRESS BALTIMORE

# Gender Identity and the Shifting Basis of Advocacy by US Women's Groups, 1920–2000

KRISTIN GOSS

American democracy is increasingly responsive to political elites and moneyed interests (Bartels, 2008; Gilens, 2012; Hacker and Pierson, 2010; Skocpol, 2003). These factions are not representative of the American public (Bartels, 2008; Fiorina and Abrams, 2009; Gilens, 2012). While the elite bias in American democracy is nothing new (Schattschneider, 1960), political Washington has been transformed in ways that have exacerbated that bias. Public interest groups and political parties, which once effectively spoke for marginalized people and diffuse publics, are overpowered by groups attentive to narrow, advantaged constituencies (Hacker and Pierson, 2010). At the same time, the types of organizations that often serve as the default "representative" of diffuse and disadvantaged citizens—public charities—face severe legal and organizational barriers to political action (Berry and Arons, 2003). Even interest groups purporting to represent marginalized citizens are disproportionately attentive to their most privileged members (Strolovitch, 2007).

In light of these trends, this chapter takes a step back and examines how one diffuse and historically marginalized group—American women—made themselves heard before Congress. Long before they had the right to vote, American women organized in membership organizations to influence policy making from the outside. In the process, they spoke not only for their own particular needs and desires, but also for those of other groups such as the poor, children, racial minorities, and even humanity at large. Using two original data sets of women's organizations' public engagement, I examine how women's organizations constructed their moral authority to advocate before Congress on the important issues of the day. Rather than taking women's political marginalization as a given, I examine how all-female groups persuaded elected officials that women's voices should count.

Despite their marginalization, women historically have constituted one of



the most vibrant sectors of the US interest group universe. As historians have noted, women helped to create what we now term "interest group politics" (Cott, 1987). Long before the explosion of public interest groups in the 1960s and 1970s (Berry, 1997), women's groups spearheaded a dizzying array of concerns: abolition, temperance, charity reform, suffrage, kindergartens, clean food and drug laws, maternal and child health, free trade, peace, multilateral engagement, juvenile justice, environmental protection, black civil rights, women's rights, universal health care—the list goes on. Women's organizations often paid attention to issues that male politicians and male-dominated associations did not. Women played an important agenda-setting role by bringing to elites' attention issues that affected everyone, but that women encountered first in their domestic roles (Jeffreys-Jones, 1995). Indeed, women received more elite attention than might have been expected based on their political clout, as was also true of children (see Imig, chap. 8, this volume).

Although "women's impact has, in many senses, been greatest when they worked through women's organizations" (Sapiro, 1984, 135), their collective advocacy evolved in significant and often counterintuitive ways throughout the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These changes included the types of groups representing women's collective concerns, the authority claims offered on women's behalf, and the substantive issues and issue dimensions that women's groups embraced. I suggest that changes in these various dimensions of women's collective advocacy are related to shifting understandings of women's collective identity.

This study uses women's organizations' congressional testimony to examine how women's groups established their bona fides before political elites and how those strategies evolved over time. Testifying before Congress is one important form of nonprofit advocacy, which this book defines as "the attempt to influence public policy, either directly or indirectly" (see Robert J. Pekkanen and Steven Rathgeb Smith's introduction to this volume). Because it is typically done in person before congressional committee members, testimony constitutes direct advocacy of the "insider" variety (see Pekkanen and Smith, introduction, this volume). But testimony also can work indirectly, as when organizations use it to educate the broader public, to communicate with members, and to reinforce their status as power players in Washington. As Jeffrey M. Berry (1997, 164) notes: "The most visible part of an interest group's effort to influence pending legislation takes place at congressional hearings . . . Interest group leaders like to testify because it bestows status on them and their organizations, because it shows members that their group is

playing an important part in the legislative process, and because it helps to legitimize further participation."

A careful analysis of hearing testimony illuminates the three major themes of this book: *venue choice*, factors associated with *success* in the legislative realm, and *limitations* on advocacy by nonprofit organizations. First, Congress is the most prominent target of advocacy by nonprofit organizations in Washington, and congressional testimony is a particularly common—and coveted—opportunity for nonprofit organizations to try to influence public policy directly (Berry, 1997; Grossmann, 2012). Second, organizations use hearings to develop messages that will reinforce their stature with, and sway, wavering policymakers. As this study shows, those advocacy messages have changed significantly over time, illuminating shifting strategies to influence lawmakers. Finally, congressional hearings illustrate the ebbs and flows in different groups' prominence on Capitol Hill and remind us that organizations that were important in one era may be severely limited in another.

Appearances by women's organizations before Congress are captured in two original data sets. The first contains every appearance by a women's organization before a congressional committee or subcommittee hearing between 1878 (the first such appearance) and 2000. There are more than 10,400 appearances and more than 2,100 groups in the data set. The second data set consists of 368 systematically selected sets of testimony by women's organizations in two broad policy domains: international affairs and national health-care provisions. Congressional testimony provides a unique, systematic measure of two constructs: (1) those policies on the government agenda that women collectively decided to try to influence, and (2) those policies on which members of Congress considered women's input to be authoritative.

As a vehicle for analyzing policy authority, I invoke the concept of *civic place*, which I define as the intersection of a group's civic identity, its organizational advocates, and their policy agenda. A civic identity is a political construction that signifies collective beliefs about citizens' claims against and duties toward the state. Identities with strong civic connotations might include laborer, pauper, veteran, and mother. Each is rooted in some facet of individual experience that helps to establish one's role in the political order. Organizations representing different identity groups (in this case, women) construct rationales to link civic identities to policy demands. In so doing, organizations seek to establish a civic place for their constituents. The notion of civic place is akin to the notion of "place" more generally—a metaphorical



location that anchors a claim to rightful inclusion.[1] Groups reveal their civic place through the symbols and narratives that they use as a basis for establishing their authority to "count" in public policy discussions.

To structure the historical analysis, I elaborate on the familiar, if questionable, dichotomy upon which much feminist theory and analysis are based: the "sameness versus difference" dichotomy. In the next section, I briefly review theories of how women are the same as, or different from, men and describe the creative ways in which women's groups have combined or reconciled these supposedly dichotomous understandings. Next, I introduce the data and methods of analysis. I then trace the evolution of women's groups' authority claims through the three civic identities that emerged from the testimony: a maternal identity, a "good citizen" identity, and an equal claimant identity. Generally speaking, the maternal identity maps onto the difference understanding; the equal claimant identity maps onto the sameness understanding; and, as I describe below, the good citizen identity constitutes a clever combination of the two. I show how these identities shifted over time as the foundation of women's groups' policy advocacy. I conclude with a set of hypotheses about how these patterns may relate to broader questions about women's voice and influence in national policy debates.

## Women's Sameness, Women's Difference

Understandings of women's civic identity have revolved around a core question: whether women are at root the same as or different from men. Sameness arguments characterize women as *independent* political actors "endowed by their Creator" with the same citizen rights enjoyed by men. The sameness paradigm was present in the 1848 first-wave women's movement's "Declaration of Sentiments," which adapted the Declaration of Independence to state that "all men *and women* are created equal" (italics mine). The sameness paradigm also guided the rhetoric of the early suffrage movement (Kraditor, 1971). Likewise, sameness was the underpinning of the brand of liberal, or equality, feminism that came to dominate the so-called second-wave women's movement, which emerged in the 1960s and peaked in the 1970s. The doctrine infused the founding statement of purpose of the second wave's flagship organization, the National Organization for Women (NOW). NOW's mission statement stressed that women were "human beings, who, like all other people in our society, must have a chance to develop their fullest human potential" (Carabillo et al., 1993, 159). And it was the lodestar of

the uncompromising feminist strategy that characterized the Equal Rights Amendment struggles of the 1970s and early 1980s (Mansbridge, 1986).

The notion that women were the same as men informed women's activists' understanding of their relationship with the state. In this understanding, the state has a duty to protect the rights claims of women, including equal political rights and the right to equal treatment under the law. When the state fails to treat women equally, women have the prerogative to voice their grievances and claims for redress through the political process. Sameness understandings, then, stress what the state owes to the citizen, namely equal political rights and equal treatment under law. This relationship puts the natural rights conception of citizenship front and center. Women join men as carriers of the classical liberal tradition in American political culture.

But "difference" arguments conceptualize women as distinctive, *relational* actors. This perspective holds that, whether by nature or nurture or some combination thereof, women demonstrate an "ethic of care" toward others (Lister, 2003). This ethic of care in turn undergirds women's proper role in strengthening democracy. The post-Revolutionary period gave rise to the notion of "republican motherhood," for example, in which women's public contribution was to train their sons to be good citizens (Kerber, 1976). It also informed Progressive Era frameworks for collective action, such as social reformer Jane Addams's suggestion that communities were just extensions of families and that women consequently could bring their domestic caretaking skills to improving government performance—what has been termed "social feminism" (O'Neill, 1971) and "municipal housekeeping" (Skocpol, 1992). The difference paradigm also informed early twentieth-century suffragists' arguments that the franchise would allow women to use their experiences in charitable and reform organizations to improve the performance of government (Kraditor, 1971). And it informed women's peace movements from the early to mid-twentieth century (Alonso, 1993; Goss, 2009; Jeffreys-Jones, 1995).

Like the equality framework, the difference framework serves as a basis for women's relationship with the state. In the difference framework, women assume the role of engaged members of the polity, bringing their special experiences and caring sensibilities—especially as mothers and dependents—to their civic work. Women's role in public life is to use what economists would call their comparative advantage. This understanding of women's role stresses what citizens owe or can contribute to the polity—and to the state, as the democratic embodiment thereof—as opposed to what the state owes to the citizen. The difference framework, as developed by nineteenth- and early twentieth-century women, harks back to the founders' civic republican tradition, a subordinate yet important strain in American political culture emphasizing engagement, community, consensus, and civic virtue.[2]



The second-wave women's movement had a complex and sometimes fraught relationship with the difference argument as articulated in the Progressive Era. Some offshoots of the feminist movement, such as ecofeminism and portions of the women's peace and antinuclear movements, were comfortable using a language of maternal care as a source of legitimacy and authority (Alonso, 1993; Somma and Tolleson-Rinehart, 1997). However, the core cadres of the feminist movement, first consciousness-raising groups and later rights-based advocacy groups, viewed difference feminism as a threat to women's liberation and equality. They feared that difference reinforced "damaging sex stereotypes" (Davis, 1999) that could be "co-opted by those hostile to women's emancipation to fuel arguments for their continued subordination" (Offen, 1988, 154). As Nancy Fraser (1997, 99) writes, "Equality feminists saw gender difference as an instrument and artifact of male dominance . . . To stress gender difference is to harm women. It is to reinforce our confinement to an inferior domestic role." With this understanding, "the political task was thus clear: the goal of feminism was to throw off the shackles of 'difference' and establish equality, bringing women and men under a common measure" (Fraser, 1997, 100).

One line of attack was on the female tradition of volunteer work, which fueled the philanthropic and social reform efforts that had distinguished women's organizations in the Progressive Era. The flagship movement group NOW in 1971 "issued a resolution telling women they should only volunteer to effect social change, not to deliver social services . . . The new woman of the 1970s could be an activist; she could work for free to change an inequitable system but could not be a volunteer" (Kaminer, 1984, 4). Women's peace advocates took this resolution to be a "denigration of volunteerism as female exploitation" (Swerdlow, 1993, 158). Difference arguments made a bit of a comeback in the 1980s, when "cultural feminism" arose to reclaim femininity (Fraser, 1997, 100) and theorists such as Jean Bethke Elshtain (1981), Carol Gilligan (1982), and Sarah Ruddick (1989) argued that maternal experiences and relational orientation contribute to a more moral, peaceful, and just society.

These scholarly efforts to re-embrace difference notwithstanding, the wariness of difference arguments persisted throughout the 1980s and 1990s. Many equality feminists perceived care rhetoric as a threat to women's advancement, particularly in the professional realm. To many women who did not

or could not aspire to motherhood—and even to many mothers—difference arguments reduced women to one-dimensional, easily oppressed beings. By the early 1990s, Theda Skocpol (1992, 538) concluded that "in the United States today no such unproblematic connections of womanhood and motherhood, or of private and public mothering, are remotely possible—not even in flights of moralism and rhetorical fancy."

The sameness and difference constructs have thus "run like two currents through the stream of feminist theory and politics since the late eighteenth century" (Lister, 2003, 96). Issue entrepreneurs have used accepted understandings about women's essence to frame women's collective action, to assemble issue agendas, and to legitimize women's authority to advance them. Understandings of sameness and difference have also been subject to debate and tension within women's movements, from suffrage through the second wave and beyond.

Even as these understandings have been in tension, however, they have also provided a diverse repertoire of symbols, metaphors, and narratives from which women's advocates could draw as the political and social context warranted. Scholars have documented the many instances in which women throughout American history have moved between, conflated, combined, or sampled from these two supposedly dichotomous understandings to advance their political and policy goals. Such strategies have allowed women's leaders to fit innovative, hybrid narratives to changing times (Goss and Heaney, 2010).

Such hybrid perspectives have been used to advance both explicitly feminist goals, such as women's rights and status, as well as more universalistic concerns. With respect to feminist goals, Eileen McDonagh (2009) argues that suffragists blended equality and difference rationales to win the vote.[3] Likewise, Wendy Sarvasy (1992) observes that Progressive Era women's advocates pushed mothers' pensions as a means of caring for women as a group with particular needs (difference) *and* advancing women's equality (sameness). Echoing that synthesis, second-wave feminists of the 1980s advocated policies to protect classes of women who were uniquely vulnerable or underrepresented—pregnant workers, battered women—with an end of providing them with equal freedoms and opportunities (Costain, 1988). In other cases, women's groups have synthesized sameness and difference understandings to mobilize women around causes that are not explicitly about women's rights or status. Such campaigns have included promoting environmental protection (Somma and Tolleson-Rinehart, 1997), advancing gun control (Goss and Heaney, 2010), and opposing war (Goss and Heaney, 2010).



Hybridizing is possible because, as Joan Scott (1988, 38) has argued, "equality is not the elimination of difference, and difference does not preclude equality." Both constructs acknowledge women's distinctiveness in the political realm: difference theorists because they find meaning in women's sensibilities, and equality theorists because they have supported separatist strategies of feminist organizing and in some cases supported policies (such as those dealing with pregnancy) that must acknowledge women's difference to achieve their equality. Karen Offen (1988, 156) has suggested that it is time for women to claim a hybrid "relational feminism" that would "reclaim the power of difference . . . and . . . reweave it once again with the appeal to the principle of human freedom that underlies the individualist tradition." Likewise, Scott (1988, 43) suggests that it is to women's advantage to include both sameness and difference constructs in their discursive repertoire, for difference has been women's "most creative tool," while equality speaks to "the principles and values of our political system."

Sameness, difference, and hybrid rationales have served as the foundation of women's collective work in the public sphere. They have informed frameworks of collective action, providing purposive and solidary incentives for women to join in social movements and other voluntary associations. As I demonstrate, they have also formed the basis for women's claims to speak authoritatively before elected officials at the highest level. This analysis is not a simple tour through women's discursive repertoires. Rather, it provides a bird's-eye view of what turns out to be a significant evolution in women's civic place in the United States, one with implications for their presence and voice in American democracy.

## Data and Methods

The question of "who matters" in Washington has long preoccupied scholars and led them to examine the laws, congressional routines, and organizational norms that structure access to political decision makers (Berry and Arons, 2003; Grossmann, 2012; Kasniunas, 2009; Leyden, 1995; Strolovitch, 2007). This study uses the testimony of women's organizations before congressional committees and subcommittees to illuminate and theorize about the dimensions of women's participatory citizenship. Besides constituting a common and highly visible form of direct and indirect advocacy, congressional testimony represents a valuable, underutilized source of data for studying the public discourse of politically relevant organizations. For one, testimony is

systematically archived, allowing researchers to construct scientific samples of organizational rhetoric, as opposed to samples of convenience. Testimony also represents groups' unfiltered arguments, eliminating any concerns about media bias in selecting which ideas to report (Bennett, 2004). And testimony is consistent in its format, allowing for comparative analysis across issues and over time.

This study employs two sets of data: (1) an original data set of every appearance before a congressional committee or subcommittee by a women's organization from the first such appearance, in 1878, through 2000; and (2) transcripts of women's organizations' testimony in two key policy realms—foreign policy and health care—from the 1920s through the 1990s. Like Doug Imig (chap. 8, this volume), I approach nonprofit advocacy by starting with an agenda-setting institution, in this case Congress. Also like Imig, I utilize systematic, longitudinal data to capture the ebb and flow of issue agendas. The women's groups in my sample cut across Imig's categories of governmental representatives, religious groups, advocacy organizations, nongovernmental service providers, professional groups, and business groups. The data sets are described in turn.

### *Quantitative Data*

The quantitative data set ($n$ = 10,464) was culled from the Congressional Information Service's *CIS Index*, a series of massive volumes that list every person who has ever testified before Congress and the organization represented. A total of 2,130 women's groups testified, with national organizations and their chapters counted separately. These hand-assembled data were then crosschecked through a variety of methods against the online records in the LexisNexis congressional database. For any individual organization, the listing in both the paper and electronic sources includes a brief, general description of the hearing and the year or Congress in which the hearing took place.[4] These data were coded according to a number of variables, three of which are important to this study. First, each appearance was assigned a subject matter policy code as defined by the Policy Agendas Project.[5] There were 228 possible subject matter codes, such as "U.S. foreign aid" (code 1901) and "comprehensive health care reform" (code 301), spanning 21 major policy categories. Second, each appearance was coded according to whether a significant part of the testimony centered on women's rights, status, advancement, or well-being. In some cases, the content was apparent from the organization and hearing topic (e.g., NOW testifying at a women's rights hearing). But in most cases, the testimony was reviewed and coded accordingly. Finally, appearances were coded as to whether the group represented women's occupational interests. The quantitative data set documents trends in the types of organizations that testified and the issues they advocated.



### *Qualitative Data*

The second source of data, derived from the first, consists of a carefully constructed sample of hearing transcripts from women's organizations' appearances before Congress on two policy questions: foreign policy and government provision of health care. These issues were selected because they are different enough to increase confidence in the findings and because they are issues that drew concerted attention from women's groups throughout the twentieth century. I coded 368 pieces of witness testimony. These policy case studies allow for a fine-grained, qualitative analysis of women's organizations' authority claims.

Each piece of testimony was examined to uncover the rhetorical strategies that women's groups used over the course of the twentieth century to connect their civic identities to their policy advocacy and thereby to establish their civic place. For each piece of testimony, I asked "How does this organization establish its bona fides to speak on the issue at hand?" Emerging organically from the testimony, the answers included narratives about women's individual and collective experiences, normative ideas about women's proper role in the private and public spheres, and accounts of the procedures and philosophies of organizations that purported to speak for female constituents. Synthesizing these key themes, I identified three civic identities that served as springboards for collective policy advocacy in the twentieth century: (1) a "maternal" identity rooted in women's roles as family caretakers; (2) a "good citizen" identity rooted in women's roles as stewards of the public interest; and (3) a "professional" identity rooted in women's work-related expertise. Let us now turn to an analysis of each of these three identities.

## The Maternal Roots of Women's Civic Place

In the first four decades of the twentieth century, in both the international and domestic realms, women's groups derived their authority from the special knowledge, skills, and civic responsibilities that women claimed by virtue

of their roles as caretakers of the family and its traditions. In my sample of foreign policy and health-care hearings, women were especially engaged in two policy debates: (1) US participation in the World Court (1920s) and its nationality convention (1930s) and (2) the Maternity and Infancy Protection Act of 1921 (also known as the Sheppard-Towner Act), which provided federal aid to states in an effort to lower maternal and child mortality rates. Although these legislative proposals occupied different policy realms and appeared differently amenable to a maternal frame, women's groups in both cases capitalized on their authority as guardians of the family. Women's family authority took various forms rooted in biological motherhood, social motherhood, and family heritage.

### *Biological Motherhood*

Passage of the Sheppard-Towner Act constituted one of the top priorities for women's associations, which organized the Women's Joint Congressional Committee to advocate for the program. It is perhaps axiomatic that women's groups' authority over maternal and child health policy would derive from members' status as mothers. Women's groups such as the League of Women Voters and the National Consumers' League rooted their advocacy in their "special experience and knowledge" of the health needs of women and children.[6] A representative of the National Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teacher Associations noted that her organization was "rather unique because we have rich and poor, wise and ignorant, and all of them working together for the good of the children." She suggested that the bill would give women "knowledge and proper care" to have "many healthy children," an aim reinforced by the Great War's "tragic wiping out of so many precious lives."[7] As scholars have argued, women's groups' "appeal to male politicians' reverence for motherhood was a powerful and shrewd political tactic" that gave women an opening wedge into a broader critique of the domestic social problems of the industrial era (Ashby, 1984; Wilson, 2007, 45, 29).

Maternal authority also proved a powerful lever for women in foreign policy debates from the 1920s through the 1950s. Women's groups lobbied for greater engagement in international institutions, such as the World Court and later the United Nations, as well as for European reconstruction aid. These debates unfolded against the backdrop of World Wars I and II; as the mothers of soldiers, women staked a collective claim on foreign policy questions. Women's patriotic organizations and military auxiliaries were more likely to employ maternal rhetoric than were multipurpose civic groups, but these groups also drew authority from mothers' sacrifices.



Interestingly, women's groups used maternal authority both to justify and to oppose international engagements. In the 1920s, women's groups used motherhood arguments to lobby for US entry to the World Court. Mothers had given up their sons for war, draining women's physical, economic, moral, and spiritual resources, argued an American Association of University Women representative.[8] However, mothers' groups in the 1940s often opposed US engagement in the United Nations. These groups claimed to speak for the voiceless "loyal fighting men who are paying in what Mr. Churchill calls blood, sweat, and tears for this conflict"[9] and for the "millions of mothers and fathers of boys and girls now serving in the United States armed forces."[10] By the 1950s, mothers' groups were firmly on the side of international engagement, as evidenced by this representative quotation from a witness for the World Organization of Mothers of All Nations, or WOMAN: "I am a mother of four sons, two of whom are war veterans. I know I am expressing the fears and bewilderment of millions of mothers, confronted with the obvious fact that although we stand today in the very shadow of onrushing atomic catastrophe, virtually nothing is being done by our Government and the government of our Allied Nations to stop this catastrophe."[11] The group's chairman used a family metaphor to describe the Cold War, saying "WOMAN does not maintain that communism and democracy cannot live in the same world. As women we are conscious of the infinite variety between members of the same family—in our own children."[12]

### *Social Motherhood*

In the period from 1920 through 1950, women's groups located their authority not just in biological motherhood, but also in the social caretaking that women performed as an extension thereof. For purposes of establishing policy authority, women were social mothers as well as biological ones. With respect to health care, the social conception of motherhood meant enlisting the government to supplement women's voluntary work in what Paula Baker terms "the domestication of politics" (Baker, 1984, 642). Stating flatly, "the Government has a responsibility for things like the care of mothers and babies," Mary Stewart of the Women's National Republican Executive Committee argued that "the new times bringing women into politics have brought new ideas of Governmental responsibility," including federal support for

maternal and child health care.[13] But conservative women's groups opposed to the Sheppard-Towner Act argued that, far from assisting women in family caregiving, the federal government threatened to undermine the family by taking over its functions. These women saw their political role as protecting their sphere of authority—the family—from what they branded as the paternalistic and socialistic designs of progressive reformers. Said Mrs. Albert T. Leatherbee of the Massachusetts Antisuffrage Association: "The chief object of attack in the battle of socialism against our established Christian civilization is the family. Socialists know that so long as the legitimate legalized family remains the unit of society, they can never control the State. It is the first necessity to break up the family that amid the resulting chaos may endeavor to build a society based upon individualism in which children become wards of the State."[14]

Besides threatening family cohesion, the bill would undermine families by invading the privacy of the home and by promoting birth control, according to opponents. Decrying the interference "with the domestic relations of private life" and the looming policy decision by "the National Government to supervise the pregnancy of the country," Mrs. Leatherbee and other conservative witnesses connected family protection to the protection of core American values. In their view, women had a duty to use their moral authority as mothers to stave off threats to the family and hence to the nation. Progressive reformers used maternal rationales to counter such claims: "That a bill whose only purpose is the saving of life should be attacked as 'destructive of the family' seems fantastic. Nothing so certainly destroys the family as death."[15]

### *Family Heritage*

A third way in which women's groups used family roles as their source of policy authority was by casting women as guardians of their ancestors' patriotic legacy. Women's patriotic groups confine membership to women who can trace their heritage to soldiers who fought in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century wars to establish or preserve the union. To these groups, female citizens must honor their ancestors' sacrifices by defending American values and institutions, particularly the Constitution (which a representative of the Kentucky chapter of Daughters of the American Revolution, or DAR, called "the greatest document that was ever written, and we love it"[16]). Women's groups' authority to defend the Constitution was derivative, the product of



family lineage. A witness for the Minnesota DAR acknowledged that her freedoms are "precious legacies I inherited from the young soldier from Virginia" and vowed that young soldiers would not have died in vain if modern-day women, "in whose hands the priceless gift of liberty has been placed . . . are true to that trust and preserve and strengthen our freedom."[17]

### *Maternal Rationales over Time*

Figure 7.1 documents the presence of maternal rationales in women's groups' testimony over time. As figure 7.1 shows, women's groups drew on women's family roles frequently in the 1920s through the 1950s, but they clearly had other rhetorical strategies at their disposal. Although scholars have suggested that suffrage rendered maternalism obsolete (Baker, 1984; Cott, 1987), the evidence indicates that women commonly used their family roles as a source of political authority at least through the 1950s.[18]

The maternal understanding of women's civic place was rooted in gender difference. With the emergence of second-wave feminism, we see a dramatic drop in women's groups' use of maternalism such that it was virtually obsolete by the 1970s. Why did maternal rationales rooted in women's role as

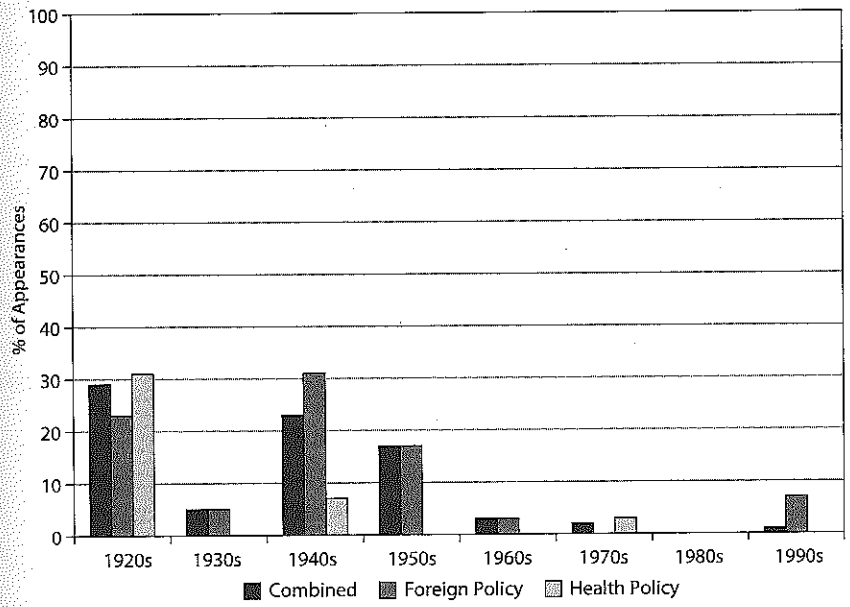


*Figure 7.1.* Women's policy authority rooted in maternal sensibilities.

family and community caretakers decline so dramatically in the feminist era? There are two possibilities: long-established groups shifted away from maternal rationales over time, or the types of groups using maternal rationales faded from the scene. A closer inspection of the data reveals that the latter explanation is driving most of the change. The types of groups that relied on maternal rationales—chiefly women's patriotic organizations and women's clubs—had all but disappeared from congressional hearing rooms by the 1970s. Groups such as the League of Women Voters and the American Association of University Women used maternalist rhetoric in the early decades and then shifted away—but their adaptation was not the major reason for the observed pattern. At the same time, by the 1970s and 1980s, as discussed below, the types of groups that were dominating health and foreign policy testimony were drawing on different female identities to make their case.

## Women's Civic Place as Good Citizens

Beginning in the 1920s and continuing through the 1970s, voluntary associations afforded women a different basis for female policy authority: the good citizen identity. In the wake of suffrage, women's leaders were eager to educate the newly enfranchised in the norms and habits of democratic citizenship. What is more, women's leaders were keen to prove that women were worthy of their inclusion in the polity, that they would be conscientious citizens and bring improvements to democratic governance. Like the maternal identity, the good citizen identity was other oriented. It thereby provided a flexible platform from which to engage in a broad array of public issues. But the good citizen identity offered an even broader platform than the maternal identity, for the civic-minded woman could speak to issues not traditionally associated with, or easily linked to, maternal experiences. Women's groups used the good citizen identity to weigh in on everything from civil liberties to water resources policy. The good citizen rationale had three interrelated components. It dodged the sameness-difference question, stressed the effort required of thoughtful citizenship, and invoked the public and national interest.

### *Dodging the Question of Sameness versus Difference*

The good citizen rationale sought to avoid a head-on reckoning with the age-old, divisive question of women's essential nature; that is, the question of whether women were fundamentally different from or the same as men.



The avoidance strategy meant that major women's organizations in the mid-twentieth century rarely constructed their narratives around gender identity. Absent were sentimental appeals to women's particular virtues as caretakers. Also absent were pleas based on assumptions of women's inequitable treatment. As Anne Costain points out, women leaders "worked to erase the perception of distinctiveness" in the hopes of being "accepted as equals of other voters" (Costain, 1988, 150). There were no female citizens and male citizens—just American citizens.

At the same time, women's groups' testimony carried the implicit message that women were distinct from men. Women were supercitizens: more conscientious and public-interest oriented than their male counterparts, as well as less reflexively partisan and self-interested. Women's groups' difference rhetoric operated like a "dog whistle," to use a now-popular term, audible only to those who were attuned. Women's groups emphasized their nonpartisanship, implicitly distinguishing themselves from male-dominated political parties (Sharer, 2004). And women's groups drew on their expertise derived from voluntary work in the nonprofit sphere. By withholding explicit appeals to female virtue while elaborating on the practices associated with care for others, women's groups cleverly elided the sameness-difference distinction and created a hybrid civic identity that captured the best of both.

### *Elaborating on Civic Effort*

The second component of the good citizen rationale was the frequent invocation of the laborious processes that women's groups undertook to develop their positions on policy issues. Women's groups discussed processes of careful, objective study that was implicitly nonpartisan. They portrayed themselves as promoters of good policy, untainted by crass political considerations. A particularly rich, but by no means unrepresentative, example of such discussion came from Mrs. Harry G. Long of the United Church Women of Ohio in testimony before a Senate subcommittee in 1954:

> Since the inception of the United Nations and long before that, I organized study groups, led discussions, moderated panels, and have spoken with scores of church and club groups locally and over the State, on various phases of world affairs, with emphasis on world organization, and accent on the work of the United Nations. And as a member of the Christian world relations committee of United Church Women, I have visited the United Nations a number

> of times. This summer I was a member of a European seminar made up of writers, speakers, ministers, and teachers, who spent the summer on a study tour of social, political, and economic conditions of Europe. I visited FAO in Rome, UNESCO in Paris, and the European headquarters of the U.N. in Geneva . . . I know something of the great humanitarian achievements and the social good accomplished by the specialized agencies of the United Nations.[19]

Many times throughout hearings, particularly at midcentury, congressional committee members took care to compliment the female witnesses on the thoughtfulness of their positions. For example, Representative Pete Jarman (a Democrat from Alabama) said of the Women's Trade Union League and the League of Women Voters, which testified on postwar aid for Europe: "To me it is outstanding that the women of this country, or at least those represented by the two ladies who have addressed us, and I imagine they represent a cross section, are far ahead in their thinking, I believe, either of the people in general, or of the Congress."[20]

### *Invoking the Public and National Interest*

The third component of the good citizen rationale was its reliance on appeals to the public interest generally and the national interest specifically. Against the backdrop of World War II and the Cold War, women sought a civic place alongside men as defenders of the American way of life. In foreign policy, women's groups maintained their traditional interest in questions of war, peace, and international cooperation, but the maternalist rhetoric that had dominated in the earlier decades was confined to small, conservative, isolationist mothers' groups. The larger women's groups, whether internationalist or isolationist in orientation, adopted gender-neutral language. In debates over the United Nations charter, for example, the conservative Ladies of the Grand Army of the Republic warned of "a very stealthy scheme for a One World Government, which if put into effect would abolish the United States of America,"[21] while the internationalist National Council of Jewish Women stated that the United States had a "position of leadership" in the world that necessitated full participation in the United Nations.[22]

### *The Good Citizen Rationale over Time*

Figure 7.2 charts the fraction of women's groups' health, foreign policy, and combined testimony in which the witness couched her presentation in terms



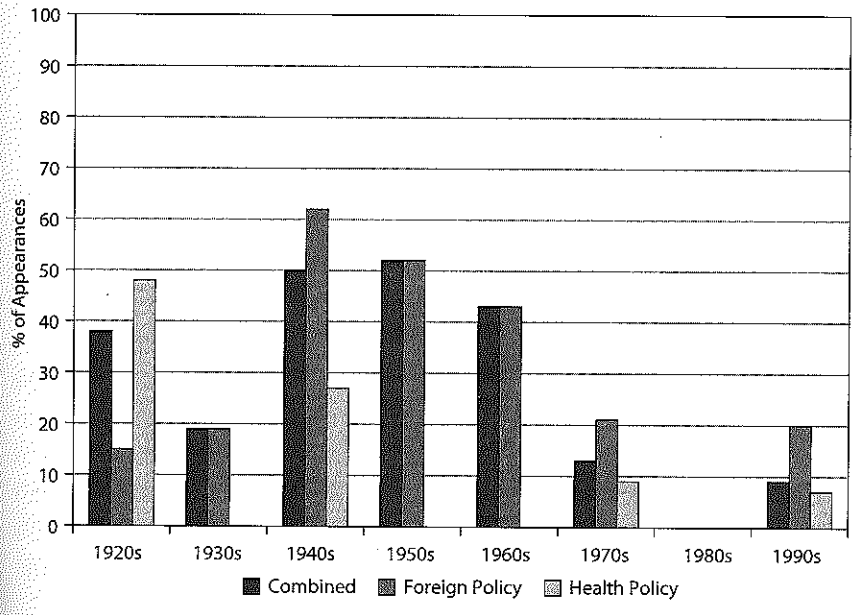


*Figure 7.2.* Women's policy authority rooted in national interest.

of defending the national economic or political interest. As the darkest bars show, such appeals became a declining share of all appeals as the twentieth century wore on. As was the case with the maternal rhetoric described above, the evolution was driven mostly by changes in the types of groups testifying over time, as opposed to changes in rhetorical claims within the same groups.

Women's groups thus reconciled the sameness-difference tension by continuing to organize as women, in deference to their common experiences as mothers, wives, and politically marginalized citizens, while making nongendered claims on behalf of the public good. Women organized as women but did not call attention to gender as the basis for collective action. Their approach to policy advocacy was based on principles of rational study and analysis. Women's contributions as citizens would be informed by female experience but pursued on male terms.

## Embodying the Good Citizen: The League of Women Voters

The League of Women Voters was the most prominent organization to ground its advocacy in the good citizen framework. The League and its affiliates testified more than any other women's group in American history. Its

mission from the outset was to "develop the woman citizen into an intelligent and self-directing voter and to turn her vote toward constructive social ends" (Young, 1989, 49). Because of the League's importance to women's advocacy, and because the good citizen rationale has not been well studied, I use the League to illustrate how this novel civic identity functioned in practice.

As noted, the first component of the good citizen identity is ambiguity surrounding the question of sameness and difference. In the League's case, the ambiguity showed up as ambivalence about whether it was even a women's organization. Although "women" was part of its name at its founding in 1920, within a year president Carrie Chapman Catt advocated changing the name to the "League of Voters" and admitting men. A 1946 report on the League's history noted that members did "not think of their organization as a 'woman's organization,' but rather, as a citizen organization whose work is carried on by women simply because they happen to be able to organize their time and energies in a convenient working pattern" (Stone, 1946, 16). This same report remarked that the "League has never been feminist in its thinking or approach."

And yet, much as it hesitated to identify as a women's group, the League clearly was and in all practical respects continues to be one. Its founding mission was "to finish the fight" of suffrage; to incorporate women so as to provide "the *fresh challenge* needed to revitalize democracy"; and to represent the ongoing interest in the equal rights of women (Stone, 1946, 5–6, 15; League of Women Voters, 1994, 4–5; italics mine). Since its founding, the League has been an organization whose membership and leadership are overwhelmingly female. Men were not admitted as members until 1974; the first and only male member of the national board was not elected until 2008; and active members at the local, state, and national levels are almost all women. What is more, ninety years after Carrie Chapman Catt suggested dropping it from the organization's name, the word "women" remains.

In sum, the League's conflicted reactions to the gender question exemplified the first component of the good citizen rationale: a simultaneous denial and embrace of women's difference. The League, like other organizations utilizing the good citizen rationale, found a way to allow members simultaneously to be undifferentiated from men, when equality was politically expedient, and civically superior to men in political conditions when traditional notions of gender were more likely to resonate.

The League also embodied the second component of the good citizen identity: the emphasis on intensive deliberation and participation. The League



deploys elaborate internal rituals of study, consensus, and parliamentary procedure to formulate its policy positions. In the words of Marguerite M. Wells, the League's president from 1934 to 1944, "To consider well before undertaking action and to prepare well before beginning to act—this may be called a religion with the League of Women Voters" (Wells, [1938] 1962, 11). The League's dedication to consensus-based deliberation and democratic processes dominated its external activities, as well. For example, those values guided the League's "Wartime Service" campaign during World War II (in which "every member would educate the public about the importance of American democracy"), its postwar "Take It to the People" campaign to generate support for the United Nations, and its 1950s "Freedom Agenda" to combat McCarthyism (League of Women Voters, 1994, 11, 22, 24). As League president Percy Maxim Lee told the national convention in 1952, "The League within itself must be a vital force demonstrating democracy at its best . . . To support democracy, we must *be* democracy" (Stuhler, 2003, 251). The League's internal practices gave weight to its implicit claims to civic virtue.

Finally, through its broad policy agenda, the League self-consciously sought to speak for the public interest. In its early years, the League inherited a policy agenda of traditional women's concerns, such as child welfare and gender discrimination; within the first three years, state League chapters had successfully championed some 420 "women's bills" (Young, 1989, 75). In subsequent years, the League's energies were directed at issues such as international relations, citizens' rights, the well-being of disadvantaged people, and the conservation of natural resources (Young, 1989, 162). In the decades after suffrage, the League went from having a "difference" orientation focused on maternalist concerns and women's rights to a "hybrid" orientation that implicitly drew on notions of women's civic virtue to advance nongendered causes. In so doing, the League "succeeded in establishing itself in many quarters as the spokesman for the general interest" (Bauer et al., 1963, 393).

In advocating for progressive domestic legislation and internationalist policy, League representatives couched their arguments in the language of the nation's interests and responsibilities. In interpreting such interests and responsibilities for Congress, the League sought to speak for the general public interest. Interestingly, the League's conception of the US role in the world closely paralleled the League's conception of its own role in the civic sphere. In both cases, the proper path was intensive engagement, which would simultaneously serve as a means to achieve political leadership on an equal footing and to fulfill the responsibilities of good citizenship. The good citizen

rationale allowed women to perform caregiving on a national scale, without requiring them to resort to sentimental appeals based on maternal nurturing. In this account, women were looking out for others but were not grounding such concern in explicit claims of gender difference. Rather, the League exemplified the promise of a fulsome citizenship rooted in the public interest.

## The Equal Claimant Identity and Women's Civic Place

The third identity is one I have termed "the equal claimant." This identity is rooted in women's experience of disadvantage and the expectation of recourse to bring about equal conditions and treatment. Roughly speaking, this identity maps onto the sameness construct, the notion that women are inherently equal to men and thus have claims on the state to redress inequities. The equal claimant identity was present in women's advocacy on certain key policy domains, such as (logically) women's rights. Testimony shows, however, that over time equality narratives came to dominate women's testimony in policy domains *other than* women's rights. The equal claimant identity had two variants: one that promoted women's equality through the identification of women's different needs and one that promoted women's equality through the lens of women's sameness.

### *Claims for Equality through Different Needs*

Witnesses using difference-based equality claims grounded their testimony in discussions of the ways in which women, by virtue of their physiology or social roles, had particular vulnerabilities or disadvantages. Such traits gave rise to what Nancy Fraser (1989) has termed "needs claims." In the interest of women's equality, policymakers had a duty to address women's needs born of women's difference. Such rationales become increasingly important beginning in the 1970s in both health and foreign policy.

During the 1970s and 1990s, when national health insurance was on the congressional agenda, feminist groups called attention to women's unique health needs and disparate treatment under the existing system. In 1975 testimony, for example, a representative of the Women's Lobby stated, "No health care legislation should be considered by this Congress which does not address itself to the specific needs of more than one-half of our population: women." She cited various ways in which women's needs were distinctive. Women make more doctor and hospital visits. Women stay home with sick



children. Women take more prescription drugs, often with understudied or serious side effects. Women constitute more health-care workers but fewer health-care policymakers. Women face discrimination in insurance rates. Women face particular diseases that could be prevented with better care.[23] In 1994, Representative Patricia Schroeder (D-CO), representing the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues, echoed these concerns, noting that women's health differences affect "every system from cardiovascular, to urological, to psychological," as well as reproductive, and "that means research, treatment and insurance must respond appropriately."[24] At the same time, Schroeder made clear that, while rooted in difference, her claim was unabashedly in the egalitarian tradition: "We are here because we are terrified that the health care train is going to leave the station and women are not going to be on it in equal seats . . . we are full citizens and we want to be treated the same as any other citizen."[25]

In the foreign policy realm, the equality-through-difference claims show up in earnest in the 1990s, by which time women's groups' dominant foreign policy concern had shifted from international organizations to human rights, particularly violations against women. A representative of the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, for example, returned from a trip to the Balkans and declared that "women are the targets of this war." She cited the use of rape as a weapon of war and urged the United States to open its doors to these "traumatized women and children."[26] Echoing those sentiments, a representative of the Women's Rights Project of Human Rights Watch cited an epidemic of violence against women perpetrated for political objectives and urged that, for this reason, women's rights must be made a more integral part of US foreign policy.[27]

### *Claims for Equality through Sameness*

While difference-based equality arguments recognized women as a special class requiring targeted policies to effect equity, sameness-based claims saw gender distinctions as artifacts of patriarchal systems. Here the role of public policy was to make a public statement that downplayed differences and to create legal mechanisms to advance women's equal treatment.

In the health-care domain, nurses' associations voiced equality claims. Roughly 110 nursing groups cumulatively testified more than 800 times from 1910 to 2000, constituting more than 7% of all appearances by women's groups. For the most part, this testimony staked a claim that nurses' perspec-

tives and experiences with patients made them just as worthy as doctors, and arguably more so, to speak to shortcomings in the health-care system and to suggest reforms. Nursing organizations thus drew on their members' professional experiences to stake a claim for equal status in health-care debates. At the same time, nurses' organizations testified that government programs unjustly treated nursing services as inferior to services provided by doctors for purposes of reimbursement formulas. Anyone reading nursing organizations' testimony would hear a clear message, emerging in 70–80% of the testimony: (female) nurses were just as qualified as (male) doctors to speak authoritatively about health-care policy, and the government must treat nursing services as equally worthy.

Within foreign policy, the equality-as-sameness rationale emerged in the debate over ratification of the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). The debate over CEDAW, which in my sample unfolded on Capitol Hill in 1990 and 1994, pivoted on the same question that had bogged down the Equal Rights Amendment in the 1970s. Liberal feminist groups insisted that CEDAW was necessary to ensure equal treatment; conservative women's groups insisted that equal treatment would harm women by ignoring real gender differences; and moderate groups sought to thread the needle by arguing that equality could be gained without trampling on difference. A representative of Women's Rights Action Watch articulated the equality-as-sameness view: CEDAW would provide "full citizenship to women."[28] Interestingly, harking back to the good citizen rationale, she invoked US national interest and leadership on women's rights as reasons to support ratification.[29]

But a representative of the conservative Concerned Women for America argued that, while the group supported equality under law for women, CEDAW would eliminate "commonsense distinctions between men and women."[30] Even in embracing an equality-as-difference rationale in this particular case, Concerned Women for America accepted the premise that public policy should, within reason, promote gender equality.

### *The Emergence of the Equal Claimant Identity*

These narratives reflect the confluence of three developments: the expansion of the state as a locus for constituency claims making; the movement of women into professional roles; and the development of a second-wave feminist consciousness in the 1960s and 1970s, together with a backlash in the



1980s and 1990s. The movement of women into the paid labor force helped to fuel the creation of women's occupational and policy advocacy organizations and encouraged the spread of women's emerging feminist consciousness. These groups brought that consciousness to their critique of federal programs. As the state expanded into areas such as foreign development aid and health-care provision, feminist and women's occupational groups staked women's claims to government resources. The conservative backlash created women's groups that were uncomfortable with what they saw as overly expansive interpretations of women's sameness with men. In sum, women's occupational and professional advocacy groups identified grievances and brought claims for redress to Congress.

### *The Equal Claimant Rationale over Time*

As was the case above, the shift toward the equal claimant identity was driven not so much by changes in rhetorical strategies on the part of the same groups over time, but rather by changes in the types of groups that came to testify. Although women's occupational groups—such as those representing nurses, tradeswomen, and lawyers—had testified on foreign policy and health-care issues throughout the twentieth century, the second-wave women's movement brought about a flowering of occupational and feminist advocacy organizations. These groups generally disregarded claims rooted in a female ethic of care or good citizenship. Figure 7.3 charts the shifting types of groups involved in my sample of foreign policy and health testimony over time.

The trends observed in the foreign policy and health fields generalize to women's testimony across issue domains. More than 600 new second-wave feminist groups appeared before Congress from 1966 through 2000 (Goss, 2013). The fraction of women's group testimony given by just the seven most prominent second-wave groups rose from none before the 91st Congress (1969–70) to 20% in the 94th Congress (1975–76). The story is similar for women's occupational groups. They constituted at most 10–15% of testimony in the decades before the 1960s, but by the 1990s, that percentage was close to 55% (Goss, 2013). Through these two pathways—the professional feminist and the occupational lobby—women developed new sources of authority.

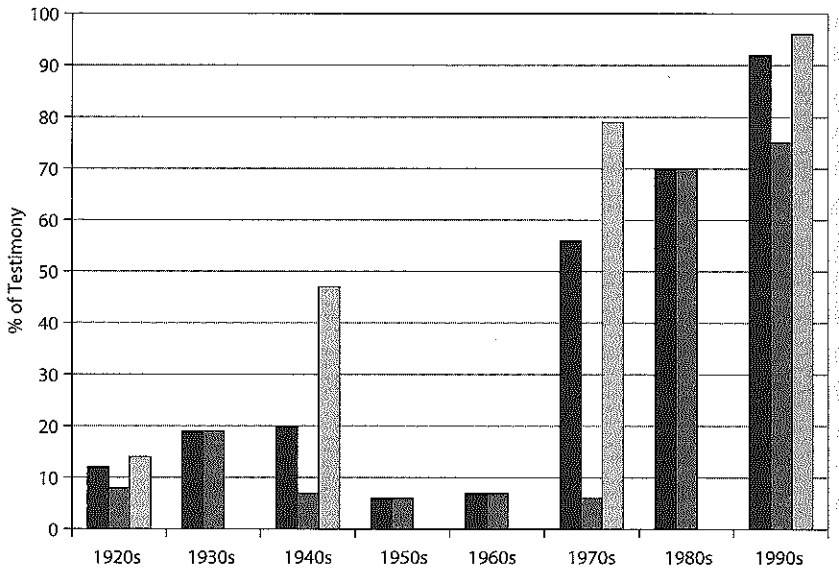


*Figure 7.3.* Occupational and feminist group testimony.

## Does Civic Identity Have Broader Implications for Women's Voice?

Throughout the twentieth century, women's groups drew on female identities rooted in family responsibilities, good citizenship, and equality claims. Yet, over time, the balance of these civic identities evolved, as did the types of policies that women's groups advocated. Women's identity as biological and social mothers, as well as stewards of family legacies, dominated the early decades after suffrage and continued to be important through midcentury. Such relational identities allowed women to forge a civic place in which they were considered expert on everything from children's health to peace to national sovereignty.

In the decades around midcentury, women's groups elaborated an identity of women as good citizens who were both equal to and implicitly superior to men. America at midcentury faced threats to its national interests, founding values, and global leadership, and women were eager to take their place alongside men in articulating a defense of all three. After all, women at midcentury were still on a path to fulfilling the promises they had made in exchange for the vote: that they would use their political inclusion as the basis for a deeply engaged, conscientious citizenship advocating for government



that would serve all people. The good citizen identity formed the basis for women's civic place as guardians of the public interest.

The postwar progression of women into the paid labor force (particularly educated women, wives, and mothers), together with the feminist movement's attentiveness to gender inequalities, laid the groundwork for a third civic identity: the equal claimant. Groups drawing on this identity used it to critique systematic gender inequities in society and policy and to make the case that the state had a duty to redress them. The women's groups that staked these claims tended to be associations of female professionals and second-wave feminist advocacy groups. These groups articulated a vision of women as inherently equal to men. These groups' handling of gender difference was distinct from that of their foremothers. In the traditional formulation, difference was a strength—it gave women a distinctive perspective and source of policy authority. In the modern formulation, difference was a social artifact or even a necessary evil of biology. Rather than serving as a rhetorical springboard, difference served as the basis for claims of redress. Women were different, but they aspired to be equal; the state's role was to enact policies that kept difference from impeding equality. Women had become, in a sense, a "special interest" or, rather, an amalgamation of interests with claims against the state for recognition of their equal rights and contributions in the professional sphere.

## Conclusions

This chapter has explored women's civic place—or "places"—as developed by women's organizations and articulated on Capitol Hill to advance policy goals. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, women's organizations interpreted the social and political environment to identify and articulate civic identities for women as a basis for collective participation in national policy debates. Women's groups linked female identities to public issues—mothers to children's health programs, good citizens to internationalist foreign policy, professionals to equal treatment in government programs. In so doing, they carved out a civic place for themselves.

These notions of civic place evolved with women's lives and political opportunities. Women's place was rooted in family, in nation, and in the workplace, and each place implied different rhetorical claims and policy agendas. Each identity and corresponding civic place was present throughout the twentieth century, for their philosophical foundations of women's sameness

and difference remained alternately vibrant and unresolved. Yet a clear pattern emerged. Claims to women's civic place as family caregivers were more prominent in the early twentieth century than in the late twentieth century, "civic place as good citizenship" peaked in the middle decades, and "place as equal claimant" came to dominate as second-wave feminism birthed occupational and advocacy groups focused on gender discrimination.

Civic identities provide a basis for group claims to authority over policy issues. One might infer that the availability of civic identities has implications for groups' capacity to insert themselves in policy debates. The more civic identities upon which women's groups can draw, we might hypothesize, the greater women's role in national policy debates will be. According to this hypothesis, women's groups should be most prominent on Capitol Hill—and testifying on the broadest range of issues—when they can credibly and compellingly activate maternal, good citizen, *and* equal claimant identities. In other words, women's groups should be most prominent when they are free to call upon the full range of women's identities, whether rooted in difference, sameness, or some hybrid of the two, as the political context warrants. In a related work (Goss, 2013), I document that women's groups in the twentieth century were most active on Capitol Hill when they could credibly invoke the broadest possible array of identity narratives.

This chapter has offered an account of how a politically marginalized population can effectively navigate around the sources of its disadvantage to be heard in the halls of power. Congress, the principal venue for issue advocacy groups at the national level, proved more receptive than might be expected to the voices of women, regardless of their political status. It was and remains an important locus for women's collective advocacy. While nonprofits' testimony does not necessarily change laws, just being invited to appear is a measure of organizational credibility, "insider-ness," and influence among elite decision makers. At the same time, as this study makes clear, organizations' access to power evolves over time, even as they strive to maintain political relevance. Insider advocacy strategies such as congressional testimony pose clear limitations, as organizations that once enjoyed access find themselves losing ground to others with stronger claims to politically relevant resources, policy expertise, and moral language.



## NOTES

1. In adopting the term "place," I am cognizant of its historically pejorative usage signifying the oppression of less advantaged groups, as in "keeping women in their place." Here I wish to reclaim the term as one signifying group empowerment through political engagement.

2. Historians have rightly observed that civic republican theory at times romanticizes unequal relations among people. I employ the term because it continues to resonate as the conventional signifier of America's communitarian tradition, as opposed to its individualistic one. I thank Nancy MacLean for pointing me to the critique of the term. In a fascinating history, Leonard and Tronto (2007) argue that the gendered division between the liberal (male) and civic republican (female) citizen was in a sense "invented" not long after the nation's founding. The division arose when masculinity was redefined to center on self-interest and private economic gain; that is, individualism. Such a conception was anathema to the traditional view of manly citizenship as being oriented around civic responsibility. Under the gendered partitioning of citizenship roles, women were to be the standard bearers for the participatory, community-oriented, other-regarding citizenship that civic republicans celebrate, while men were freed to represent the individualistic, rights-centered conception of classical liberals.

3. McDonagh (2009) challenges Kraditor's (1971) argument that difference ("expediency") rationales largely replaced equality rationales in the lead-up to ratification.

4. The LexisNexis congressional online service contains all published hearings and unpublished hearings through 1976 for the House and through 1984 for the Senate. Unpublished hearings tend to focus on District of Columbia affairs, minor legislative action, or sensitive issues (such as national security or matters involving private individuals). Historically, women's groups' appearances at unpublished hearings were rare, bordering on nonexistent.

5. The codebook is available at http://www.policyagendas.org/page/topic-codebook. Each hearing in my data set has been given the same topic code that the Policy Agendas Project coders assigned in their data set of all congressional hearings (which at the time of this research covered 1946–2004). For earlier hearings, I extrapolated from the coding rules used by the Policy Agendas Project coders.

6. Senate Committee on Education and Labor, *Protection of Maternity*, 67th Cong., 1st Sess. 15 (April 25, 28, May 5, 1921) (testimony of Maud Wood Park, League of Women Voters). See also the testimony of Florence Kelley, National Consumers League, esp. 136–37.

7. House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, *Public Protection of Maternity and Infancy*, 66th Cong., 3rd Sess. 55 (December 20–23, 28, 29, 1920) (testimony of Mrs. Milton P. Higgins, president, National Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teacher Associations).

8. Senate Subcommittee on Permanent Court of International Justice, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, *Permanent Court of International Justice*, 68th Cong., 1st Sess. 147 (April 30, May 1, 1924) (testimony of Mrs. Martin Hutchins, American Association of University Women).

9. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, *Charter of the United Nations*, 79th Cong., 1st Sess. 570 (July 9–13, 1945) (testimony of Mrs. L. Benge, Mothers of Sons Forum).

10. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, *Charter of the United Nations*, 79th Cong., 1st sess. 351 (July 9–13, 1945) (testimony of Agnes Waters, National Blue Star Mothers).

11. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, *Revision of the United Nations Charter*, 81st Cong., 2nd Sess. 561 (February 2, 3, 6, 8, 9, 13, 15, 17, 20, 1950) (testimony of Jane L. Hayford, World Organization of Mothers of All Nations).

12. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, *Revision of the United Nations Charter*, 81st Cong., 2nd Sess. 561 (February 2, 3, 6, 8, 9, 13, 15, 17, 20, 1950) (Dorothy Thompson, "The Progress of a Journal Editorial," *Ladies Home Journal* February 1950, reprinted in hearing record).

13. Senate Committee on Public Health and National Quarantine, *Protection of Maternity and Infancy*, 66th Cong., 2nd Sess. 42 (May 12, 1920) (testimony of Mary Stewart, Women's National Republican Executive Committee).

14. House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, *Public Protection of Maternity and Infancy*, 67th Cong., 1st Sess. 68 (July 12–16, 18–23, 1921) (testimony of Mrs. Albert Leatherbee, Massachusetts Antisuffrage Association).

15. Senate Committee on Education and Labor, *Protection of Maternity*, 67th Cong., 1st Sess. 147 (April 25, 28, May 5, 1921) (testimony of Mrs. Larue Brown, National League of Women Voters).

16. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, *Review of the United Nations Charter, Part 5*, 83rd Cong., 2nd Sess. 516 (June 17, 1954) (testimony of Mrs. Clark Bailey, Kentucky Society, Daughters of the American Revolution).

17. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, *Review of the United Nations Charter, Part 7*, 83rd Cong., 2nd Sess. 62 (July 10, 1954) (testimony of Mrs. Howard M. Smith, Minnesota Daughters of the American Revolution).

18. In her study of women's groups' rhetoric, Wendy Sharer (2004, 18) likewise noted that "claims about gender difference and women's moral nature would be used by various women's groups to justify their entry in to domains of political control in the post-suffrage era."

19. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, *Review of the United Nations Charter, Part 2*, 83rd Cong., 2nd Sess. 116 (February 12, 1954) (testimony of Mrs. Harry C. Long, United Church Women of Ohio).

20. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, *European Recovery Program, Part 2*, 80th Cong., 2nd Sess. 1058 (January 16, 19–24, 26–28, 1948) (statement of Rep. Pete Jarman, D-AL).

21. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, *Revision of the United Nations Charter*, 81st Cong., 2nd Sess. 716 (February 2, 3, 6, 8, 9, 13, 15, 17, 20, 1950) (statement of Mrs. Margaret Hopkins Worrell).

22. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, *Review of the United Nations Charter*, 84th Cong, 1st Sess. 935 (March 17, 1955) (statement of Mrs. Niels Jacobson).

23. House Committee on Ways and Means, *National Health Insurance, Vol. 7*, 93rd Cong., 2nd Sess. 3066 (June 28, 1974) (testimony of Carol Burris, president, Women's Lobby).



24. House Committee on Energy and Commerce, *Health Care Reform, Part 8*, 103rd Cong., 2nd Sess. 16 (January 26, 1994) (testimony of Patricia Schroeder, co-chair, Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues).

25. Ibid.

26. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (Joint Congressional Commission), *Implementation of the Helsinki Accords: War Crimes and the Humanitarian Crisis in the Former Yugoslavia*, 103rd Cong., 1st Sess. 10–14 (January 25, 1993) (testimony of Catherine O'Neill, chairwoman, Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children).

27. House Committee on Foreign Affairs, *Human Rights Abuses against Women*, 103rd Cong., 1st Sess. 17–22 (September 28, 29, October 20, 1993; March 22, 1994) (testimony of Dorothy Q. Thomas, director, Women's Rights Project, Human Rights Watch).

28. House Committee on Foreign Affairs, *International Human Rights Abuses against Women*, 101st Cong., 2nd Sess. 12 (March 21, July 26, 1990) (testimony of Arvonne S. Fraser, International Women's Rights Action Watch).

29. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women*, 101st Cong., 2nd Sess. 71–79 (August 2, 1990) (testimony of Arvonne S. Fraser, International Women's Rights Action Watch).

30. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women*, 101st Cong., 2nd Sess. 82 (August 2, 1990) (testimony of Ellen Smith, field legislative counsel, Concerned Women for America).

## REFERENCES


Alonso, Harriet Hyman. 1993. *Peace as a Women's Issue: A History of the U.S. Movement for World Peace and Women's Rights*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.

Ashby, LeRoy. 1984. *Saving the Waifs: Reformers and Dependent Children, 1890–1917*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Baker, Paula. 1984. "The Domestication of Politics: Women and American Political Society, 1780–1920." *American Historical Review* 89, no. 3: 620–47.

Bartels, Larry M. 2008. *Unequal Democracy: The Political Economy of the New Gilded Age*. New York: Russell Sage.

Bauer, Raymond A., Ithiel de Sola Pool, and Lewis Anthony Dexter. 1963. *American Business and Public Policy: The Politics of Foreign Trade*. New York: Atherton Press.

Bennett, W. Lance. 2004. *News: The Politics of Illusion*. 6th ed. New York: Pearson, Longman.

Berry, Jeffrey M. 1997. *The Interest Group Society*. 3rd ed. New York: Longman.

Berry, Jeffrey M., and David F. Arons. 2003. *A Voice for Nonprofits*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.

Carabillo, Toni, Judith Meuli, and June Bundy Csida. 1993. *Feminist Chronicles*. Los Angeles: Women's Graphics.

Costain, Anne N. 1988. "Women's Claims as a Special Interest." In *The Politics of the Gender Gap*, edited by Carol M. Mueller, 150–72. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Cott, Nancy F. 1987. *The Grounding of Modern Feminism*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
Davis, Flora. 1999. *Moving the Mountain: The Women's Movement in America Since 1960*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
Elshtain, Jean Bethke. 1981. *Public Man, Private Woman*. Oxford: Martin Robertson.
Fiorina, Morris P., and Samuel J. Abrams. 2009. *Disconnect*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
Fraser, Nancy. 1989. "Talking about Needs: Interpretive Contests as Political Conflicts in Welfare-State Societies." *Ethics* 99, no. 2: 291–313.
———. 1997. "Equality, Difference and Democracy: Recent Feminist Debates in the United States." In *Feminism and the New Democracy*, edited by Jodi Dean, 98–109. London: Sage.
Gilens, Martin. 2012. *Affluence and Influence: Economic Inequality and Political Power in America*. New York: Russell Sage.
Gilligan, Carol. 1982. *In a Different Voice*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Goss, Kristin A. 2009. "Never Surrender? How Women's Groups Abandoned Their Policy Niche in U.S. Foreign Policy Debates, 1916–2000." *Politics and Gender* 5, no. 4: 1–37.
———. 2013. *The Paradox of Gender Equality: How American Women's Groups Gained and Lost Their Public Voice*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
Goss, Kristin A., and Michael T. Heaney. 2010. "Organizing Women as Women: Hybridity and Grassroots Collective Action in the 21st Century." *Perspectives on Politics* 8, no. 1: 27–52.
Grossmann, Matt. 2012. *The Not-So-Special Interests: Interest Groups, Public Representation, and American Governance*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.
Hacker, Jacob S., and Paul Pierson. 2010. *Winner-Take-All Politics*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
Jeffreys-Jones, Rhodri. 1995. *Changing Differences: Women and the Shaping of American Foreign Policy, 1917–1994*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
Kaminer, Wendy. 1984. *Women Volunteering: The Pleasure, Pain, and Politics of Unpaid Work From 1830 to the Present*. Garden City, NY: Anchor Press.
Kasniunas, Nina Therese. 2009. "Impact of Interest Group Testimony on Lawmaking in Congress." PhD diss., Loyola University, Chicago.
Kerber, Linda K. 1976. "The Republican Mother: Women and the Enlightenment—An American Perspective." *American Quarterly* 28, no. 2: 187–205.
Kraditor, Aileen. 1971. *The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement: 1890–1920*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
League of Women Voters. 1994. *The League of Women Voters in Perspective*. Washington, DC: League of Women Voters.
Leonard, Stephen T., and Joan C. Tronto. 2007. "The Genders of Citizenship." *American Political Science Review* 101, no. 1: 33–46.
Leyden, Kevin M. 1995. "Interest Group Resources and Testimony at Congressional Hearings." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 20, no. 3: 431–39.
Lister, Ruth. 2003. *Citizenship: Feminist Perspectives*. 2nd ed. New York: New York University Press.



Mansbridge, Jane J. 1986. *Why We Lost the ERA*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
McDonagh, Eileen. 2009. *The Motherless State: Women's Political Leadership and American Democracy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Offen, Karen. 1988. "Defining Feminism: A Comparative Historical Approach." *Signs* 14, no. 1: 119–57.
O'Neill, William L. 1971. *Everyone Was Brave: A History of Feminism in America*. New York: Quadrangle/New York Times.
Ruddick, Sara. 1989. *Maternal Thinking: Towards a Politics of Peace*. London: Women's Press.
Sapiro, Virginia. 1984. *The Political Integration of Women: Roles, Socialization, and Politics*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
Sarvasy, Wendy. 1992. "Beyond the Difference versus Equality Policy Debate: Postsuffrage Feminism, Citizenship and the Quest for a Feminist Welfare State." *Signs* 17, no. 2: 329–62.
Schattschneider, E. E. 1960. *The Semi-Sovereign People*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
Scott, Joan W. 1988. Deconstructing Equality-versus-Difference: Or, the Uses of Poststructuralist Theory for Feminism. *Feminist Studies* 14, no. 1: 32–50.
Sharer, Wendy B. 2004. *Vote and Voice: Women's Organizations and Political Literacy, 1915–1930*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.
Skocpol, Theda. 1992. *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University.
———. 2003. *Diminished Democracy: From Membership to Management in American Civic Life*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
Somma, Mark, and Sue Tolleson-Rinehart. 1997. "Tracking the Elusive Green Women: Sex, Environmentalism, and Feminism in the United States and Europe." *Political Research Quarterly* 50, no. 1: 153–69.
Stone, Kathryn. 1946. *25 Years of a Great Idea*. Washington, DC: National League of Women Voters.
Strolovitch, Dara Z. 2007. *Affirmative Advocacy: Race, Class, and Gender in Interest Group Politics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Stuhler, Barbara. 2003. *For the Public Record: A Documentary History of the League of Women Voters*. Washington, DC: League of Women Voters.
Swerdlow, Amy. 1993. *Women Strike for Peace*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Wells, Marguerite M. [1938] 1962. *A Portrait of the League of Women Voters*. Washington, DC: League of Women Voters.
Young, Louise M. 1989. *In the Public Interest: The League of Women Voters, 1920–1970*. New York: Greenwood Press.