The Humanistic Aspect of the Women's Liberation and Other Movements

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THE HUMANISTIC ASPECT
OF THE WOMEN'S LIBERATION
AND OTHER MOVEMENTS

by

John L. Longman

A Thesis
Submitted to the
Faculty of The Graduate College
in partial fulfillment
of the
Degree of Master of Arts

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PREFACE

The thesis which follows is a product of our ambiguous and troubled times. It is my sincere wish that it make a contribution which suggests that our time or epoch is neither as ambiguous nor troubled as superficial sensory impressions might indicate. In other words, human beings remain social animals which use social relations in coming to grips with a changing and/or oppressive socio-cultural milieu.

Along the line of troubled and ambiguous, the reader should be forewarned that he must tolerate my use of socialistic with both a sociological and an economic meaning. When socialistic is used in the sociological sense, I mean better integrated and more inclusive or holistic. Use in the traditional economic sense is either readily apparent in context, and/or I so designate.

The emotional and subjective component of movements, e.g. the sisterhood component of the Women's Liberation Movement, does not come through in the anthropological literature. Fortunately, sociologists of the symbolic interaction school recognize and come to grips with the emotional and subjective aspect of movements. Hence, the construct which is my thesis is in part buttressed by the theoretical statements of Blumer (1939), Hopper (1950), Kerckhoff (1970), Quarantelli (1970), and Turner (1970).

My thesis and preceding graduate study are deeply indebted to the support, cajoling, editing, typing, etc. of my loving wife.
Jenny. A mere acknowledgement and an expression of my gratitude is not justice for either my wife or the women who participate in the local Women's Liberation Movement. My appreciation for their toleration of me and the enlightening discussions which resulted from our coming together obtains expression in this thesis. Also, I am grateful that Ms. Karen Rhodes made available to me information on Tanzania which otherwise was unattainable. In addition to my wife, the actual writing of this thesis benefitted from the patience, understanding, clarity, encouragement, constructive criticism and considerable latitude which describe Professor William Garland; also, the advice and encouragement of Professors Robert F. Maher, Reinhold, and Erika Loffler were mine at crucial times. Even though I did not hesitate to call forth the opinions and expertise of those mentioned above and others, I would be an ingrate if I did not hereby exculpate them from the following.
MASTERS THESIS

LONGMAN, John L.

THE HUMANISTIC ASPECT OF THE WOMEN'S LIBERATION AND OTHER MOVEMENTS.

Western Michigan University, M.A., 1972
Anthropology

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INTRODUCTION

There exists a considerable and expanding literature on movements and/or cults today, and they constitute only one variety of collective behavior (cf. Blumer 1939; and Smelser 1963). Even though each movement or cult has its unique particulars, their commonality has been sufficiently demonstrated so that it need not be a concern here (cf. Hopper 1950; Wallace 1956; Gerlach and Hine 1970a; or LaBarre 1971). A major difficulty I face when confronting the literature on movements and/or cults is that they are often cast in a negative framework, i.e. movements are bad because they effect change (e.g. Williams 1923; Leakey 1952 and 1954). Better than the passionate condemnations of Williams and Leakey in the understanding of movements are the objective descriptions that adhere to the traditional parameters established by Mooney (1965; original 1896); therein descriptions of a movement are confined to its genesis, geographical distribution, external relations, ceremonies and ideology.

At this point, a summary of my developing discontent with the literature will indicate the direction of this thesis. Prior to beginning research for my thesis I (a) read accounts of many movements and cults, (b) noted that a movement's doctrine or ideology usually contained a passage which directed its adherents to engage in cooperative social interaction (cf. Mooney 1965:14), (c) voluntarily participated in the abortive Peace Movement of the late
1960's and 1970, and (d) found immense satisfaction with the fluid structure, spontaneous activities and egalitarian social relations encountered within the Peace Movement (cf. DeMott 1971:197; and Hurwitz 1971). The format and thrust of my thesis developed from both the foregoing epistomological basis and anthropological research conducted on the Women's Liberation Movement.

The format of my thesis is the introduction followed by a brief ethnographic and contextual account of the Women's Liberation Movement. The third part of this thesis draws upon selected aspects of the literature to indicate that my Women's Liberation Movement construct is not simply idiosyncratic, and hence deserves consideration in an expanded discussion and theory of movements. The specific findings of my research which are outside of the genesis-distribution-ideology parameters and constitute the basis of comparative analysis are: (a) the cooperative and integrative aspects of the Women's Liberation Movement (cf. Quarantelli 1970:114) which seem to rest upon (b) the subjective and emotional sisterhood phenomenon (cf. Kerckhoff 1970:83). Points "a" and "b" follow from (c) the participants utilizing egalitarian interpersonal relations and maintaining a harmonious and cooperative atmosphere; and (d) this atmosphere and type of interaction seems to account for the cohesive factor of the Women's Liberation Movement. Also, (e) the self-actualization and personal development of the participants may well be a concomitant of a movement which keeps its options open and maintains sensitivity to changing socio-cultural forces rather than pretending to exist in a vacuum (cf. Toffler 1970). Additionally, (f) the ideology of the
Women's Liberation Movement is not dogma nor does it encompass all aspects of a participant's life, rather (g) it has developed from specific reforms and is becoming better integrated and more inclusive through time. In the comparative portion of my thesis, points "a" through "e" are lumped together and called the humanistic aspect of movements. Points "f" and "g" are treated as the ideological variables.

In movements, I see a humanistic aspect as enhancing social life, group formation, group cohesion and group processes. Manifestations of the humanistic aspect of movements are relations between the participants characterized by compassion, intimacy, voluntariness, concern, cooperation, harmony, spontaneity, honesty, trust, hospitality, support, affectiveness, politeness, civility, kindness, respect, emotions, simplicity, enthusiasm, and egalitarianism. In turn, these relationships tend to make a movement humanistic in that they exhibit creativity or flexible improvisation, while shattering traditional boundaries, a fluid structure, openness, human equality, clannishness and/or cohesion, communalism, solidarity, seriousness, permissiveness, consensus, and/or democracy, conflict avoidance, subjectivity, alertness, and a spirituality. Due to the energy generated by humanistic face-to-face relationships and the foregoing humanistic structural requisites which flow from and mesh with these personal relations, movements display the humanistic endeavors of community self-reliance, community self-help, community re-education, enhancing communications, conflict resolution, and integration. Participation in such a milieu tends to make the
participants more self-confident, intense, nonjudgemental, serious and/or committed, active, and self-actualized. Finally, the foregoing means that movements are humanistic in that they become more inclusive and better integrated while being nondogmatic.

Of course, not all of the literature on movements and related phenomena is cast in a negative framework or follows the genesis-distribution-ideology parameters. Among the notable exceptions is Loffler's article which describes a "representative mediator" and finds that this individual has a positive effect on the modernization process in the group to which the mediator is indigenous (1971:1087). A more significant exception for this thesis is the work of Gerlach and Hine (1968, 1970a and 1970b); they have forsaken the genesis-distribution-ideology parameters for a what-makes-it-tick and therefore, spread-and-grow approach. The work of Gerlach and Hine has relevance for this thesis even though they adhere to the social anthropological tradition and imply that it is the autonomous and segmentary organization of a movement which activates it to the neglect of its humanistic or communal aspect. Actually, I am dealing with more than a trivial point; at the very least, I would suggest that these relationships and the segmentary organization constitute a functional complex. However, it can be argued that the organization is dependent upon the manner in which the participants relate; such an argument would be based on the theory that the energy flowing through a system determines its form or structure (Steward 1955; and Morowitz 1968).

The definition of and criteria for a movement which I shall
offer as an attempt at getting at their processual essence rests on the conception that there may be and usually, but not necessarily, are eleven distinctive and complementary patterns or aspects which set movements apart from the general socio-cultural milieu and make them different from other institutions. Movements are (1) composed of voluntary participants who (2) engage in egalitarian, cooperative and harmonious interpersonal relations (3) under a dominant, but sufficiently imprecise action-motivating ideology to permit individual cognition, (4) encourage creativity, and (5) encourage a toleration for spontaneous activities which may or may not have anything to do with (6) condemning the extant situation or implementing fundamental socio-cultural change. Movements (7) receive an emotional and spiritual commitment from their adherents, (8) have adherents which are nonadherents to the extant order's norms, and (9) constitute either a geographical, psychological or social refuge from the extant order with their (10) autonomous and (11) segmented structure or organization (cf. Gerlach and Hine 1970b:385).

The definition and criteria which I just put forth produce problems of their own since it reads "as if" all movements are either successful or they are not movements. Rather than this, we must juxtapose with my definition a developmental or processual conception of movements. In other words, we must simply consider the Women's Liberation Movement more developed in 1972 than it was in 1968 and 1969, or even during its embryonic period--c. 1964. During the formative period women became aware of a problem, later they manifested this awareness by burning bras, marching in the streets
and bursting forth with strong rhetoric; most recently, women have taken to meeting in small groups for personal development and the creation of a socio-cultural alternative (cf. Rossi 1972a).

I would argue that movements begin when people become aware of a problem and manifest this awareness. Concrete examples of awareness include the ghetto riots of the mid-1960's, the 15 October 1969 Moratorium, the demonstrations which followed the Cambodian invasion and Kent State massacre in the spring of 1970, or simply dropping out of the extant order and finding one's niche with other like-minded souls. Manifestations of awareness are seldom within the norms of the extant order and may, in effect, serve as the articulation of the problem; and often they facilitate the accumulation of grievances against the extant order. Of course, other avenues of articulation are possible, e.g. writing letters to legislators beseeching them to overturn archaic abortion laws.

A clearer example of both awareness and articulation of a problem relies upon a hypothetical example in which a speaker expresses a problem in front of a voluntarily assembled group, condemning the present situation and/or advocating fundamental socio-cultural change. If, in this instance the speaker's message had enough appeal to attract a handful of followers which in turn met as a relatively open collective of individuals using egalitarian and intense interpersonal relations to counter or create an alternative for the status quo, in part alleviating the repulsive conditions simply by meeting, then it could be called a fully developed movement. If the small groups kept their options open and remained alert to
changing socio-cultural forces, then there is the possibility of a movement without an end in view (cf. Wallace 1956:275 and 1972:469). Also, an open movement could maintain its harmonious and cooperative endeavor by avoiding strong leadership cults, factionalism, "ego-tripping" and backbiting; ironically, it is some of these very elements, plus the range of human variation and the different experiences in the background of the participants which account for the spread and growth of a movement (cf. Gerlach and Hine 1970a).

The indicated alienation-awareness-articulation-accumulation-alternative-alleviation-open and alert processual conceptualization of movements which are not necessarily self-limiting deserves more analysis and exposition in the future. However, I shall move on to an abbreviated, but contextual, ethnographic account of the Women's Liberation Movement.

THE WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT

In this portion of the thesis we examine data on Women's Liberation which indicates that it is a means of getting into the business of life. Specifically, women are concerned with and are assuming a role in the larger society. The data offered stems from essentially observational research within the local Women's Liberation Movement; and, because Women's Liberation is a many-faceted movement, published materials have been freely used to augment the data I collected. Specifically, my data were collected by observing the meetings described below for four months, spending considerable time in the local Women's Center, and participating in numerous discussions
with individual "movement" women.

Women's Liberation is neither new nor confined to the United States. Historically, we are witness to the second wave of feminism; since the first wave has been covered by historian O'Neill (1969) and the relevance of the first for the second wave is minimal, we shall not be concerned with the first wave in this thesis. Articles by Gravely (1972), Weinraub (1970), and Goldman (1972), can be used to document the existence of this influential movement in South America, Europe, and Bangladesh respectively; however, the world-wide distribution of Women's Liberation is also beyond the scope of my thesis. Instead, the pertinent developments of the last decade or so are offered since they constitute an undetachable requisite for the current aspects of Women's Liberation.

A very succinct statement which starts to place the women's movement in its socio-cultural context comes from the pen of Alice S. Rossi.

The size of a women's rights movement has . . . been responsive to the proportion of 'unattached' women in a population. An excess of females over males, a late age at marriage, postponement of childbearing, a high divorce rate, a low remarriage rate, and a greater longevity for women, all increase the number of unattached women in a society, and therefore, increase the potential for sex equality activism. . . . the 1950's . . . saw the lowest age at marriage and the highest proportion of the population married in all of our history.

Since 1960, the age at marriage has moved up; the birth rate is down to what it was in the late 1930's; the divorce rate is up among couples married a long time, and more married women are in the labor force than ever before. These are all relevant contributors to the renascence of women's rights activism in the mid-1960's (Rossi 1969:5).
All indications point to the continuation of trends begun in 1960 up to 1972 (cf. Sullerot 1971:43-78), and this factor is just one aspect of the larger picture. During this same period, the "self-actualization" process had been articulated by Maslow and increasingly employed by women to raise their consciousness level and contribute to their personal development. Of perhaps equal importance, it was during this very time that even men questioned the male-dominated society's myth when it began to falter in its aggressive activities in Southeast Asia. Also, the resurrection of feminism was aided by the general atmospheres of the mid-1960's as epitomized by the Free Speech Movement and the whole Civil Rights self-determination milieu which affected society; the fact that women served in and learned from the Civil Rights and Peace Movements simply means a more sophisticated Women's Movement (Turner 1970:154). Additionally, the last few years have witnessed the sudden awareness of the ecology crisis; even though women's and ecological issues may not be the same, they are at least mutually enhancing (cf. Rossi 1972b:1065).

In fact, I would like to suggest a synergistic relationship among the five variables discussed in this paragraph so that each is enhanced by the working of the other.

Overlapping in time and enhancing the five socio-cultural variables which encouraged the women's movement is an articulation with materialistic anthropological theory; reproductive control means that we are witnessing a reversal of the biological process rooted in the animal kingdom. Hence, feminism is in part

... the inevitable female response to the development of
a technology capable of freeing women from the tyranny of the sexual-reproductive roles—both the fundamental biological condition itself, and the sexual class system built upon, and reinforcing, this biological condition (Firestone 1971:31).

The catalytic agent which women generally see as precipitating the women's movement out of these socio-cultural conditions was the publication in 1963 of The Feminine Mystique by Betty Friedan. Specifically, the awareness, articulation and critique by Friedan countered the notion prevalent in our society after World War II that women should return to being only wives and mothers. Since then, any number of books and articles have revealed and condemned the extant situation.

Within this socio-cultural background and with these catalytic agents, the Women's Liberation Movement developed and spread without being appreciably affected by the internecine factionalism, "ego-tripping," backbiting and strong leadership cults which have been the plaque, and often times the doom of other movements (Firestone 1971:39). Ascertaining the manner in which Women's Liberation avoided these pitfalls in the local cell of the movement was an objective of my observational research.

Exposing oneself to a Women's Liberation cell for the purposes of gathering observational data quickly reveals the wisdom and correctness of the phrase: sisterhood is powerful. As one writer put it, "... sisterhood seems best to capture the emotional strength and communality of the entire movement" (Bermant 1972:40). In the same article, Alice S. Rossi who is an intellectual and a feminist says that sisterhood stems from common experience and "... the natural
affinity of persons who discover that they can communicate with each other implicitly, using incomplete sentences and gestures" (Bermant 1972:40). Rossi goes on to say, "Sisterhood is powerful, yes—but sisterhood is beautiful, too—and this beauty of the movement, its humane and compassionate qualities, needs more emphasis" (ibid:74). In fact, emphasizing the humane qualities of Women's Liberation goes a long way in explaining the threads which maintain this movement as a viable force. Also, if the emotional, humane, communal and compassionate sisterhood concept is generalizable to other movements, then we will have unfolded a concept which goes a long way in explaining and predicting their ubiquity and appeal and it will indicate the type of research required in the future.

My experience with the sisterhood concept indicates that rather than being confined to the movement, it has achieved a niche in the cognitive apparatus of most women in society. The only qualification such a statement requires is that the emotional ties of sisterhood are attenuated in the society as a whole when compared to the sisters actively participating in the movement. Credence for the foregoing stems from another interpretation; hence, "By the very force of its existence, the movement gives moral support and credibility to every woman who sets out on her own to amend inequities in her marriage or in her job" (Carmody 1972:47).

Actually, the Women's Liberation Movement has many different aspects based on the dominant ideology "... that women are oppressed, that there will have to be drastic change in society in order to liberate women, and that the liberation of women will ultimately be
for the good of all humanity" (Diggs 1972:10). The two major
manifestations of this movement are different patterns which encourage
either personal or socio-cultural change (Zweig 1970). Since an
out-dated primary enculturation is generally felt to be a major
reason behind the problems needing reforms, personal change becomes
a prerequisite for the desired socio-cultural change. Since personal
change is given such importance, an extensive quote follows from the
published in Ms., a national feminist magazine. The quote reveals
the participants' understanding of this aspect of the movement. Hence,
women are finding

. . . answers for themselves and for other women in the
intimate and supportive talk sessions known as con­
sciousness-raising or rap groups. . . . these gatherings
are free to search out new solutions, new identities,
and new techniques. They are the heart and soul of
the Women's Movement.

WHY?

Women have been isolated from each other. In our
kitchens and even in our outside jobs, we are often made
to feel that our problems are ours and ours alone;
that somehow everything stifling and painful about our
lives is due to our personal inadequacies; that, if
there weren't something wrong with us in the first
place, we would be perfectly happy and fulfilled in the
female role.

. . . women of every group have almost no place where
roles as wife, mother, sex object, hostess, high-level
helper, social appendage, or domestic aren't forced
upon us.

The result is that we don't know who we are; we
can't separate our individual selves from our social
conditioning. Worse, we feel guilty or self-indulgent
or crazy for wanting such a separation.

The rap group is a free place; a place to be honest.
It is a group of supportive and nonjudging friends who
are there to help when we come back battered or ridiculed
from trying to change our worlds. It is some version
of the often repeated statement, 'You feel like that? My God, I thought only I felt like that.' It is a place to discover and sustain each other and ourselves.

Eventually, we find out not only who we are, but the political relationship of women, as a caste, to society as a whole. We learn or invent practical ways of changing our own lives, and the lives of women around us.

WHO?

It is important that the group be totally women. Husbands and male friends or co-workers may resent this at first, but their presence makes it much harder for us to speak honestly, and to venture out from under our habitual roles and patterns. . . . Women need to be by themselves. . . .

Rap groups can start anywhere, but most often they happen among friends, neighbors, co-workers, or classmates. . . . Others start at large meetings of women, who--realizing their need for longer, deeper contact--form smaller groups. Still other groups are strangers who are put together by a local Women's Center. Groups that are not homogeneous take longer to break through differences of style, but have the advantage of showing dramatically how women's problems tend to survive the boundaries of age, economic status, and ethnic background.

The important requirement for a rap group is that the members be serious about their desire for life changes, and that they respect that need in each other. Given the intimacy and willingness to make ourselves vulnerable that are necessary for consciousness-raising, trust in confidentiality is essential, especially when members know each other in outside contexts.

The optimum size is six to ten women; larger groups make individual participation difficult.

HOW?

There should be no leader. The consciousness-raising group is specifically designed to eliminate preexisting habits of passivity, dominance, the need for outside instruction, or a hierarchy, even if it is to take care of functional details.

It's important that we speak personally, subjectively, and specifically. Generalizing, theorizing, or talking in abstractions is bound to misrepresent or alienate some member of the group to whom those generalizations don't apply.

This personal mode of speaking is called 'giving
testimony,' a phrase that . . . has come to describe the first-person rule that is the heart of consciousness-raising.

Do not interrupt while another woman is giving testimony. She should be questioned only for clarification. ('How old were you when that happened?' 'What was your reason at the time?') This is perhaps the greatest advantage consciousness-raising has over open discussion. With the assurance of an attentive audience for a specified length of time, a woman is relieved of the pressure of trying to make herself heard over others, or waiting anxiously for the right moment to speak. She is able to pause, to think something through. The rest of the group is also free to listen instead of waiting to seize the platform. The result is that things are said that might never otherwise emerge in group discussion. The emotional range of the group is extended to include quieter, more intimate feelings which could previously only be shared in one-to-one situations. For many women, it is the first time they have ever been listened to seriously by a group.

Don't give advice, or judge a woman's testimony. . . . In describing personal feelings and experience, there is no right or wrong.

This rule of never challenging another woman's experience may be the hardest one to stick to, but it is also one of the most important. . . . she must . . . not be forced into a defensive position. . . .

After each woman has given her testimony, the whole group should discuss the common elements in our experiences, and how that commonality relates to the role of women as a group. . . . The end of each session is a summing up—a time of insight and of sharing books or outside sources that have helped us and might help others (Editors of Ms. 1972:18-23; emphasis added).

Even this lengthy quote, which keeps this manifestation of the women's movement within the socio-cultural context and permits us to emphasize its humanistic and crucial patterns, exhausts neither the literature which places crucial importance on small groups, nor explains the relationship of autonomous small groups to the larger movement. In fact, that quote does not reveal the emotional and affective impact of the rap group which is illicit by its open
structure and format. But, a recently-published testimony reveals the possible impact: all of my life, I've wanted to feel a belonging, a sense of community, a sisterhood, and there's nothing in one's work or this crazy world you can get it from. But I'm getting it from the group, because we're not just rapping about events, we're talking about feelings (Hammel 1972).

Additionally, the editors of Ms. are somewhat vague on the motivating factor which predisposes women to seek out or form a group. They seem to be content to allow the interaction or group dynamics to account for the group in a pragmatic fashion. While not denying the complete validity of this interpretation and the efficacy of what is known as the demonstration effect, others have found that

Quite often, a significant event or encounter in the individual's life will intensify her feelings of anxiety and frustration and move her to join a group. It might be the birth of a child, job discrimination, divorce, social or physical dislocation or a particular book (Micossi 1970:86).

My research has uncovered another cognition-altering event which has come forward since Micossi wrote her article and which predisposes women to seek out others with a common experience—an unwanted pregnancy. Such a pregnancy makes a woman aware of her identity as a woman and discrimination against women—this heightened awareness is especially true of those who choose to terminate their unwanted condition. According to informants the relief experienced after an artificially-terminated pregnancy is a long-remembered feeling which is instrumental in their decision to aid their sisters
confronting such a predicament and its attendant difficulties.

An aspect of the rap group which is more important theoretically than the interactions and attitudes which the well-functioning group elicits is that the full and equal participation which the group generates is democratic (cf. White and Goode 1969). The democratic situation found in these groups represents a major change from the hierarchical, isolating and competitive circumstances which women generally face in the extant socio-cultural milieu. The democratic structure enhances a collective consciousness and a sense of self-respect or worth based on sisterhood rather than ranking (White and Goode 1969:57).

The significance of the small group for the larger movement stems from the collective consciousness which the small group generates, since it appears that "collective awareness is necessary for the transformation of individual problems into social issues" (Micossi 1970:86). Once a woman is freed from guilt and self-doubt, i.e. possesses a positive self-image, she is in a position which encourages her to join in meetings designed to discuss and reach decisions for countering the extant socio-cultural milieu (cf. Barbara, et al 1972:21). The point of this is that the existence of small groups of women with a collective consciousness may well be an element which can be tolerated or ignored by the extant socio-cultural order. However, it appears that when women direct their energies against specific institutions or practices (i.e., the anti-abortion milieu) within the immediate socio-cultural environment, changes are effected which are outside the historic and predicted
patterns of the socio-cultural milieu, e.g. laws against discrimina-
tion based on sex and their enforcement.

Before we look at some of the specific interactions and hap-
penings which occur in the second major manifestation of the Women's
Liberation Movement, it should be helpful to acquaint ourselves
with mundane aspects of a Women's Liberation meeting. In the
literature, these meetings correspond to what is known as a "public"
because they discuss and reach a collective decision on an issue for
which there was no recognized solution (Hopper 1950:277; or Blumer
1939:245-6). Diversity and heterogeneity are the two words which
best depict the membership and format of such a Women's Liberation
meeting (cf. Martinez 1972; or Rothstein and Weisstein 1972:2).

Attendance at these bi-weekly meetings is most fluid; approximately
one-third of the women attending a meeting did not attend the previous
two meetings. Personal observation of meetings and/or the response
of informants allows us to see their heterogeneous composition in the
participants' ages--teenage to grandmother; their marital status--
single, separated, divorced, widowed and married; their occupations--
nurse, student, sociologist, housewife, sales clerk, art instructor,
and librarian; and their educational achievements--secondary school
for some and advanced graduate degrees for others. As mentioned
above, attendance at these meetings is erratic but more importantly,
coordinatorship of these bi-weekly meetings rotates monthly among
volunteers. In fact, the fluidity of attendance is at such a high
level that on occasion it has meant the absence of the coordinator.
But one could easily miss the functioning of a present coordinator.
as her influence and direction is often most subtle (cf. Zweig 1970). Given this amount of diversity, heterogeneity and fluidity among the participants, plus the lack of a definite program and nonadherence to Robert's Rules of Order raises the question as to just what it is about these meetings which permits cohesion.

Perhaps the most significant finding of the author's research is that the same basic interactions and attitudes which we have seen to be an integral part of consciousness-raising groups is an instrumental aspect of the meetings described above. Also, this atmosphere carries over to the activities at the local Women's Center, and other occasions when two or more women gather, e.g. at a lunch table. In short, the women tend to be most intimate, supportive, honest, respectful, trusting, and serious. The meetings then are free to discover or create action programs designed to change the socio-cultural milieu as well as sustain individual women and encourage their personal development by providing a democratic environment which elicits their participation. Seldom in one of these meetings is one woman interrupted by another. If an interruption occurs it is because the second woman has more knowledge of the topic than the first woman; but, in such a case, the second woman will usually wait and simply add her knowledge when the first has finished. Not only are women not forced into a defensive position, but disputes and conflicts do not develop.

Given the diversity of the participants and the personal experiences which have led them to Women's Liberation, the fact that disputes and/or conflicts do not develop deserves serious scrutiny.
Note, we are not saying that conflict situations do not present themselves, it is simply that they do not become full-blown cleavages which require some sort of resolution. Essentially, all decisions on tactics and projects made in these meetings are reached by consensus; if one woman expresses adamant disapproval of a particular issue, the discussion is dropped immediately and the conflict is averted as they go on to a new topic. Two instances will be cited to illustrate this important point. The first had to do with the possibility of group support for the woman who was politically left of center among four candidates for the local board of education, without mentioning the more conservative woman. When the idea was first brought up, it seemed to be gaining consensual support, but then another participant claimed to know the female candidate well and could not vote for her because she was on the wrong side as far as women's issues were concerned. Consequently, the group did not support any candidate. The other instance regarded specific actions vis-a-vis the male-dominated socio-cultural milieu; three activities gained consensual support, but the advisability of a fourth—entering and ridiculing an adult bookstore—was questioned by two women because studies indicate that pornographic materials are harmless. Hence, this activity was not undertaken.

The spirit of harmony and cooperation which pervades these meetings is scarcely believable. Recently three candidates who were facing each other in a primary election attended a meeting to discuss the issues. Harmony was maintained while all three candidates simultaneously faced the women, even though one candidate favored a
veto right for the sire of an embryo even if the pregnant woman wanted an abortion. The women simply waited until after the candidates had left before they ruled him out for his anti-women's rights stand. Any number of explanations could be put forth to account for the observed harmony and cooperation, but the one which would probably be accurate would include a juxtaposition of the concepts of sisterhood and affective interaction with adherence to an ideology which demands the primacy of "woman's body, woman's mind."

Allied with the harmony and cooperation which pervades these meetings is voluntariness. This aspect of the movement rests with the idea that in any organization there are things which must get done. Just as the monthly coordinator role is filled by a volunteer, women volunteer to be responsible for public relations and even mundane work as well as the more glamorous political campaigning and letter-writing projects. Besides the time required for these activities, women donate all the funds, including professional talent, used in countering the extant situation.

Three aspects of Women's Liberation which have been mentioned above need more attention before we move on to comparative evidence from other movements. The first is an apparent contradiction between the serious and relaxed deportment and attitudes of women detected in the meetings. Four different variables seem to account for this phenomenon: (a) the women do not have to prove their femininity; (b) at times the women are cognizant of the need for "getting their collective head in order" regarding women's issues (cf. Rossi in Bermant 1972:72); (c) women are not going to repeat the
Johnson mistake of losing the internal solidarity and cooperation which is a necessity in actively confronting an external force; and (d) sometimes women simply bask in the sympathetic sisterly warmth and friendship which permeates the movement (cf. Zweig 1970).

The second issue which deserves more than a passing reference is egalitarianism: it means that those factors which women have in common are much more important than those which are a manifestation of human variation. Also, egalitarianism means the coming forward of women with particular and/or relevant experiences or talents for a contribution to the group rather than maintenance of a hierarchy.

Generally speaking, egalitarianism implies an abhorrence of hierarchical structure. However, it is possible to develop "liberating structures" which restrict oppression, elitism and passivity (Rothstein and Weisstein 1972:4). The example cited (ibid) was the development of a democratic speakers' bureau policy to fill requests for feminist speakers and combat the elitism which ensued from promoting women who already had confidence in themselves as public speakers. The new speakers' policy is that

all women who are members should learn to speak about the women's movement. All speaking engagements are filled on a rotating basis. . . . this has ensured that most women in our organization have spoken at least once about women-related issues, and it has ensured a more active, committed, self-confident membership (ibid).

Another example of a liberating structure is the monthly rotating coordinator role which previously received comment. Originally instituted to make the meetings more responsive to the women's needs, there can be little doubt that the personal development of
the women who have filled this role has been enhanced. Concomitantly then, this liberating structure has meant more active, committed and self-confident participants.

The third aspect of Women's Liberation which needs more attention is the developing ideology of Women's Liberation. This aspect demands exposition since it has been barely intimated above. A cogent article by Elizabeth Diggs (1972; Firestone 1971:32-40 comes close to such an analysis) was most instrumental in suggesting that there is ideological development in Women's Liberation through time. Also, the fact that an informant said, "We've come so far, six months ago we couldn't consider this issue" supports such a conception.

The developing ideology of this movement starts with the fact that Friedan's thrust was reformist in nature with equality desired within the system. The changes which this popular brand of feminism seeks are in the realm of ideas, prejudices, habits and laws (Diggs 1972:10). Also, it is important to keep in mind the idea that the ideology of the Women's Liberation Movement has been cumulative and hence, reformists made possible more militant and radical feminism. The ideological issue is more complicated than a reform-radical dichotomy permits us to understand; consequently, within the radical classification Diggs (1972) distinguishes those whose central concerns are their egos and others who are economically socialistic, i.e. wish to spread the experiences and practices of women into the whole society. The radical feminists of the ego variety are anti-authoritarianism, non-hierarchical, non-elitist and strive to be most
egalitarian; these are the women who employ rap groups or consciousness-raising sessions and liberating structures to enhance personal development (Diggs 1972:11-2). Socialistic feminism builds upon the two ideologies we have just discussed and adds the capitalistic system as the basic source of women's woes; they advocate and when possible, practice communal child-care, the sharing of household tasks, community dining rooms, and living arrangements other than the nuclear family. Even though the socialistic premise that exploitation is both unnatural and unnecessary has been around a long time, I have reason to believe that the application of this analysis to women's issues is rather recent; in fact, my only finding which correlates with Digg's analysis of socialistic feminism (1972:12-13) is the sisterhood concept described above. One of the reasons behind the feeling that there will be an eventual ascendency of socialism over capitalism is that Diggs and countless others before her felt that capitalism seems to thrive on individuality, isolation and fragmented systems, and is potentially threatened by the community and unity of the Women's Liberation Movement. However, the question as to which economic policy best meshes with industrial society has not been answered. Important for this line of thought is an indication that a woman receives ego gratification because of involvement in the movement rather than through the practice of consumerism.

... COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

This section of the thesis examines other reform movements described in the literature for data which substantiates my Women's
Liberation Movement construct and which indicates that the findings are not idiosyncratic but deserve consideration in an expanded discussion and theory of movements. Unfortunately, the evidence which we confront is sparse due to the fact that anthropologists have generally settled for historical reports rather than conduct participant-observation research on movements (cf. Christiansen 1969:24). Also, their adherence to the genesis-distribution-ideology parameters means that the data I seek are often not present. If the activities found within a movement are included in the literature, they seem to lack comprehension due to an ethnocentric bias and a degree of condescension. The specific data which is offered below comes from seven different environments, i.e. geographical, psychological or social refuges: three occurred on islands in the southwest Pacific— the Naked Cult, the Tommy Kabu Movement and the Paliau Movement; three in North America— the Shaker Movement, Group Therapy and the so-called counterculture with its Hippies; and the Tanzanian Movement in eastern Africa.

On page three, I made the point that for reasons of simplicity the seven specific points which stemmed from my Women's Liberation Movement findings and may belong in an expanded discussion and theory of movements can be called the humanistic and ideological variables. Consequently, the presentation of the comparative data adheres to the restrictions of the literature, but it still indicates an important humanistic aspect for each movement and/or cult. A degree of comparative support for the ideological variable is found mainly in the Paliau and Tanzanian Movements. However, lack of specific
support in no way negates any of the seven specific points which undoubtedly constitute one functional complex inextricably linked to the nature of a movement; rather, it suggests a new research strategy in the form of longitudinal studies.

The Paliau Movement has become a classic in anthropological literature because of its extensive treatment by Theodore Schwartz (1962:211-421); consequently, it shall be the first where we seek supportive evidence of a humanistic component in a movement. The Paliau Movement was an indigenous effort to unite the Admiralty Islands from 1946 to 1955. To overcome village autonomy, this movement placed considerable emphasis on the enhancement of communications, interpersonal relations, group unity and harmony. The rules adhered to by its participants were those against boasting, the disparagement of others, avoidance behavior, malicious gossip and unfounded suspicions; such admonitions were designed to overcome the Island's divisive nature by controlling anger, suspicions, shame, and hostility (ibid:264 and 366-7).

Theodore Schwartz's report is particularly valuable for illustrating the humanistic aspect of movements because it includes the period from 1950 to 1954 when the lack of movement-related phenomena was concomitant with a lack of enthusiasm, spontaneity, anticipation, excitement, activity or flexible improvisation, and exhilaration. Instead, this four year period saw the reassertion of individual rights, the loss of political cohesion, apathy, and declining morale (1962:287-8).
During the periods when this movement was engaging the citizenry of the Islands, meetings were held which conform to the "public" of Blumer and hence are analogous to those discussed in the Women's Liberation Movement portion of this thesis. These meetings were held daily to discuss ensuing activities, and they were preceded by communal singing, marching and bathing. Purportedly, the meetings and nudity enhanced interpersonal relations as they were occasions to rid the society of shame and anger (T. Schwartz 1962:285). Also, these meetings emphasized equality and universal participation; they became an occasion for the delivery of numerous speeches regarding the declining morale and political cohesion, and the need for brotherhood which was defined as compassion and communalism (ibid: 298-9). Also, it is significant to note that possible conflict was avoided in these meetings since they did not continue discussing subjects once disapproval or disagreement was expressed (ibid:294).

Support from the Paliau Movement for the ideological variable is not conclusive. Rather than a developing ideology--one which extends both its concerns and domain to become more holistic and better integrated--this case study more correctly exhibits the maneuvering described by Wallace (1956:274). The reason for such a judgement: even before World War II Paliau had established a cooperative to pay the head tax of those without money so they could avoid a jail sentence (T. Schwartz 1962:243). Even though after the war the movement began and increased its domain with its adherents pooling their money for group enhancement, the principle remained the same. In fact, not until the mid-1950's was this money used to establish
cooperatives, schools and medical aid posts (T. Schwartz 1962:357).
In addition to the economically socialistic aspect of the foregoing, work was done communally with everyone sharing the produce when the movement was generating enthusiasm and activity.

Granted, the Paliau Movement exhibits little in the way of ideological development through time, and it seems to have been life-encompassing. However, had its ideology been a dogma, it would not have been able to adjust to the limitations it encountered during the decade of its existence. The only evidence I shall cite for this judgement is the organization of T. Schwartz's report (1962): he was able to ascertain and describe seven relatively distinct periods during this decade in the Admiralty Islands.

The Shaker Movement began in 1774 as an alternative life style aiming for purity to be obtained through unity (Melcher 1941:94). Today only fourteen members survive due to a decision made in the 1950's to accept no more recruits and to allow the experiment to die (Kovach 1972). The relative longevity of this movement is truly amazing when one considers that its participants were celibate. Of course, movements seldom rely on sexual reproduction as a means of recruiting new members, but to deny the satisfaction of the sexual instinct means that we should look carefully at the other aspects of Shakerism since it had to have a magnetic attraction to permit recruitment and account for its longevity.

Shaker women and men were equal in their relationship to God. They lived a communal and egalitarian life while elaborating a
utilitarian and creative craftsmanship. This ingenuity and creativity seems to have been expressed in their singing and dancing, which appear to have been spontaneous and enthusiastic expressions borne of their inner joy and exaltation (Melcher 1941:219). Their songs reflected the joyous mood of childhood, the jingling tunes of children's games, and merry folksongs (Desroche 1971:120). When the Shaker's every effort to avoid personal competition is added to the foregoing, the Shaker Movement was personally satisfying and humanistic.

The Shakers usually permitted outsiders to view their ceremonies in which they shook, danced and sang in religious frenzy. Their hospitality and charity for non-brethren, plus their enthusiasm, unity, warmth and security, must have been a crucial factor in recruitment, which was largely an individual procedure (cf. Andrews 1963:24-7).

Previously, the method of avoiding conflict within the Women's Movement and among the followers of the Paliau Movement has been described; an interesting episode from the Shakers is supplied by Kovach.

... the decision to allow the experiment to die has created a division among the remaining members of the society. ... the younger ... members are anxious for a revival.

... the conflict is strangely a gentle one. It is only a conflict in concept, not in fact, for the sisters here—though they disagree with the elders—have no desire to defy that decision (1972:51).

Even though Shaker activities were humanistic and exhibited economically socialistic organization from the onset with their
communal ownership of property, we cannot expect support for the ideological variable because they were, in effect, an anti-societal isolate (Desroche 1971:292). The Shaker's life-encompassing dogma neither remained alert to nor adjusted to dynamic world events. Even so, their humanistic principles may have allowed them to thrive today had they not suppressed spontaneity and public confession of sin, and opted for the regularization of song and dance (ibid:99).

The humanistic aspect of the poorly recorded Naked Cult rests upon the fact that this cult broke "... all existing ties, of whatever description, and united people on the exclusive basis of the cult" (J. Miller 1948:334). Miller claims that the cult followers were clannish and notes that they visit each other often over widely scattered areas; also, he found cult men gathering from a radius of ten miles to build a big community house--ten miles in broken terrain takes a long time to negotiate (ibid:335).

A synthesis of the Naked Cult by Peter Worsley (1968) draws upon published material otherwise unavailable to me that sheds additional light on the humanistic component of this cult. Hence, the stressing of cleanliness and the banning of clothing places emphasis upon unity and harmony. The purity of heart and freedom of self-expression encouraged by this cult meant . . . the sexual act was to take place in public, since there was no shame in it; even irregular liaisons should be open affairs. Husbands should show no jealousy, for this would disturb the state of harmony which the cult was trying to establish (Worsley 1968:151).

Also, each village's environmental design of only two large community
houses must have facilitated interpersonal relations among its twenty to forty residents.

The literature on the Naked Cult is too meager for me to say anything regarding the ideological variable except that this cult was life-encompassing.

The somewhat structured or organized sensitivity, human potential or encounter group movement thrives on intense humanistic relations, feelings, and the abolition of the distinction between public and private issues, i.e. authenticity is a sacred value. Such groups are purportedly therapeutic because they encourage or elicit humanistic cooperation, concern, support, trust, permissiveness, denial of reciprocity, and the manipulation of approval and affection as rewards for securing the necessary feelings and issues (cf. Parsons 1951:314; or Gibbs 1963:6-10).

The literature on these groups is copious with different centers such as Esalen, Tavistock and Bethel, Maine, each possessing its own particular style (cf. Back 1972a); consequently, groups are not identical, but the basic principles remain the humanistic ones recounted above. Also, it should be noted that there is a developmental link between the initial groups begun by Kurt Lewin in 1946, the self-actualization process of Abraham Maslow, and the consciousness-raising or rap groups of the Women's Liberation Movement (cf. Back 1972a; or Lifton 1972).

My personal experience as a participant in groups suggests that their emphasis on the "here and now" is most conducive to humanistic
and intense relations, which in turn yield group cohesion and lasting memories.

The sensitivity, human potential or encounter group movement does not indicate ideological development through time because of its emphasis upon basic human interactions in the here and now, i.e. they tend to deny the relevancy of time and lack a socio-cultural ideology. In fact, as chronicler of these movements, Back (1972a) feels that they are nearing the end as social movements. Since Back (1972b) feels that the success of these movements hinged upon the companionship and intense emotional experience enjoyed by a group's participants, I would suggest that the reason groups are losing importance is that ideological developments are occurring within the general socio-cultural milieu or there is an infusion into the general socio-cultural milieu of their humanistic aspects. In other words, the place of groups is being taken by the spread of the counterculture with its associated weekend hippies and the sexual activities discussed by Bartell (1971) and the Palsons (1972).

Over three years ago in a seminar on political development I argued that Tanzanian development was in fact proceeding via movement dynamics. Since that time, new information not only confirms my argument, but it indicates the institutionalization of humanistic relations as a means of societal control. The process whereby the Tanzanian Movement caught on, grew and became institutionalized demands a monograph which is outside our present objectives. Suffice it to say that the fact that Tanzania supplies the headquarters for
the liberation movements fighting the white regimes of southern Africa is indicative of and intimately linked with its adherence to internal humanistic principles. Of course, the Tanzanian Movement construct is merely compatible with the argument that nation-building via movement dynamics was the only option available to Tanzania; the fact that this method has been most effective in the African experience indicates the value of our concerns.

Undoubtedly, the humanistic principles of the Tanzanian Movement in part rest with the Christian mission education of its chief articulator, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere. The ideology of the Tanzanian Movement is known as ujamaa; in short, ujamaa strongly condemns exploitation and elevates human equality and humanistic values to the supreme position. Hence, Nyerere's translation of ujamaa as familyhood (1968:12) indicates a second source of these humanistic principles; another translation, togetherness, simply emphasizes its most salient characteristic (Enahoro 1972:55). In effect, ujamaa generates a communal spirit that elicits community self-reliance, community self-help (i.e. cooperation), and a re-education which counters the divisive effects of a primary enculturation appropriate to the tribal experience and/or the passive effects of the education compatible with the colonial epoch. Evidence of the humanistic and communal self-reliance and self-help principles is abundant in Tanzania as villagers have cleared brush lands, dug wells, built roads, and constructed community centers, schools and health stations.

The interpersonal relations concomitant with and necessary for
these humanistic principles have been institutionalized in the Ten House Cell System, the grass roots presence of an action-motivating ideology which combats poverty, ignorance and disease (cf. Cliffe 1971:117). Every ten contiguous houses form a cell which is headed by an individual elected from and by the adults of the cell. Formally, the elected leader represents the cell and serves as its spokesman at meetings which include other cell leaders and representatives of the district organization; also a cell leader assists in the collection of taxes and mobilizes the members of a cell for participation in various public works projects.

Informally, the humanistic relations elicited within the cell mean that cell leaders may in fact be

... acting as counselors, guides, father-confessors, investigators, and judges. The leaders reprimand and chastise, cajole and announce. They become personally involved in the full range of personal problems. Love quarrels, family feuds, and house-burning are within their domain. Moral issues and money issues are common concerns. In terms of conflict resolution, ... leaders provide a 'safety valve' for community tensions by allowing individuals to transfer problems and complaints to them (N. Miller 1970:551; cf. Samoff 1971).

Rather than the almost unreal absence of conflict encountered in some of the previous movements, conflicts or disputes do become manifest in Tanzania and the key to their resolution or settlement is humanistic relations. O'Barr figures that from 40 to 70 percent of the interactions between cell leaders and cell members deal with dispute settlement (1970:9). The following example was chosen because it illustrates the dynamics of the Ten House Cell System.

A dispute arise because a neighbor cut a footpath through a man's
farm without permission, and

. . . concerning the footpath, the man's cell leader called together the man, his neighbor, the neighbor's cell leader, and local elders who were familiar with the farms and footpaths involved. The cell leader created the setting in which the elders made their decision. . . . he is popularly regarded as responsible for effecting a settlement (O'Barr 1970:10).

The Tanzanian Movement illustrates a developing ideology since it began with specific issues to be changed, became more inclusive and better integrated, and is currently on the road to becoming an economically socialistic nation-state. Somewhat arbitrarily I designate 1949 as the beginning of this movement when the Sukuma tribe started the Lake Province Growers Association. This association was formed because the Sukuma felt they were being cheated by the Asian businessmen who controlled the marketing of the cotton they produced (Liebenow 1956:455-9). Local or community grievances in other parts of the embryonic country led to the formation of tribal associations which articulated and opposed British-dominated schemes to arrest soil deterioration and improve productivity (cf. Friedland 1968:13-5). Even though the grievances were articulated by tribally-based associations, each had to be concerned with the broader world beyond the tribe (ibid). Hence, we can now see that the means of resisting the cattle-culling, crop inspecting, land alienating and bush-clearing changes initiated by the British have become the vehicle for changes and practices undreamed of twenty years ago.

"The driving force behind Tanganyika's nationalism was the refusal of a rising elite, once aware of its subjugation, to tolerate a continued state of degradation for themselves and their fellow
Africans" (Burke 1964:217). Consequently, in the mid-1950's local grievances were accumulated and articulated by the Tanzanian African National Union (TANU) and its predecessor. The independence movement which took shape, experienced rapid growth, and achieved independence within a loose TANU structure appears to have assumed that the indigenous population need only achieve independence to end political and economic exploitation, and solve any other problems which might arise. However, this view is amazingly ignorant; movements need either real or imagined opposition to keep them working (Gerlach and Hine 1968); and the British realized the inevitability of Tanzanian Independence in 1958 and withdrew their opposition (Stephens 1968: 142-6). Independence did not come until December 1961.

After achieving independence, it soon became evident that this fact in itself did not supply the consensus and cooperation necessary for establishing and maintaining the process of development. A short period of floundering led to ideological redirection; the new awareness which obtained articulation and gained consensus attributed Tanzanian's low level of material existence, lack of human dignity and racial pride to their endemic poverty, ignorance and disease. More importantly, countering these common parochical concerns became the national preoccupation which motivated change. The only realistic means of eradicating poverty, ignorance and disease in Tanzania is the cooperative and communal self-help projects discussed above. Significantly, the essence of this ideology rests upon the traditional egalitarian nature of Tanzanian societies with an extensive network of social obligations and the communal ownership of land (Friedland
New obstacles were encountered and confronted by the Tanzanian Movement through the course of time. An important illustration of ideological development in this movement is the Arusha Declaration of February 1967 which included or integrated Tanzania's urban or modern sector with a developing bourgeoisie class into the same socialistic practices which had previously prevailed in the hinterland. Specifically, the Arusha Declaration declared that henceforth, government officials must live on their moderate government salary only. Hence, they had to dissolve all ties with the world of business and abandon schemes for obtaining quick wealth. Additionally, it nationalized the foreign-owned commercial industry (banks, import-export, insurance, etc.), and seized controlling interest in industrial establishments and agricultural estates (Nyerere 1967:11-13). Probably the most dramatic event connected with the Arusha Declaration was the pay cut which Nyerere and other top government officials took in the name of egalitarianism.

The evidence from the Tommy Kabu Movement studied and reported by Professor Robert F. Maher (1958 and 1961) which indicates a humanistic component for this movement is meager; nonetheless, it is enough to support my thesis.

The Tommy Kabu Movement had at its roots an awareness of an alternative socio-cultural configuration, and was an attempt to effect the necessary changes in order that its adherents could become a part of that alternative socio-cultural configuration. The
adherents of this movement rejected apathy and the old village and
tribal boundaries as they enthusiastically and willingly worked for
the new way of life (Maher 1958:76-7). New and smaller villages
were built, and the "feeling of a community sharing for all, including
former enemies, seems to have been an emotional element . . . of the
movement" (ibid:78). Additionally, this movement upgraded the social
position of women; they had both the incentive and freedom to pursue
a more active role in village affairs (ibid:79).

Maher's discussion of this movement is not conducive to
abstracting ideological development; though, this life-encompassing
movement contained its socialistic aspects. In fact, as Maher
presents the data, there are ideological changes which occur because
of the elimination of various programs when they met resistance or
failed due to a lack of instrumental knowledge on the part of the
participants. At any rate, this movement did not have an unwavering
dogma. The socialistic nature of this movement is best revealed in
its raison-d'être: the reorganization of tribal economies to produce
an intertribal cooperative economy so far as productive effort and
its returns were concerned (Maher 1958:77). To attain this goal, the
indigenous population contributed over two thousand pounds to purchase
a ship from the Australian government which would transport their
produce to the outside world. After the boat burned, the government
planned to return the funds to the individual donors, but many
people opposed this since they wanted the money to be used to buy a
new boat (ibid:82 and 89). Perhaps, since both the Shaker and
Tommy Kabu Movements had an economically socialistic aspect without
exhibiting ideological development, the socialistic aspect of movements is independent of their developing ideologies.

The final movement-like phenomenon for seeking evidence of a humanistic aspect is the so-called counterculture. It is debatable whether or not such an amorphous and ambiguous concept as the counterculture can be considered a movement because it fails to gain specific political commitments (Rothchild 1971:62); however, one cannot say that it lacks humanistic underpinnings. Legendary is the only word which aptly describes the uncoerced social cooperation of the counterculture at the Woodstock Festival and similar events where good vibrations flowed among thousands of participants; but it is not necessary to rely solely on mass gatherings to obtain supportive data.

After studying the counterculture for seven years, Gary Schwartz finds that its participants present themselves as bearing a more humane culture than the bourgeois morality, mercantile mentality, and technological thrust of the general society (1972:3). Also, he finds that a voluntaristic ethic with social cooperation, egalitarianism, simplicity, spontaneity and direct action are common attributes of this humane culture (ibid:6).

The solidarity between members of the counterculture inheres in their commitment to their personal communities. Frequent face-to-face contacts between the members of these groups reinforce the feeling that they have more in common than their politics.

... they share a vision of a world in which every person can, in a brief encounter with another, achieve real intimacy and genuine self-understanding and where the old guidelines for sexual relationships, friendships,
and professional associations no longer hold (G. Schwartz 1972:7 and 8).

Confirming data which is more specific than the foregoing stems from the study of communes in a hippie ghetto by Partridge (1971). He uses the words politeness, civility, trust, kindness and spontaneity to describe the interpersonal relations of those who interacted in the observed social network oblivious to all structured, differentiated, and hierarchical relationships (ibid:75-7). In this environment, all manner of behavior is 'beautiful' if it is understood to represent a spontaneous eruption of the self. Even hostile and aggressive acts are received in the spirit of comitas, for they teach an individual about himself and others; not only are they welcomed but they are encouraged since they are interpreted as evidence of trust in one’s fellows and commitment to a quest for self-knowledge' (Partridge 1971:77).

Placing my personal experience along side the interpretations just offered leaves little doubt in my mind that these humanistic relations are the distinctive feature of the counterculture. I would like to close this section by suggesting that a defining characteristic of individuals in the counterculture is a willingness to suspend their cognitive structures or judgement and risk themselves in an attempt to institute humanistic relations with nearly anyone who crosses their paths (cf. Hampden-Turner 1970:31).

The counterculture fails to exhibit a dogma and a developing ideology, or necessarily be life-encompassing, for reasons similar to those of the groups. The counterculture is essentially apolitical and lacks specific doctrinal commitments, i.e. thinking and an ideology are taboo. However, in both the counterculture and groups, self-actualization and/or personal development is purported to
follow from participation.

The foregoing comparative portion of my thesis indicates the presence of the humanistic aspect and the defined ideological variable in other movements. Hence, my Women's Liberation Movement construct is probably not based upon idiosyncratic activities or patterns. Before I can make a conclusive statement, additional research of a sensitive and longitudinal nature must be carried out.

CONCLUSION

In this thesis I have put forth a brief ethnographic account of certain features of the Women's Liberation Movement that do not wholly conform to the traditional genesis-distribution-ideology parameters into which movements are generally cast. Empathetic and compassionate anthropological research carried on within one segment of the Women's Movement, freely buttressed by the literature, indicates that there is a humanistic, more inclusive and better-integrated aspect to the Women's Liberation Movement which is of crucial importance. Indeed, a comparative analysis of seven other movements indicates the presence of this aspect. Hence, my Women's Liberation Movement findings are not idiosyncratic and deserve consideration in an expanded discussion and theory of movements.

Since the ideological issue as presented in my thesis conflicts with conventional wisdom and traditional theory (cf. Gerlach and Hine 1968:34), it deserves additional consideration. Let me say first, that whether a dogma is confronted or not seems to be intimately bound with ideological development through time. Second,
it appears that the ideology of a movement need not necessarily be life-encompassing, especially at the onset. The third concept which fits my findings is that participants in a movement may be most dogmatic about the certainty of their efforts and the reasoning behind these efforts; however their ideology cannot be considered a dogma when it becomes better-integrated and more inclusive through time. Related to this sociological development of an ideology is a concomitant need for participants who can handle such a developing ideology by widening the gap between their primary enculturation and present practices; hence, the consciousness raising sessions of the Women's Movement, and education in Tanzania are examples of personal development or self-actualization.

The implications of my thesis go well beyond an expanded discussion and theory of movements to include their humanistic-developing aspects, and the longitudinal-sensitive research strategy needed to obtain this data. My cognitive apparatus suggests that we may well find the demise of movements concomitant with the cessation of humanistic practices rather than with an assumed equilibrium condition or steady state. Logically then, it follows that potential recruits and participants must be at ease with generalized humanistic practices. Finally, my construct suggests the reason for Rothchild's (1971) trouble with the fact that many more movements erupt on the socio-cultural scene than are effective: unwavering commitment to an ideology is not necessary for practicing humanistic relations by the social human animal.
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