

The 1977 National Women's Conference Versus the Pro-Family Rally: A Debate  
Between Two Arenas

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Paper

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## Process Paper

I chose to write about the impact of the National Women's Conference and the Pro-Family Rally on women's rights and feminism in America after doing some research on controversial movements or events in US history. I wanted my topic to be controversial or disputable because I knew that if it was, there would be debates about it. I also was interested in social movements that involved debate. The National Women's Conference and the Pro-Family Rally both included and created debates, some of which still exist today. I conducted most of my research on the internet, using reputable sources to learn more about my topic, but there was also a book I found helpful for learning background knowledge called *Divided We Stand: The Battle for Women's Rights and Family Values That Polarized American Politics* by Marjorie Spruill. I created my paper with Google Docs. My historical argument is that the Pro-Family rally's organization and persuasiveness and the National Women's Conference's infighting and lack of unity led to the defeat of the Equal Rights Amendment and started many debates. My topic is an important part of US history and feminism because it brought attention to women's rights as a political issue and divided America when it came to sex-based equality.

On November 19th, 1977, Phyllis Schlafly addressed a crowd of over 15,000 women (the majority of whom were white, Christian, and strongly conservative) in order to stop the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) from being ratified and denounce the second-wave feminist movement. Meanwhile, only five miles away, the National Women's Conference was taking place, gathering ERA supporters from across the country (Klemesrud). This event was intended to unite feminists and build support for ERA ratification, but it only divided the group. Before November 1977, there were already debates over whether or not the ERA should become a constitutional amendment, but the Pro-Family Rally, featuring Phyllis Schlafly, and the 1977 National Women's Conference ultimately decided the fate of the amendment. The Pro-Family Rally and the 1977 National Women's Conference brought nationwide attention to the ERA debate, created debates about the constitutional amendment ratification process, influenced American political history, and negatively affected the fight for women's rights in America.

The ERA was originally written in 1923 by former suffragists Alice Paul and Crystal Eastman. They were hopeful that America would support equal rights for women since the 19th Amendment had been ratified in 1920, due to the successful Women's Suffrage Movement which was the first feminist movement in America. The movement brought attention to women's rights as a political issue and debate. When the ERA was first introduced to Congress, it did not come close to passing. The ERA was eventually reintroduced to Congress in 1972 while the second-wave feminist movement was gaining momentum. However, when it reached its ratification deadline in 1979 after the deadline had already been extended, it did not have the 38 state ratifications that were necessary to pass the amendment into law.

In the early 1960s, amid anti-war and Civil Rights protests, the second feminism movement, later known as second-wave feminism, was beginning. During World War II, women

went to work to support war efforts and make money to keep their families sustained economically while their husbands were away. After the war ended, men returned to their families as the breadwinners and women went back to being homemakers. However, many women were unhappy with their return to standard household roles. Working women were often discriminated against and were not paid equally compared to their male counterparts. In 1960, women accounted for 37% of the workforce, but they were only paid 59 cents for every dollar earned by a man (“Equal Pay Act of 1963”). Sex-based stereotypes that encouraged women to stay at home were often enforced through books, television shows, and advertisements (see Appendix C). This made it hard for working women to be viewed as equal to their male coworkers because of the presence of sexism in the culture and media of that era.

Literature was a large contributor to the rise of second-wave feminism. *The Second Sex* was written by Simone de Beauvoir and was an important part of feminism in literature. Published in French in 1949 and English in 1953, this book was one of the first feminist books and made many women question their happiness in being a homemaker. Beauvoir believed that women were viewed as second to men, hence the title. She addressed stereotypes about women in marriage, the workplace, and in other fields where sex-based stereotypes were present. In her book, Beauvoir wrote, “whenever she tries to behave as a human being she is accused of trying to emulate the male” (Freeland). “She” represents females as a whole. *The Second Sex* inspired Betty Friedan to become a feminist writer and leader. In 1963, Friedan, who would eventually become a founder of the National Organization for Women (NOW) and a prominent leader in the Pro-ERA movement, published *The Feminine Mystique*, a book about “the pervasive dissatisfaction among women in mainstream American society in the post-World War II period” (Churchill). *The Feminine Mystique* sold nearly three million copies within three years of its

publication. The book united women who wanted the same rights as men, specifically in the workplace.

In September of 1965, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) ruled “that sex segregation in job advertising was permissible” (“Founding”). In late June of the following year, the Third National Conference of Commissions on the Status of Women was held in response to the EEOC’s decision. Friedan and Dr. Pauli Murray, the future founders of NOW, both attended this event. Many of the delegates wanted the EEOC to reverse their decision. However, “they were told that they had no authority, not even to pass a resolution, but they were determined to take action” (“Founding”). Unfortunately though, no action was taken at or because of this conference. Angered by the lack of results, Friedan organized a group of fifteen to twenty women who shared her frustrations and they met in her hotel room. That night, they founded the National Organization for Women “to take action to bring women into full participation in the mainstream of American society now, assuming all the privileges and responsibilities thereof in truly equal partnership with men” (“Founding”). This organization inspired many women to become feminists.

Once second-wave feminism gained more attention, numerous women began joining the cause. They sought to end to sexual bias and discrimination. Some also wanted to legalize abortion and gain equal rights for lesbians. The feminists supported the ERA and were rooting for its ratification. When congress passed the ERA in March of 1972, it only had seven years to gain the required 38 state ratifications. By 1979 only 35 states had ratified it, and of those 35, five states had voted to rescind their ratification, but their ratifications were counted anyway. Congress extended the deadline to 1979, but no other states ratified the amendment. The events that took place in Houston in 1977 were critical to the outcome of the ratification process.

According to Marjorie Spruill, who wrote a book on America's women's rights history, "Up to the mid-70s, both parties believed they ought to be supporting the women's rights movement" (Boissoneault), that is until late 1972 when conservative Phyllis Schlafly rose up to crush the Pro-ERA movement. She communicated with her supporters through her newspaper, the *Phyllis Schlafly Report*. Schlafly argued that she was fighting for women's "natural" rights. She named her organization STOP ERA, (STOP stood for "Stop Taking Our Privileges.") She believed that if the ERA was passed, women would lose privileges that they already had, like not having to register for the draft, being listed as dependents on their husbands' insurance, and gender-specific restrooms. At the Pro-Family Rally, Schlafly said, "The American people and the American women do not want ERA, they do not want abortion, they do not want lesbian privileges" ("Phyllis Schlafly"). Her supporters were mainly conservative, white, southern, Christian women. Therefore, many of her arguments against the ERA were based on how biblically correct she and her followers believed it was. Schlafly was a lawyer and a strong debater. She united those who stood against feminism with persuasive arguments that spoke directly to her targeted audience.

After being granted \$5,000,000 by Congress, the National Women's Conference was organized by congresswomen Bella Abzug and Patsy Mink. This conference was meant to be a chance for feminists to come together and persuade others to support the ERA and clearly define what needed to be changed on sex-based issues and discrimination (Quindlen, "Women's Conference). Before it took place, "meetings were to be held in all states and territories to elect delegates" (Cotrell). This gave every state a chance to have representation to voice their varying opinions. Houston, Texas was chosen as the location and the conference took place November 18th through 21st of 1977, 20,000 women attended.

The National Women's Conference gathered a racially and culturally diverse group of people, which was an important aspect of the conference (Quindlen, "Anticipating a Historic Occasion"). This gave spectators a chance to see things through a different lens, but varying perspectives also caused heated debates. The most heavily debated topics were abortion and lesbian rights. These issues led to infighting and caused the feminists to become less united. The National Women's Conference ended up approving planks on abortion and lesbian rights which caused division in the feminist movement (Quindlen, "Women's Conference"). Phyllis Schlafly preyed on the disagreement these topics caused and discussed them during her opposing rally to further disunite the feminists.

Once the location and date of the National Women's Conference were announced, Lottie Beth Hobbs, the founder of the conservative group Women Who Want to Be Women (WWWW), declared that she would be holding her own rally in support of family values, featuring Phyllis Schlafly. Hobb's rally was set to take place on November 19th in Houston, Texas, while the National Women's Conference was taking place, only five miles away. The Pro-Family Rally gathered a crowd of an estimated 15,000 (not including overflow attendance outside the arena) (Garcia). The Pro-Family Rally had a much greater impact due to Schlafly's popularity and leadership. "The rally's success galvanized conservatives across the country and was a monumental catalyst for the rise of the 'New Right' and a new female-led socially conservative anti-feminist movement" (Garcia). The Pro-Family rally caused many Republicans to join the anti-ERA movement. Its supporters were much more organized and united than the 1977 National Women's Conference supporters. This caused more people to be drawn to Schlafly and the Pro-Family movement and eventually led to the defeat of the ERA.

Because the Pro-Family rally was held at the same time and in the same place as the National Women's Conference, onlookers and the media had to choose which side to watch or which side of this debate to cover. Most people and media sources chose to watch and cover the Pro-Family Rally because it was united and had a more vocal leader and following. Before Schlafly's movement, states were ratifying the Amendment at a consistent rate but after, the ratifications slowed, then halted. The Pro-Family movement even convinced five states to rescind their ratifications. Phyllis Schlafly's strong persuasiveness caused the Pro-Family movement to rapidly gain followers, eventually leading to the defeat of the ERA.

In 1978, Congress voted to move the deadline for ratification from 1979 to 1982 in hopes that the feminist movement would make a comeback and persuade the necessary three additional states to ratify the Amendment. However, no states changed their decisions regarding the ERA after 1979. Their opinions were solidified by the 1977 rallies. Approaching the final deadline, the feminists held more rallies trying to persuade people, but the extra years came and went without any more states ratifying the amendment. Schlafly "was able to single-handedly organize the Stop ERA movement" (Kennedy). The deadline passed, but this was not the end of the amendment's impact.

Besides starting a public debate about women's rights, the ERA ratification process also led to serious debate over the constitutional amendment process which is still being discussed today. Can states rescind ratification of an amendment, and are deadlines for amendments constitutional? In 2017, Nevada became the first state to ratify the ERA after the deadline. In 2018, Illinois ratified it, and eventually, Virginia provided the required 38th ratification on January 27th, 2020. In November of 2019, Virginia voters voted "a record number of women into the House of Delegates" (Chappell) intending to approve the ERA. After Virginia ratified



the ERA, many debates over it were revived and new debates were also born. Some of these new debates were questions like: Is the ERA still relevant even though it expired? Now that America has become more progressive, will it finally be passed? Will Americans support the ERA, or will they continue to stand with Phyllis Schlafly despite how long ago her rise to power took place? Is the ERA necessary, since we have already ruled in some cases that discrimination based on sex is impermissible? The answer to these questions is still uncertain but on February 13th, 2020 the House of Representatives voted to remove the deadline for ratification from the ERA.

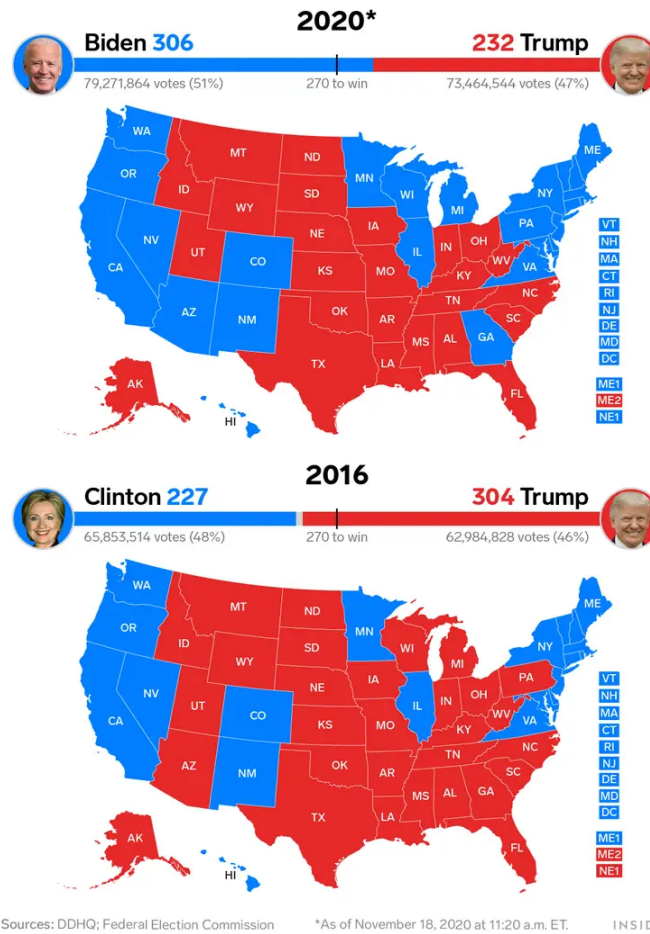
Before Schlafly tore down the second-wave feminist movement, Democrats and Republicans alike supported women's rights and the ERA. Schlafly was an especially persuasive debater and knew her targeted audience well. She was able to persuade most conservatives and virtually all Right-Wing Christians to join her cause by turning the debate away from women's rights and instead focusing on abortion and lesbian rights. Because of her influence, Republicans have maintained their stance on women's rights and the ERA over the years. Every state that has not ratified the ERA, or rescinded its ratification, voted for the Republican nominee in the 2020 presidential election, except for Arizona and Georgia (these states flipped in 2020 to Democrat) (see Appendices A and B).

Phyllis Schlafly additionally influenced two presidential elections by telling her supporters who to vote for and why. Schlafly helped secure Reagan's presidential nomination in hopes that she would be given the Secretary of Defense position (Blake). Her final accomplishment came after her death but was just as significant. Schlafly was an important part of Donald Trump's win in the presidential election of 2016. The day after her death, her last book was published on September 6th, 2016. Her book was titled *The Conservative's Case for Trump*. Before her book was published, many Christian Republicans did not support Trump because of

his “two divorces and bragging about his sex life in the past,” but Schlafly said that he had reformed since and is “an old-fashioned man grounded in his two great priorities – hard work and family – and a man who in other respects has led a remarkably clean life” (Scott). By endorsing Trump in her book, Schlafly was able to sway some Christian Republican groups to publicly support Trump, leading more of the Christian Right to support him when it was time to vote.

The unison and strategic planning of the Pro-Family Rally and the disagreement and controversy of the National Women’s Conference were what caused the failure of the ERA, but there is still hope. Because Virginia ratified the ERA on January 27th, 2020, the amendment should have gone into effect on January 27th, 2022. However, there is controversy over whether the amendment applies due to the overdue deadline. President Biden has called on Congress to “act immediately to pass a resolution recognizing ratification of the ERA” (“Statement from President Biden”). The debates on the ERA continue, but feminists are hopeful that this will be the year that it will go into effect. With Joe Biden in office and feminists fighting harder than ever to defeat Texas’ controversial abortion law and get the ERA into the Constitution, this may be the year that it is finally ratified. The 1977 National Women’s Conference and the Pro-Family Rally led to and included many debates, and were some of the most significant events in American history as well as the ongoing journey to equal rights based on sex in America.

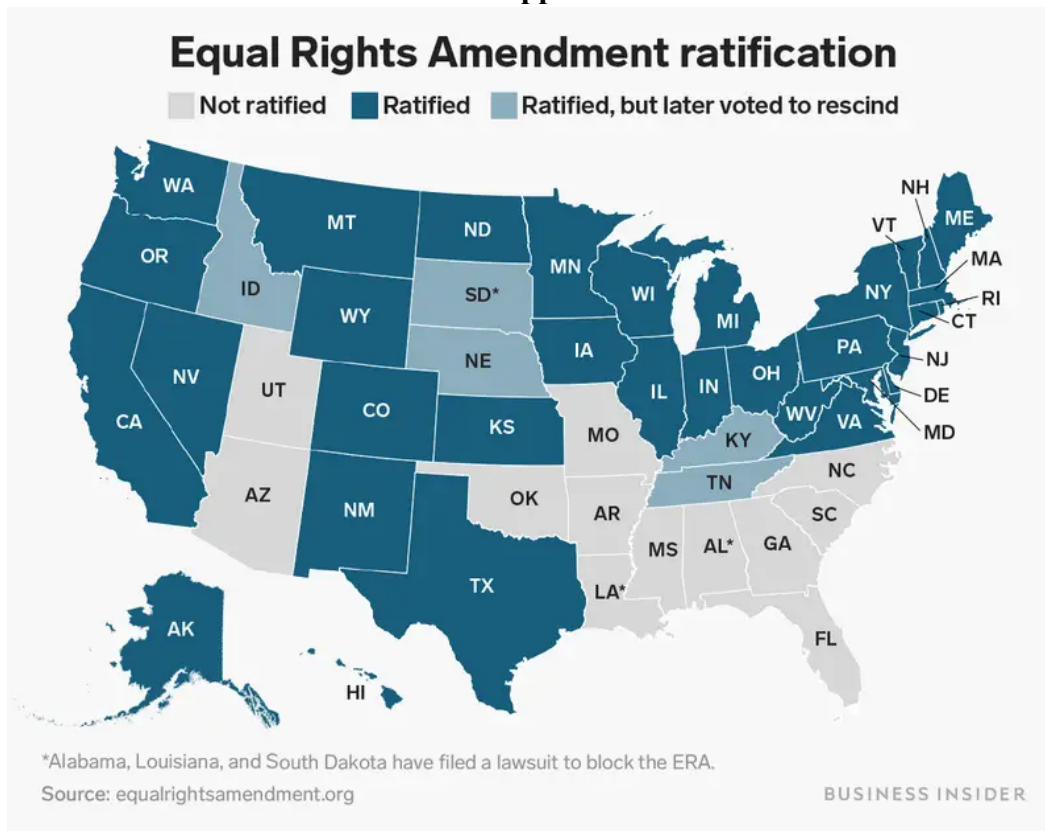
## Appendix A



Hall, Madison, and Shayanne Gal. "How the 2020 Election Results Compare to 2016, in 9 Maps and Charts." *Business Insider*, Business Insider, 18 Nov. 2020, <https://www.businessinsider.com/2016-2020-electoral-maps-exit-polls-compared-2020-11>.

This image shows 2016 versus 2020 election results by state. When compared to the map below of states for and against the ERA, it is clear that there is a correlation between states opposed to the ERA and Republican states. This shows that the tie Schafly created linking anti-ERA beliefs and republicanism remains.

## Appendix B



Ward, Marguerite. "Here's a Map of All the States for (and against) the Constitutional Amendment That Would Outlaw Sex Discrimination." *Business Insider*, Business Insider, 18 Jan. 2020, <https://www.businessinsider.com/map-of-states-for-and-against-the-equal-rights-amendment>.

This Business Insider map depicts the states that have and have not ratified the ERA, as well as the states that attempted to rescind their ratifications. Most Southern states do not support the ERA and voted Republican in the 2020 election, as shown in Appendix A, and this is mostly because Schafly's movement targeted southern, conservative Christian women.

## Appendix C

The Chef  
does everything  
but cook  
— that's what  
wives are for!



“Cooking’s fun” says my wife “... food preparation is a bore! Think of the meals I’d cook you if I had a Kenwood Chef!” For the Chef beats, whisks and blends. With its attachments it liquidises, minces, chops, cuts. Slices, grinds, pulps. It shells peas and slices beans. Peels potatoes and root vegetables. Opens cans, grinds coffee. Extracts fruit and vegetable juices. It helps with every meal—from a welsh rarebit to a four-course dinner. I can take a hint—I’m giving my wife a Kenwood Chef right away!

**Other products in the range of Kenwood Kitchen Equipment:** Freezers, Refrigerators, Dishmaster Dishwashers, Waste-master waste disposal unit, Reisserie Rotary Spit and Electric Knife Sharpener.

Send off this coupon for a husband-persuading leaflet about the Kenwood Chef

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ HG 30

Kenwood Manufacturing (Woking) Ltd., New Lane, Buxton, Notts.  
SRS 128 ONE OF THE KENWOOD GROUP

▲ The Kenwood Chef complete with two beaters, bowl and a big recipe and instruction book is yours for only 39 gns. tax paid. (Cash terms are available.)

JUST FOUR OF THE CHEF’S WONDERFUL ATTACHMENTS



MINCER LIQUIDISER POTATO PEELER CAN OPENER

The Kenwood Chef has more attachments — DOES MORE JOBS FOR YOU! — than any other food preparing machine.

I’m giving my wife a



**Kenwood** Chef

Jacobs, Harrison, and Jim Edwards. “26 Sexist Ads of the 'Mad Men' Era That Companies Wish We'd Forget.” *Business Insider*, Business Insider, 8 May 2014, <https://www.businessinsider.com/26-sexist-ads-of-the-mad-men-era-2014-5#1961-thats-what-wives-are-for-10>.

This is an example of a sexist advertisement that enforces gender roles. This ad for a *Kenwood Chef* mixer, originally published in 1961, shows that it was a common belief at the time that women belong at home, as cooks, and housewives, not breadwinners.

## Annotated Bibliography

### Primary Sources

Klemesrud, Judy. "Equal Rights Plan and Abortion Are Opposed by 15,000 at Rally." *The New York Times*, The New York Times, <https://www.nytimes.com/1977/11/20/archives/equal-rights-plan-and-abortion-are-opposed-by-15000-at-rally-like-a.html>.

Originally published in 1977, this is a digitized version of an article about the Pro-Family Rally, its attendees, and what happened at the event. I used this article to learn about the rally from the perspective of someone who attended it. I also used it to find the distance between the two events to show how well orchestrated the Pro-Family movement was to take place at the same time in nearly the same place.

"Phyllis Schlafly in Houston, 1977." *YouTube*, uploaded by Eagle Forum, 22 May 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HLmJ9KbUCGw>

This is the footage of Phyllis Schlafly's speech "ERA: An Attack on the Family." I watched this video to learn about and quote Phyllis Schlafly's beliefs. This source is reputable because it is the same footage shown in videos that contain all of the Pro-Family Rally speeches.

Quindlen, Anna. "Anticipating a Historic Occasion, Women Stream to Conference." *The New York Times*, The New York Times, 18 Nov. 1977, <https://www.nytimes.com/1977/11/18/archives/anticipating-a-historic-occasion-women-stream-to-conference-a.html>.

This is another old newspaper article now digitally published by *The New York Times*. I used this article for research on who attended the National Women's Conference. In doing so, I discovered that this conference drew a diverse crowd and that this was an important part of the conference's outcome.

Quindlen, Anna. "Women's Conference Approves Planks on Abortion and Rights for Homosexuals." *The New York Times*, The New York Times, 21 Nov. 1977, <https://www.nytimes.com/1977/11/21/archives/womens-conference-approves-planks-on-abortion-and-rights-for.html>.

This digitized article published by *The New York Times* details the National Women's Conference's controversial decision to approve planks on abortion and lesbian rights, as well as the other resolutions approved by the conference's leaders. I used information from this article to support my information about the Pro-Family rally's stance on abortion and lesbian rights. I also used it for research on what topics were discussed at the National Women's Conference.

### Secondary Sources

Blake, Meredith. "Fact-Checking 'Mrs. America': Schlafly Role in Reagan Election." *Los Angeles Times*, Los Angeles Times, 27 May 2020,

<https://www.latimes.com/entertainment-arts/tv/story/2020-05-27/mrs-america-fact-check-phyllis-schlafly-reagan-election>.

LA Times published this article following the release of the television show *Mrs. America*, which is based on the story of the pro versus anti-ERA movements. This article is about the accuracy of *Mrs. America* when it comes to Phyllis Schlafly's role in Ronald Reagan's election. I used it to gain information about her influence on his campaign and success in winning the election.

Boissoneault, Lorraine. "The 1977 Conference on Women's Rights That Split America in Two." *Smithsonian.com*, Smithsonian Institution, 15 Feb. 2017, <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/1977-conference-womens-rights-split-america-two-180962174/>.

This Smithsonian article provides an overview of the National Women's Conference and includes an interview with Marjorie Spruill, the author of *Divided We Stand: The Battle Over Women's Rights and Family Values That Polarized America*. Spruill is a professor at the University of South Carolina and teaches U.S Women's History. I used this source for general research about my topic and its impact and I quoted Marjorie Spruill from the interview to support my point about how both parties supported the ERA until the mid-1970s.

Chappell, Bill. "Virginia Ratified the Equal Rights Amendment, Decades after the Deadline." *NPR*, NPR, 15 Jan. 2020, <https://www.npr.org/2020/01/15/796754345/virginia-ratifies-the-equal-rights-amendment-decades-after-deadline>.

This NPR article, about Virginia's path to ratifying the ERA, has an interview with Virginia's House Majority Leader Charniele Herring. I quoted her interview to provide background information about the debates surrounding the ERA in recent years.

Churchill, Lindsey Blake. "The Feminine Mystique." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 19 Feb. 2020, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/The-Feminine-Mystique>.

Britannica published this article about the book *The Feminine Mystique* by Betty Friedan. I quoted it to provide an overview of what the book was about. This article was written by Lindsey Blake Churchill, who is an assistant professor of history at the University of Central Oklahoma.

Cottrell, Debbie Mauldin. "National Women's Conference, 1977." *TSHA*, Texas State Historical Association, 31 Oct. 2017, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/national-womens-conference-1977>.

I used information from this source from the Texas Historical Association (TSHA) to write about what caused the National Women's Conference to take place. This article was written by Debbie Mauldin Cottrell, she has written many TSHA articles pertaining to women's history and also published a book called *Pioneer Woman Educator*.

“Equal Pay Act of 1963.” *National Parks Service*, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1 Apr. 2016, <https://www.nps.gov/articles/equal-pay-act.htm>.

I used a statistic from this National Park Service article. The statistic showed how much women were paid compared to men in 1960 and it provided evidence of sex-based discrimination in the workplace. The National Park Service has many articles about the history of Equal Rights and preserves historic sites that are important to Equal Rights history.

“Founding.” *National Organization for Women*, National Organization for Women, July 2011, <https://now.org/about/history/founding-2/#:~:text=The%20Third%20National%20Conference%20of,June%2028%2D30%2C%201966>.

The National Organization for Women (NOW) was founded so that women could unite under one organization and was important to the Pro-ERA movement. I used multiple quotes from this NOW article on the organization’s founding to tell the story of its birth.

Freeland, Chrystia. “In Sandberg, Echoes of De Beauvoir.” *The New York Times*, The New York Times, 15 Mar. 2013, <https://www.nytimes.com/2013/03/15/us/15iht-letter15.html>.

I used a quote from this New York Times article from Simone De Beauvoir's *The Second Sex* about how she believed that because of gender roles and stereotypes women could not be happy at that time. This article compares Beauvoir’s ideology to that of Sheryl Sandberg, the chief operating officer of Facebook.

Garcia, Ashley. “Pro-Family Rally (1977).” *TSHA*, Texas Historical Association, 4 Mar. 2021, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/pro-family-rally-1977>.

This article, also from the Texas Historical Association (TSHA), gave me the number of people who attended the Pro-Family Rally. I also used it for research on the Pro-Family Rally.

Hall, Madison, and Shayanne Gal. “How the 2020 Election Results Compare to 2016, in 9 Maps and Charts.” *Business Insider*, Business Insider, 18 Nov. 2020, <https://www.businessinsider.com/2016-2020-electoral-maps-exit-polls-compared-2020-11>.

I used information from this article to show that most republican states are opposed to the ratification of the ERA. This Business Insider article contains many graphs and charts displaying the states that voted either Republican or Democrat in the 2016 and 2020 elections. It was helpful because it clearly showed which states were primarily red or blue.

Jacobs, Harrison, and Jim Edwards. “26 Sexist Ads of the 'Mad Men' Era That Companies Wish We'd Forget.” *Business Insider*, Business Insider, 8 May 2014, <https://www.businessinsider.com/26-sexist-ads-of-the-mad-men-era-2014-5#1961-thats-what-wives-are-for-10>.



This collection of sexist advertisements concocted by *Business Insider* served as an excellent source for finding outrageously stereotypical depictions of women in advertisements. I included the *Kenwoods Chef* mixer ad in my paper as Appendix C to display the role many believed women were meant to play in society.

Kennedy, Lesley. "How Phyllis Schlafly Derailed the Equal Rights Amendment." *History.com*, History.com, 9 Feb. 2021, <https://www.history.com/news/equal-rights-amendment-failure-phyllis-schlafly>.

This *History.com* article has an interview with Don Critchlow, the author of *Phyllis Schlafly and the Grassroots Right and Future Right*. I used a quote from the interview to support my claim that Schlafly led and raised her movement alone.

Scott, Eugene. "When Phyllis Schlafly Made the Case for Donald Trump | CNN Politics." *CNN*, Cable News Network, 7 Sept. 2016, <https://www.cnn.com/2016/09/07/politics/phyllis-schlafly-donald-trump-book/index.html>.

Published not long after her death, this CNN article describes Phyllis Schlafly's role in Donald Trump's election and how she persuaded the Christian Right to back him through her final book *The Conservative Case for Trump*. This article contained a quote from Schlafly's book that I was able to use alongside another quote from this article to establish that Schlafly was an important part of why Trump got the Republican nomination.

Spruill, Marjorie Julian. *Divided We Stand: The Battle over Women's Rights and Family Values That Polarized American Politics*. Bloomsbury, 2017.

As mentioned earlier in the Smithsonian article, the professor of history at the University of South Carolina, Marjorie Spruill, wrote *Divided We Stand: The Battle Over Women's Rights and Family Values That Polarized American Politics*. It is an educational book about the second-wave feminist movement. I used this book to learn about the second-wave feminist movement's history and outcome, as well as the most important parts of the movement.

"Statement from President Biden on the Equal Rights Amendment." *The White House*, The United States Government, 27 Jan. 2022, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2022/01/27/statement-from-president-biden-on-the-equal-rights-amendment/>.

This statement from President Biden on the ERA was helpful to quote because it showed that debates surrounding it still exist today. Biden called on Congress to pass a resolution recognizing that the ERA is now law. This source is reputable because it comes directly from the official White House website which is widely recognized as reliable.

Ward, Marguerite. "Here's a Map of All the States for (and against) the Constitutional Amendment That Would Outlaw Sex Discrimination." *Business Insider*, Business Insider, 18 Jan. 2020,

<https://www.businessinsider.com/map-of-states-for-and-against-the-equal-rights-amendment>.

This source has a map that shows in favor of or against the ERA. I compared this map to the other *Business Insider* map of the red and blue states in both the 2016 and 2020 elections to conclude that most states that still stand against the ERA are Southern Republican states. I featured both of these maps as appendices to show the correlation.