

NATIONWIDE WOMEN'S PROGRAM

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

1975–2006

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Preface

This history of AFSC's Nationwide Women's Program covers the years from 1975, when it was founded, until 2006, when the program's founding director, Saralee Hamilton, succumbed to cancer and died at the age of 61, to the enormous grief of her many friends, colleagues, and collaborators.

Saralee's death was an epochal event in the life of the Service Committee. Many people, including this writer, have passed through the NWP and contributed to its efforts, but Saralee was the person who directed this program from its beginnings, holding its many threads in her hands. She will be remembered as a woman who touched the lives of many people within and beyond the AFSC.

This preface is intended both to acknowledge Saralee, and also to clarify that this is not a report about her or any other individual.¹ The focus of this report is rather on the NWP's programmatic efforts over the years, and its many contributions to the work of AFSC as an institution.

Saralee's death, occurring as it did at a moment of organizational restructuring, poses the question of what the appropriate mission would be for AFSC's women's program over the coming years. To that end, Pamela Rasp, deputy general secretary of the organization, has sought both to document the NWP's past, by means of this report, and to envision its future, through an external evaluation that will be commissioned by AFSC's leadership in cooperation with the Nationwide Women's Program Committee (NWPC).

It is a privilege for me to present this report to the Office of the General Secretary and to the NWPC. This work, needless to say, would not be possible without the support of many people, including Pamela Rasp, who initiated and also funded the writing of this report, as well as Joyce Miller, director of the Community Relations Unit (CRU), my home unit, and CRU's associate director, Rachel Shearer, both of whom made it possible for me to step back from many ongoing projects in CRU and devote significant attention to this effort.

CRU's support also made it possible for me to bring Patricia Way, a Ph.D. student in religion and women's studies at Philadelphia's Temple University, into this project as a research assistant. This project would not have been possible without her dedicated and able help; it must be counted as an added bonus that our working partnership also made it thoroughly enjoyable. In addition to her assistance in reviewing the holdings of AFSC's Archives on the NWP, she also drafted the section of this report on the Women and Global Corporations Project, a key area of NWP focus and initiative over many years.

Also deserving of grateful acknowledgment is the warm welcome and extensive assistance, both practical and substantive, provided by NWP's administrative coordinator, Maria Pappalardo, who has kept the NWP office running throughout these difficult months. In AFSC's archival

¹ Remembrances of Saralee herself are gathered in a memorial blog created after her death, at <http://rememberingsaralee.blogspot.com>. The breadth and obvious feeling of these reminiscences gives something of a feeling for who Saralee was as a human being.

records, Maria's name occurs over and over again from the earliest years of the NWP's existence, when she was on the staff of the Community Relations Division (as it was then known), as well as following her return to AFSC's staff in 1991.

Acknowledgment is also due to those who those who read this report in draft form, including Imani Countess, Joyce Miller, Maria Pappalardo, and Katherine Whitlock, helping me to correct errors and omissions and sharpen the focus of this narrative. It goes without saying that any errors of fact or interpretation are mine alone.

A final note of thanks is due to the staff of the AFSC Archives, including its director, Donald Davis; assistant archivist Barbara Montabana; and archival assistant Nancy Weissberg, all of whom were unfailingly helpful during the months that Patricia and I worked on this project. This experience has underlined for me the extent to which these organizational archives are one of AFSC's greatest assets – as well as having the best coffee in the building.

Immersing myself in the records of more than 30 years of the NWP's work has made it palpably clear that this report is merely the barest beginning of what might be said on this topic. I offer it in the hope that it will assist others to take up other aspects of the larger task of searching to understand the complex intersections of feminism, the AFSC, and the broader social movements to which both are beholden.

— *Rachael Kamel*
Philadelphia
November 2007

Reading This Report: Sources, Notation, Limits

The charge of documenting a thirty-year slice of the history of any organization is a formidable task – even for an organization that is less complex than the sprawling, multi-faceted reality of the American Friends Service Committee.

This report draws on two principal sources: documents in the NWP office, and the holdings of AFSC's institutional archives, which gathers and catalogs significant documents in the life of the organization.

In preparing this report, we read and indexed every folder in the NWP office that seemed pertinent to our task, and every folder in the Archives cataloged for the NWP. The resultant index, which includes some 550 entries,² is included as Appendix II on electronic copies of this report, and is also available on the public (Y) drive of AFSC's computer system, at Y:\Nationwide Women's Program\NWP history

The information recorded in this index includes an ID number and year for each item, the name of the item, a brief description of its contents, and the data "type" according to a coding system devised for this project (included as Appendix III). Also noted are the names of individuals, AFSC programs, and outside organizations referenced in the file. The final columns include other documents that are cross-referenced, the physical location of the item, the initials of the person preparing the index entry, and any additional comments.

This index has been prepared with an eye to making the work referenced in this report accessible to others, including AFSC staff and consultants, as well as researchers who may consult the AFSC Archives for various purposes. The numbers included in parentheses in the body of this report refer to ID numbers in column A of this index, so that interested readers may consult the materials for themselves. (Where other documents are cited, the relevant information is included in a footnote.)

The names of various offices and committees within the organization have changed over the course of this thirty-year span; we have sought to use the names and titles current at the time, when necessary including a clarifying note.

Preparing this report has left us with a keen appreciation of the limitations of our approach. We have not sought independent verification of either the existence or the accuracy of any items referenced in NWP's files or the AFSC Archives. Although the NWP worked in close collaboration with many other units of the AFSC, we have not explored beyond the archival holdings on the NWP – that is, we have not searched for references to the NWP or to particular initiatives in archival entries for regional offices, other nationwide programs, or AFSC's national

² Because this index was prepared by two people working simultaneously, the ID numbers in column 1 cover from 1-230 consecutively and from 500-809 – that is, the gap in IDs between 230 and 500 does not indicate any missing data.

program units. Likewise, we have not sought supplementary information about the issues, moments, or situations addressed by NWP initiatives.

Finally, we limited ourselves to archival documents that had already been sorted and catalogued, overlooking several boxes of papers waiting for processing by the staff of the AFSC Archives as well as several dozens of boxes of papers that were among Saralee Hamilton's personal effects and have not yet been sorted.

For all of these reasons, we feel obliged to caution readers that this report represents no more than a beginning on the topic, since it has not been tested by all the multiple forms of cross-checking that would be required for a work intended for broader distribution.

Introduction

Quaker Roots, Modern Branches

Support for equal rights for women – or, as one might say in contemporary language, for “gender justice” – has been a foundational value for Quakers since the earliest years of the Religious Society of Friends. An “epistle,” or letter, on the subject was written by leading women of the Lancashire Quarterly Meeting in England some time between 1675 and 1680, “to be dispersed abroad, among the Women’s meetings everywhere.”³ The epistle asserted that “women had been created the equals of men and must assert their rights.”⁴ In so doing, they were following the “lead given by George Fox in the 1650s, when he called upon women among the Friends to organize separate meetings and defended this position against harsh criticism and threats of schism” in this fledgling religious body.⁵

Almost as significant as the letter itself is its documentary history over the following centuries. Although a copy was held at the Arch Street Meeting House in Philadelphia, one of the first homes of the Friends’ communities in the United States (another copy remains at the Friends Meeting House in Nottingham, England), it passed into obscurity and was long forgotten. The newspaper story cited above recounts its accidental rediscovery in the Quaker collection at Swarthmore College, by two researchers from the School of Social Work and Social Research at Bryn Mawr College outside Philadelphia. (Bryn Mawr was founded as a Quaker women’s college in 1885.)

The date of this contemporary article is hardly a coincidence: entitled “Even God believes in the ERA,” it appeared at the height of the ultimately unsuccessful campaign for the Equal Rights Amendment. AFSC’s Nationwide Women’s Program, then only a year old, distributed copies of the article as part of its efforts in support of the larger campaign for the ERA including its attempt to secure endorsement of the amendment by AFSC’s Board of Directors, who gave their approval in September 1976.⁶

When they discovered the women’s epistle, the Bryn Mawr researchers, Milton Speizman and Jane Kronick, were actually searching for information about “poor relief” efforts carried out by Quaker women’s meetings in the Philadelphia area – caring for the poor, as Speizman’s article noted, was one of the specific responsibilities of women set forth in the 17th century document. The epistle itself may have been forgotten, but its message – about the rights and also the responsibilities of Quaker women – was deeply internalized.

³ Quoted in Milton Speizman, “Early Quaker feminists: Even God believes in the ERA,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 19 Jan. 1976; see item108 in the index to this project.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ See BD-73, 1976. For more information on the ERA, see page 10 below; see also p. 7 for an explanation of the Nationwide Women’s Support Group, the predecessor of the Nationwide Women’s Program Committee, which actually brought this issue before the Board.

The researchers' sense that they had discovered something important was reinforced by the prominent feminist publication *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, which published the epistle in its entirety as an Archival Note in its inaugural issue.⁷

Quaker women played a leading role in many of the important social movements of the 19th and early 20th centuries. Significantly, their participation in the movement to abolish slavery and their efforts to assert women's rights were closely intertwined. According to Margaret Bacon, a noted Quaker scholar and a strong advocate for women's equality in the AFSC and the larger Quaker world, "Quakerism actually gave birth to the women's rights movement in the 19th century. When Quaker women such as Lucretia Mott, Angelina Grimké, and Abby Kelly Foster, accustomed to speaking in their home meetings, found they were barred by custom from speaking in antislavery gatherings, they saw the need for a bill of rights for women."⁸ The Seneca Falls convention in 1848, which marks the launching of the First Wave of the modern feminist movement, was a direct result.

As Bacon and others have noted, while individual Quaker women were leaders in the nascent women's movement, the movement itself was not embraced by the Religious Society of Friends as a whole. (Likewise, the reluctance of many early feminist leaders and antislavery leaders to embrace one other's causes weakened both movements). Nonetheless, as the call for women's equal rights gathered momentum early in the 20th century, the Religious Society of Friends acted to integrate women more fully into the lives of Quaker meetings. Paradoxically, this step toward equality also functioned as a step backward toward subordination, since many meetings no longer supported separate women clerks and women's business meetings.⁹ Thus when AFSC was created in 1917 – the year that the United States entered World War I – it was founded, and functioned for many years, with predominantly male leadership, until AFSC, like the larger society, responded to the changes set in motion by the Second Wave of the women's movement – the point of the story at which this report begins.

The historical legacy of Quaker women in earlier movements for women's rights was very much on the minds of those involved in AFSC's decision to create the NWP. Since its beginnings, it has both embodied and "lifted up," in the Quaker idiom, the movements and campaigns of each historical moment in turn for women's equality of rights, women's leadership in efforts to oppose war and militarism, and a particular concern for the needs and circumstances of women who are impoverished. Each of these continuing threads is evident in the story of the NWP as it is chronicled in this report.

Quakers, of course, do not hold to a fixed or static doctrine, but to a belief in "continuous revelation": the idea that human understandings and perspectives evolve over time through the

⁷ M. D. Speizman and J. C. Kronick, "A Seventeenth-Century Quaker Women's Declaration," *Signs*, Vol. 1, No. 1. (Autumn, 1975), pp. 231–245. The authors' introduction to this piece includes valuable additional information about Quaker views of women's rights.

⁸ Margaret Bacon, "The Chain in the Heart." This article, which originally appeared in the *Friends Journal*, was reprinted in the very first issue of the *AFSC Women's Newsletter*, which appeared in 1974. Although we cannot quote the article at length here, it includes many thoughtful reflections on how Quakers have both embraced and held back from both movements over the decades.

⁹ For a fuller discussion of this history, see Thomas Hamm, *The Quakers in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), especially pp. 184–200.

unfolding of history itself. That process of evolution, which Friends might describe as animated by human attempts to reach toward the Inward Light – that is, toward transcendence – is also apparent in the history of the NWP, just as it is in the shifting and evolving understandings of gender and gender justice in the social movements of today. Even in the brief span of time covered by this report, the understanding of the nature of women’s oppression and the meaning of women’s rights has changed considerably, within and beyond the Service Committee.

In that sense, the NWP and its various programmatic expressions may be understood as the contemporary leaves and branches that clothe the tree that has grown from these ancient Quaker roots. Which leaves unanswered what is perhaps the most important question of all: what will be the next face of the struggle for women’s rights, and of AFSC’s place within it?

Chapter I

AFSC Responds to the Women's Movement

A. The origins of the NWP

The social environment of the 1970s. In order to understand the beginnings of the NWP, it is necessary to set the stage with a brief consideration of that time, in the history of the Service Committee and also the history of U.S. society.

Beginning in the 1950s, the African American Civil Rights Movement changed the fabric of life, not only in the southern United States, but also throughout the entire country, in ways that are almost impossible to overstate. In fighting for the realization of the promises of American democracy, which had never lived up to its claim to offer “universal” rights, Black Americans changed the possibilities of what it is possible to imagine and how it is possible to live – culturally, politically, and socially – for everyone in this country.

As the 1960s progressed, the demands that African Americans and their allies placed on the system – for an end to the culture of segregation and Jim Crow, for educational equity, for equal access to employment, for equal voting rights, for equality in housing – scored one momentous victory after another, leading to historic civil rights legislation in each of these areas.

By the end of the 1960s, the Black freedom movement had begun to reshape the movement against the U.S. government's losing war of intervention in Indochina, creating an unprecedented challenge to the larger society, as the antiwar movement grew beyond the boundaries of traditional peace circles to include people of every race and class, women as well as men.

A host of parallel movements for equal rights were inspired by the Black movement, claiming rights for Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, and Native Americans, as well as movements demanding equal rights for women and for lesbians and gays. Each of these movements emerged at different moments and with different demands, but all saw themselves as part of a larger tide of change that was sweeping the country. Significantly, the call for dignity and self-determination was as important to each of these movements as the call for equal legal rights.

Beyond the United States, after the Second World War the global tide had turned increasingly in favor of decolonization. As of the mid-1960s, a majority of African nations had become independent, adding to the impact of Pan-Africanism and other anti-colonial movements inside the United States. By the end of the decade, Vietnam's fight for independence had become a central focus of the global struggle against the dying colonial order. Although the links between people's movements inside and outside the United States were still relatively weak, the awareness that that this was a global, and not merely a national, process of change began to coalesce.

The creation of nationwide programs in AFSC. All of these changes in the larger world brought about profound changes inside AFSC. Non-Quakers (mostly members of other Protestant

denominations) had worked in close partnership with Quakers since the founding of the Service Committee in 1917, including as AFSC staff; now, for the first time, the distinction between the protagonists of AFSC life, the organization’s actors, and its beneficiaries or program participants was beginning to erode. Questions of difference – cultural, racial, and economic – were beginning to enter inside the life of the AFSC, and the call for an end to discriminatory treatment inside the organization began to be voiced from multiple quarters.

“Nationwide” programs were a key mechanism developed by the Service Committee to negotiate this new challenge, expressing the conviction of organizational leadership that the multifaceted challenge of working across difference required action at every level of the AFSC. The first such program was the Third World Coalition, created in 1971, followed by the Nationwide Women’s Program in 1975. (AFSC’s third and final nationwide program, the Affirmative Action Office, was established in 1978.) As innovative and somewhat experimental programs, the “nationwides” were subject to frequent and thorough review by the Board of Directors, which had acted to create them.¹⁰

Although each of these programs had a distinct purpose and operating method, all sought to foster new ways of thinking (and working) across the entire AFSC, so that members of oppressed and marginalized groups could participate fully in the life and work of the Service Committee. As noted in various Board documents across the years, the nationwides were intended as “gadfly” programs that could heighten the awareness of organizational staff, and the effectiveness of organizational programming, at all levels. (For example, the report on the Board’s 1986 evaluation of the NWP noted that “as staff for one of the three ‘mavericks’ or gadfly programs, their position is not always comfortable” [supporting paper for item BD-3, Oct. 1986].)

As each nationwide program was created, it offered support to the others and played an active role in advocating for their further strengthening. In 1976, for example, the Women’s Support Group (WSG, the predecessor of the Nationwide Women’s Program Committee) minuted its strong support for the continuation of the Third World Coalition, while also registering its support for a proposal then already under consideration regarding the creation of an Affirmative Action Program (125).

The words of the WSG help to illustrate that sentiment as well as the feel of the times:

[O]ne important contribution of the review process has been to revive widespread discussion of the causes and effects of racism within and outside the AFSC and in all of us as individuals [and] awareness of the real difficulties that Third World people have experienced in their relationships with AFSC [...]

We see TWC as a significant resource in our work to expand the relevance of AFSC programs to Third World communities [...] We are particularly concerned that many of the issues that various AFSC programs address often affect women in Third World communities in the most

¹⁰ The Board review of TWC in 1976 gave rise to the decision to create an AA Committee and an AA plan for the organization. For a fuller description of periodic Board reviews and evaluations of the NWP, see section D below (p. 13).

drastic ways and see a need to deal more with the triple oppression of sexual, racial, and economic discrimination. (125)

The Emergence of the NWP. By the early 1970s, numerous actors within AFSC began to respond to the new wave of awareness of women’s issues and the emergent women’s movement. The earliest organizational response came from the Community Relations Division (CRD) and its advisory committee, the National Community Relations Committee (NCRC). In 1973, CRD hired two part-time staff for an exploratory women’s initiative, responding to a concern voiced by the NCRC in 1971 or 1972.¹¹ One of these women, Dorie Wilsnack, who was assigned this work at the national level, was asked to document how programs across the AFSC were responding to the women’s movement. (The other worked locally with a Philadelphia Women’s Center.) The two women also coordinated organization of a gathering of women staff and committee members from across the AFSC.

In 1973, more than seventy women came together near Colorado Springs, CO, to consider how AFSC should respond institutionally to this new political moment. One result of their meeting was the formation of the Women’s Support Group (WSG), composed of staff and committee members from across the organization. Another result was the creation of an AFSC women’s newsletter, whose first few issues appear in the CRD holdings in the Archives, beginning in 1973.

From the very beginning, AFSC women sought to emphasize a vision that embraced women’s concerns as part of the overall Quaker quest for a new way of living that was not based on violence and competition. A statement from the 1973 gathering noted that “two major threads formed [our] focus,” including “the liberation of all people from unjust, oppressive, and dehumanizing situations,” and “our concern for evaluation of this questioning within and by the AFSC itself.” The Colorado statement closes with a quote from John Woolman,¹² urging AFSC to “look to our own lives to try whether the seeds of war are contained therein.” An issue of the AFSC women’s newsletter dated October-November 1973 includes a detailed report on the gathering, commenting at length on the anger and disappointment felt by participants on the many instances of unequal treatment they faced in AFSC, as “[t]hey learned, in subtle ways, that the AFSC, in both its program and internal practices, is not free from the sexism and other oppressive habits of our society.”

After a year of exploration and discussion, the WSG developed the original proposal for the formation of the Nationwide Women’s Program, which was submitted to the Board in April 1974 (3). Included in their proposal was a minute from the NCRC’s Interim Committee, which voiced support for such a program but argued it should no longer be housed in CRD, since it had implications for the work of all of AFSC’s national divisions.¹³

¹¹ Documentary records cited here are in the AFSC archives under CRD for 1973 and 1974. Separate archival records for the NWP itself, which was lodged under the Office of the Executive Secretary (now known as the Office of the General Secretary), appear beginning in 1975.

¹² Woolman was the first Quaker to advocate for the abolition of slavery, in the mid-eighteenth century.

¹³ At that time, AFSC’s work was divided among four divisions, including Community Relations, Peace Education (now Peace Building), International Affairs, and International Services. The latter two were later combined into the International Division, now known as International Programs.

The WSG identified various needs that could best be met with dedicated staff, including the facilitation of “cross communication among women who are trying to combat sexism,” as well as assistance from “individuals with various skills who would assist in program development and implementation.” In addition, noted the proposal, “AFSC women have expressed concern that AFSC deal with sexism within its own ranks.”

An ad hoc committee of three Board members met with the WSG in May 1974 over a weekend of discussions at Pendle Hill and developed a budget and job descriptions for the projected staff of the new nationwide program. The revised proposal was presented to the next Board meeting, in June 1974, where it was approved.

Collaboration between the staff and the WSG, as “a working committee,” was an integral part of the program design from the outset. The WSG represented an extensive group of stakeholders from across the organization, as is evident from an appendix to the original NWP proposal (3)¹⁴, listing programs throughout the AFSC on women’s issues, which included:

- A Feminist Mental Health Project in the Northern California Region (now PMRO).
- A High School Program, also in Northern California, with “speakers going to high schools to discuss sexism with students.”¹⁵
- In the Southeast Region, a link was cited between the Southeastern Public Education Program (SEPEP) and the Federation of Community Controlled Day Care Centers, involving “mostly third world women who have organized because of their concern for the kind of education their children receive.”
- The New England Region reported that five staff (comprising 3-2/3 full-time-equivalent positions) were working on women’s issues, including work on women in prison in the Justice Program; two women working on health issues among teenaged women in New Haven, CT; a women’s center in Manchester, NH, and related organizing among “working class and Spanish-speaking women”; and a study in Cambridge, MA, on corporate involvement in day care. At that time, NERO reported a “Women’s Issues Committee in the region supported by” regional general funds.
- In the Pacific Northwest Region, a report was developed on “prostitution cases” as a result of “a court watching project”; as a result, AFSC was then engaged with “discussing their recommendations with the judge who hears the prostitution cases.”
- The North Central Region reported work in the area of occupational safety and health among blue collar workers. In Des Moines, the region was working with “pregnant juveniles whose only recourse at present is to be sent to detention centers if they can’t stay home.”
- In the Pacific Southwest Region, “the University Project” is developing a “college in prison project aimed at women’s prisons.”

¹⁴ Although this addendum appears without attribution, it appears to be based on the 1973 report of CRD staff Dorie Wilsnack noted above.

¹⁵ Material cited in this section is all from (3), which included as an addendum to BD-29, April 1974.

- In Chicago (then a separate region), “the region has developed a slide show on sexism in advertising, ‘Mr. Mrs. Ms.’ which has received wide circulation [...] Women in the region are involved in court watching with a focus on rape cases [...] The Women’s Committee of the region developed a program focusing on mothers in prison. The committee is funded by the region and has representation on the Regional Executive Committee.”

In addition to these specific initiatives, expressions of interest were registered for NYMRO on day care and “work organizing domestics” [sic]; in SERO, “there is also potential for ... organizing migrant women”; in NERO, “a request [was] received for setting up a women’s center in Bangor, Maine; in Dayton (then a separate region), “there is much feminist support and interest”; in the North Central Region, “there is a conscious effort in many of the area offices and in the regional office to break down the pattern of rigid work roles. There is much support for feminist work throughout the region.” Although no representative from the Middle Atlantic Region was present at the meeting, “it was reported that there is growing interest and commitment to feminist issues.”

Internationally, ongoing work in 1974 included a teacher training program for “young Arab women in Gaza,” representing a “major break in tradition,” as well as “major changes in the status of women in Vietnam and Bangladesh.” The International Affairs Division reported on “a weekend seminar [...] in India on ‘Women as Partners in Progress’,” as well as a weeklong seminar in Thailand on “The Changing Woman in Changing Southeast Asia.”

Additional reports of women’s programs were contributed from the Community Relations Division and the Information Services Department (later the Communications Dept., and now absorbed into External Affairs). Upcoming meetings were also noted, including a gathering on Women and Peace (Portland, OR); an open meeting on AFSC and feminism (Pacific Southwest); and a Travel Seminar to India, sponsored jointly by the TWC and the International Affairs Division, with a projected report on feminism in that country; as well as projected work on International Women’s Year (QUNO).

We have quoted this addendum at length to illustrate both the extent of the interest in women’s issues across the AFSC, and also the nature of the programming that was in place.¹⁶

B. The Search for Equity: Living the Values We Stand For

As noted in the Colorado statement and the NWP’s founding proposal above, the conditions under which women participated in the work of the Service Committee was a key point of departure for the formation of the NWP and its work in its early years.

Given that the nature of such issues has changed considerably over the intervening decades, this report will simply note the most pressing issues that were raised in these early years without entering into extensive detail. In each case, it should be noted that the “ownership” of the issue lay primarily in the Women’s Support Group, which was composed of staff and committee members from AFSC’s regional offices as well as its national program divisions.

¹⁶ A discussion of NWP’s ongoing work with the regions as it developed over the period covered by this report is presented below in section M.

The second issue of the *AFSC Women's Newsletter*, dated June 1973, was devoted in its entirety to the question of AFSC maternity policy, documenting a series of inconsistencies between the AFSC Personnel Handbook of the day and federal regulations on “Employment policies relating to pregnancy and childbirth.” At that time, maternity leave for AFSC staff was granted at the discretion of supervisors, with no guarantee that their job would be available to them when they returned to work. Those writing the newsletter argued that pregnancy and childbirth should be treated like any other temporary disability, and that AFSC’s policies should be brought into conformity with relevant federal law.¹⁷

The Women’s Gathering, which took place toward the end of June 1973, also raised the issue of childcare for women staff (74, 86), calling specifically for the inclusion of a child care center in the Friends Center. The issue of child care for staff was also raised by the New England Regional Office (NERO) at around the same time (81). Here again, the Archives for NWP do not clarify whether and how this concern by national office staff was related to the founding of the Friends’ Childcare Center.¹⁸

Another issue that women raised from the beginning was their opposition to interviews with a psychiatrist retained by the AFSC, which at that time was part of the organization’s hiring process. The Personnel Department first limited the practice to the hiring of international staff, then eliminated it entirely in 1976 when the critique voiced by the WSG was supported by staff of the International Division (117).¹⁹ Contemporary critiques of the inherent gender bias of psychiatry as a profession were frequently cited in the statements from women staff.

In the initial years following the creation of the NWP, issues of fairness and equal treatment of clerical and secretarial staff received significant attention. In 1976, national office secretarial staff met to identify common concerns and bring them to the attention of organizational leadership, including the then–executive secretary (Lou Schneider) and director of personnel (Doris Darnell) (105). A news clipping from that year reports on an attempt by NERO to experiment with more egalitarian work practices (105).

That same year, secretarial staff of the Southeastern Public Education Project, a joint initiative of SERO and CRD that worked on school desegregation in dozens of communities in seven states across the South, formed a group to advocate for their own needs and interests within AFSC (123). A year later, TWC and NWP worked together to organize a meeting of Clerical and Technical Staff across the AFSC (30, 163, 215). Both initiatives would suggest that issues of racial as well as gender discrimination were involved in the concerns being raised by staff at that time.

¹⁷ For the newsletter cited above, see archives for CRD Women’s Program, 1973. Neither the CRD nor the NWP Archives make further reference to this issue; a fuller account of how AFSC responded would require a search of the Archives for Personnel Dept. as well, which, as noted above, is beyond the scope of this report.

¹⁸ Recollections of former staff from that time indicate that the current child care center was founded as a cooperative venture by parents of preschool children in both AFSC and the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting; over time, to ensure its financial viability, the Friends Childcare Center made its services available to other parents in need, including particularly residents at a nearby hospital, the then-Hahnemann University Hospital. NWP was strongly supportive of their initiative but not directly involved (Ed Nakawatase, personal communication, 2007).

¹⁹ A former regional director recounts that a psychiatric interview was part of the hiring process she underwent as late as 1990 (Katherine Whitlock, personal communication, 2007).

Later in the 1970s and continuing into the 1980s, issues of gender equity in the hiring of program staff were raised in connection with the Peace Education Division (116, 124, 535) and the International Division (89, 229, 501, 505). Issues here included barriers to the appointment of women as program staff as well as the weaknesses of existing (male) staff members in articulating the needs and concerns of women among the program constituency. In the case of ID, issues of equal treatment also included the appointment of unmarried couples to joint overseas posts and the need for AFSC staff to think critically about how to respond to the gender norms of international host cultures.

Over time, other organizational mechanisms were created with the intention of trying to promote a more respectful and equitable workplace for women and other marginalized groups, including the AA Program, established in 1978, and the various unions representing AFSC workers, including the National Office, which voted to unionize in 1988, and NERO, which unionized in 1991.²⁰ The NWP has focused its primary attention on programmatic issues, particularly after the creation of the Affirmative Action Office. Nonetheless, it has continued to support women staff to identify and raise persistent concerns – as late as 1991, for example, it found it necessary to issue a statement on “Office Support Rights, Treatment, and the Unity of Work” (761), supporting efforts by support staff to define their needs and challenge AFSC policies and practices they considered discriminatory. Similarly, following the AFSC Women’s Gathering of 1999, NWP supported a group of women support staff to meet (see section L on p. 41 below)

As women have come to occupy every type of position throughout the AFSC structure, the question of whether and how sexism persists inside the AFSC is one that merits careful examination. Is sexism a problem that has been solved in AFSC’s organizational life, or does it exist today in a different form than it did three decades ago? This question, which lies outside the scope of this report, is one that would bear further examination by interested stakeholders inside the Service Committee.

C. Changing the Rules of the Game: National Policy Issues

In its early years, the NWP worked to make AFSC an active participant in a range of policy impact efforts that characterized the feminist movement of the 1970s. This section comments on several issues that received sustained attention in those years: the Equal Rights Amendment, the early years of the movement to defend women’s access to legal abortion and other reproductive rights, the Hyde Amendment (a 1976 measure banning the use of federal funds for abortions), and the emergence of an anti-feminist backlash in the late 1970s.

Each of these initiatives involved work by the NWP with AFSC’s Board, other AFSC programs, and executive staff, so that AFSC’s name would be used for strategic impact, as well as broad communication of the issues and opportunities to take action to AFSC’s regional offices as well as NWP supporters beyond AFSC.

²⁰ At this writing, AFSC staff are also represented by unions, or are in the process of unionizing, in PNWRO, PMRO, and MAR.

The Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). First proposed in the 1920s, the ERA, a proposed amendment to the U.S. Constitution guaranteeing equal legal rights to women, was passed by the 92nd Congress in 1972. The original congressional legislation set a seven-year deadline for ratification by three-quarters of the states, or 38 state governments, the required threshold for adoption of Constitutional amendments.

Approval of the proposed amendment was rapid in its initial years, with thirty states approving the amendment in the first two years. The pace of approvals slowed after 1973, with only five more states adding their approval by 1977. Further, as opposition to the measure gathered steam later in the decade, five states rescinded their ratification. The legality of this move was challenged in federal court, and ERA supporters also sought to extend the deadline. Neither effort was successful, however, and the ERA was not approved. By the late 1970s, the ERA had lost its visibility in the media, which, despite being reintroduced in every Congress, it has never regained.

As noted above in the preface to this report, AFSC’s Board endorsed the ERA in 1976, the result of one of the NWP’s first policy impact efforts after its formation (108). In 1978, the NWP urged its supporters to join the effort to extend the ERA deadline, and a letter was published in the *New York Times* by then–executive secretary Lou Schneider supporting the extension (687). AFSC’s Board and at least one regional executive committee also approved a boycott of states that had not approved the amendment (688).

It should be noted that NWP’s advocacy of the ERA was never put forward in isolation or as a single issue. An issue of the NWP newsletter from 1978 (689) reported on the ERA campaign; other contents included a description of a grassroots women’s organization in the South, legislative efforts on behalf of battered women, information about sterilization abuse, and the J. P. Stevens campaign.²¹

Reproductive freedom. AFSC had been unequivocally supportive of reproductive freedom since the issue emerged on the public stage, predating the existence of the NWP by several years. The organization set forth its views in the 1969 report, *Who Shall Live?*, which stated that “no woman should be forced to bear an unwanted child,” and supported public funding for elective abortions. It noted further that abortion was readily available to women with money, so that the impact of outlawing abortion fell most heavily on low-income women.

In 1971, AFSC also joined with other religious organizations in an *amicus* brief before the Supreme Court in the case of *Roe v. Wade*, the landmark case whose decision, in 1973, established the legality of abortion (up until the moment of fetal viability), on the basis of an inferred Constitutional right to privacy.

As a result, from its very beginnings the NWP was involved in the struggle to defend women’s reproductive rights. As part of the progressive wing of the feminist movement, it also sought to link the issue of abortion with other reproductive rights, particularly sterilization abuse, and to

²¹ This campaign, which attracted wide support among progressive movements of the day, was the pioneering “corporate campaign” by a U.S. union (ACTWU, a predecessor of UNITE). Within a few years this innovative approach was able to win union contracts for more than 3000 textile workers in the Carolinas and Alabama.

emphasize the disproportionate impact on poor women of restrictions on abortion. In these early years, AFSC offices around the country supported this movement; in 1979, for example, NWP was part of the steering committee planning Abortion Rights Action Week, which featured over 200 coordinated local events, including vigils, teach-ins, rallies, petitions, and speak-outs (695).

In 1981, AFSC issued a statement reiterating its support for reproductive freedom (529), and AFSC programs from around the country met to devise a joint strategy on reproductive rights, with the NWP acting as overall coordinator (534). As time went by, the struggle for women's rights became increasingly a defensive one; ongoing work on women's reproductive rights after this early period are discussed in section G below. Here, we will note only that this has been one of the principal areas of NWP (and, more generally, AFSC) commitment to be sustained throughout the period of this report.

The Hyde Amendment. This measure was one of the early danger signals about the many divisions that would soon beset the women's movement. The amendment "excluded abortion from the comprehensive health care services provided to low-income people from the federal government through Medicaid."²² Since its passage, many state governments have followed the federal lead in restricting public funding for abortion, even though Medicaid funds various other types of reproductive health care.

In the 1980s, Congress passed additional measures similar to the Hyde Amendment, which prohibited the use of federal funds for abortion for Native Americans, federal employees and their dependents, Peace Corps volunteers, federal prisoners, low-income residents of Washington DC, military personnel, and disabled women who rely on Medicare.

Like many women's groups, the NWP and other AFSC programs worked to counter the new threats to women's rights. A 1977 joint memo from Emily Daniel, then NWP's associate coordinator, and the late Jane Motz, CRD's associate director, mentions three AFSC regional programs with active efforts on the issue, as well as national legislative attempts to challenge the selective denial of abortion rights to poor women, and sterilization abuse affecting Native women (129). In 1978, NWP joined in a national effort to raise funds to enable low-income women to have abortions (682),²³ and the movement to defend abortion rights was a frequent topic of discussion at meetings of the Nationwide Women's Support Group (see, for example, 683).

The backlash against women's rights. As noted above, the latter years of the 1970s were marked by a growing backlash against women's rights. A memo to the Board from 1978 offers a useful assessment of how the Nationwide Women's Support Group (as the WSG was known by then) saw the question at that time (671)²⁴:

²² ACLU's Reproductive Rights web page (www.aclu.org/reproductiverights/lowincome/16393res20040721.html), accessed 17 October 2007.

²³ This effort was later consolidated as the National Network of Abortion Funds (<http://www.nnaf.org/>), which continues to operate local grassroots organizations offering assistance to low-income women.

²⁴ The memo was also authored by a committee then drafting a new proposal for the NWP, as discussed in the next section.

At the May meeting of the Nationwide Women’s Support Group [...] concern about the growing movement to reverse recent gains in civil and human rights was a recurring theme [...]

The growing “backlash” touches on many areas of deep and long-standing concern to the AFSC. We are now beginning to see that broad-scale attacks on women’s rights—some that have been established and some that are still in process—are related, in many instances, to attacks on other important rights and issues. There are indications that some members of groups which work to re-establish the death penalty²⁵ may also be participants in efforts to obtain a Constitutional amendment prohibiting abortion, to rescind gay rights ordinances, to slow desegregation implementation, to restrict welfare benefits, etc. — and may be funded from similar sources.

The centrality of women’s rights and gay rights in fueling the energy of this backlash was clear to the writers of this memo – although, then as now, the regressive aims of its proponents extended far beyond this initial agenda. As the memo states,

[E]fforts and movements to oppose rights of women are giving momentum and credibility to [...] other conservative groupings which have not made much headway in most of this country until recently.

Paradoxically, as the memo also noted, “women are the heart of many backlash efforts,” making use of their capacity to exercise leadership in community and political life in order to challenge and reverse many of the gains of the women’s movements and related social movements. “[I]t appears,” the memo stated,

that the many reactionary movements in which women are now engaging offer them something that our “progressive” movements [...] have not yet offered convincingly. [...] This is a strong lesson for the women’s movement, but we think that it applies to other movements as well.

The memo quoted here offers a sobering portrait of what would soon become known as the “New Right,” whose implications would change the political terrain and sense of possibilities in ways that AFSC (along with the rest of the women’s movement) could not have imagined at that time.

D. An Evolving Mandate: Moments Along the Journey

The first three sections of this chapter have focused on how the Service Committee responded to the emergence of the women’s movement in the late 1960s and early 1970s — through the establishment of the NWP, the struggle for more equitable treatment by AFSC women, and the organization’s participation in the major legislative battles then underway. In concluding the first chapter of this report, the present section switches to a more “longitudinal” view, touching on several of the major organizational milestones in the NWP’s history, primarily as seen

²⁵ Existing death penalty legislation was overturned by the Supreme Court in 1972. Executions did not begin again in the United States until 1977, using new state laws crafted to meet the Court’s objections. Capital punishment is currently legal in 37 states.

through the lens of Board reviews, which functioned for many years as AFSC’s primary mechanism of internal evaluation.

1978 Board Review. The “backlash” memo cited at length above was presented as an appendix to a proposal to reorganize and, in essence, recharter the NWP (671), which was presented to the Board in June 1978, in response to a Board review of the NWP that began in 1977 and whose recommendations were presented to the Board in April 1978 (673).

This proposal recommended a series of structural changes to the NWP and its committee, keyed to the recommendations of the review committee. Among the most important changes were the following:

- The Nationwide Women’s Support Group, which consisted primarily of regional representatives selected through an open process (i.e., through self-selection of interested women), was replaced with a Board-appointed Program Committee, the norm for other AFSC programs;
- The NWP was encouraged to develop more of its own programmatic initiatives, as these were generally held to be among its most valuable contributions to date;²⁶
- The NWP was encouraged to narrow its focus in order not to dissipate its energies.

Noting the creation of the organization-wide Affirmative Action Committee and the establishment of the new Affirmative Action Department, the proposal noted that efforts to include women more equitably throughout the Service Committee should become the responsibility of these new bodies; the continuing responsibility of the NWP would primarily be to alert the organization as a whole to patterns of discrimination against women. This responsibility was estimated at approximately 5 percent of the program’s overall portfolio (671, p. 22).

In line with the understanding noted above of the purpose and mandate of the nationwide programs, the proposal also reiterated the importance of the NWP being supervised by the Office of the Executive Secretary (later renamed the General Secretary’s Office), so that it would have the capacity to fulfill its mandate to suggest and lead action at an organization-wide level.

All of these proposals for restructuring were affirmed by the Board (666, 667), which also encouraged continued publication of the *AFSC Women’s Newsletter* and affirmed the NWP’s role in fostering dissemination of AFSC perspectives within the women’s movement and vice versa.

Significantly, the change from a self-selected to a Board-appointed committee was explained primarily as a way to include more integrally the perspectives and concerns of women of color (or, in the language used in this proposal, Third World women), building on a commitment first made by the NWSG in 1977 to seek a better racial balance in its membership:

[T]he AFSC, through its work and outreach, has an unusual potential ability to speak to and bring together women of differing constituencies, backgrounds and perspectives [...] which may lead to the development of a more effective vision more broadly shared. [...]

²⁶ The NWP’s most important programmatic initiatives are presented in Chapter II, comprising sections D and E below.

[A] conscious commitment to that goal could have a significant [...] impact not only on AFSC work but on the women’s movement itself—both the breadth of whom it reaches and the nature and quality of what it says. (671, p. iii)

The proposal includes a wide-ranging and frank discussion of the racial divisions typical of the women’s movement at that time, how they had been manifested in the work of the NWP and the NWSG up to that point, and the commitments and undertakings that were envisioned to create a committee and a program whose work and whose participants sought to consciously cross racial lines. This remained as an important theme for the work of both staff and committee throughout the period covered in this report, and thus might well be considered in the projected evaluation that will lay the groundwork for the program’s efforts in the future.

Change in review procedures (1982). The documents surveyed until now included frequent statements reflecting the understanding that the nationwide programs were experimental efforts undertaken by the Board that represented a departure from existing organizational norms, and should thus be subject to frequent review. The review procedures in place at that time for the nationwide programs were very comprehensive, involving the appointment of a committee of Board members and others mandated to carry out the review; separate meetings by that group; either interviews or the distribution of questionnaires (or both) to relevant organizational stakeholders (including regional leadership and division directors); and the preparation of a report and recommendations for later discussion by the full Board. This process also included the expectation that the nationwides would respond formally to the recommendations. In 1982, Damu Smith, then the chairman of the TWC Committee, sent a memorandum to the Executive Secretary on behalf of NWP and TWC proposing a change in the review procedures, arguing that less intensive procedure would be less demanding for the staff of what were very small programs, which was endorsed by the Executive Secretary and forwarded to the Board (549).

This proposal was evidently accepted; formal reports to the Board from the NWP without such elaborate procedures were presented in 1981 and 1982 (23, 528, 564), as well as a report sent to both the Board and an AA review committee in 1984 (596). At each of these junctures, new program plans and goal statements were also furnished (22, 587).

1986 Board review. The next full-scale review of the NWP took place in 1986. As with previous Board reviews, it was a serious and comprehensive effort, undertaken by a working group of five people that included two Board members, a regional committee representative, the chairperson of the National Community Relations Committee, and a staff member of the Information Services Dept.²⁷ The committee met over six months and reviewed a number of documents written since the previous Board review in 1978, as well as interviewing more than fifty stakeholders, including the NWP staff and program committee, as well as staff from across the organization (both regionally and nationally). The report of this review (620) includes additional details of the review process as well as the group’s recommendations. The findings and recommendations of this review are summarized below.

After describing the review process, the reviewers’ report goes on to note that the priority of the NWP’s working style is to “break through those barriers and limitations which divide us, by

²⁷ The Board members were Julia Forsythe and Spencer Coxe, with Susan Snider from the SERO Executive Committee, Ann Turpeau from the NCRC, and Margaret Bacon from the National Office staff.

providing opportunities for women to come together across barriers of race, nationality, sexual preference, age and economic status, and to work toward a society devoid of those barriers” (620, p. 3).

Key findings from this review included:

- NWP’s Committee was credited with being an important model for working “across barriers.” Although the results of the program’s networking were seen as “hard to quantify,” nonetheless the reviewers acknowledged that the NWPC engages “a wide range of women from many segments of the women’s movement, working on economic issues, international debt, development, global corporations, Native American rights, [and] lesbian concerns” (620, p. 3). NWPC members reported that “there is nowhere else they can meet with such a broad range of women involved in so many kinds of work” (620, p. 4).
- The NWP newsletter, *Listen Real Loud*, was seen as the “single most visible component” of the program, and was affirmed as “the best version to date” of the newsletter,²⁸ which had been published in different forms since 1973 (620, p. 4).
- NWP’s relationships with the broader women’s movement were also affirmed, noting that the program’s efforts had brought AFSC “in touch with women on reproductive rights, global corporations, Women’s Decade events around the UN, the delegation to Nairobi, and many more.” The review noted that these groups “appreciate the depth of thinking on the part of AFSC and point to the importance of AFSC as an organization” that maintained a women’s program, which is seen as “supportive of women in other organizations” (620, p. 4).
- The reviewers were more skeptical about NWP’s stated objective of “infusion of feminist concerns into AFSC programs,” which since 1978 had been set at 75 percent of the program’s overall efforts (620, p. 3). Although positive as well as equivocal examples of infusion were cited (the former particularly in the program’s relationships with the International Division and the Community Relations Division), overall the reviewers considered the concept of “infusion” too vague to permit effective evaluation and recommended its elimination (620, p. 6).
- Relations with AFSC’s regional programs were noted as another problem area, particularly since the restructuring of the NWPC in 1978 had downplayed the role of regional representatives. The reviewers referenced a meeting of the NWPC in May 1985 that had been dedicated to ideas for improving regional relations (620, p. 5), and recommended that the program act on these suggestions.
- Other recommendations in the reviewers’ report concerned emphasis on the development of specific programmatic initiatives, through joint priority setting with the national divisions and “selected regions,” to “create ongoing programs, model projects, etc.”; such initiatives, it was felt, had contributed the most to NWP’s visibility and broad acceptance throughout the organization (620, p. 6).

²⁸ As managing editor of this newsletter from 1984 to 1988, I wondered about the appropriateness of including this point; in the reviewers’ report, however, it is clearly emphasized.

- The review report also called for greater clarity on the part of the organization as a whole about the role of NWP in advocating for women within AFSC. This theme was developed further in a thoughtful section on “Dilemmas” (620, p. 7) which noted that many AFSC women felt that “NWP misses the opportunity to advocate for women workers at AFSC,” while NWP staff and committee members were more likely to see these as the responsibility of the Affirmative Action Dept. or the Personnel Dept., as mandated in the 1978 review.
- The report closed with an attempt to assess overall changes in the Service Committee over the years since the creation of the NWP. Obvious changes were noted in certain areas:

There is less sexist language than before. Sexism in AFSC is reported as a sin of omission and not commission. [...] Most [respondents] felt that in comparison with other broad-based organizations AFSC is a feminized environment, full of strong capable women [...] NWP has helped this process [...] with queries, action alerts, programs about and for women, and program suggestions. Women themselves have changed as they have taken on leadership roles, and have helped forge the change in AFSC. One sentiment is that sexism in management is “unfinished business.” (620, p.7)

In the report’s final section, the reviewers added some thoughts for ongoing reflection, quoting an interviewee described as a “non-NWP committee” member:

Feminist concerns are too easily dismissed. Jokes can still be made. Sexism in all its manifestations remains a hard nut to crack; AFSC has moved farther in its willingness to acknowledge that racism exists and is serious than its willingness to acknowledge and grapple with sexism. Not that we have moved right along with racism, however we have a hard time dismissing it. Sexism is more easily dismissed and remains an extremely uncomfortable subject. Joining the two issues at a profound and realistic level is an even greater unmet challenge. (620, p. 8)

Following the 1986 review, we found no record of additional formal program reviews by the AFSC Board – largely because the Service Committee’s approach to program planning and evaluation was changing. To complete this section’s longitudinal overview of the NWP, we conclude this section with summaries of two additional documents: a 1989 write-up of “snapshots” presented to the NWPC in 1990 to permit discussion of the program’s “planning goals” (195), and the results of a new program planning process introduced in 1999 under the direction of the Board Program Committee (BPC), leading to the elaboration of a new proposal known as NWP 2001 (797).

“Snapshots” (1989). Various statements of NWP goals and operating plans over the following years appear in the archives (624, 633, 634). This discussion focuses on one such document, an NWP “Snapshots” and goal planning document (195), which reflects the efforts of the program – then fully staffed with a coordinator, associate coordinator, newsletter managing editor, and office manager – to plan and explain its work in terms of programmatic areas (most of which are discussed below in greater detail in chapters II and III of this report).

The areas covered include the program’s principal programmatic areas from then on: the Women and Global Corporations Project and a project focusing on domestic economic issues, Women, Poverty, and Economic Power, both of which are discussed in chapter II below; and a series of

secondary programmatic initiatives – Reproductive Rights, Lesbian Feminism, Feminists Resisting Militarism, and Global Feminist Solidarity, which are described further in chapter III. The NWP’s newsletter, then appearing as *Listen Real Loud*, as a cross-cutting initiative that supported and extended the work of all these programmatic areas, is discussed in chapter IV, which focuses on the different mechanisms of communication and interchange developed by the NWP over the years.

To avoid repetition, readers are referred to these sections for more details on these different programmatic areas. The current discussion will focus instead on some of the thinking represented in this effort to update the NWP’s way of working.

The planning document explains the logic behind the abandonment of the concept of “infusion,” stating that it was based on an approach that “charged us to try to ensure outcomes which we did not have the resources or power to carry out” (195, p. 2). Instead, the program sought to “work with selected programs in partnership with regions or divisions.”

The remainder of this document details the primary constituency for each of the initiatives noted above; the role of the NWP Committee in each area; the national and regional AFSC units involved; and the specific roles of the NWP staff members involved. In this way the NWP sought to reinterpret its program in terms that were responsive to the approach to planning and evaluation then mandated by the changing practices of the AFSC Board and executive leadership.

NWP 2001. The next formal plan presented for the NWP, NWP 2001 (797), was prepared in 1998 as a three-year program plan, in accordance with the norms and standards which the Board Program Committee (BPC) was attempting to institute throughout the organization during that period. This plan proposed to restructure the NWP Committee and develop a new way of working to increase the program’s responsiveness to the U.S. regional programs as well as the four Program Concentration Networks.

The concentration networks, one of the Service Committee’s innovations of the mid-1990s, were intended to promote greater programmatic coherence by formalizing and providing limited dedicated funds to the networks of national and regional programs working on related issues in diverse geographic settings. For complex reasons, these networks, along with the Board Program Committee itself, were laid down following the organization’s change in executive leadership in the year 2000. Here we note only that they were similar in intention (if not in detail) to the “goal groups” that have been instituted under AFSC’s current strategic plan.

At its outset the plan notes the differing perspectives and language in use by women working around the world for gender justice, stating that “a diversity of women worldwide identify their consciousness [...] with words such as feminist/womanist/mujerista” (797, p. 2). It further describes the NWP’s orientation as rooted “analyses that overcome splits between public and private, personal and political, economic production and social reproduction, intuition and rationality, and hierarchies of oppression” (797, p. 2) supporting women to “come together

across differences in race, nationality, sexual preference, disability, age, and economic status” (797, p. 3).

As an expression of AFSC’s increasing emphasis on the need to bring its program development and implementation practices in line with current professional norms for nongovernmental/nonprofit²⁹ organizations, NWP sought to think through how to make its expertise both more accessible and more effective for the organization as a whole. The program’s primary goal under this plan, which, it was assumed, would occupy the bulk of the NWP’s efforts, was “to help AFSC build feminist perspectives and analysis into all of its programs” (p. 14). The plan envisioned complementary efforts in training, skill sharing, and skill development, including training directed to program leadership at the Board level (at that time the Board Program Committee), and also active engagement in the processes then being introduced to institute “comprehensive program plans” throughout the organization.

The plan notes the “increasing demand for greater NWP involvement with and support of AFSC women and feminist constituencies in the regions” (797, p. 11). This emphasis is reflected in NWP’s stated intention to reorganize its program committee, to create a body “more clearly tied into AFSC field work and more familiar with the implications of AFSC’s structural refocusing” (p. 5). Also included are plans to visit regional offices, organize a variety of gatherings for AFSC women across the organization, and provide an array of flexible tools for gender analysis in program planning, monitoring, and evaluation.

One significant innovation of NWP 2001 is its extensive discussion of the need for norms of accountability on the part of AFSC program units (nationally and regionally) in implementing organizational mandates on the integration of gender analysis into program planning, implementation and evaluation, as well as issues of organizational and workplace equity. The “Strategy” section of this plan identifies this as a key need for the Service Committee, as it is for similar organizations around the globe:

[N]o matter how vibrant the links with individual women staff and women’s movements, and no matter how incisive the analyses NWP is able to offer, it cannot bring about significant changes in the gender perspectives of an organization as large and complex as AFSC without adequate support from AFSC itself. As in the case of social change organizations worldwide, the support needed is that of a *system for feminist gender planning and gender accountability*. The elements of such a system are being developed and applied in many organizations, and include elements such as explicit gender policies that direct programs to integrate a strong feminist focus, gender-sensitive guidelines and checklists for various stages of the program cycle (from program development to monitoring and evaluation) [...] The AFSC Board has created strong mandates for program and administrative attention to gender and Third World issues and perspectives, but many people pay little attention to them, and no system of accountability is currently in place. (797, pp. 13-14)

The plan also addresses one of the long-standing tensions of AFSC life, the theme of “advocacy” for individual staff people or groups of staff, a role of NWP and TWC that has long been controversial. Returning to the theme of accountability, the plan notes that “though the mandates

²⁹ The former term is more commonly used outside of the United States; the latter in the domestic U.S. setting.

[to include in all AFSC programs the concerns and experiences of women and people of color] have been clear in both the AA plan (for many years) and the Board Program Committee guidelines, action to fulfill them has been fairly limited and spasmodic. The Board's Multiculturalism Committee is presently lifting up the need for AFSC to become serious about and committed to follow-through in this area" (797, p. 27).

With respect to the plan's third goal, "to help AFSC become a feminist workplace," the plan notes the importance of working "with the AA program and the Third World Coalition to improve AFSC's capacity for adequate [...] advocacy for individuals who believe that they have been objects of sexism, sexual harassment, and other gender inequities"(797, p. 25). Due to the lack of "significant expertise about sexism and gender issues" within both Affirmative Action staff and the AA Committee, "women often bring issues and concerns to NWP rather than to the AA Program" (797, p. 25).

Although the present report does not seek to evaluate the NWP's effectiveness in implementing this (or prior) plans, it seems obvious that the implementation of this plan has been uneven. Some elements of this plan, such as the 1999 gathering of AFSC women (799) and gender training programs for the BPC (42) were carried out to great effect. (For further discussion of these items, please refer to sections L and N, respectively, in chapter IV below.) In addition, the NWP Committee was reorganized to include a mix of current staff and women with issue expertise from outside the organization. Other planned activities, however, did not materialize.

Because NWP 2001 is the most recent plan developed for the NWP, offering the most current attempt to re-articulate the program's mandate and mission and respond to the changing organizational climate, it will form an important point of departure for defining the NWP's future orientation. Any assessment, of course, will need to take into account AFSC's ongoing process of restructuring and the various ways in which the terrain has been modified in the decade since this plan was developed. Nonetheless, the goals and strategies described in this plan are well adapted to the present situation of AFSC, making it a useful starting point for attempts to conceptualize the NWP's role going into the future.

Chapter II

Setting a Course: Major Programmatic Directions

This chapter considers two major sustained programmatic initiatives undertaken by the NWP: the work on women and global corporations (section E) and on issues of women and poverty in the domestic arena (section F).

E. Women & Global Corporations: Work, Roles, Resistance

It was not long after the inception of the NWP that a focus on the global economy and its influence on women began to gain prominence, particularly with regard to the impact of global corporations on women as laborers (and to some degree as consumers) within an international division of labor. Over the course of the NWP's history, the groupings of women investigating and challenging the negative effects of global corporations on women changed several times. In 1976-78, the first NWP group to focus on women in the global economy was identified as the Women and Transnational Corporations Task Force; this group planned and implemented the groundbreaking international conference that took place in Des Moines, Iowa in October of 1978, entitled, "Women and Global Corporations: Work, Roles, Resistance" (707)³⁰ As an outgrowth of the Des Moines conference, a network known as the Women's Network on Global Corporations formed and was based for a time in San Francisco (705), with largely informal ties to the NWP.³¹ It soon became apparent, however, that despite its members' best efforts, the Women's Network on Global Corporations did not have the necessary resources to continue as a viable organization, especially operating as a distinct entity from the NWP. As early as 1980, Barbara Ehrenreich, at that time an NWP committee member, wrote an appeal to the NWP committee advocating that the Women's Network on Global Corporations be (re)subsumed within the NWP, which had the requisite expertise and resources for the program to be more successful (728).

By the mid-1980s, the work on women and global corporations was consolidated within the NWP, where it eventually became known as the Women and Multinational Corporations Project or the Women and Multinational Working Group, depending on the year in reference. In the chronicle that follows, the conferences, publications, policy advocacy, information sharing and various other outputs are products of one of these several iterations of the NWP's focus on women and the global economy over the last thirty years.

³⁰ It is interesting to note that other cities had been considered for hosting this conference, with St. Louis being one of the predominant options, yet, the fact that Missouri and other states had not passed the ERA played a part in the selection process for the site of the conference. AFSC's Board had approved joining the boycott of states that had not passed the ERA (685).

³¹ Saralee Hamilton and Anita Anand, an NWP committee member, were both members of this San Francisco-based network.

* * *

In November of 1976, the NWP convened a small seminar at the Friends Center in Philadelphia, entitled “Women and Multinational Corporations and the New International Economic Order” (126). For two days, the fifteen women who gathered for the meeting discussed the impact of both the domestic and international economic order on women employees and their communities, particularly the impact of transnational corporations on Third World women.³² From the outset, there was an appreciation for the global nature of the issues at hand and a need for including a diverse array of voices, as this small group included women from Asian, Chicana, Black, white, and Native American backgrounds. In smaller group discussions, these women identified three economic sectors that affected women workers most markedly in terms of low-wage labor and the accelerating phenomenon of international runaway shops: the electronics, agribusiness, and garment/textile industries. Recognizing the need for more information, the group set out to undertake more research on wages, working conditions, and health hazards within each sector. One outcome of this meeting was the decision to organize a larger, national conference on “women and multinationals.” Over the course of the next two years, the Women and Transnational Corporations Task Force planned and organized such a conference.

In October 1978, these plans came to fruition in the landmark conference sponsored by the NWP in Des Moines, Iowa, entitled “Women and Global Corporations: Work, Roles, and Resistance.” For three days, the 122 participants (all but five were women) attended workshops, lectures, an informal speak-out, strategizing caucuses, and seminars on a range of topics examining “the role of global corporations in shaping, maintaining and benefiting from an economic system which perpetuates poverty, hunger, dependency, and injustice” (676). One of the primary goals of the conference was to bring together a diverse group of women who had experienced first-hand the negative effects of global corporations on their lives and their communities, as well as those women who had been actively scrutinizing and/or resisting the destructive elements of these corporations. This goal was met in so far as the conference brought together women from 30 different U.S. states, Puerto Rico, and such countries as South Africa, the Philippines, and Mexico, with a range of race and class backgrounds and diverse perspectives on the global economy. Many of their testimonies of exploitation and resistance were shared throughout the three-day conference, along with more analytical examinations of the political and economic structures of the electronics, agribusiness, and textile/garment industries that formed the focus of the meeting.

Word of the meeting circulated widely, and several interested parties, who were unable to attend, wrote to the NWP for more information and assistance, which suggests that by 1978 the NWP was beginning to be considered a crucial information clearinghouse and resource on the topic of women and multinational corporations—a role that would be sustained throughout the next decade or more.³³ One particular letter of note came from Lee So Sun, a South Korean labor

³² The terms “transnational” and “multinational” corporations are used interchangeably in this report; we have sought to follow the terms used in the various sources.

³³ For example, in 1983, Saralee Hamilton received a letter from John Cavanagh, then a fellow and now director of the Institute for Policy Studies (which, incidentally, was founded by Richard J. Barnet, author of the pioneering 1975 text, *Global Reach: The Power of the Multinational Corporations*) asking her for any contributions that the NWP might have for the Institute’s new program on transnational corporations (574). A decade later, in 1993, the

rights activist whose son had burned himself to death in an appeal for better working conditions several years prior. Lee So Sun herself had been imprisoned for her organizing activities among textile workers and she wrote to Saralee Hamilton to state that she was unable to attend the conference under such circumstances. She also made the following appeal:

Ms. Hamilton, I would like to ask a favor of you, something that is a matter of deep concern to me. I shall not leave the workers as long as I live. But I am filled with regret that there is no school for workers at the Chongye branch of the National United Trade Union so that workers have no sense of direction in their lives. It is absolutely necessary for us to have a classroom for workers where we can learn of our rights and become more aware of our situation. If the workers are to defy police interference we must have our own building which the workers can use freely, and not rent. Ms. Hamilton, I appeal for your help in the construction of a classroom for workers where we can study. (678)

In response (at least in part), the NWP put together a fact sheet regarding Lee So Sun's circumstances, those of the textile workers in South Korea and their resistance movements, and the role of the textile industry and the United States in the situation. This information was distributed among the conference participants in Des Moines, along with action alerts to help ameliorate the exploitation of the textile workers and to free Lee So Sun (679). The participants of the conference also sent a joint letter in response to Lee So Sun, encouraging her and acknowledging the continued need for their common struggles for justice (679).

Other letters also arrived at the NWP office at that time: from Nashville, TN from the Agricultural Marketing Project; from New Jersey from a lecturer at Livingston College; from London, from the National Assembly of Women; and from Mexico from the Instituto Latinoamericano de Estudios Transnacionales, requesting information about the conference (704). By the winter of 1979, the NWP had compiled a fairly dense study packet of resource material that could be sent out in response (for a nominal fee). The packet included a short bibliography on each of the following topics (along with the full articles themselves or excerpts of them): electronics, agribusiness, textiles, and a general overview of the global economy and its impact on women workers (681). Also included were the goals of the conference, brief summaries of the workshops that had been offered, and the names and short biographies of the task force members, speakers, and workshop leaders at the conference. The packet was intended as “a broadly based introductory collection that would be appropriate for a wide range of women's groups, church groups, study groups, union groups and classes.” In addition to this packet, the NWP also offered, for sale, two other AFSC publications that were direct products of the Des Moines conference: a 98-page “Directory of Resources and Conference Participants” (675) and “Proceedings of the Conference—Women and Global Corporations: Work, Roles and Resistance.”³⁴ It was the production of these items that most occupied the Women and Global

NWP and Hamilton were listed in a Directory of Economic Literacy Providers produced by the General Board of Global Ministries of the United Methodist Church, with the following notation: “Woman and Global Corporations Project offers action alerts and ideas for program development to assist women in confronting corporate power in the US and abroad” (785). These are just two examples, among many, that evince the longstanding reputation that the NWP had as a valuable resource on the topic of women and multinational corporations.

³⁴ The latter publication is listed as “forthcoming” in the *AFSC Women's Newsletter* Summer 1980, though we did not come across the actual document at any point in the archives; see also 702. In addition, in 1981, the NWP had compiled and distributed a Speaker's Bureau Directory on Global Corporations, which appears to be a truncated and updated version of the directory mentioned above (523).

Corporations Project during the two years that followed the conference, along with the publication of a Women and Global Corporations insert that accompanied each of the NWP newsletters from 1978 onward (see section L below).

In the meantime, the Women’s Network on Global Corporations, another “product” of the Des Moines conference, had begun its short tenure on the scene of combating the effects of multinational corporations on women workers. This group was considered an independent project—though initiated by the NWP—and focused on women in agribusiness, electronics and textiles, bringing together “people, data and resources in an effort to break down the isolation of local groups and strengthen individual efforts to combat the negative effects of global corporations on women’s lives” (515). It was quite active in its short lifespan; two network members served as panelists at a conference in Ciudad Juarez, Mexico, “Women and the Transnationalization of Capital” (715) and later helped organize and obtain funding for a “National Working Women’s Conference” in El Mirage, Arizona, in February and April of 1980, respectively. Network members also participated in the planning meetings, convened by the International Coalition for Development Action, that aimed to place women and transnational corporation issues on the agenda of the U.N. Special Session on the Third Development Decade (to be held August 25-September 5, 1980). Finally, the network had also formed alliances with other organizations to compile data, conduct research, and produce films on various global economic issues.

By the end of 1980, however, it had become apparent that the Women’s Network on Global Corporations had insufficient resources, both in terms of finances and time, to continue its broad scope and would likely narrow its focus to agribusiness in the U.S. southwest and Mexico only (if it remained in existence at all). Barbara Ehrenreich, an NWP committee member at that time, wrote an appeal to the NWP committee stating that “[t]he need persists, then, for a comprehensive project addressed to the issues of women and MNCs. It should be geographically comprehensive, because the subject is by its nature, global, and it should combine both support work and US-directed educational work. [...] I would argue that the NWP should take more assertive initiative in the development of such a project.”³⁵ Judging from the records in the AFSC archives, the NWP seems to have taken that initiative seriously, even if it did not specialize in the subject matter as exclusively as Ehrenreich had suggested (see note 35). To that end, and for the next two and half decades, the NWP’s Women and Global Corporations Project/Working Group engaged in organizing, participating in, and attending conferences; producing various publications; networking and disseminating relevant information; and advocating policy changes, all with a keen focus on the global economy and its negative impacts on women in the United States and the Third World.

With regard to conferences, 1980 and 1981 found the NWP at the Church Center at the United Nations for two separate gatherings on global economic issues. The first took place August 28-September 4 and was entitled, “Multinational Corporations and Global Economic Justice: Help or Hindrance?” and was sponsored by the previously mentioned Women’s Network on Global Corporations (513). Charlotte Bunch, also an NWP committee member at that time, spoke on a

³⁵ Ehrenreich also suggested (728) that the NWP should/could implement a women and MNCs project at the expense of more internal organizational issues, stating that “presumably less time could be devoted to ‘infusing a feminist perspective.’” It seems apparent that such a drastic shift in priorities did not happen within the NWP.

panel regarding feminist perspectives on international development strategies, and Hamilton spoke on a panel concerning women's work in electronics in Asia and also moderated a panel on women's health and safety in the "global factory." The second gathering occurred June 13-14, 1981 and was convened by the NWP itself in recognition that the global context had changed since the 1978 conference and thus warranted another concerted effort by writers, activists, local organizers, researchers, and AFSC staff members to discuss and strategize future work in the area of the global economy (537).. A group of eighteen women and men (mostly women) gathered for two days to hear first-hand testimonials of how multinational corporations affected women from South Korea and Mexico and to discuss "trilateralism,"³⁶ the U.S. New Right, the impact of the international division of labor on women, and the infant formula campaign, among other relevant topics.

In addition, in 1984, the NWP assisted the locally based Center for Ethics and Social Policy in organizing a conference in Philadelphia, entitled "The Textile Industry: From Kensington to Korea," which highlighted the connections among international, national, and local economies and the ethical dilemmas posed by these interconnections (710). Hamilton delivered a two-part multi-media presentation at this conference called "Textile Workers Tell Their Stories."

Throughout the rest of the 1980s and the early 1990s, NWP staff and committee members continued to attend conferences and seminars on global economic issues that were arranged by other organizations. For example, Hamilton and Maria Ines Lacey, NWP's associate director from 1985 to 1992, maintained regular contact with the Women's Alternative Economic Network (WAEN) and attended several of their meetings throughout that time.³⁷ A step toward an international women's summit came to fruition in 1990, when more than fifty activists and researchers involved in these international networks, including NWP staff, held a seminar entitled "Beyond the Debt Crisis: Structural Transformations," organized by the UN Nongovernmental Liaison Service.³⁸ In addition, in 1990, Hamilton attended a conference of roughly 2,000 participants in Houston called "The Other Economic Summit (TOES)," serving on two panels: one on women's changing work in the global economy and the other on the changing role of nongovernmental organizations. Both WAEN and the broader TOES network were important precursors to the World Social Forum, which emerged a decade later.

The active convening of such gatherings by the NWP itself seemed to decelerate at this time, perhaps due to other program initiatives, namely, the publication of *The Global Factory*:

³⁶ The term was introduced to the NWP and related activist circles by the publication in 1980 of *Trilateralism: The Trilateral Commission and Elite Planning for World Management*, edited by Holly Sklar (Boston: South End Press).

³⁷ The inspiration for the WAEN came out of the 1985 U.N. Nairobi conference at which some North American participants were struck by the comprehensive and in-depth analysis on the global economy that Third World women brought with them. In a report on the May 1991 WAEN meeting, Maria Ines Lacey writes: "In the aftermath of the [Nairobi] conference, a number of women connected with U.S. based organizations such as Church Women United, United Methodist Church Women's Division, the AFSC's own Nationwide Women's Program, [and] the Debt Crisis Network [...] began discussing the idea of an international network which might begin to challenge the summits of the big seven from a feminist perspective. Preparatory meetings and exchanges of information and analyses, would, conceivably, culminate in holding a parallel forum to an annual summit" (764).

³⁸ "Beyond the Debt Crisis: Structural Transformations," International Women's Seminar, UN Nongovernmental Liaison Service, New York, 1990. The seminar was organized by was organized by then-NGLS coordinator Joyce Yu; Rachael Kamel, who had recently finished work on *The Global Factory*, served as rapporteur.

Analysis and Action for a New Economic Era, published in cooperation with CRD,³⁹ as well as the development of the Women, Poverty, and Economic Power project, as described in the next section.

The Global Factory was an AFSC publication written by Rachael Kamel, who served as an NWP consultant and staff member from 1982 to 1988 and then as a consultant to CRD (711).⁴⁰ *The Global Factory* was originally intended to be a discussion guide to accompany Lorraine Gray's 1986 documentary film, *The Global Assembly Line*, for groups interested in learning more about the global economy and its impact on women workers. Due to the complexity of the subject matter and the sizable body of relevant information and expertise that the NWP had accumulated at that time through staff and committee members, the project instead developed into a full-length text. Its content covered the globalization of the U.S. economy and the concomitant plant closings in the U.S. that followed, the feminization and ill-treatment of labor in the maquiladoras of Mexico and the factories in the Philippines, and, finally, suggestions and resources for further study and action. The text was well received and kept Kamel busy with radio interviews and special events for some time after its publication. At a 1990 meeting of the Women and Global Corporations Working Group (Working Group), Kamel remarked that “we put out the right book at the right time,” as many of the interviews in which she participated were “amazingly positive” (746). It was at this meeting that the Working Group began discussing plans for wider distribution and use of the text “to make progress with the message within the book—building alliances and community-based coalitions, promoting grass roots international dialogue (beyond promotional barnstorming), applying the information and insights to ongoing organization” (746).⁴¹

The Global Factory was, in some ways, the culmination of many years of labor that the NWP staff and committee members had invested on the subject of women and multinational corporations. The content and success of the text, then, seemed to prompt a renewed vigor among the committee members and staff to move forward with the Women and Global Corporations initiative as a more substantial component of the NWP. By 1991, the Working Group began to discuss plans for convening another international gathering on the topic:

[...] a gathering of organizers and action/researchers to coincide with the fifteenth anniversary of the conference the NWP convened in 1978 in Des Moines: Women and Global Corporations—Work, Roles and Resistance. The point would be to assess what's happened in the past decade and a half—not just a nostalgia trip for the actual “alumnae.” And, of course, use those insights and new or renewed agenda to shape future work. (citation?)

³⁹ The NWP was also quite busy with the Women, Poverty and Economic Power initiative that it had undertaken at this time, a series of workshops/training sessions on economic literacy for women that focused more on domestic economic issues. It is also likely the role of the NWP in convening gatherings on the topic of women and the global economy slowed (or nearly halted) by the late 1980s because other organizations with greater resources had taken up that task.

⁴⁰ Initial drafts and background notes for this manuscript were provided by Ann Lawrence and Jan Gilbrecht of the Oakland-based Plant Closings Project (chapter 2), Chat Canlas of the Institute for Policy Studies (chapter 4), and Shelley Coppock of AFSC's Maquiladora Task Force, part of the Border Working Group of the National Community Relations Committee (chapter 6).

⁴¹ In addition, it was suggested at several Working Group meetings (over a couple of years) that *The Global Factory* and women and global economic issues should be incorporated into the Women, Poverty and Economic Power (WPEP) workshops; see next section for discussion of WPEP.

The planning of this gathering took longer than expected, with projected dates and configurations changing at least twice, but it finally took form in the April 1993 as a “Roundtable on Women and the Global Economy,” held at Pendle Hill (712). By this time, the scope of the NWP’s analysis of the global economy had gone beyond multinational corporations to include trade, development, and debt and their implications for women workers and consumers, as well as their communities in the U.S. and the Third World. Immigrant and refugee rights were also recognized as an important component of the global economic scenario, along with the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), structural adjustment programs, and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). The Roundtable brought together 50 participants, comprised of academicians, activists, farm workers, community organizers, economists, environmentalists, and policy analysts, providing them with a forum for discussing, analyzing, and strategizing over these issues and many others. As with other conferences convened by the NWP, there was a keen emphasis on having a diverse presence of voices and perspectives on the subject at hand, which was reflected in the Roundtable’s participants, who came from thirteen different countries.⁴²

The discussions and analyses that took place during the Roundtable likely served as a resource for the NWP—along with the body of knowledge/expertise that had already accumulated among its staff and committee members—for its next major initiative regarding women and the global economy: collaboration with AFSC delegates to the Fourth NGO Forum on Women and U.N. Conference in Beijing in August of 1995 (see section L below). Hamilton worked closely with the delegates from CRD’s Mexico-U.S. Border Program, Maria Guadalupe Torres, Julia Quiñonez and Phoebe McKinney, to prepare for their contributions to the conference, which would entail a focus on women and global corporations. In one session, Torres and Quiñonez shared testimonies about their work in and organizing of maquiladoras in Mexico, and in another session they presented more formally on the same topic. All three delegates attended other sessions on related topics and then worked with the NWP upon their return to produce a report for the AFSC Board that addressed the implications of the conference for the AFSC’s Maquiladora Program (792, 793).

The network of leading feminist activists that gathered around the NWP through this strand of work is also noteworthy. Barbara Ehrenreich, Cynthia Enloe, Charlotte Bunch, Holly Sklar and others were all NWP committee members at one time or another throughout its history. Each of these women became prominent activists and scholars who wrote prolifically on matters pertaining to women and the international division of labor. For example, in 1981, Ehrenreich wrote “Life on the Global Assembly Line,” a pioneering article on the globalization of the economy and its impact on women factory workers (729). These women brought their interests

⁴² It is interesting to note that, in the draft “Report on Roundtable on Women and Global Corporations” (and in the minutes of a follow-up meeting), it is mentioned that the gathering brought together both activists and academicians and that some tension manifested itself as a result of the disconnect between their different approaches to the matters under discussion (or between lived experience and analysis): “[T]here was also a tension regarding analysis. Many women wanted an opportunity to talk about their organizing, sharing stories of success as well as failure. We found ourselves puzzled as to how to help women shape the lessons learned from their organizing into an analysis of next steps. During the Roundtable, that proved to be a continued challenge and one that we don’t feel satisfied that we have addressed” (782, p. 4).

and expertise to the NWP, and their publications were often circulated in NWP Committee meetings.

F. Women, Poverty, and Economic Power

Women, Poverty, and Economic Power, a companion initiative to Women and Global Corporations, was the other sustained programmatic initiative in which NWP played a pro-active role. Focusing on the circumstances and also the agency of low-income women in the United States, this program sought to use the methods of participatory or “popular” education to support poor women to exercise leadership in facing the structural and political barriers to women’s economic empowerment.

Precursors to this initiative in the early 1980s are documented in 1981 (527), in an NWP brochure entitled “Women’s Path to Jobs, Justice, and Peace,” and in 1984 (590), when NWP convened a meeting on how to lift up women’s voices in campaigns around the federal budget. The following year, NWP led a dialogue at a gathering of the General Consultative Group⁴³ on Empowering Women in the Workplace (609). Work on this theme culminated in a resource packet on “Women Fighting Poverty” (613), which was compiled and distributed by the NWP in December 1985.

According to an internal history of NWP’s continuing work on domestic economic issues. “in 1987, AFSC regional programs’ requests for program resources, ideas, strategies and skills led the NWP to begin formally surveying programs about their needs,” first by mail and then through follow up phone calls and person-to-person interviews. Concerns identified by regional programs included plant closings and attendant job losses, “massive budget cuts hitting vital social programs – health clinics, child care, youth centers, support services for the elderly, etc.” At the same time, “already inadequate welfare benefits were being cut and threatened by workfare” (767, p. 2).

To determine how to follow up on the stated needs, Maria Ines Lacey, then the NWP’s associate director, worked with a task force of NWP committee members to develop and implement a national program of workshops, under the title “Women, Poverty, and Economic Power” (WPEP). A modest grant from AFSC’s Board was allocated in 1988 to fund workshops in partnership with AFSC regional offices.

Toward the end of 1988, a pilot workshop (641) was held in Boston at My Sister’s Place, a shelter and advocacy center for homeless women. The center was part of Community Empowerment Program of AFSC’s Cambridge, MA, office and the home organization of NWP Committee member Becky Johnson. The pilot program focused on the themes of homelessness and housing.

The following year, the workshop design was reworked and became the nucleus for programs around the country (650, 656). A facilitators training in 1988 for the WPEP team was held in

⁴³ An organization-wide leadership body similar to the current Program Consultative Group.

Philadelphia and was led by Thelma Awori, deputy director of UNIFEM, the UN Development Fund for Women.

Subsequent WPEP workshops were organized in cooperation with AFSC regional offices, including a workshop at Grailville⁴⁴ in Ohio, cosponsored with GLRO and the Dayton Area Women's Program Committee; at Alma de Mujer in Austin, TX, cosponsored with the Austin AFSC office⁴⁵; in San Francisco, cosponsored with SHARE, a cooperative food distribution program of PMRO, as well as the Peace and Justice Program of AFSC's San Francisco office; in Ann Arbor, MI, cosponsored with AFSC's Great Lakes Women's Committee and several local community organizations, and in Seattle, WA, cosponsored with CRD committee members, staff, and local activists. Additional programs were also held at Dignity House in Philadelphia and at the 1989 meeting of the National Women's Studies Association in Towson, MD (656). Many of the workshops focused on women and work, while others explored the issues of housing and homelessness.

Following this initial series of workshops, a train-the-trainers seminar in Chicago brought together 30 women for four days toward the end of 1990 (763). That year a facilitator's manual for the program was also finalized and distributed (773), and the workshop was also presented at the meeting of the Friends General Conference at Carleton College in Northfield, MN (736).

NWP sought to argue for the importance of women's economic literacy, and to keep WPEP alive, into the 1990s. A request for continuing funding from the AFSC Board was apparently unsuccessful and the WPEP program came to an end (772, 774).

By the end of this period, the theme of "economic literacy" gained increasing recognition among AFSC programs – who in turn became proponents of AFSC involvement in the emerging movement for global justice, known also as the anti-globalization movement. A fuller account of this movement and AFSC's response to it is beyond the scope of this report; here we note only that the ultimate outcome of the WPEP initiative has important similarities to the long-term impact of the Women and Globalization Project, in the sense that the issue was pioneered (inside and beyond AFSC) by small groups of feminists, who sought to articulate their understanding of the devastating impact on women's lives of the changing global economy. As the importance of these issues (as well as of the methodological approach of participatory education) gained broader recognition and acceptance, the gender content was largely lost in the process – particularly the emphasis on the centrality of the agency of poor women and women of color in addressing the structural problems of poverty and global economic restructuring. In the vision of these movements, the exploitation of women in the Third World has remained iconic – but their agency has been displaced, as they have been substituted by other social actors, such as students, NGOs, and researchers from the advanced industrial world. As in many social movements, women frequently play a central role as activists, but gender oppression, women's leadership, and the search for gender justice is no longer part of the political vision articulated by these

⁴⁴ Grailville, an educational and retreat center in the countryside near Cincinnati, is the U.S. headquarters of the Grail, an international women's spiritual movement. More information about the Grail and Grailville is available at <http://www.grailville.org/home.php?ID=2>; the link to AFSC and the WPEP program was through then-committee member Becky Johnson, a member of the Grail.

⁴⁵ Known at that time as the Texas, Arkansas, and Oklahoma (TAO) Peace Education program, this office later became part of the Central Region, which until then had been known as the North Central Region.

movements. The vision of creating international bonds among women based on their common experience of gender oppression has also been eclipsed, as its validity has been questioned by women from many parts of the world and the salience of racial and class differences among women has gained prominence.

Successor programs in AFSC from the mid-1990s forward included both regional and national programs that came together around the idea of “economic literacy” and helped start the relatively short-lived Economic Literacy Action Network, which was followed by the Democratizing the Global Economy Project, which included many of the same participants. Ultimately, these programs share a common lineage with the current “Trade Matters” campaign.

Overlapping with these developments, NWP returned to working with together with CRU in the earliest years of the twenty-first century to resource policy impact work on welfare issues, most notably the battle over the reauthorization of TANF (Temporary Assistance to Needy Families), the welfare “reform” program enacted during the Clinton Administration in 1996. In 2001, NWP published an issue paper entitled “Why Welfare Is a Women’s Issue,” written by Spring Miller, then an intern with AFSC’s Washington Office, and Roberta Spivek, working as an NWP consultant. Later that year the NWP released an activist manual, *Everyone Is Deserving* (49), also compiled by Spivek. (In 2003, Roberta Spivek joined the staff of CRU as AFSC’s national representative on economic justice, where she has continued to coordinate the policy impact work of the Service Committee on the federal budget and to coordinate the work of regional programs on questions of domestic economic justice.)

Chapter III. A Feminist Vision for AFSC

The previous chapter discussed how NWP responded to the recommendations of AFSC’s Board to develop and lead its own programmatic initiatives. This chapter turns to the consideration of complementary activities that have been undertaken by the NWP staff and committee to develop a multi-dimensional understanding of feminism that was suited to the organizational environment of the AFSC. With the exception of Section G, “Our Bodies, Our Safety, Our Lives,” which is rooted in the overall commitment of the Service Committee to women’s reproductive rights, the other sections in this chapter trace how NWP has responded to the evolving programs of the AFSC as a whole, highlighting what a gender perspective could offer to the depth and effectiveness of other AFSC program areas and arguing for its necessity as a key component of AFSC’s programmatic portfolio.

It goes without saying that initiatives in each of these areas was developed and undertaken in close consultation with other units of AFSC – both the other nationwide programs, particularly TWC, and also the national and regional program units that were responsible for each initiative in turn. A particularly noteworthy feature of NWP’s efforts over the years are its pioneering efforts to support attempts to develop cross-program collaborative initiatives, as described in section H, “Global Movements, Global Visions.” As the AFSC moves toward institutionalizing these kind of cross-program endeavors, a closer examination of the experiences of the NWP in this regard will provide valuable food for thought.

G. Our Bodies, Our Safety, Our Lives: Reproductive Rights and Intimate Violence

As noted above and in chapter I, AFSC’s support for women’s reproductive rights has been an unshakeable commitment since well before the establishment of the NWP. This section picks up the discussion where it left off above at the conclusion of Section C, “Changing the Rules of the Game: National Policy Issues.”

Reproductive rights. Continuing its earlier advocacy for abortion rights, AFSC submitted *amicus* briefs in key cases, such as the case of *State of Ohio v. Akron Center for Reproductive Health*, referenced in an executive secretary’s report from 1982 (568), and *Webster v. Reproductive Health Service* in 1989 (652).⁴⁶

Together with other progressive voices in the feminist movement, NWP supported the formation in 1980 of the Reproductive Rights National Network (R2N2) and sent a representative to its founding meeting (517); locally, NWP was also involved in the foundation of the Philadelphia Reproductive Rights Organization (537), the network’s local chapter, to which it lent various kinds of institutional support over the years. R2N2 was arguably the largest and broadest-based membership organization representing a more progressive wing of the feminist movement, which sought to organize around an inclusive concept of “reproductive rights” rather than the narrower

⁴⁶ AFSC *amicus* briefs are stored in their own section of the AFSC Archives.

position of “abortion rights,” with important implications for inclusiveness of the movement along both class and race lines.

Over the years, NWP also organized actively for the annual March for Women’s Lives, securing Board approval of AFSC’s role as a cosponsor of this annual demonstration beginning in the mid-1980s; the program both took on national organizing responsibilities and actively promoted participation by AFSC’s regional offices (617, 664, 771, 781). In 1998, NWP was a co-convenor (with NOW) of “Linking Arms in Dangerous Times,” described as a summit for a women of color and allies. Most recently, in 2004, NWP was an active promoter of the “Access and Equality” contingent of the annual march (176), which served as a vehicle for women-of-color and allied groups to highlight their commitment to the full range of reproductive rights. NWP’s newsletter, meanwhile, sought to report on how reproductive rights are restricted for Native American women, Puerto Rican women, and women among other marginalized groups.

Domestic violence. NWP has played a similar role in the women’s anti-violence movement. Both national and regional AFSC staff were involved in the earliest days of attempts to support women threatened by abusive partners (668); in several cases, AFSC regional programs lent vital support to the initial formation of organizations concerned with battering (124, 693). In 1980, AFSC sponsored an organization-wide consultation on Domestic Violence (536), and NWP sought, apparently without success, to persuade the Peace Education Division (now PBU) to include this question on their agenda (536). In 1985, an NWP consultant compiled statistics and resource information on domestic violence to create an overall packet on the issue for AFSC programs (611).

Even more than the movement for reproductive rights, the women’s anti-violence movement fell prey to the political and institutional retrenchment of the 1980s and 1990s. In the movement as a whole, membership organizations were increasingly replaced by nonprofit agencies, which in turn sought to protect women from domestic violence by forming alliances with local police agencies. AFSC, like a majority of progressive organizations, retreated from organizing around these issues for many years; many voices were critical of the turn toward approaches centering on police action, but their critique found little public expression.

Beginning in 2000, with the first Color of Violence conference, an emergent national network of women of color known as Incite! pioneered discussion of the problem of violence against women with a new paradigm that rejected the silencing of women’s needs at the community level as a tacit trade-off for challenges to the problem of police repression in communities of color. From the outset of this new development, NWP was supportive of this more integrative approach. In 2001, NWP supported the publication of a report expressing this renewed discussion of the problem of intimate violence in a way that explicitly rejected the mobilization of state violence in the name of protecting women. This report, “Whose Safety: Women of Color and the Violence of Law Enforcement,” was a co-publication of AFSC and the Committee on Women, Population, and the Environment (CWPE), a multiracial network with many overlaps in membership with Incite! It provided an analytical platform with which to challenge the invisibility of violence against women in the movement against police violence. In 2003, AFSC

leadership signed onto a joint statement on “Gender Violence and the Prison-Industrial Complex,” developed by Incite! and Critical Resistance (171).⁴⁷

H. Global Movements, Global Visions

From its earliest beginnings, NWP has had a strongly internationalist orientation. This section and the following one⁴⁸ recount the program’s attempts to keep gender issues and the circumstances of women visible in the understanding of AFSC programs and the movements they have been part of. NWP’s interventions in these programs should be understood as an function of both the level of interest of the particular NWP staff people involved and the level of responsiveness of AFSC program colleagues in other units. As we have noted throughout, further investigation would be required to develop a fuller picture of any of the information noted here, since this account relies only on NWP records.

Indochina. NWP was founded at the moment of the U.S. military defeat in Indochina in 1975, which means that AFSC’s extensive involvement in the Vietnam antiwar movement took place before the beginning of this account. The first mention of NWP in connection with Indochina in the AFSC archives, in 1980, is an action alert about the use of Depo-Provera on Cambodian women (512), which was sent out to NWP committee members and several dozen collegial organizations. Two years later, in 1982, Joyce Miller, then the chair of the NWP Committee, represented the program on an AFSC delegation to Cambodia and Vietnam (555).

The Maquiladora Program. Throughout the 1980s, the NWP responded to calls for support and solidarity on behalf of maquiladora workers. Archival records cite participation in a 1980 conference in Ciudad Juarez on Women and the Transnationalization of Capital (715) by the Women’s Network on Global Corporations (see p. 24 above) and the formation of a network in solidarity with maquiladora workers by the Women and Global Corporations Project (602). Other visits and solidarity actions took place throughout those years (591, 665). Reprints of an NWP article by Rachael Kamel, “This Is How It Starts,” which appeared in the *Labor Research Review* in 1987 (623), were widely distributed by the program. NWP activities on behalf of the program continued through 1992 (733), after which the program’s border-based and Philadelphia staff turned their attention to the battle over NAFTA.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ The AFSC/CWPE report, the inaugural title for CRU’s Justice Visions series, is posted at www.afsc.org/justice-visions/; the report’s author, Annanya Bhattacharjee, later expanded her analysis into a book, *Policing the National Body*, which was published in 2002 by South End Press. More information about the organizations mentioned in this account is available at www.cwpe.org and www.incite-national.org/. Within AFSC, “Whose Safety” represented a collaboration between CRU and NWP, with CRU immigration, LGBT and criminal justice staff providing the link with community perspectives on the issues. CRU’s Education Coordinator, Rachael Kamel, served as the link between NWP, CWPE, and CRU and was the editorial coordinator of this report.

⁴⁸ NWP’s involvement in anti-intervention movements is included below in Section I, “Feminists Against Militarism.” Although both sections address global issues, the items included in the present section emphasize direct action at the community level in the constructions of global networks; “Feminists Against Militarism” focuses on movements to build broad-based networks against U.S. government intervention in other countries, especially when it involved military action.

⁴⁹ Like the Women and Global Corporations Project as a whole, this appears to represent an early example of an AFSC program finding that gender analysis was not useful to its continuing efforts; see also p. 29 above.

Immigration. In the 1980s, NWP initiated a taskforce on refugee and undocumented women, one of several standing task forces of the NWP Committee. The earliest record of NWP work in this area is a joint letter by several AFSC programs to Church World Service (545), noting the lack of a gender perspective in the preparation of an upcoming consultation on immigrants and refugees. More reports on the issue appear over the next few years, often citing the name of Patricia Falconi Morris, then the associate coordinator of the NWP. The NWP was actively involved in ongoing explorations and consultations at that time regarding work with Haitian refugees (550, 559), Central American refugees (561), and the movement for liberation theology in Latin America (552), involving joint work with SERO, PED, and other organizational units. A 1983 meeting of the NWP task force on refugee and undocumented women (582) cited a recent AFSC statement on sanctuary for Central American refugees issued in cooperation with the Presbyterian Church's Women's Program, the Asociación de Mujeres (Women's Association) of El Salvador, and other anti-intervention groups.

NWP efforts also frequently focused on farm workers and other economic issues on immigration. NWP was an active participant in AFSC support for the historic boycott of Campbell's Soups initiated by the Ohio-based Farm Labor Organizing Committee (581). In 1987, following the passage of the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) and the institution of "employer sanctions" in 1986, writer Annette Fuentes, then an NWP committee member, wrote a story for *Listen Real Loud* about IRCA's impact on women (625), which was translated into Spanish and distributed widely as a bilingual reprint.⁵⁰ The NWP worked with other AFSC programs to convene a 1989 consultation on labor and immigration (732), which brought together union organizers, academic researchers, lawyers, and representatives of many other organizations. The following year, NWP organized a panel on refugee and undocumented women for a women's studies conference at Hunter College (735).

In the mid-1990s, the NWP's Immigration and Refugee Project, then coordinated by NWP associate director Claire Jung Jin Yoo, presented a report to the NWP committee (789). Yoo also compiled and edited *Hear Our Voices*, a 1995 national directory of programs working with refugee and immigrant women (54). Isaac Wheeler, CRD's first coordinator of refugee and immigrant rights, contributed the directory's listing for AFSC.

The Africa Initiative. At the 1999 AFSC Women's Gathering (see section L, p. 41 below), the lack of meaningful AFSC work on Africa emerged as a topic of concern to many staff. Following the gathering, NWP director Saralee Hamilton worked with other staff in both PED and ID to develop a cross-program, cross-regional effort known as the Africa Initiative.

From 2000 to 2005, the NWP worked to support the development and implementation of this initiative and also worked intensively to advocate for the use of a "gender lens" in understanding the interlocking and intractable problems of debt, militarization, and underdevelopment that have caused massive impoverishment and displacement throughout Africa. In 2003 and 2005, through the efforts of intern Samantha Mundeta and other staff, the NWP compiled two comprehensive

⁵⁰ A staff report indicates that at least 10,000 copies of this reprint were distributed (219).

resource notebooks on Women in Africa (56, 57), as well as a report on “Gender Analysis and African Feminist Initiatives” (181). In 2005, the annual Bill Sutherland Institute focused on gender perspectives on Africa, working closely with the NWP.

Imani Countess, currently the coordinator of AFSC’s Life Over Debt Campaign, comments that Saralee was tireless both in her support for the Africa Initiative and in educating staff about the importance of working with a gender perspective. “She never missed a single one of our meetings,” comments Countess. “Many of us did not understand the importance of bringing a gender analysis to this work at the beginning of the process, but Saralee persisted until we did. Now it is an indispensable perspective for our ongoing work.”⁵¹

I. Feminists Against Militarism

From its beginnings, NWP sought to implement its mandate to keep AFSC programs informed of women’s activities and also women’s perspectives in their program area. As this section suggests, however, responsiveness to this possibility among AFSC programs and staff has been uneven.

Disarmament. In the early 1980s, as pressure mounted for nuclear disarmament – in the United States and throughout the advanced industrial world – women’s groups in Europe and the United States sought to make their voices heard. NWP was a member of the steering committee for an international feminist gathering on disarmament (557) which took place in New York on June 11, 1982, the day before a historic demonstration by the nuclear freeze movement that drew a million protestors to Central Park (and is often credited with being the largest rally in U.S. history).

The NWP was vocal and active in support of support for women’s growing militance and direct action in the peace movement. In the United States, some 2000 women carrying four huge female puppets encircled the Pentagon in 1980, where they “put gravestones in the lawn, wove yarn across the entrances to symbolically reweave the web of life, and created rituals of mourning and defiance by chanting, yelling, and banging on cans. Over 140 women were arrested for blocking the doors at two entrances.”⁵² The following year, NWP urged AFSC programs to support this movement when “Women Returned to the Pentagon” (539).

In the United Kingdom, women launched the first peace encampment outside the Greenham Common Air Force Base, in protest of the planned deployment of U.S. Cruise missiles there and elsewhere in Europe. “The fame of this camp, and the appalling conditions of the women who lived there, facing daily arrests, spread throughout the world.”⁵³ In a departure from the usually somber mood of the peace movement of the day, “forty-four women climbed over the fence and danced on a partially built missile silo.”⁵⁴ (The following year, Italian women launched another peace camp outside Comiso, Sicily, which had been chosen to house “the largest arsenal of

⁵¹ Personal communication, Imani Countess, 2007.

⁵² www.wloe.org/WLOE-en/background/wpastatem.html, accessed 3 November 2007.

⁵³ “Women’s Ways of Peace,” www.womeninworldhistory.com/essay-08-03.html, accessed 3 November 2007.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

Cruise atomic missiles in Europe,” issuing an invitation to women throughout the world to join them on International Women’s Day in March.⁵⁵)

Women’s peace camps. The massive anti-nuclear demonstration in 1982 was timed to coincide with a UN-sponsored disarmament conference, which was held as a gesture of support to the rapidly growing Nuclear Freeze movement. As a result, the feminist disarmament gathering noted above brought together women from various countries. According to NWP’s archival records (557), it was at this gathering that the idea of a U.S. women’s peace camp was born. The plans came to fruition the following year, when a women’s peace camp was launched in Seneca County in upstate New York, outside the Seneca Army Depot – and a short distance from Seneca Falls, site of the historic Women’s Rights Convention of 1848.

NWP was active in urging staff and supporters to travel to the camp, which was slated to open on July 4, 1983. A June 1 memo from NWP to AFSC programs and supporters around the country discussed AFSC contributions to the peace camp and enclosed a peace camp brochure underwritten by NWP (579); later that month, an AFSC news release publicized the camp’s imminent opening and advertised a series of planned NWP programs there (580). Later that year, NWP reported on the camp in its newsletter (717). A subsequent newsletter story offered an in-depth analysis of the women’s peace movement.⁵⁶

Women and the draft. An early example of NWP’s work on peace issues is a packet on women and militarism prepared in 1980 (502), which included information on women and the draft, a list of further readings, a contact list and a call for a conference on the topic that November. NWP, along with other women’s organizations, held a Washington press conference on the issue of women and the draft in January 1980 (504), and participated in another press conference that March prior to a national demonstration against the draft (509). In the Northern California Region (now PMRO), a workshop on women and the draft was held at the San Francisco Friends Center, also in 1980 (507), although regional work on the issue is noted in the NWP archives dating back to 1977 (132).

The anti-apartheid movement. AFSC was a key player in the overall anti-apartheid movement. A 1982 memo from NWP to the South Africa Working Party (546) calls for making women “part of the main plot” in the struggle against apartheid and includes a bibliography of relevant resource materials. No further entries, however, indicate whether this overture ever came to fruition.

Other programmatic interventions. NWP sought through varied vehicles of communication – participating in activist networks, covering stories in its newsletter, providing reprints and other resources to AFSC programs, and more – to keep AFSC programs aware of how women around the world were participating in struggles against U.S. intervention and efforts toward peace and

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ “Is a Women’s Peace Movement Taking Root?” *Listen Real Loud*, Vol. 6, No. 1, Winter 1985.

reconciliation. The earliest entries, from the 1970s, concern discussions of women and nonviolence (93, 160) and Arab-Israeli cooperation in an international tribunal on crimes against women in 1976 (104).

By the 1980s, NWP's archives on the Israeli- Palestinian conflict focus on continuing efforts to fight the Occupation (642) and to strengthen the role of women in building an independent society in Palestine (719). A 1983 newsletter cover story focused on the impact on women of the invasion of Lebanon (569), and included interviews with a Lebanese woman about the human cost of the invasion, as well as with an Israeli feminist, part of the burgeoning antiwar movement in Israel sparked by these events.

As civil wars began spreading through Central America in 1980, NWP used its newsletter (541) and its program committee (503) to share early alerts of the gathering storm there; toward the end of the decade, NWP's then-associate director, Maria Ines Lacey, shared information about a conference in Cuba and Nicaragua on women's issues, *Woman: Forger of Life, Struggling for Peace* (622). In 1987, Lacey also attended a conference in Chicago (631) seeking to increase Latino participation in the movement against U.S. intervention in the region and the escalating contra war; that same year, *Listen Real Loud* presented a cover story on women in Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast.

In the 1990s, NWP's involvement once again echoed the contours of AFSC involvement in peace and anti-intervention movements. In 1990 NWP along with regional AFSC staff worked with the Philippine Anti-Bases Network to issue a statement calling on women in North American to oppose U.S. military bases in the Philippines (740). In 1991, an NWP committee meeting explored the impact of the first Gulf War on women in the developing world (757); reprints were widely distributed of articles by NWP alumnae Holly Sklar (758) and Cynthia Enloe (759), offering a critical feminist analysis of the war and the rhetoric through which it was sold to the U.S. public. In 1992, a special issue of *Listen Real Loud* presented a series of articles under the title "Women Bridging the Gulf" (721).

In 2003, with the Second Gulf War threatening – and with it, a renewed antiwar movement beginning to mobilize – NWP prepared a packet of "Gender Resources for Real Security" (174). Notes are presented during this period for a projected initiative to tie economic and military issues together, under the title "Gender, Guns, and Globalization" (180), but no development of this initiative beyond the thematic level is recorded in the existing archives.

J. Building Alliances 1: Crafting an Anti-Racist Vision

Building multiracial alliances for women's rights, and working in partnership with the TWC, have been upheld as crucial values throughout the life of the NWP, and efforts to lift up the voices of women of color and Third World women are noted throughout this report in the context of many different programmatic initiatives.

As noted above on p. 14, the re-organization of the Women's Support Group as the National Women's Program Committee was undertaken in large part to increase the racial diversity of the

committee. Since that time, the NWPC has consciously maintained a majority of women of color. (Prior to that time, women of color who were members of the Support Group maintained a Third World Women’s Caucus.)

NWP materials have consistently made a conscious effort to highlight the disparate impact on women of color of issues that were addressed through programmatic efforts. For example, a 1982 flyer produced in connection with the campaign against the Family Protection Act – an early initiative of the then-emergent New Right⁵⁷ – explained the implications of this proposed legislation for African Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans, and Native Americans, as well as for working class people, youth, and other segments of the population (551).

NWP’s principal programmatic initiatives have always sought to emphasize the racial/ethnic implications of women’s impoverishment in the United States and around the world; similarly, NWP efforts on issues that have traditionally been tagged as “feminist” concerns, such as abortion and domestic violence, have always situated themselves in those tendencies within the broader feminist movement that consciously sought to develop broader understandings of the impact of such issues on women of color and their communities.

It is difficult to identify particular examples of how NWP has sought to develop an anti-racist politics precisely because awareness of racial/ethnic disparities and stereotypes has been integral to virtually every aspect of NWP’s program work. Over time, of course, the NWP has been subject to the stresses and limitations that typically beset the project of forging multiracial women’s initiatives, particularly in the institutional context of AFSC.

Throughout the life of the Second Wave of the women’s movement, the relationship between women’s issues and issues of racial equality or liberation have always been troubled. In the earlier days of the women’s movement, some feminist activists thought that solidarity among women would transcend racial and other differences; this view was criticized sharply by women of color, and has long been discredited among most supporters of women’s rights.

Contemporary attempts to understand the dynamics and possibilities of cross-racial alliances generally focus on such variables as voice, or who is authorized to speak (and on whose behalf); grounding, or whose experience provides the model or substance for the way issues are conceptualized; and audience, or how political and social actors construct the audience to whom they address themselves.

From this vantage point, it can be said that the NWP has always sought to ground its understanding of women’s issues in the context of the varied communities in which women live and work. It has likewise sought to be sensitive to the many variations in women’s concrete circumstances, culturally, politically, and economically, and how community realities shape women’s understandings and visions. Similarly, in terms of voice, the NWP has frequently used its resources to support diverse groups of women to speak to the issues of their concern. Each of these has functioned to create sites or moments in which NWP has sought concretely to support the perspectives, voice, and participation of women of color.

⁵⁷ Although the Family Protection Act, introduced in 1982, was never passed as such, it was a precursor to such legislation as the anti-gay Defense of Marriage Act, which became federal law in 1996.

In terms of audience, NWP's principal constituency has always been AFSC programs, both nationally and internationally, as well as the organization's network of committee members and other volunteers; in this sense, the strengths and challenges of the entire AFSC shape what has been possible for the NWP. In this, as in many areas, the gap between intentions and outcomes might be an area that merits further probing in the projected evaluation of NWP's future directions.

K. Building Alliances 2: Lesbian-Feminism

In 1975, a group of 18 lesbian and gay staff and committee members circulated an open letter to the AFSC, declaring themselves to be “gay or bisexual.”⁵⁸ The brief letter stated:

We are not necessarily united in our reasons or our sexual politics, but we are clear that it is good for the Service Committee and for ourselves to be open. The long years of discrimination and/or superficial tolerance of gayness in the culture must end, and it is appropriate for AFSC people to work against discrimination and prejudice within our own community.

Within a month, a “statement of support and solidarity for gay people within the AFSC family” was circulated throughout the organization by the Staff Concerns Committee. It suggested a series of questions for reflection or discussion, invited recipients to sign on to the statement, and referred readers to the NWP for resources or to share ideas for further action.”

Two years later, in 1977, NWP released a packet under the title “Lesbians Speak to the AFSC” (32), including reprints and original articles by AFSC staff as well as a chronology of organizational initiatives on lesbian/gay rights. A lesbian caucus of the Women's Support Group, NWP's committee in that era, compiled the packet.

NWP staff reports from that year mention participation in what was probably AFSC's first policy impact initiative on LGBT issues, an *amicus* brief in support of a case filed by a Philadelphia organization, Custody Action for Lesbian Mothers; in this initiative, NWP was a stakeholder in an effort coordinated by CRD.

In 1981, when AFSC convened a landmark conference on Lesbians and Gay Men facing the Law, the NWP reprinted the keynote address by Kay Whitlock, “This Year's Fashions” (531), in its newsletter. An NWP report to the AFSC Board the same year (528) noted support for lesbian/gay rights (along with reproductive rights, the Women and Global Corporations Project, and “infusion” of feminist perspectives in AFSC's program divisions) as the program's overriding objectives.

In 1982, NWP sent a delegate to one of the earliest international conferences on lesbian and gay rights; the conference report (560) is included in NWP's archival holdings.

⁵⁸ Common use of the distinction “gay and lesbian” emerged somewhat later, not only in AFSC but more generally, as women fought for explicit recognition of their identity.

In 1983, the NWP Committee held an in-depth discussion on lesbian feminism (576); the minutes of this meeting indicate that a prominent issue of discussion concerned the question of cultural differences in how women name and experience lesbianism, particularly among different racial and ethnic groups. Also noted at that same meeting were efforts of AFSC's Affirmative Action Program to support efforts toward the inclusions of lesbians and gay men in AFSC staff and activities (575).

In 1984, NWP's newsletter covered a gathering by lesbian and gay staff (718). In 1989, NWP produced an internal discussion paper (663) regarding the meaning of lesbian-feminism and how NWP, and AFSC as a whole, could support the issues taken up by this movement. That same year, NWP's interim committee minuted its opposition to the AFSC's Board's decision to join a Committee on Youth Ministry and Witness because of the latter's discrimination against gays and lesbians (655).

In 1991, NWP participated in an organizational LGBT consultation (751), which issued a series of recommendations on how lesbian/gay/bisexual issues might be included in AFSC divisions, programs, and regions.

As with the previous section on building cross-racial alliances, this list of activities and documents falls considerably short of capturing NWP's efforts in this area. NWP's committee and staff have served as an important location, within and beyond the AFSC, for political work and dialogue across many kinds of differences – including, as suggested above, differences in how women name and inhabit their experience as lesbians, including whether that is an identity they claim. In every area of NWP work, lesbians have been present – and the program has embraced each woman's understanding of what this has meant to her.

Programmatic responsibility for public representation of the AFSC on LGBT issues has been part of the portfolio of the CRU (formerly CRD), and CRU staff have generally played the lead role in organizational activities in this area. Similarly, at least during part of the 1980s, the AA Program took up its responsibility for creating a supportive environment for the inclusion of LGBT staff and committee members. By definition, therefore, NWP's role in these areas has been as a supportive stakeholder. Within that role, it has enhanced AFSC's capacity to articulate and respect the different understandings of sexuality and sexual identity that social activists bring to differing social movements, and has interpreted the meaning of lesbian-feminism to various AFSC audiences.

Chapter IV. Ways and Means: NWP's Methods

L. Sharing Our Stories and Struggles: Newsletters, Gatherings, and More

AFSC Women's Newsletter. NWP published an occasional newsletter from its inception until the early 1990s. The first series, titled simply *AFSC Women's Newsletter*, continued the earlier efforts of the exploratory women's program housed in CRD (see section A above). A new series titled *Flash* published five numbers in 1977 and 1978, discontinuing when the NWP was reorganized following the Board review in 1978 (see section D above). Publication of the newsletter resumed in 1980, with one or two issues a year appearing regularly for the next thirteen years.

Beginning in 1984, a managing editor for the newsletter was added to the NWP staff team. In 1985, the publication was renamed *Listen Real Loud*, the title under which it continued to appear regularly until 1993. As noted earlier, an insert on Women and Global Corporations was a regular feature of the newsletter throughout most of its life.

The editorial content of the newsletter was as varied as the program's interests, and the newsletter served as one of the principal mechanisms by which it sought to illustrate the involvement of women in every type of social movement, both nationally and internationally. Sample issues of the newsletter in each of these incarnations are included in the Archives, as well as in a newsletter archive that is maintained in the NWP offices.

AFSC women's gatherings. It was through a gathering of more than 70 AFSC women – staff and committee members – in 1973 that the original momentum was created for the establishment of the NWP. As we have also noted above, gatherings in the early years of women clerical workers (1976) and AFSC's technical and clerical staff (1977), were important in challenging the barriers that women and people of color faced in equal treatment and equal access to program positions (see p. 9 for additional details).

Over the following years, as described in the previous chapters of this report, the NWP brought women together on many occasions in many ways. The NWP Committee met three times a year, with regular interim committee meetings as well. NWP also organized numerous gatherings of staff – both women and men (or “women and non-women,” in the words of one of the NWP's standing jokes) – around specific programmatic efforts; many such meetings are described above in the context of the various initiatives that gave rise to them. An overall gathering of Service Committee women, however, did not take place for nearly 25 years.

A women's dialogue on programming took place in 1997 – 24 years after the founding of the NWP – with representatives from six regional offices, all three national program divisions, and the three nationwide programs. The purpose of this meeting was to assess the AFSC's overall engagement with gender analysis and gender-related concerns; a detailed report of this meeting is included among the NWP's archival holdings (794).

Two years later, in 1999, a much larger women’s gathering, including staff, committee members, and members of AFSC’s Board, came together over four days near Denver, CO; this gathering served as one of the chief activities intended to launch a restructured NWP through the plan known as NWP 2001, which is described above on p. 18. The discussion in chapter I focuses on the role of this meeting as a tool for institutional planning; also worth adding is the sense of creative vision and broad unity the gathering engendered. As noted in a report of the meeting (799), this effort sought to “explore the many faces of feminism and lessons in struggling against sexism; honor and learn from many different cultures; [and] enhance our skills and creativity as organizers, artists; and visionaries.”

Global women’s forums. The work to date of the NWP has also coincided with a series of global women’s forums, beginning with International Women’s Year in 1975, which launched the UN Women’s Decade. Over time, these forums have pioneered the pattern of gatherings of nongovernmental organizations and social activists from around the world, in parallel forums to intergovernmental meetings convened by the United Nations. Such gatherings have proved integral to the development of a voice for global civil society, as well as enhancing the formation of relationships and networks that are able to conceive and carry out different types of initiatives.

Once again, mechanisms for global networking and social action by civil society – such as the World Conference Against Racism in 2001, or the series of global and regional gatherings that began with the World Social Forum, which also first met in 2001 – were pioneered by global women’s movements, although the role of women’s groups in their origins are seldom remembered.

Many types of conflicts, of course, emerged in the course of these international women’s forums (and their successors), and they have also met with various expressions of skepticism. What is undeniable, however, is that AFSC was able to participate very powerfully in these women’s forums, through the efforts and connections of the NWP and its collaboration with both the Quaker United Nations Office (QUNO) and the Friends World Committee for Consultation (FWCC).

For the sake of brevity, we will traced here some of the highlights of NWP’s participation in the series of forums related to the Women’s Decade, which began, as noted above, with International Women’s Year in 1975 and continued with a mid-decade meeting in Copenhagen in 1980. The Women’s Decade itself concluded with a forum on Women and Development in Nairobi in 1985; ten years later, a Fourth NGO Forum on Women was held in Beijing.

- **International Women’s Year (1975).** The beginning of the UN Women’s Decade, International Women’s Year (IWY), occurred in 1975 – the same year as the founding of the NWP. As was discussed above in chapter I, this was an era in which AFSC and related Quaker organizations evinced little sensitivity to women’s participation on equal terms, especially in more formal settings. The archives include an advance information packet on IWY (67), naming the FWCC as a participant.⁵⁹ NWP sponsored various local activities to

⁵⁹ Representing the world community of Friends, the FWCC is officially recognized as an international NGO within the UN system, and is thus credentialed as a nongovernmental observer to official UN forums. The subsequent development of parallel nongovernmental forums occurred over time, in the context of the worldwide growth of

mark IWY (118), but it does not appear to have had a representative at the forum; a letter from QUNO (114) discusses how the organization was working on IWY and on women's issues more generally, in response to a critical letter from a member of the Women's Support Group questioning why a man was named as the QUNO representative to the official NGO forum in Mexico City.

The first record of NWP participation in an international activity related to the Women's Decade (140) dates back to 1977, when the newly established International Women's Tribune Center in New York sponsored an International Tribunal on Crimes Against Women. Explicitly billed as an alternative to the official intergovernmental forum in Mexico City, this forum was introduced with a letter by Simone de Beauvoir; a mimeographed statement was reprinted and distributed by NWP.⁶⁰

- **Copenhagen (1980).** The NWP section of AFSC's archives includes no entry for the 1980 meeting in Copenhagen, but a note to another entry (593) states that NWP staff and two committee members attended the meeting; additional research would be necessary to determine how AFSC participated in this mid-decade meeting.
- **Nairobi (1985).** For the 1985 forum in Nairobi, more records are available. NWP participated in a preparatory meeting in Rome (600), sponsored by the international women's network Isis International, one of NWP's closest partners, and the International Coalition for Development Action (ICDA), an international NGO network centering on people-centered trade. Since the theme of the overall forum was "women and development," the goal of the preparatory meeting was to develop a feminist perspective on this theme. A key question raised at the Rome meeting was whether it actually benefits women to be "integrated" into development schemes, given that many such projects have involved the displacement of traditional household and village subsistence economies in favor of the capitalist labor market, which typically has been very disadvantageous for women, both then and now, in terms of working conditions, wage levels, and occupational health and safety, as well as its erosion of the ability of societies to meet the continuing need to care for children as well as elderly and sick family members. NWP and Isis worked with Church Women United and other groups to raise these questions at the Nairobi forum, one of the first occasions on which persistent questions about the employment of women by global corporations received broad global attention from both intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations.

At the Nairobi forum itself, NWP worked with Isis, ICDA, and Gabriela, a Philippine women's organization, to present a three-day series of workshops on "Women, Development,

nongovernmental organizations that emerged from social movements and also the increasing accessibility of international travel. In this way, the evolution of AFSC's participation in such events parallels much broader changes in the global scene.

⁶⁰ Also included was a poem by Pat Parker on her own experience of homicidal violence; her third collection of poetry, *Womanslaughter*, was published in 1978. Parker, an African American, lesbian-feminist, was then director of the Feminist Women's Health Center in Oakland, CA – which was in turn a key institutional expression of the earlier, more grassroots phase of the women's anti-violence movement. More information about Parker's life and her writing is available at <http://www.answers.com/topic/pat-parker>.

Solidarity, and Empowerment” (except as noted, all references to the Nairobi forum are drawn from 610).⁶¹ AFSC also provided financial support to permit attendance at the forum by an activist with Women of All Red Nations, a Native American group, as well as two members of the Vietnamese Women’s Union, who were accompanied by then-AFSC staff in Laos.

On their return, several of the participants spoke and wrote articles about the experience; delegation member Diane Narasaki, for example, wrote for both mainstream and Asian American publications about Third World women’s appropriation of feminism, countering the idea that the women’s movement is only relevant to advanced industrial countries. A story in the *Quaker Service Bulletin* (the precursor to *Quaker Action*) focused on the issue of women and the world economy, relating the story – widely familiar today, but far less known in 1985 – about the exploitation of women workers by multinational corporations in “free trade zones,” economic enclaves that were the precursor to today’s bilateral “free trade” treaties, which extend such operations to encompass entire national economies. A follow-up communication (722) noted the action alerts and resources garnered in the workshop series co-sponsored by NWP.

NWP also partnered with New Jewish Agenda, then a leading progressive organization in the Jewish-American community, and AFSC’s Middle East Peace Education Program to present a historic public dialogue on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, in which the Palestinian director of AFSC-supported programs in Gaza and a Jewish Israeli feminist and peace activist spoke about conditions that could lead toward peace and women’s contributions to that process. A key organizer of the dialogue was Christie Balka, former Middle East Peace Education staff in Chicago and a national director for New Jewish Agenda, who was then a member of the NWP Committee. The dialogue was conceived as a constructive alternative to previous global women’s forums, in which efforts to discuss Palestinian-Israeli issues had dissolved in bitter shouting matches.⁶²

- **Beijing (1995).** Ten years later, in 1995, NWP again organized a delegation to another global women’s forum in Beijing, known formally as the Fourth NGO Forum and UN Conference on Women (788, 792).⁶³ The areas of interest of the AFSC delegation were noted as economic justice; immigration and refugee women’s issues; peace-building and demilitarization, and women and global corporations. Additional funding was earmarked to support the attendance of AFSC’s partner organization at the Mexico-US Border, the Comité Fronterizo de Obreras, as well as to support the participation of disabled delegates. A formal report on the conference (792, 53) includes recommendations in each area to AFSC and was followed in January 1996

⁶¹ The NWP delegation included Saralee Hamilton, Barbara Adams (at that time staff of QUNO and currently coordinator of the UN Nongovernmental Liaison Service); Diane Narasaki, then associate director of PNWRO; Ann Turpeau of the NCRC; Sarah Davis, a staff member from New Employment for Women in West Virginia; and Luisa Maria Rivera of the Mexican NGO SEDEPAC, which collaborated with AFSC in supporting the Comité Fronterizo de Obreras, the maquiladora workers organization, in earlier years.

⁶² Notably, this event took place two years before the outbreak of the First Intifada and three years before the 1988 declaration of the Palestine Liberation Organization indicating its willingness to pursue a “two-state” solution, at time when the Israeli government refused to recognize the existence of the Palestinian people.

⁶³ AFSC’s delegation to this event included Judith McDaniel, Claire Jung Jin Yoo, Dianne Forte, Corbett O’Toole, Laura Hershey, Esther Nieves, Marta Benavides, Zoharah Simmons, and Phoebe McKinney, with Saralee Hamilton acting as “off-site coordinator.”

by a report to the AFSC Board (725), which had provided the financial resources for the delegation.

M. A Continuing Collaboration: Working with AFSC’s Regions

Impetus for the creation of the NWP, as described above in Section A, came originally from women in AFSC’s regions, many of whom were actively involved in the 1970s in the women’s movement and perceived the need for a coordinated institutional response.⁶⁴ From that time forward, AFSC’s regional programs were a primary constituency for the NWP, balanced with the mandate of the AFSC Board to keep AFSC apprised of the activities of the women’s movement and to represent AFSC activities and perspectives to appropriate women’s organizations.

Regional representatives and collaborations are noted throughout this report. In addition, NWP’s archival records include numerous other entries, which together tell the story of how NWP responded to regional interests, as well as involving regional programs in its own initiatives. Records from the 1970s and 1980s chronicle regional visits by a range of NWP staff (221, 222, 558, 559, 568, 571, 584, 585). Other records trace correspondence with regional offices (35, 36) or present overall assessments of NWP relationships with regional offices (28, 200, 564, 573, 571, 572). Finally, a number of records concern regional initiatives that were undertaken with NWP support (742, 571, 577, 635, 603).

The records noted above are as varied as AFSC’s programmatic interests and span the period since 1980, where the discussion in chapter I of the early years of the women’s movement left off, to 1998.⁶⁵ Interested readers are referred to the index entries noted here, which range from detailed staff memos, to minutes of meetings, to information included in periodic committee mailings.

N. Resourcing AFSC: Feminist Queries, Gender Training, Women & Development

Feminist queries. Throughout the life of the Religious Society of Friends, “queries” have been used as a spiritual tool to structure reflection and discernment on particular themes. By way of example, a description of this core Quaker practice from the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting notes that:

Rooted in the history of Friends, the queries reflect the Quaker way of life, reminding Friends of the ideals we seek to attain. [...] Friends approach queries as a guide to self-examination, using them not as an outward set of rules, but as a framework within which we assess our convictions

⁶⁴ The Community Relations Division, which had responded to the emergence of this new movement with exploratory initiatives in 1972 and later, judged by 1975 that continuing work needed to be grounded in the entire organization, rather than a single program division; see pp. 6-8 above.

⁶⁵ As noted previously, most of the records in AFSC’s Archives from 2000 and later have not been processed.

and examine, clarify, and consider prayerfully the direction of our lives and the life of the community.⁶⁶

Since its beginnings, the NWP has found queries to be an apt model for promoting the type of structured self-reflection necessary for promoting thoughtful consideration of questions of gender relations in program development, organizational policies and practices, and women's involvement of diverse aspects of AFSC life.

The first version of this model was a questionnaire about the involvement of women in program design, circulated in 1976 (111). This early document was reworked several times over the years and was issued formally under the title of Feminist Queries in 1983 (570), as a detailed document running to 14 pages. These queries raise a series of questions about the inclusion of women in programmatic activities, sex roles in the work of the Service Committee, women's rights, and other women's issues. In 1986, a companion document was circulated to AFSC staff and committee members, advancing a series of queries about the Quaker history of involvement in women's initiatives, as well as women's experiences of sexism in AFSC (615).

In 1985, the International Division asked NWP to develop a list of feminist queries oriented to the needs and context of international programming, along with suggested readings for ID staff seeking to enhance their ability to work effectively with women in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East (601). The resulting "international feminist queries" were circulated the following year along with various articles published following the Nairobi women's forum (see Section L above), highlighting the emergence of feminism as an international movement that was not limited to women in the West (616).

The Feminist Queries have also served as a mechanism for NWP to concretize its advocacy with AFSC's program divisions to increase their responsiveness to gender analysis and women's participation. A 1984 communication addressed to NPEDEC (the predecessor to NPEC) invited the committee to consider how feminist perspectives might be included with a broad range of issues within the purview of what was then known as peace education (604). A few years later, NWP and staff of the Peace Education Division (PED) met to discuss a more systematic approach to enhancing the capacity of PED to address women's issues (760).

Gender analysis. Over time, these Feminist Queries were gradually supplanted by workshops and discussions devoted to gender analysis. This shift most likely represented more of a shift in broader professional norms rather than a deliberate change in internal practices. An early example of such efforts is a "Toolkit for Developing Feminist Programs for Social Justice," developed in 1989 (662); identifying itself as part of the feminist queries program, this resource offered working definitions of feminism and addressed barriers to feminism, feminist programs, the role of personal attitudes, and the like.

A "gender issues" session at a 1994 meeting of the General Consultative Group (GCG) also referred to the Feminist Queries developed during the 1980s as part of the groundwork for the current effort (786). A series of recommendations developed at this session included a variety of

⁶⁶ "Faith and Practice," Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, www.pym.org/publish/fnp/10_queries.php (accessed 14 Nov. 2007).

points to consider in terms of gender representation and equity in organizational life. That same year, a packet on gender issues was included in a mailing to the GCG (46).

In 2000, with the Board Program Committee (BPC) leading the effort for developing more focused and more effective programs within AFSC as a whole, the NWP prepared a workshop with an accompanying informational packet on gender analysis and program effectiveness (42). A report on this workshop was also presented to the NWP's Interim Committee at its next meeting (15).

In 2004, NWP prepared an internal resource regarding its periodic presentations to AFSC's new staff orientation programs (183), offering resource lists on gender issues as well as summaries of AFSC internal practices (on such issues as sexual harassment) and external communications (including summaries of AFSC positions on pertinent issues as well as NWP publications and other resources).

Women and development. As noted in section L above (in the discussion of the Nairobi global women's forum), NWP was an active participant in early efforts to develop a critical discussion on women and development, which foregrounded the issues of workers rights and gender equity to counter efforts to present the integration of women into the labor market as a sign of progress.

Both before and after the Nairobi Forum, NWP brought this critical perspective to various consultations on international program. An early example was a 1979 conference in Panjachel, Guatemala, in which then-NWP associate coordinator Patricia Falconi Morris presented a workshop to AFSC's Latin America staff on "Women and Development and Social Change: Implications for Program (500). In 1980, NWP participated on a panel sponsored by the American Council of Voluntary Agencies on "Program Design for Women in Development: Is It Unique?" (518). A year later, NWP and ID came together for a one-day mini-conference on women and development: feminism and international concerns (542).

P. A Final Word: Institutional Memory and Intersectionality

No history of the NWP would be complete without mentioning the informal role assumed by NWP coordinator Saralee Hamilton as a key holder of AFSC's institutional memory. Due in part to her longevity with the organization, and also as an expression of her individual sensibility, Saralee was a repository of information and documents, and many staff relied on her knowledge of the antecedents and interrelationships of a very wide range of organizational programming and practices.

Saralee, and the NWP as a whole, also functioned as a clearinghouse for many different types of information, on AFSC affairs and also the broader issues of the many social movements in which she/it had participated. The memories shared on Saralee's memorial blog (rememberingsaralee.blogspot.com) offer eloquent testimony to her unwavering commitment to connecting individuals with information they were concerned with – including with information they did not yet realize they *should* be concerned with.

Although this detail perhaps strays from the programmatic and institutional focus of this report into the arena of personal reminiscence, it is in some ways the human manifestation of one of the NWP's most marked characteristics: its unwavering commitment, from its very beginnings, to what has come to be known in academic feminist circles as “intersectionality” – the political commitment to tracing the ways in which different fields of identity and social position shape one another and interact with one another.

The domains of gender, race, class, ethnicity, sexuality, legal status, and other identity “positions” can never be adequately understood individually, but only as they co-create and shape one another. In identifying issue priorities, NWP and its program committee sought explicitly to select initiatives that would help to illustrate and deepen connections among issues and constituencies – to highlight and emphasize the intersectionality of AFSC work.

When feminist efforts have been based on a politics of gender without a deep understanding and commitment to struggles around these other dimensions of self and community, they have lacked the capacity to move meaningfully toward the goal of social transformation, and over time have receded from the social stage.

This understanding, which came at great cost to the women's movements of the 1970s, has always been integral to the NWP's outlook, and has been perhaps one of the NWP's greatest contributions to the Service Committee as a whole. Throughout most of the period covered in this report, the NWP Committee and staff have placed the capacity of the program's initiatives to cross lines of racial/ethnic identity, sexuality, and the like as a key consideration in selecting program priorities.

The NWP has never championed a political “line” – but Saralee, and most of those who have passed through the NWP as staff or committee members, have shared a bottom-line understanding of the crucial importance of intersectionality — analytically, programmatically, and politically.

Whatever AFSC determines as its future directions on gender issues, the paths that the NWP has traveled will thus serve as a vital resource for the engagement, recognition, and practice of the core feminist value of “bringing all of ourselves into the room.”

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APPENDIX I. NWP Publications

TITLE	FORMAT	PARTNER	YEAR	ISSUE AREA
NWP Newsletter (including <i>Flash</i>)	Newsletter	CRD (1973-74)	1973- 1984	All NWP issues, with center section on women & global corporations beginning in 1978
Listen Real Loud	Newsletter		1985- 1993	
Lesbians Speak to AFSC	Resource packet		1977	Lesbian-feminism
Women and Militarism	Resource packet		1980	Women and the draft
Women Fighting Poverty	Resource packet		1985	Domestic work against women's impoverishment
This Is How It Starts	Journal article	Labor Research Review	1987	Women in the maquiladoras in Mexico
Women, Poverty, and Economic Power	Facilitators manual		1990	Curriculum materials based on popular education approaches
The Global Factory: Analysis and Action for a New Economic Era	Book	CRD	1990	Global economic restructuring
Hear Our Voices: Immigrant and Refugee Women's Projects	Resource directory		1995	Women and immigration
Everyone Is Deserving: Toolkit on TANF Reauthorization and Welfare Reform	Resource Notebook	CRD	2001	Women and welfare reform
Whose Safety? Women of Color and the Violence of Law Enforcement	Working paper	CWPE, CRU	2001	Linking women's struggles against domestic violence and state violence
Militarized Zones: Gender, Race, Immigration, Environment	Journal issue (Political Environments)	CWPE, CRU	2003	Critical women's perspectives on militarization at home and abroad
Gender Resources for Real Security	Resource notebook		2003	How human needs are sacrificed in the national security state
Women in Africa I	Resource notebook	Africa Initiative	2003	African women's efforts to link women's issues with the need for community development
Women in Africa II: Inspiration and Struggle	Resource notebook	Africa Initiative	2005	Training materials for gender focus in annual Bill Sutherland Institute

APPENDIX II. Index to NWP History

An index to the documents used in this report is attached to electronic copies of this report as an Excel spreadsheet, and is also posted on AFSC's public (Y:) drive under Y:\Nationwide Women's Program\NWP history. A copy of this index will also be available through the AFSC Archives.

This index may be accessed using either of two tabs – one that is sorted by the ID number (column A of the spreadsheet) and another that is sorted by year (column B). The tabs are located at the bottom of the Excel workbook.

Source notes appearing in the text of this report are given in parenthesis and cite the ID number as given in this index.

APPENDIX III. “Type” codes for spreadsheet

Key to the “type” codes used in column E of the Index to NWP History (Appendix II).

A. Programmatic initiatives & outputs

1. *Publications*
2. *Packets & campaign materials*
3. *Training modules*
4. *Training programs and workshops*
5. *Research*
6. *Policy advocacy*
7. *Program reports*

B. Dialogues and gatherings

1. *Conferences & seminars*
2. *Global women’s forums*
3. *Internal gatherings (thematic or related to institutional processes)*
4. *Demonstrations & actions*

C. Technical assistance – on program design & gender analysis

1. *Program design*
2. *Consultation about program strategy or activities*
3. *Information clearinghouse function*

D. Institutional issues

1. *NWP organization & mandate*
2. *Representation & equity in organizational life*
3. *AFSC regions*