NATIONAL SENIOR CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION
MAY 2023

HISTORY: PAPER II

SOURCE MATERIAL BOOKLET FOR SECTION B AND SECTION C

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SOURCE A This is an extract from an article written by Sascha Cohen, a PhD candidate in the History Department at Brandeis University, specialising in the social and cultural history of 1970s America.

On Aug. 26, 1970, … 50 000 feminists paraded down New York City's Fifth Avenue with linked arms, blocking the major thoroughfare* during rush hour. … the Women's Strike for Equality March was the brainchild of Betty Friedan, … the march served as a powerful symbolic gesture … The number of marchers exceeded Friedan's 'wildest dreams'. *TIME* described the event as 'easily the largest women's rights rally since the suffrage protests.' … 'The solidarity* was completely exhilarating*,' … **(Paragraph 1)**

… The women's movement was most successful in pushing for gender equality in workplaces and universities. The passage of Title IX in 1972 forbade sex discrimination in any educational program that received federal* financial assistance. The amendment had a dramatic effect on levelling the playing field in girls' athletics. Also, feminists made the workforce a more hospitable* space for women with policies banning sexual harassment, … Women's participation in college, graduate school and the professions has steadily increased over the past several decades, … In terms of abortion access, activists have also made great strides … In 1973, … the U.S. Supreme Court legalized abortion in all fifty states. This was a major feminist victory, but it was also limited, as the decision only protected a woman's right to terminate during her first trimester of pregnancy, allowing for state intervention in the second and third trimesters. Furthermore, *Roe v. Wade* did not address the cost of an abortion, which was high enough to be out of reach for many women. … **(Paragraph 2)**

Perhaps the least amount of progress has been made in the area of childcare, … In 1971, Congress passed the Comprehensive Child Development Act, which would have set up local day care centers for children … but Nixon vetoed* the bill … in the short term, the event did accomplish one major goal: it helped make the feminist movement visible … **(Paragraph 3)**

[Adapted and available online at:<https://time.com/4008060/women-strike-equality-1970/> Accessed 16 February 2022]

*thoroughfare – a road or path forming a route between two places
*solidarity – unity or agreement
*exhilarating – making one feel very happy
*federal – relating to the central government in Washington DC
*hospitable – friendly and welcoming
*vetoed – refused to allow

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SOURCE B **This photograph shows President J.F. Kennedy signing the landmark Equal Pay Act in 1963.**



[Available online at: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/retropolis/wp/2017/04/04/on-equal-pay-day-heres-how-the-washington-post-relegated-the-equal-pay-act-signed-by-kennedy-to-the-womens-page/>
Here's how The Washington Post relegated JFK signing the landmark Equal Pay Act to the women's page – The Washington Post (John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum)
Accessed on 16 February 2022]

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SOURCE C **This is an extract from an article written in 2018 and that appeared in an academic magazine produced by the University of Bristol. It is called: 'To what extent did Second-Wave Feminism in the United States facilitate a broader shift in attitudes towards women?' It was written by Bethany Marris, a History student.**

… whilst the WRM* had a profound* impact upon the way in which many women both understood and valued themselves as members of society … the extent to which it 'changed' attitudes across the United States must not be overstated. … *The Feminine Mystique** becomes incredibly relevant to this argument … many predominantly white, middle-class, educated women confined deeply in Friedan's writing, and as a result came to understand their frustrations with the limitations of suburban domesticity*. Despite this, … Friedan blatantly neglects the experiences of African American women of all classes, and working-class women across all racial groups. … **(Paragraph 1)**

… Friedan attended the National Conference of Commissions on the Status of Women, where a resolution* to enforce the Sex Provision of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sex in employment was vetoed* by the Federal Government. In response … the National Organisation for Women (NOW) was established with Friedan as president. In October 1967, NOW boasted over 300 male and female charter members, and by 1973 over 8,000 members, symbolising an appetite for gender equality and thus a potential shift in widespread, pre-existing patriarchal* attitudes. … **(Paragraph 2)**

… Anti-feminists dismissed the second-wave feminist opinion that women 'didn't understand the power' that men held over them … One 'feminist demand' … was that of the implementation of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). … However, … staunch opposition to women achieving the legislative equality detailed in the ERA became highly visible throughout the 1970s. By 1975, 14 states had ratified* the ERA, where 16 had rejected it, exposing that the efforts of the WRM had not succeeded in convincing a considerable portion of US citizens to endorse equality … **(Paragraph 3)**

… on 11 October 1963, the President's commission on the Status of Women published the report *American women*. …, which recommended that young girls should receive 'teaching of home management' from an early age, … thus demonstrating that patriarchal expectations of women remained prominent* at the beginning of the 1960s. … In 1969, … a report entitled *A Matter of Simple Justice* was produced … stating that 'discrimination' towards women was dangerously 'widespread and pervasive*', … Despite this, Nixon made a conscious effort to suppress the report, … an incredibly strong indicator that attitudes towards women had not particularly changed. **(Paragraph 4)**

[Adapted and available online at: <https://www.thebristorian.co.uk/essays/https/wwwthebristoriancouk/blog/womens-rights-movement-1960s-america> Accessed on 16 February 2022]

*WRM – Women's Rights Movement
***profound** – intense and powerful
**The Feminine Mystique* – a work of the WRM written by Betty Friedan
*suburban domesticity – home and family life in the suburbs
*resolution – decision
*vetoed – refused to allow
*patriarchal – refers to a government or society controlled by men
*ratified – to give official, formal approval
*prominent – seen happening all over
*pervasive – present and noticeable everywhere

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SOURCE D **This is a photograph taken on November 19 1977, showing Phyllis Schlafly speaking to a rally of those who wanted to protest the feminist-led National Women's Conference. Schlafly was a conservative who campaigned to stop the Equal Rights Amendment Act (ERA) from being passed. STOP ERA activists filled Houston's Astro Arena to capacity, many holding posters citing Christian ethics and slogans denouncing the ERA, abortion, and lesbian rights.**



[Available online at: <https://www.townandcountrymag.com/leisure/arts-and-culture/g32147431/stop-era-phyllis-schlafly-movement-photos/?slide=9>
Accessed on 16 February 2022]

SOURCE E **This is an extract from an article published online. It looks at the impact of the Women's Movement.**

… The book [*The Feminine Mystique*] and politics in the 1960s led to some initial victories for the emerging second-wave women's movement ... Other changes, including the introduction of the contraceptive pill and the introduction of abortion … began to have political ramifications*. The pill, … allowed women to delay childbirth and establish careers in many cases. Abortion also gave women greater choices about rearing children …

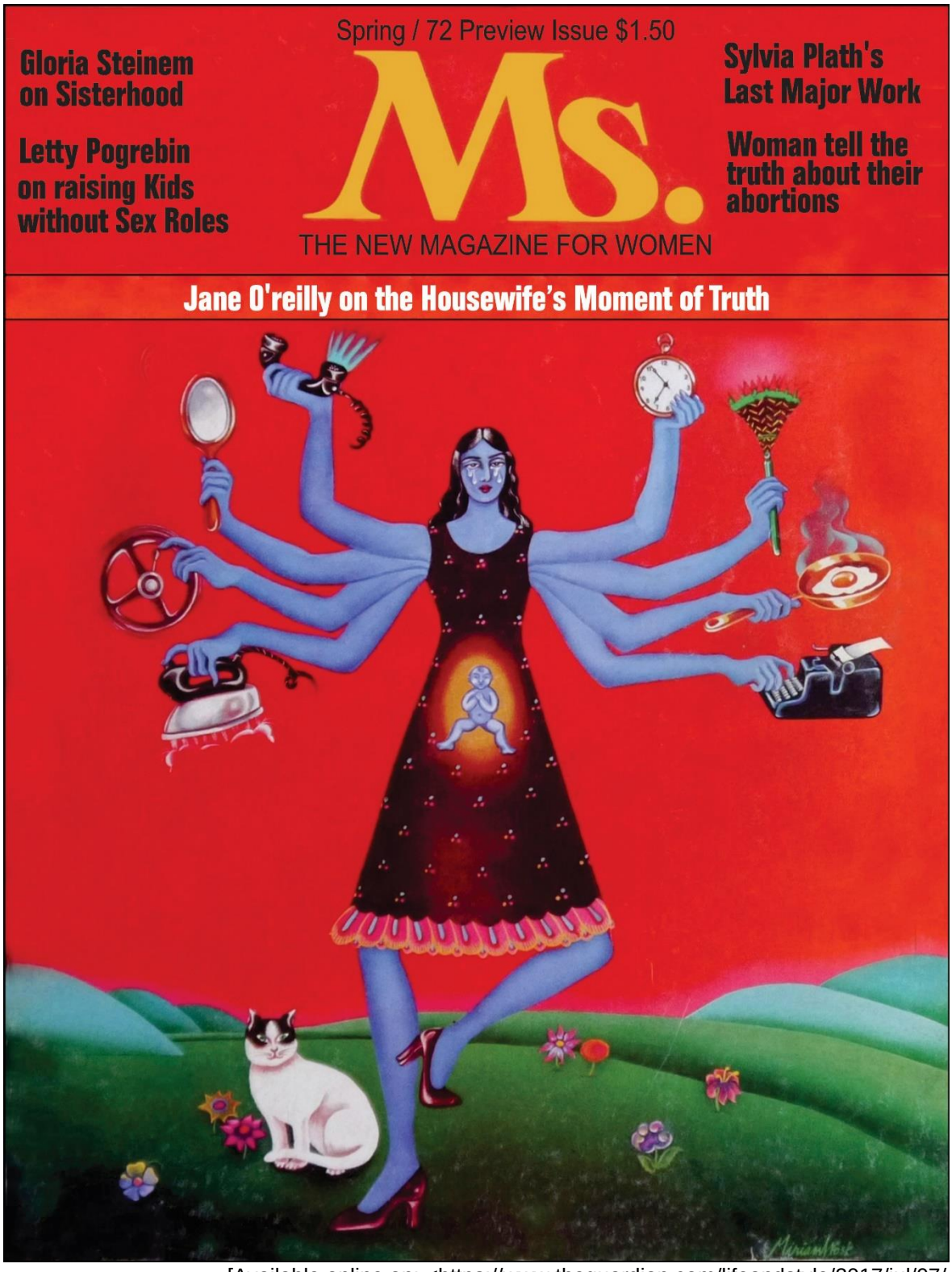
… Major social changes, such as women's participation in the labor force, … forced a major social awareness movement that questioned the roles of gender in society. Major works of literature began to question perceived traditional gender roles and exposed social problems created by such roles on women. Two movements emerged … While one worked to change society from within, using legislation and social pressure, the other, radical movement questions fundamentally if society's hierarchical* and patriarchal nature was the main problem. Both these movements made major contributions … through their influence on society in general …

[Adapted and available online at:<What was the Second Wave Feminist Movement – DailyHistory.org>
Accessed on 17 February 2022]

*ramifications – a complex consequence of an action
*hierarchical – arranged in a ranking order – highest to lowest

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SOURCE F **This is the front cover of the first issue of *Ms.,* an American feminist magazine, in 1972 – the first periodical ever to be created, owned, and operated entirely by women. The magazine was co-founded by Gloria Steinem**.



[Available online on: <https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2017/jul/07/sheila-michaels-who-brought-ms-into-mainstream-dies-aged-78> Accessed on 17 February 2022]

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SOURCE G **The following is an extract from an article written by Gregory L. Schneider, a professor from Emporia State University, for the BRI*: 'Phyllis Schlafly and the Debate over the Equal Rights Amendment'. It describes Phyllis Schlafly's role in opposing the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). Date of publication unknown.**

… in 1973, the Supreme Court legalized abortion nationwide in a 7–2 vote in the case known as *Roe v. Wade*. Then Phyllis Schlafly entered the debate, … Schlafly's argument was that women's rights were already protected under the Constitution and that the ERA would undermine the family, 'the basic unit of society, which is ingrained in the laws and customs of our Judeo-Christian civilization'. The modern American woman would lose the protection of father and husband and the 'Christian tradition of chivalry*,' which supported the family and shielded women in the case of divorce or separation. Schlafly also attacked the ERA as undermining the protections that women already possessed and that the ERA would leave women vulnerable to the military draft. … she also defended motherhood and the home in her essay. She … claimed the ERA would lead to co-ed* bathrooms and the promotion of homosexual marriage.

… Schlafly took the lead in challenging feminists in debates and in making appearances in the national media, while her grassroots supporters lobbied at the state level, … Five states proved crucial battlegrounds: Florida, Missouri, Illinois, Oklahoma, and North Carolina. In each state, the STOP ERA forces prevailed*…

[Adapted and available online at:<https://billofrightsinstitute.org/essays/phyllis-schlafly-and-the-debate-over-the-equal-rights-amendment> Accessed on 17 February 2022]

*BRI – Bill of Rights Institute
*chivalry – honourable and courteous behaviour
*co-ed – used by both male and female
*prevailed – was dominant, won

SOURCE H **This is an extract from an online article in Tavaana, an inclusive civic learning community in Iran, which describes the accomplishments of the second wave of the American feminist movement. It was written between 2011 and 2022.**

… By the late 1970s, they [Women's Movement] had made tangible* far-reaching gains, including the outlawing* of gender discrimination in education, college sports, and obtaining financial credit; the banning of employment discrimination against pregnant women; the legalization of abortion and birth control; and the establishment of 'irreconcilable* differences' as grounds for divorce and equalization of property division during divorce. Members of the women's movement were invigorated* by these successes; …

[Adapted and available online at: <https://tavaana.org/en/case-studies/1960s-70s-american-feminist-movement-breaking-down-barriers-women> Accessed on 17 February 2022]

*tangible – something real that can be seen and felt
*outlawing – banning, making it illegal
*irreconcilable – so different from each other that no peace can be made between them
*invigorated – given life and energy

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