The method developed by Herbert Simon to study social movements through analysis of leadership is divided into (a) rhetorical requirements, (b) rhetorical problems, and (c) rhetorical strategies. The author contends that for movement studies in general, Simon does provide a good outline and guide for use by the rhetorician, but that it is difficult to apply this theory to the women's liberation movement, because the leader-centered approach conflicts with evidence that the women's movement seeks to dissuade any hierarchical structure. This may be an insubstantive issue, however, in that whether a specific leader or a group as a whole provides the direction, both must still contend with the rhetorical problems, requirements, and strategies. The author believes that, as an overall goal, contemporary feminists are striving through various rhetorical strategies to achieve the right or power to assert an individual identity.
THE APPLICATION OF HERBERT SIMON'S THEORY OF ANALYZING SOCIAL MOVEMENTS TO WOMEN'S LIBERATION

For rhetoricians, the 1960's have provided innumerable opportunities to initiate studies on movement groups. However, as Herbert Simon stated, "given the usual problems of estimating the effects of a single speech, of assessing the factors that may have produced those effects, and of evaluating the speech in light of the speaker's intent, it is not surprising that few rhetoricians have undertaken the much more difficult task of analyzing the role of persuasion in social movements." Dr. Simon noted that Edwin Black prior to his book, *A Study of Method* (New York, 1965), could find only three articles in the previous decade on this subject in either the *Quarterly Journal of Speech* or *Speech Monographs*.

However, since 1965, there have been several attempts at studying aspects of a movement (i.e., the rhetoric of confrontations, studies of coercive versus persuasive rhetoric and a rhetorical situation analysis of parts of the movement as for instance, a study of the student riots at Columbia University). But studies of the entire movement have been relatively scarce, possibly due to the lack of directional theory or method in which to follow.

Herbert Simon in his article "A Theory of Persuasion for Social Movements," attempts to provide a method to study the entire movement through the analyzation of the leadership. As he puts it, "This paper has attempted to provide a broad framework within which persuasion in social movements, particularly reformist and revolutionary movements, may be analyzed. Derived in large measure from sociological theory and from an examination of contemporary cases, it has examined rhe-
torical processes from the perspective of the leader of a movement. The requirements he must fulfill, the problems he faces, the strategies he may adopt to meet those requirements.\(^3\)

Granting Simon's basic theory, this paper proposes to illustrate the effectiveness of his study by applying it to the newest movement, Women's Liberation.

The Women's Liberation movement began in the mid-1800's when the fore-mothers of the present day feminist strove for women's suffrage, which culminated in 1920 with the ratification of the 19th amendment. However, women were to find out that the right to vote was not the panacea they were looking for. Pollard's and Keck's article "Women's Struggle: An Historical Overview," concluded,

"The Suffragist movement, in limiting its programs to achieving the vote, failed to come to grips with the conditions which kept women down in America...Most of them were shocked that when the vote was achieved in 1920 nothing happened at all. Women were still discriminated against in employment and exploited in the home. And society was certainly no better because women voted."\(^4\)

Today's feminist concur in most respects, for their goals are quite different. It is not that the past generation feminist didn't have the same problems as the today woman, or that they didn't recognize it, for they did. It was just that the old feminist believed the vote would achieve their desired results. Today, women know they didn't, and are trying to change the immediate forms of discrimination.

In stating an overall goal, this author believes that they are striving through varied rhetorical strategies to achieve the right or power to define for themselves just what they are.\(^5\) At present the male decides
through customs what the female wants, her goals and her role in society. It is to be able to choose for themselves just what they want is their desired goals.

The structure of this paper will follow the outline of Simon's paper which he divides into: (a) rhetorical requirements, (b) rhetorical problems, and (c) rhetorical strategies. Considering first rhetorical requirements, he lists three.

The first one is "they must attract, maintain, and mold workers (i.e. followers) into an efficiently organized unit." He says there must be a hierarchy in which people are willing to take orders and give up social pleasures.

At the outset, the women's movement has inherent organizational problems. The inherency resides in the marriage institution. It has been the marriage institution itself which caused the movement to be so late in starting, because the women felt their problem to be unique. And it is this isolation by the marriage institution which makes organization difficult. Redstockings Magazine of July 7, 1969 elaborates, that...

"...Because we live so intimately with our oppressors, in isolation from each other, we have been kept from seeing our personal suffering as a political condition. This creates the illusion that a woman's relationship with her man is a matter in interplay between two unique personalities and can be worked out individually. In reality, every such relationship is a class relationship, and the conflicts between individual men and women are political conflicts that can only be solved collectively."

Further disorganization comes from the belief of women's movement groups that a hierarchy is bad and there should be no leaders. This
is especially evident in the radical groups. Barbara Mehrtof explains,

"...What the women's movement has to do is to develop a self defined class of women based on equality among all. If we keep within our class, the hierarchial structure which results from our displacement among men our struggles will be doomed to failure." 4

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Dr. Simon's second requirement is that they must secure adoption of their product by the larger structure (i.e., the external system, the established order). 9 Here they must enunciate clearly and loudly the deprivations of the larger groups, discriminatory laws and the sharp discrepancies between conditions and expectations. In this the feminist have been successful. The issues of economic discrimination, pay differentials, second-class citizenry roles due to being a mere "sex-symbol," and the issue of abortions have become quite known within the conscious of many women, whether they are doing anything about it or not.

The third requirement Simon notes is "they must react to resistance generated by the larger structure." 10 Resistance must come from reaction of the larger structure which may be either too kind or too restrictive. To both reactions women's movements have counteracted.

Senator Birch Bayh's subcommittee on constitutional amendments which was studying the Equal Rights Amendment in 1970, was confronted by the al-
legations of three Washington D.C. liberationists, that Congress was "fran-
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They argued:

"...the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments promised constitutional equality to black men, but now, after 100 years of legalistic double-dealing in the legislatures and the courts, black people have learned that they must struggle in the streets and seize what is rightfully theirs. For women, as for blacks, equal rights are a beginning. They offer us equal access to higher education, but we know and especially today, that this is an equal opportunity to be shot and slaughtered on the campus.

Finally, they offer us equal representation on juries and equal criminal penalties within a totally corrupt and repressive judicial system. So-called justice for the Panther women in New Haven means being without bail in solitary confinement, being pregnant with no medical care, giving birth under armed guard, having the baby taken away by the State without the mother's consent, and later being used as a bribe for false testimony."12

Resistance to conditions being too restrictive has extended from confronting editors who printed pornographic materials, to picketing the headquarters of candidates for mayor of New York City for failing to take a stand on Women's rights.

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And yet the leaders of such radical liberationist movements faced with the dilemma that such actions might cause women on the periphery of the movement not to identify with the movement,\textsuperscript{21} are yet faced with finding rhetorical methods other than these blatantly attention seeking ones in which their goals might still be made known.\textsuperscript{22} Ergo, the goals and beliefs that marriage is keeping the woman from developing her true self, the protest of the cosmetic industry's not too subtle brainwashing, and the frustrating rebellion that the woman is merely a "sex-symbol," are seeking an acceptable method of expression.

As a result of these dilemmas, the women's movement itself has split, and re-split, trying to adopt to an image that might be acceptable to the larger structure as a whole. It is this split and the arguments within the movement itself as to how best enhance the women's movement, that formulates Simon's third division, the rhetorical strategies.

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SUMMATION

This paper has illustrated the Simon method of studying social groups by applying it to the latest movement, Women's Liberation. For movement studies in general, Simon does provide a good outline and direction by which the rhetorician may use and still not be stifled from using his imagination. It is very adaptable, for one may use the general direction whether one is doing an indepth analysis of a movement, or a more general exploratory one. As to its applicability to the sisterhood, there seems to exist a major contradiction in applying this theory.

The contradiction lies in its basic leader centered orientation, for there is much evidence that the women's movement actively seeks to dissuade any hierarchical structure. However, this contradiction is possibly superficial in that whether a specific leader or the groups as a whole provides the direction, both must still contend with the rhetorical problems, strategies, and requirements. If so, then Simon's method maintains its profitability.

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FOOTNOTES


2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., p. 11.


6. Simon, p. 3.


8. Ibid.

9. Simon, p. 3. 

10. Ibid., p. 4.


12. Ibid.

13. Ti-Grace Atkinson contends that "there is no movement. Movement means going some place and the movement is not going anywhere." (Women's Liberation Revisited Time, March 20, 1972, pp. 30, 31.)


15. Ibid.


21. This was while attending the San Antonio's Mayor's Commission on the status of Women Convention was told very explicitly that this was not a women's liberation meeting even though they discussed such items as economic discrimination, educational discrimination, and why more women should get into politics.


23. Margaret McDowell, p. 196.

24. Ibid.


27. Ibid, p. 190.
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11. Ibid.

12. Ibid.

13. Ti Race Atkinson contends that "there is no movement. Movement means going some place and the movement is not going anywhere." (Women's Liberation Revisited Time, March 20, 1972, pp. 30, 31.)

14. Simon, p. 3.

15. Ibid.


21. This author while attending the San Antonio's Mayor's Commission on the status of Women Convention was told very explicitly that this was not a women's liberation meeting even though they discussed such items as economic discrimination, educational discrimination, and why more women should get into politics.


23. Margaret McDowell, p. 196.

24. Ibid.


27. Ibid, p. 190.