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The Psychology of a Social Justice Movement: Social Justice Feminism as a Case Study

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ABSTRACT *This article undertakes a case study of social justice feminism through four criteria that influence the psyches of social movement participants: grievance, ideology, efficacy, and social embeddedness. The grievance lay with the Second Industrial Revolution. Social justice feminists used an "entering wedge" strategy to promote and pass women's labor legislation to eventually secure state protection of all workers in the United States. The ideology of social justice feminism came from a combination of socialist-influenced thought and the promotion of social justice. The most important element of social justice feminism lay in its efficacy, involving social embeddedness.*

KEYWORDS social psychology of social movements; social justice feminism; case study of social movements; efficacy of social movements; ideology of social movements

In the past 30 years methodological studies of the social psychology of social movements established the theoretical bases of the criteria that influence the psyches of social movement participants, encompassing grievances, efficacy, identity, ideology, group-based anger, and social embeddedness (see Klandermans et al., 2008, p. 996; van Stekelenberg & Klandermans, 2013; van Stekelenburg et al., 2009, p. 817). A practical consideration of a social movement undertaken with a historical context can be essential in illuminating theoretical concepts because such case studies provide models for scholars by demonstrating the actual implementation of the social movement's goals and the success in fulfilling, or failing, those goals. This article undertakes a case study of social justice feminism. From approximately 1907 through 1940 the movement's leaders, from Florence Kelley to Eleanor Roosevelt, used an "entering wedge" strategy to promote and pass women's labor legislation to eventually secure state protection of all workers in the United States. The *grievance* sought to be remedied concerned the baleful working conditions occasioned by the non-violent, but still transformative, developments of the Second Industrial Revolution. The *ideology* of social justice feminism came

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from a combination of the socialist-influenced thought of Kelley and the impetus of Progressive Era women reformers to promote social justice, as evidenced by Rose Schneiderman and Frances Perkins. Perhaps the most important element of social justice feminism lay in its *efficacy.* While confronted by a resurgent conservatism after World War I. The movement nonetheless helped to pass the largest labor legislative agenda before the New Deal, successfully defended hours and minimum wage decisions in the courts from 1908 to 1923 and lobbied for the passages of the *Social Security Act* of 1935 and most important, the *Fair Labor Standards Act* of 1938, the nation's first maximum hours and minimum wage law. This efficacy came partially through a change in strategy which involved *social embeddedness* in 1925, where social justice feminism became an integral part of the New York State Democratic Party. This new strategy reached its apex when social justice feminists successfully reorganized the Women's Division of the Democratic National Committee during the 1930s. The development of these four factors shall be considered in this article.

Finally, while the social justice movement considered here remains limited to white middle and working-class women in the early twentieth-century United States, its consideration remains salient for two reasons. First, we need to consider social movements in their national as well as international contexts. Second, and most important, while recent social movement research shows that issues of social reproduction, such as abortion and birth control, stand as arguably the most internationally important issue for women (Desai, 2007; Salleh, 2017), economic factors such as minimum wages, hours worked, and health and safety conditions also need to be considered because of the basic requirement of subsistence. This became even more important during the Second Industrial Revolution, when the staggering technological and industrial advances brought forth a corresponding plethora of adverse social and economic conditions for the working people of both genders.

The Grievance: The Second Industrial Revolution

As scholars point out, grievances stand at the center of movement participation, whether it comes from moral indignation or from the deprivation of rights (Klandermans, 1997; Walsh, 1981). The Second Industrial Revolution spawned both forms of grievance. Human history naturally focuses on the violent confrontations or revolutions that attempt to overthrow established orders, such as the central conflicts of the eighteenth century, the revolutions in North America and France. But non-violent societal transformations can be equally or even more socially significant. There can be no doubt, for example, that the Information Revolution of the past 40 years dramatically changed global societies and cultures, making information more accessible and communication more instantaneous. The same can be said of the industrial revolutions that started transforming the Western world in the mid-eighteenth

century, and arguably continues today with the infusion of artificial intelligence in the Fourth Industrial Revolution (see Schwab, 2017). Of special significance in this seminal societal development stood the Second Industrial Revolution, which started around 1865 and ended some 50 years later. Throughout the period in question, the United States and Western Europe became more urbanized and industrialized, with new centralizations and refinements in communication and transportation. This new hegemony challenged the dominant ideological infrastructure of the United States, the world's oldest republic, which centered on individualism, the *laissez-faire* principles first enunciated by Adam Smith in his *Wealth of Nations* (1776) and small societal structures (Hounshell, 1984; Scranton, 1997).

In the new industrial order that slowly yet surely enveloped the United States, the corresponding advances in business incorporation and centralization (particularly in the new corporation) and professionalization helped establish a new, if limited, middle societal stratum composed of lawyers, factory clerical workers and managers, and merchants who joined the already-established *bourgeoisie* of clergy and educators (Kloppenberg, 2016). The philosophical and intellectual underpinnings of this new, more prominent middle class can be seen in the observations of Alexis de Tocqueville, the musings of Ralph Waldo Emerson, and the longings of Henry David Thoreau. Middle-class members of the United States' society before 1860 firmly believed in the old principles of self-reliance and hard work, but also tried to center the still-developing society in small-city certainties (Johnson, 2004; Kloppenberg, 2016).

These seeming *bourgeois* certainties, however, soon encountered rough shocks: the martial cataclysm of the Civil War, which dampened beliefs in constant progress and its corresponding sense of optimism, and the Second Industrial Revolution, which produced three important developments. First, the belief in classical *laissez-faire* economic principles became shaken by the radical changes prompted by the Second Industrial Revolution. In addition, new industrial scions such as Andrew Carnegie and intellectuals such as William Graham Sumner eagerly embraced "Social Darwinism," incurred from Charles Darwin's evolving theory of evolution that only the "fittest" of any species survived. Social Darwinists therefore argued that the richest in society deserved their status because of their hard work and sacrifice (Hawkins, 1997). These arguments combined a seeming belief in the old values of individualism and *laissez-faire* economic principles with an *ex post facto* justification for the new economic order's harsh realities and ensuing social inequalities (Dawley, 1991; Diner, 1998; Mansbridge, 1997; McGerr, 2005). Finally, the idea of equity for all inhabitants of this new milieu became subsumed in the "gospel of wealth" hegemony prevalent in the United States after the Civil War's conclusion. Stressing the idea that the average citizen stood as a "rugged individualist," proponents argued that the state's only part centered on protecting private property rights. In conjunction with this civic ideal, the federal and state court systems began developing the concepts of

substantive due process and freedom of contract, through which private corporations not only retained the same rights as individual citizens under the United States Constitution's Fourteenth Amendment but received substantial protection from governmental regulation. Thus such issues as wages and hours worked could be settled by the private enterprise system, not through the public governmental consensus. These were the new social and cultural parameters that any social movement needed to work within (Carter, 2006; Dayton, 1995; Dubofsky, 1994; Friedman, 1985, pp. 521-523; Gabriel & Walker, 1986; Hounshell, 1984; Maier, 2003; Scranton, 1997).

Besides its economic ramifications, the period ensconced by the Second Industrial Revolution also encompassed an element important for the later formulation of social justice feminism: the immense demographic changes that occurred in the United States from approximately 1880 through 1920. Encouraged by capitalistic scions looking for sources of cheap labor, and emboldened by the nation's unrestricted immigration policy, an estimated 25 million people from Southern and Eastern Europe entered the United States during that period, dramatically increasing the national population from an estimated 75 to over 100 million persons (Martin, 2014; see also Bodnar, 1985; Dubofsky, 1996; Hounshell, 1984; Scranton, 1997). An underlying question that arose from the development, and one that Florence Kelley would attempt to answer, concerned whether these new immigrants could be included in the general, national discourse (see Castle & Davidson, 2000; Motomura, 2007). The answer initially seemed a negative one. While the Second Industrial Revolution brought landmark economic and social developments, the transformation also brought new problems, such as abusive working conditions and cluttered, dirty living areas. But without any visibility in the two most important social areas, the expanding economy and the courtroom, lawmakers throughout the United States felt no urgency in including much of the new industrial workforce – not coincidentally new immigrants – within the nation's power structure (Dubofsky, 1994; Jackson, 1998).

Another important change during the period of the Second Industrial Revolution centered on the redevelopment of the United States' social milieu. Before the rise of the new industrial order, the great majority of inhabitants in the United States lived in what historian Robert Wiebe (1967) called "island communities" (p. 22): isolated rural towns with their own tight-knit value systems. That communal system now faced a loss of cohesion in the wake of sweeping changes in transportation and communication, the development of complex corporations and national media outlets, and perhaps above all, a rapid, poorly planned out urbanization that resulted in horrible working conditions and cluttered, dirty living areas. To replace this lost cohesion, middle-class reformers embarked on what Wiebe (1967) called a "search for order" (p. 40).

By the 1890s a significant social movement formulated to undertake a response to the new issues and corresponding problems confronting the United States. This movement, eventually known as progressivism, encompassed both

male and female reformers (Cott, 1987; see also Ryan, 1992). But female reformers in the United States faced an especially difficult situation, particularly when confronting their bifurcated citizenship status. While getting some rights, such as the retention of property rights after marriage, women still confronted the paradox of patriarchal domination, particularly in the denial of a full-fledged right to vote. Scholars have pointed out, however, that such deprivation of political power did not mean the corresponding loss of social influence; white women certainly became important parts of the abolitionist and suffragist movements. But even the accomplishments resulting from such agency could not naturally resolve a quandary facing white women progressive reformers in the late nineteenth century: how to implement direct, effective means of amelioration for the negative effects of the Second Industrial Revolution. A prominent member of the progressive movement in the United States soon provided an answer (Sklar, 1995a).

Florence Kelley, Rose Schneiderman, Frances Perkins, and the Formation of Social Justice Feminism's Ideology

Florence Kelley presented a typical example of the middle class's search for order amidst the radical transformation of the United States. By the time she died at the age of 76 in 1932, Kelley had headed one of the nation's leading reform organizations, the National Consumers' League (NCL), for over a third of a century. Kelley also mentored such diverse female leaders such as Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins and political organizer Mary Williams (Molly) Dewson, but she also worked with two Supreme Court Justices, Louis Brandeis and Felix Frankfurter. Frankfurter, who worked with Kelley for almost 10 years as the NCL's general counsel, remembered that his colleague "had probably the largest single share in shaping the social history of the United States during the first thirty years of [the twentieth] century" (Goldmark, 1953, p. 5).

Born in the Germantown area of Philadelphia, Kelley grew up in a highly political and reformist atmosphere. Her father, Republican Congressman William Kelley, represented Pennsylvania's Fourth District seat from 1860 through 1890. A political maverick who eventually broke with his party leadership over its preference for capital, Kelley still felt pride in his state's formidable resources. Florence later recalled visiting a steel factory with her father in 1871, where the two received a first-hand look at the revolutionary Bessemer iron-ore process that enabled the massive growth of the Keystone State's steel industry (Sklar, 1995a). The experience proved key to her realizing industry's great power (Kelley, 1926). In addition, Kelley found herself influenced by her maternal Quaker aunt, Sarah Pugh. As historian Paula Baker (1984) notes, women's political activism in the mid-nineteenth century did not yet encompass direct involvement in political parties, not least because of the inability to vote. While the women's movement initiated in 1848 after

the historic convention in Seneca Falls, New York, slowly gained prominence, suffrage did not become an important issue until after the Civil War. Instead, reform-minded women expressed their activism through petition-signing and the formation of voluntary organizations. The outstanding example of this pre-Civil War agency became the abolitionist movement, in which Philadelphia Quakers such as Pugh took an essential part in such organizations as the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society. Frances Perkins later noted that Kelley's early reform convictions reflected the Quakers' "concern" about social justice. Thus, from both sides of her family Kelley received an extensive education in both political acumen and reform agency from her early years onwards (Baker, 1984; Perkins, 1946; Sklar, 2000).

After graduating from Cornell College in 1882, one of the few colleges at that time accepting women as students in the United States, Kelley became enraptured with a rising social movement in Europe – socialism. Over the past 20 years scholars have increasingly demonstrated the transnational importance of reformers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (see Rogers, 2009). Florence Kelley fully participated in this transoceanic dialogue. After her college graduation Kelley pursued graduate studies at Heidelberg, Germany, eventually transferring to the University of Zurich. During her postgraduate studies Kelley wrote letters to suffragist publications urging proponents, particularly the National Woman's Suffrage Association, to consider working women a vital part of their constituency. Noting that German working women constituted an important part of that nation's burgeoning Workingman's Party, Kelley further argued that the inclusion of working women in the suffrage movement could be just as beneficial a result. Of primary importance in such an effort, she argued, lay in the establishment of an overall platform that could attract working women's support in the United States (Sklar et al., 1998, pp. 79-85). She also noted that German intellectuals such as August Bebel recognized the importance of women's emancipation and suffrage and urged her readers to read the recent translation of Bebel's work, *Women in the Past, Present, and Future* (1883). Kelley continued to believe, moreover, in the importance of transnational dialogue, continuing to write in German publications throughout the 1890s about her personal experiences with the "sweating system," or sweatshops as a factory inspector in Illinois (see Sklar et al., 1998, pp. 104-108).

While in Zurich Kelley further engaged in dialogue with European reformers, particularly socialists. Her most important contact became Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx's closest confidant who not only edited *Das Kapital* (1867) after Marx's death and co-authored the *Communist Manifesto* (1848), but also wrote influential books such as *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (1844) (Hunt, 2010). Impressed with his writing, Kelley wrote Engels in late 1885, proposing to translate *The Condition of the Working Class in England* into English. Encouraged by his positive response, she proceeded with the translation and secured its publication in the United States (Sklar & Palmer, 2009, p. 29). In a letter to Engels during the summer of 1886, several months

after their first contact, Kelley stated that the publication might spur labor action in the United States. “Thousands of workmen,” she added, could be “pushed by the development of the capitalist system to act directly in the spirit of socialism” (Letter from Florence Kelley to Friedrich Engels, June 9, 1886, as cited in Sklar & Palmer, 2009, p. 31). Kelley, moreover, hoped that such labor action could effectively counter the growing power of industrialists in the United States, who established an overall social justice feminism falsely promoting harmonious relations between capital and labor through self-protective business associations as the Chamber of Commerce (Sklar & Palmer, 2009, p. 32).

A newly married Kelley returned to the United States in 1887, determined to establish socialism in her native nation. But she soon became disillusioned. Writing to Engels in late 1887 Kelley noted how workingmen in her experience only wanted to believe in the “protectionist sophistry” of Republicans, such as high tariffs, and to abandon promising labor party candidates for the “bourgeoisie party man” (Letter from Kelley to Engels, December 28, 1887, as cited in Sklar & Wilson (2009, p. 37). She also noted that labor leader Samuel Gompers, who led the American Federation of Labor, ambivalently supported eight-hour legislation (Kelley & Wilson, 2009). But in the midst of her disappointment, the always-resourceful Kelley began gathering data on child labor and community education, starting an important part of her life (Letters to Kelley to Engels, March 29, 1888 and ca. July 1888, as cited in Sklar & Palmer, 2009, pp. 40-42).

In 1891, deciding to leave her apparently abusive husband and to relocate her three children, Kelley joined Chicago’s Hull House community created by her new friend and social activist, Jane Addams (Sklar, 1985). Writing to Engels after her move, Kelley noted to her correspondent that Hull House constituted a community of “intelligent women” who made trade unionism their primary aim. She continued to note that “root and branch socialism” continued to attract the support of prosperous people concerned about industrialism’s ill effects, but wage earners, Kelley continued, continued to be “the shallowest beings” she ever experienced, unwilling to go beyond their traditional allegiances to socialism (Letter from Kelley to Engels, November 8, 1891, as cited in Sklar & Palmer, 2009, pp. 59-60). Kelley also used her newly established industrial research skills to further benefit by becoming a special agent for the Illinois Bureau of Labor on women’s factory work. In her continuing correspondence with Engels, Kelley declared her disgust at the wretched living conditions in Chicago’s working people’s quarters, “worse than I have seen outside of Naples and the East Side of New York” (Letter from Kelley to Engels, May 27, 1892, as cited in Sklar & Palmer, 2009, p. 59). Yet, despite these conditions, she found the working class still unwilling to defy industrialists and to leave the Republican and Democratic parties. This situation apparently seemed more frustrating in the context of the recent incident in Haymarket Square and the subsequent, controversial executions of the supposed instigators (Green, 2007). In a subsequent letter, Kelley fully

expressed her deepening amazement and disgust with labor's continuing reluctance to embrace reform. Working people only saw socialists as "bores, nuisances, and professional promoters of discord" (Letter from Kelley to Engels, November 27, 1892, as cited in Sklar and Palmer, 2009, p. 61).

Failing to establish an effective socialist-based movement, Kelley sought other ways to establish a reformist solution to the Second Industrial Revolution. Two important experiences helped her in such an effort. First, Governor John Peter Altgeld appointed Kelley Illinois's chief factory inspector in 1893. The first woman to be appointed to such a position in the United States, Kelley quickly worked to promote and to pass an eight-hour bill for working women through the Illinois legislature in 1894. Within a year, however, the state's highest court declared the law unconstitutional. This unpalatable decision nonetheless impressed upon Kelley the importance of the United States' courts in the success, or lack thereof, of any legislative attempts to regulate the industrial system. Kelley therefore broadened her knowledge by acquiring a law degree from Northwestern University. Her second and arguably most important experience came from her appointment as general secretary of the NCL in 1899. The coalition provided a new opportunity to fight industrial ills not only because of its goal to improve industrial conditions, but because of its access to other reformist organizations in New York City such as the national Women's Trade Union League (Sklar, 1995b; Storrs, 2000). Kelley would soon take the NCL and use its organizational strengths to establish a social movement that could provide an effective response to the United States's new industrial problems.

Until around 1907 Kelley concentrated on both organizing and expanding the NCL, as well as encouraging the use of voluntary guidelines in industries to encourage improved working and sanitary conditions. But she eventually decided to create a movement called social justice feminism. This not only represented a practical means of effectuating a social movement, but also reflected a growing trend among Progressive reformers. Social justice arose as a concept as reformers confronted the social question of reconciling industrial and technological advancements with preserving the dignity of working people. The term, with its original social and religious connotations, appealed to a middle class in the United States fearful of the Second Industrial Revolution, but still wary of the seemingly radical theorems of Marxism. In addition, reformers such as Kelley wanted to extend the meaning of the word "justice," only previously used in legalistic contexts as a safeguard against the invasion of property rights, as a means of questioning capitalism (Diner, 1998; Mansbridge, 1998; McGerr, 2005; Sklar et al., 1998, p. x) As explained in the next section, Kelley would take her socialist-influenced ideology and use it as the basis of the new movement's strategy and accomplishments.

While Florence Kelley initially established the ideology of social justice feminism, two other important leaders sharpened the social justice focus of that ideology: Rose Schneiderman and Frances Perkins. A fiery, determined Jewish-American woman, Schneiderman (1882-1972) addressed the Women's

Industrial Conference in January 1926 as the president of the national Women's Trade Union League. Her talk focused on the part trade unions played in establishing a sense of citizenship among their members. Schneiderman defined the quest as including "the right to be born well, the right to a carefree and happy childhood, the right to education, [and] the right to mental, physical, and spiritual growth and development." Without these rights to "industrial justice," Schneiderman concluded, full participation in the political process of the United States by working women would become difficult (Schneiderman, 1926, n.p.). Schneiderman knew well the importance of such citizenship rights in the lives of industrial workers because she experienced first-hand such experiences. A Polish immigrant at the age of eight, Schneiderman abandoned her study of Hebrew, and then eventually secondary school itself, after her father died in 1892. Experiencing directly the ravages of the New York garment industry, Schneiderman quickly became an important member of New York City's women's trade union movement. In 1903, she co-organized Local 23 of the Jewish Socialist United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers' Union. After a strike in early 1904 increased the employees' wages, the factory owners insisted on an open shop. "The bosses intended gradually to get rid of us," she stated in a subsequent article, "employing in our place child labor and raw immigrant girls who would work for next to nothing." Financially supported by the trade union's national board, Local 23 struck for 13 weeks. The employers not only withdrew their open shop demand but even increased the returning workers' wages again. "Our trade is well-organized," Schneiderman later declared, "we have won two victories and are not going backward." This comment not only summarized the cap makers' solidarity but also reflected Schneiderman's commitment to trade unionism (Nutter, 1999, p. 407; Schneiderman, 1905).

Simultaneously, Schneiderman also became part of the New York Women's Trade Union League (NYWTUL), the New York branch of a national organization created in 1903 to promote women's unions. NYWTUL president Mary Dreier specifically recruited Schneiderman because of her prominence in New York City's trade union movement. Over the next 14 years Schneiderman worked with her middle-class colleagues such as Dreier in supporting female garment workers, particularly in the long, contentious waist makers' general strike of 1909-1910. In addition, she started working with the social justice feminist movement with the establishment of the Factory Investigating Commission (FIC) in March 1911. Created after the March 1911 Triangle Shirtwaist Factory fire, which killed 141 women workers, the FIC became more than just the usual report-producing investigating agency, proposing and passing through the New York State legislature by 1916 nearly 60 labor and safety laws, ranging from women's hours laws to fire safety measures in manufacturing establishments (see Kerr, 1971). This became the largest labor legislative agenda enacted in the United States before the advent of the New Deal (Miller, 2016, pp. 123-124). Over the next four years Schneiderman became an effective liaison between women's reform

organizations, the FIC, and the state legislature. She lobbied organizations such as the Young Women's Christian Association and state legislators, convincing one reluctant lawmaker to look at evidence that "long hours and factory work were demoralizing to women" (Letter from Schneiderman to Ecob, 22 May 1911, as cited in Schneiderman Papers, Microfilm Edition, Reel 1). Thus, Schneiderman learned not only how to accomplish capital-labor equity through trade union activism but also through legislation. She would continue to support social justice feminism, at least through its New York State dominion.

Frances Perkins (1880-1965) came from a far different background than Schneiderman: growing up in a middle-class New England family, attending one of the prestigious "Seven Sisters" colleges, Mount Holyoke, and entering social work, a profession that ostensibly combined a sense of social obligation and sufficient income to become a white-collar professional. But her fortunate circumstances led her to embrace the cause of progressive reform, eventually social justice feminism. She personally witnessed the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory fire, during which workers plunged to their deaths from the factory building because of the lack of adequate fire escapes. Perkins devoted herself thereafter to aligning more with the interests of Kelley, her mentor, and lobbying to enact the resulting labor legislation from the FIC, especially the successful passage of a 54-hour law for working women. Her formation of close friendships with New York State assemblyman Alfred E. Smith and State Senator Robert F. Wagner led to her being appointed to the main body overseeing the state's manufacturing system, the New York State Industrial Board in 1919. By 1931 she became New York State Industrial Commissioner and a key advisor to Franklin D. Roosevelt, Smith's successor. During her term as Industrial Commissioner Perkins promoted the idea of unemployment compensation. By March 1933, due in part to her friendship with Roosevelt, but also in part to her considerable expertise in labor issues and proven administrative ability, Perkins became United States Secretary of Labor, the first female Cabinet member in the nation's history. She served in that office until 1945 (Downey, 2009; Martin, 1976; Perkins, 1946). At a 1929 luncheon celebrating her appointment as Industrial Commissioner, Perkins told the assembled audience that "social justice is possible in a great industrial society" (Perkins, 1929, p. 1). She then noted that Kelley's efforts had demonstrated how social and economic institutions could be modified to "create real happiness and welfare for people who cannot govern and control their own conditions of life (p. 2). Thus, by the late 1920s the quest for social justice united all social justice feminists, regardless of class.

The Efficacy of Social Justice Feminism, 1907-1933

Efficacy encompasses movement participants' expectations that it can be possible to effectuate social change at minimal cost (Gamson, 1992; Klandermans, 1997). Social justice feminism fulfilled expectations in its first

10 years. Such efficacy involved the formulation of two key concepts in the creation of social justice feminism. First, social justice feminists sought to use the promotion and passage of women's labor legislation as an entering wedge for the eventual inclusion of all workers under state protection. As the young Harvard Law School professor and NCL general counsel Felix Frankfurter argued in a 1916 *Harvard Law Review* article, "once we cease to look upon the regulation of women . . . as exceptional . . . and shift the emphasis from the fact that they are women to the fact that it is *industry* . . . which is regulated, the whole problem is seen from a totally different aspect" (Frankfurter, 1916, p. 367). Thus, in social justice feminism's view, labor legislation establishing protection of working women would provide invaluable precedents for the eventual inclusion of workers, regardless of gender. In addition, social justice feminists sought to establish this gender-specific aim by establishing both cross-class and cross-gender alliances. By 1911, for example, rising working women leaders such as Schneiderman, and key institutional counterparts such as the NYWTU became important parts of social justice feminism. At the same time Kelley and other social justice feminists in New York, then the United States' most prominent industrialized state, began forming an important alliance with the FIC. This early strategy embraced what scholars call social embeddedness, or the interaction of social movement networks. As scholars point out, such embeddedness plays an important part in social protest, since networks provide for both the starting and distributing of information critical to the movement's opponents (Paxton, 2002).

But Kelley did not only establish social justice feminism within such natural boundaries as labor and sympathetic legislative allies. Remembering her failure concerning hours legislation in Illinois, she centered her efforts on what scholar Margaret R. Somers calls the "national legal sphere," or the area that concerns nationwide legal institutions and statutory discourses occurring within a nation (Somers, 1993, p. 596; see also Hall, 2002). Of especial importance to the success of promoting and passing women's labor legislation, moreover, lay in convincing state and federal courts that such statutes would not violate one of the cornerstones of the dominant capitalistic ideology, the "liberty of contract" principle. The first opportunity to establish influence within the United States' legal sphere came with the *Muller v. Oregon* (1908) case. An Oregon bakery owner challenged the state's new hours law for women workers. Kelley and her long-time research secretary, Josephine Goldmark, subsequently worked with the prestigious attorney Louis Brandeis to defend the statute when the employer's appeal finally reached the Supreme Court. The three collaborated on what eventually became known as the "Brandeis brief," a legal document that combined, for the first time, sociological evidence as well as legal precedents for an argument before the nation's highest court. A majority of Supreme Court justices approved this technique, upholding the law as "reasonable" and thus constitutional. No longer did the United States' court system apparently take comfort in the abstract realities of contractual obligation; instead it would take note of the arguments advanced by an

alternative social justice feminism based on actual evidence of the Second Industrial Revolution's deleterious effects on industrial workers (Muller v. Oregon, 1908). After this first success, the NCL legal network, in which Frankfurter replaced Brandeis when the latter lawyer became a Supreme Court justice in 1916, eventually spread its efforts into New York, convincing its Court of Appeals, the state's highest court, to overrule a previous decision declaring night work legislation unconstitutional in *People v. Charles Schweinler Press* (1915), based on an evidentiary defense similar to that used in *Muller v. Oregon* (1908). In addition, the legal network continued its successful defense of labor legislation in the Supreme Court, culminating in *Bunting in Oregon* (1917), where a majority of the Supreme Court Justices extended previous affirmations of the constitutionality of labor legislation by ruling that men's working hours limitations did not violate the liberty of contract principle (Bunting v. Oregon, 1917; People v. Charles Schweinler Press, 1915).

By the time the United States entered World War I in April 1917, it appeared as though social justice feminists could claim significant advances not only in their entering wedge strategy, but also in constructing an alternative social justice feminism that not only challenged, but influenced the predominately paternalistic, *laissez-faire* capitalistic dominant public culture. But circumstances would soon put those assumptions into doubt, and force social justice feminists to rethink their alternative social justice feminism. National progressivism's natural optimism found a ready outlet in the idealistic concepts of Woodrow Wilson's declaration of making a "world made safe for democracy" through the United States' military involvement in World War I, but such hope ended in disillusionment with the rejection of the Treaty of Versailles (Dawley, 2003), Within two years of the war's end Warren G, Harding's presidency heralded the return of *laissez-faire* capitalism and the decline of legislative regulation of such a system. Individualism and capitalistic endeavor now became paramount again, exemplified by President Calvin Coolidge's declaration in 1925 that the "chief business of the American people is business" (Coolidge, 1925, para. 10).

In addition, the effects of the Russian Revolution, which definitively established the Bolsheviks in national power, caused a severe counterreaction for advocates of alternative social justice feminisms in the United States. The anti-capitalist, anti-individualistic doctrines espoused by Vladimir Lenin and his new Russian ruling coterie directly countered the prevailing hegemonic discourse established in the United States. In addition, the series of bombings carried out from New York City's Wall Street to the home of the United States Attorney General in Washington, D.C., unleashed a series of governmental reprisals eventually known as the first "Red Scare." Direct supporters of Bolshevism, or, more significantly, anyone who could be "associated" with this philosophy, found themselves deported, such as the long-time anarchist Emma Goldman. Others, usually citizens of the United States not so easily physically ostracized found themselves socially and culturally excluded.

Kelley and Addams became victims of the indirect exclusions, the latter most of all because of her pacifist views during the recently concluded war and her support of Theodore Roosevelt's Progressive Party during the 1912 presidential campaign (Bethke Elshtain, 2001; Davis, 1973; Pons, 2014; Wilson, 2007).

Two pertinent examples of this postwar decline of progressivism and its corresponding effects on women's organizations can be readily seen in the formation and activities of the Women's Joint Legislative Conference (WJLC) and the further efforts of the NCL legal network. Formed in 1917 by social justice feminists in New York, the WJLC contained over 20 women's reform organizations determined to continue social justice feminism's "entering wedge" strategy. But this strategy soon encountered extreme difficulties as an effective counter network of business interests and female opponents of women's labor legislation, particularly members of the newly formed National Woman's Party (NWP), joined dominant Republican Party leaders in the state legislature to block further gender-specific legislation (Ware, 1987, pp. 144-145). Perhaps more important, the legal network's efforts ended in dramatic fashion in 1923; Frankfurter, now heading the NCL's legal efforts, tried to defend a minimum wage law passed in the District of Columbia for women before the United States Supreme Court. But in the years between the end of World War I and the arguments in *Adkins v. Children's Hospital* (1923), several conservatives, most prominently Chief Justice of the United States William Howard Taft and Associate Justice George Sutherland, received confirmation to serve on the nation's highest court. In the spring of 1923 the new conservative majority declared the statute to be unconstitutional, the first such decision in 15 years. In the ensuing decade this sudden reversal in policy continued, but increasing tensions between Frankfurter and Kelley over an appropriate response to the Supreme Court's new intransigence effectively ended the NCL legal network (Adkins v. Children's Hospital, 1923).

By 1925, the most important social feminist leader to succeed Kelley began the developments that brought new networks to social justice feminism in a new strategy of social embeddedness. Eleanor Roosevelt joined the social justice feminist movement in the early 1920s as her interest in both politics and social issues grew. After becoming head of the women's division of the New York State Democratic Party in 1921, Roosevelt, along with her protegees like Molly Dewson, established a partnership with the patriarchal leadership of that party through a combination of lobbying, campaign organizing, and the installing of a strong network of politically active, shrewd women throughout the state (Cook, 1999).

Thus by the mid-1920s social justice feminism redeveloped its facility as an alternative social justice feminism to encompass direct political and governmental means; The new approach did not mean immediate success; although a 48-hour law for working women received adoption through the New York State legislature in 1927, it took another six years for a minimum wage law for the same group to be enacted. National political developments,

however, would soon take the alternative social justice feminism of social justice feminism into its most significant stage.

The 1930s represented the most definitive break with the dominant individualistic-capitalistic mainstream discourse in United States history. With over a third of the working and middle-class populations unemployed through the areas most affected by the Second Industrial Revolution, the ensuing economic desperation of the Great Depression provided for a new fluidity in political discourse. The movements of fascism and international Communism seemingly offered new alternatives to both recovering from the economic holocaust and to providing a future, beneficial societal and financial infrastructure. When Franklin D. Roosevelt assumed the United States presidency on March 4, 1933, his announcements of dramatic action through national legislation seemingly provided a moderate course between the apparent twin threats of extreme leftism and rightism. It also provided an opportunity for the alternative social justice feminism provided by social justice feminism to assume a national prominence (Eichengreen, 2018; Moser, 2015; Rothermund, 1996).

In the five years before Roosevelt's first presidential inauguration, social justice feminism became an integral part of the national Democratic party through the efforts of Eleanor Roosevelt and Dewson. Roosevelt became head of the women's division of the Democratic National Committee (DNC) in 1929; when her husband's presidential nomination in 1932 necessitated her resignation, Dewson assumed the position (Kim, 1999). The next year Dewson became the first full-time director of the DNC in 1933 (Ware, 1981, 1987). Over the next three years Dewson helped make the Women's Division not only as the primary force for social justice feminism within the Roosevelt Administration, but also established the organization as a catalyst for the increased participation of women throughout the United States (Cook, 1999; Ware, 1987). Most important, the original entering wedge strategy first enunciated by Florence Kelley finally reached fruition nearly 30 years later. In the fall of 1935 Congress passed the Social Security Act which provided retirement benefits for most workers in the nation, regardless of gender. Three years later, the Fair Labor Standards Act, the nation's first federal maximum hours and minimum wages law for workers, received passage through the national legislature. The last statute did not fully remedy wage inequity, especially among domestic and agricultural workers, but it did provide a framework for employment that continues to the present day (Sklar, 1995b).

But along with these major successes, certain limitations that came with social justice feminism's inclusion within the national party system limited its effectiveness as an alternative social justice feminism. The first came in a gendered sense. Kelley established social justice feminism within cross-gendered, relatively independent spheres as the NCL legal network. But participation in state and national politics after 1925 meant that social justice feminists needed to cooperate within a naturally patriarchal establishment within the national Democratic party.

Conclusion

The theoretical methodology of the social psychology of social movements became well-established by the end of the last decade, encompassed in the criteria of grievances, efficacy, identity, ideology, group-based anger, and social embeddedness. The use of case studies can be illuminating because it provides a practical overview of how the criteria involved can be illuminated in actual social movements. Social justice feminism, a social movement in the United States which existed from roughly 1907 through 1940, well-demonstrates the effective use of the criteria in question here. The grievance that social justice feminism went against encompassed the disadvantages of the transformative Second Industrial Revolution, which included dire working and living conditions for the new industrial workforce. The ideology of the movement came from the socialist-influenced ideas of Florence Kelley and the impetus of Progressive Era women committed to social justice, which included working-class leaders such as Rose Schneiderman and middle-class proponents such as Frances Perkins. The efficacy of social justice feminism stands as its most important feature. Starting with an entering wedge strategy that centered on the promotion and passage of women's labor legislation to eventually incorporate all workers under state protection, the movement encountered successes from 1907 through 1917 through the promotion and passage of the largest labor legislative agenda before the advent of the New Deal and the defense of women's hours laws and minimum wage laws in the court system. A resurgent conservatism after World War I, however, led to legislative setbacks in New York State and most important, the 1923 Supreme Court decision declaring women's minimum wage legislation (Adkins v. Children's Hospital, 1923). By 1925, however, social justice feminism used a new strategy of social embeddedness by creating an alliance with the New York State Democratic Party through the efforts of Eleanor Roosevelt. The apex of social justice feminism came in the 1930s. Molly Dewson reorganized and led the Women's Division of the Democratic National Committee, which helped promote and pass the Social Security Act of 1935 and most important, the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, the United States's first minimum wage and maximum hours law. The decline of the New Deal, and the start of World War II, effectively ended social justice feminism. But the movement shows definite correlation with the criteria established by social psychologists since the 1980s.

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