

Comparing and Contrasting the Women's Rights Movement from the 1960s and Today

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Throughout history, society has downgraded women. They have not been treated equally and did not have many rights. Women used to not have rights in education and were seen out of the norm when they wanted to seek an education or a job before the late 20th century. In the 1920s, after the Suffrage Movement women won the right to vote based on the Nineteenth Amendment. After many years, in the 1960s, women felt that the first movement was not successful enough and created a second wave of feminist movements pushing for more equality in the workforce and abortion rights. Some movements women created in the 1960s were NOW and Women's Liberation movement. Although the years have passed, women today still protest about their right of their own body and equal pay. In January 2017, over one million people protested for women's rights around the nation, which shows how women still feel downgraded by society in a way. Despite the fact that the Women's March Movement has been inspired by the Women's rights movement from the 1960s, there are many differences such as diversity, the image of women, and the goals.

For many centuries, society viewed women as a reproductive creature instead of a human. Men were seen as superior because of their physical strength and their way of thinking. Despite that fact, women as well could think and were physically strong equally. Women were expected to give birth to children and follow their husbands even if they were not happy. According to Anne Koedt, a radical feminist, unmarried women were not seen as women because they did not follow society's standards.¹ Based on this statement, unmarried women could not feel the fulfillment a married women with children could feel. This is the reason they were not seen as women. These women were

seen as failures that did not meet their society's norms.

Although society and the men in society viewed the unmarried women as failures, they never asked how married women actually felt. Married women felt frustrated during the 1960s era that they did not have the freedom their husbands had in society. They wanted to pursue the same careers and contribute to their husband's income as well. Society put women in a position that only considered them a reproductive machine and not a human. The frustrations on how women felt made them connect and unite with each other.

Before the Women's Rights Movement started in the 1960s, middle class white women were living at home, mostly taking care of their children. Women were not considered intelligent and if they sought to look for a job or even to participate in a sport event, they were not considered normal by others. For example, in the PBS film *Women Who Make America*, it is seen that a woman was attacked by a man while participating in a marathon during the 1960s². This is a case that showed how society viewed middle class white women. The woman that was attacked by the man in the marathon was supposed to stay home and not be doing activities that men did. Women were expected to be always happy, thankful, and cheery. Commercials would show them always being happy while cooking and taking care of their family.³ For instance, a woman in one of the following advertisements below seems to be portrayed a better wife if she works hard. In addition, another commercial shows how a woman is happy when she gets a vacuum as a gift for Christmas.

¹ Koedt, Anne "Notes from the First Year: New York Radical Women." *Women's Liberation*. New York Radical Women. New York City. 1968. Web

² Magner, Pamela and Goodman, Barack. *Women Who Make America*. PBS. Film Documentary. February 2013.

³ Ibid. Magner and Goodman.



Examples such as the above falsify what a white woman really wanted to be. Society did not let middle class white women expand. Middle class white women were held at a certain standard during the 1960s that did not let them grow.

In the workforce, women were not being paid well during that period. In the newspaper columns under the “hiring” section, women had separate columns from men.⁵ For example, one column would say “males wanted” and another column would say “females wanted.” Due to this discrimination, many white middle class women were not being hired. As a result, white middle class women stayed at home and that made them miserable. They wanted the same opportunities as men.

Women were getting tired of their lifestyle, which led to one of the movements to be created, the National Organization of Women. This organization had multiple origins, where women came from different background religions and were

⁴ <https://weburbanist.com/2010/06/29/vintage-ads-women-and-the-home/>

⁵ Ibid. Magner and Goodman.

mostly from middle class white areas. Betty Friedman was the one of the women who created this organization. Friedman was a Jewish middle class white woman who lived in New York during the 1960s with her family. Although she had earned her Bachelor’s Degree in Psychology in 1942, she was a housewife who hated her lifestyle.⁶ After a meeting other women at a reunion, she realized that other women were dissatisfied with their lives as housewives as well.⁷ Following a lot of research including interviews, statistics, and personal stories Betty Friedman wrote the book *The Feminine Mystique*.

The *Feminine Mystique* was a book that transformed society and culture by giving an insight on how women felt. Betty Friedman was seen as the mother of the second wave of feminism. By writing the book *Feminist Mystique*, Friedman described what women were going through and the change they wanted. Although this book discussed about the problems of women as a whole, it only focused on the problems that middle class white women were experiencing and not women from different backgrounds. This was one of the weaknesses of this book. The research and the interviews that were conducted were only from middle class white educated women, which did not give a voice to other women from a varied demographic background.

This did not stop Betty Friedman though from being one of the leaders for the organization National Organization of Women/ NOW. The members of NOW demanded equality in politics and society. Women wanted to be more involved in politics and have more representatives in Congress. By having women in Congress and involved in politics in general, women were able to work within the system to achieve their goals. For example, because of women in politics during the 1960s, President Richard Nixon created the Task Force on Women Rights in order to encourage women to apply for administrative-level positions in the federal government.⁸ Ever since the Task Force was created, statistics showed that the number of women

⁶ National Women’s History Museum. *The Biography of Betty Friedman*. 2006. Web. <https://www.nwhm.org/education-resources/biography/biographies/betty-friedan/>

⁷ Ibid. National Women’s History Museum.

⁸ Grayson, Lee. *The 1960s Rise of Women in U.S Politics*. Classroom. 2012. Web

in office improved starting the early 1970s.⁹ In addition, one of the main goals of NOW was to bring women into main stream society. By being part of main stream society, women were able to attract the media. For instance, when women were protesting, there was media coverage present. Newspapers and radio stations during the 1960s were covering NOW and other women's organizations who were protesting. The media coverage led to an inspiration by having women who were still housewives get involved and connect with each other. This created a connection and influenced other groups such as the Black Power Movement to support the Women's Rights Movement.

During their protests and sit ins, some rights that NOW demanded were equal rights, maternity leave rights, equal job training, equal education, and the ban of sex discrimination in the workforce and abortion rights. NOW created a "Bill of Rights" that stated and described each of their demands. Some of their demands focused on employment. Demand II specifically stated "That equal employment opportunity be guaranteed to all women, as well as men by insisting that the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission enforce the prohibitions against sex discrimination in employment under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 with the same vigor as it enforces the prohibitions against racial discrimination."¹⁰ The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission banned gender discrimination along with racial discrimination in the workforce.

Due to Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, in 1963 the Equal Pay Act was passed. The goal of this act was to abolish wage difference based on gender.¹¹ Before this law, women were working the same hours as men but were getting paid less. After this act was passed, women's wages compared to men's wages were the same but women's paychecks had more deducted amounts compared to a man's paycheck. Deductions included taxes, Medicare, and social security. This showed that although women and men worked equal hours, women were having

bigger deductions due to the government's policies and rules from the U.S Labor Department. Women were still protesting during this period about this issue after the act was passed.

NOW was not the only organization of the Women's Rights Movement that focused on employment. The banning of sex discrimination in the workforce was a goal of another feminist movement called Women's Liberation Movement. The Women's Liberation Movement was created by a group of college girls when they were disrespected by their male classmates in meetings, and spread in many college communities and cities in America.¹² Since the 1960s era was a period of revolution, college students were one of the biggest groups that were involved in this revolution. During meetings and sit ins though, men from the different movements in colleges were in charge and did not give a voice to their female college mates.

This issue caused an uprising of female college students that spread quickly around the nation and created their own movements. They wanted change and they wanted to achieve equality and access in the workforce. Members of the Women's Liberation Movement were able as well to work within the system by having women in higher positions of federal government jobs in order to make sure the laws such as Equal Pay Act were enforced.¹³ Due to these laws, Kenneth Walsh, a United States journalist believed that most young women, at least in the middle class, were expected to have access to the same careers and to receive the same compensation as men.¹⁴ Although the Women's Liberation Movement focused a lot on improving employment for women, it also focused a lot on abortion. Reproductive rights were one of the key themes of this movement's goals.

The article "1960s: A Decade of Change for Women" discusses how the Women's Rights Movement changed the role of women in society. Kenneth Walsh who is a journalist that covers mostly politics and major historical events uses

¹² Magner, Pamela and Goodman, Barack. *Women Who Make America*. PBS. Film Documentary. February 2013.

¹³ Ibid. Magner, Pamela and Goodman Barack.

¹⁴ Walsh, Kenneth. *The 1960s: A Decade of Change for Women*. U.S News. March 12, 2010.

⁹ Ibid., Grayson, Lee

¹⁰ NOW Members. *Bill of Rights*. National Conference. 1967.

¹¹ *The Equal Pay Act of 1963*. U.S Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

<https://www.eeoc.gov/laws/statutes/epa.cfm>

quotes from women who are educated to explain his thesis throughout the article. His main argument that is stated in his thesis is that the 1960s freed women from unwanted pregnancies and gave them opportunities in their personal and workforce lives.

Kenneth Walsh used a quote from Kati Norton and discusses how the antiwar and civil rights movements helped women get involved in politics and get away from the family and the picture of the “happy household wife”. He agrees with her by giving examples of women who succeeded such as a women winning the Nobel Prizes. He mentions how the Equal Pay Act was passed but it did not help women. In addition, he states how with this movement, women were now given opportunities to pursue the same careers as men but still with no equal pay. Women over the years have pursued jobs in the entertainment field, politics, and even in the justice system such as in the Supreme Court, where before the Women’s Right Movement of the 1960s, these jobs were only a dream for women.

From the article, it is indicated that Kenneth Walsh supports feminism and writes his article in a more historical view by just presenting facts but not criticizing women in a negative way. He does this by giving examples of women who succeeded in many fields. An issue though that he does not discuss and is important is abortion. Abortion was a huge issue during this period. Although he states in his thesis about how women were freed from unwanted pregnancies, he did not mention anything in the rest of the article but instead focused more on equality in the workforce. The article is very useful for using it about equality but not about the abortion issue.

Abortion has been a very debatable topic throughout the years. Religious views were involved which made the process of abortion hard to understand by many. In the period of the 1960s, abortion was taking place but many doctors were getting punished and the risks that put women’s lives in danger were enormous. This occurred because abortion was illegal. In the late 1960s, the Women’s Liberation Movement created an underground feminist abortion service called the Abortion Counseling Service which had trained doctors that performed safely abortions in

Chicago.¹⁵ This group provided safe, inexpensive but illegal abortions. Over a four year period, the Abortion Counseling Service provided more than eleven thousand abortions with a safety record comparable to today’s legal medical facilities.¹⁶

Women in the Women’s Liberation Movement marched and fought hard in order to make abortion safe and legal. During their marches, when they were speaking in front of the public, women talked about their illegal abortion experiences and how some almost lost their lives because of the risks. For instance, during a speak out, one woman stated “I had an illegal abortion, which led to infection, and I was close to death. I ended up in a legal hospital with a real doctor who managed to pull me through.”¹⁷ This example showed how dangerous it was for women to illegally have abortion and that change had to be done immediately. After the court case of *Roe v Wade* in 1973, states reformed their policies and made abortion legal but with some restrictions.

Women from the Women’s Liberation Movement fought hard to protect women from the risks of illegal abortions. That was when the Women’s Liberation Movement and NOW collaborated with the movement Army of Three in order make abortion legal and fight abortion laws.¹⁸ The Army of Three was a movement created by three pro-choice advocates named Pat Maginis, Rowena Gurner, and Lana Phelan.¹⁹ The Army of Three distributed names of doctors who performed abortions illegally and held classes for women to learn how to abort safely their child.²⁰ In 1969, with the involvement of other women’s rights movements, the NARAL/ National Abortion Rights Action League was created at the first National Conference on Abortion Laws in Chicago.

The purpose of NARAL was to “Recognize the basic human right of a woman to limit her own reproduction, it dedicated to the elimination of all

¹⁵ OBOS Abortion Contributors. *History of Abortion in the U.S. Our Bodies Our Selves*. March 2014. Web.

<http://www.ourbodiesourselves.org>

¹⁶ Ibid. OBOS Abortion Contributors.

¹⁷ Ibid. OBOS Abortion Contributors.

¹⁸ Marcus, Steven. *Women Throughout History*. Class notes. Egg Harbor Township High School. 2011-2012. Print.

¹⁹ Kellway, Brooke. *Letters to the Army of Three*. Walker Magazine. 2012. Web

²⁰ Ibid., Marcus, Steven

laws and practices that would compel any woman to bear a child against her will.”²¹ NARAL had six parts in its program that all were focused on taking action and raising funds in order to organize the operation of legalizing abortion laws. A committee was created in order to make sure that everything was followed precisely as a means to achieve the goals of this movement. Although after *Roe v. Wade* made abortion legal in the United States, NARAL is still present today. It is one of the oldest pro-choice movement active in America.

The Women’s Right Movement fought a lot in order to have women equal to men in society. It was successful on a legislative view point by passing the Equal Pay Act in 1963 and creating the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission which enforced these laws. Women fought hard in the 1960s to make abortion legal nationwide and after the court case of *Roe v Wade* in 1973, abortion became legal. Since these laws were passed and it is considered that women became equal to men, then why is there another women’s rights movement today, in 2017? The answer is because the Women’s Rights Movement in the 1960s was partially successful. Women today unfortunately are still not equal to men, which is a reason why the Women’s March Movement has been created in today’s society.

The Women’s March Movement was created in order to fight and protect that rights of women from the views of President Donald Trump and his administration. This movement was created by Teresa Shook in Hawaii when after Donald Trump was elected in office in November 2016, she created a social media page inviting friends to march in Washington in order to protest in January.²² After that page, similar pages in other parts of the United States such New York City and Philadelphia were created by Evvie Harmon, Bob Bland, Breanne Bulter and many others for the same cause.²³ When these people all collaborated, they created the Women’s March Movement. They encouraged people to march in Washington DC on

January 21st 2017, which was the day of Donald Trump’s Inauguration in Office.

After the collaboration of the people stated above, a main webpage was created along with local chapters in the United States. The main goal of the Women’s March Movement is the “Protection of our rights, our safety, our health, and our families- recognizing that our vibrant and diverse communities are the strength of our society.”²⁴ This goal was created because due to the Election of 2016, women were in danger. Throughout his campaign, Donald Trump showed that he did not support women by wanting to defund Planned Parenthood and showing no respect for women in general by one of his comments referring to women “Grab her by the p***y” and calling his opponent Hilary Clinton during a debate “Nasty Woman”.²⁵

The comments were not the most concerning part of his campaign though. What was most disturbing was the defunding of Planned Parenthood. Planned Parenthood was created in 1916 and is an organization that provides free health care to women regarding their reproductive health.²⁶ This means that women with low income are able to visit doctors who are well trained for a checkup, pap tests, breast mammograms, STD tests and treatments, and even to end an unwanted pregnancy. This organization has currently over a thousand clinics nationwide and gets funded by the government.²⁷ Before President Barack Obama left office in 2016, he and his administration tried to protect the funding of Planned Parenthood by issuing a final rule aiming to prevent state lawmakers from cutting funding for Planned Parenthood and other clinics that provide abortions.²⁸ Unfortunately this law was passed. After President Trump has already set rules to start defunding these type of organizations, not taking into consideration Obama’s rule and overwriting his law.

²⁴ *Mission and Vision*. Women’s March. www.womensmarch.com

²⁵ Presidential Debate, October 19th 2016

²⁶ *Planned Parenthood at a Glance*. www.PlannedParenthood.org

²⁷ *Ibid.*, www.PlannedParenthood.org

²⁸ Leonard, Kimberly. *Obama Administration Moves to Protect Planned Parenthood Funding*. U.S News. 14 December 2016. Web.

²¹ Author and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library on the History of Women. *Records of the National Abortion Rights Action League*. Harvard University Library. 1968-1969. Web

²² Kelsey, Adam. *Everything You Need to Know About the Women’s March*. ABC News. 20 January 2017.

²³ *Ibid.*, Kelsey Adam

This is the reason why the Women's March was created in the first place. Following the statements and plans of Donald Trump and his administration, memories from the 1960s started to emerge from the surface again. After Donald Trump's election in office, people but especially women started to become frustrated. This caused many women from diverse backgrounds especially those who had an education background to join the movement and march on January 21st 2017, the day that Donald Trump was being sworn into office. The march of January 2017 was conducted in order to "send a bold message to our new administration on their first day in office and to the world that women's rights are human rights."²⁹ From the statements and actions of Donald Trump, it was viewed by society that he did not consider women as humans due to the reason wanting to take their reproductive rights way.

In addition to abortion, the Women's March Movement focused on equal pay for women as well. During the march in January 2017, women were protesting about demanding equal pay. Despite the fact that the Equal Pay Act was passed in 1963, women today are getting paid less than men. According to statistics, women today are paid eighty cents where a man is paid a dollar.³⁰ Women have been fighting for years about this issue and still nothing has been done. On the other hand, women today still face discrimination in the workforce. Unfortunately, women have to work harder than men in order to get higher positions at their jobs. This term is called the glass ceiling, which is basically invisible barriers that keeps women from rising beyond certain level of hierarchy in their job.³¹ This occurs because women again are seen in a more biological way. For example, if you place a woman in position of a CEO in a company and she gets pregnant, that woman has to leave her job. This causes chaos in the company according to men because everything she has done for the company will be done differently since she is not in charge. Women in the workforce are seen first as mothers than humans,

which cause them to work harder in order to earn the position they want.

Due to the above reasons, over five million people marched nationwide on January 21st 2017 in order to protect women. It is estimated that approximately 500,000 people marched only in Washington D.C.³² The march that was organized by the Women's March Movement in January is one of biggest march in the United States throughout history.³³ By having so many people march, it delivered a message. People are united for the same causes. Compared to the Women's Rights Movement during the 1960s, more men are involved in the Women's March Movement today. During the 1960s, less men were involved publicly because they did not have enough resources to be more familiar with the movement. In today's society in America, men are educated and have access to many resources in order for them to understand that women are humans as well and deserve the same rights. That is the reason why men fight along with women instead of staying neutral like it happened during the 1960s.

In contrast to the demographics of the Women's Rights Movement in the 1960s, the Women's March Movement had a more varied demographic background. During the 1960s, one of the top women's rights movements, NOW focused on the demands of middle class educated white women.³⁴ Women of color were not included and that is the reason why the Third World Alliance movement was created by Black women that were members of SNCC³⁵. Also, Betty Friedman was opposed to lesbians being part of NOW and kicked out many homosexual women who were openly gay. This resulted into them joining the Daughters of Bilitis and other movements such as the Women's Liberation Movement.

Today though, the Women's March Movement has members that are homosexual and from minority groups. For instance, the co-president of the Women's March movement is Tamika

³² www.womensmarch.com

³³ Frostensen, Sarah. "The Women's Marches May Have Been the Largest Demonstration in US History." *Vox*, January 31, 2017.

³⁴ Class Notes. Senior Seminar of American Studies. Spring 2017

³⁵ *Ibid*, Class notes from Senior Seminar of American Studies 2017

²⁹ Organizers of the Women's March on Washington. *Message to the New Administration*. 2017

³⁰ Staff of NOW. *Women Deserve Equal Pay*. National Organization of Women. www.now.org

³¹ Reeves, Nancy. *Social Problems*. Class notes. Rowan University. Fall 2014

Mallory, who is an African American and the treasurer is Carmen Perez, who comes from a Hispanic background³⁶. Despite African American and Hispanic cultures, women from other cultures such as Indian and Middle Eastern are part of the national leadership for the movement as well. Linda Sarsour, the daughter of Middle Eastern immigrants is the assistant treasurer, while Mrinalini Chakraborty, who comes from the Indian culture is the head of field and operations strategy.³⁷ More women today are educated and have access to many resources in order to understand that being different is not a problem and that everyone is and should be equal. The Women’s March movement did not want to do the mistake that the Women’s Movement in the 1960s did, of excluding certain women due to race or sexual orientation. Instead of creating separate movements, by uniting together, today women from different demographic backgrounds are able to achieve their goal with greater success and make their voice louder to Trump and his administration. The organizers understand how essential unity is to success.

During the protests in the 1960s and today, women make signs and display them during their march. This is a type of speaking out since the 1960s. Women during their march would write signs and hold them up high so the people and the media especially were able to see them. For example during a march in the 1960s, women were holding a huge banner saying “SAFE LEGAL ABORTIONS FOR ALL WOMEN” and walking down the street. It is indicated in the photo by the way they are dressed that these white women come from middle or higher class on social statues with a background education. While they are marching down the street, it is believed that they are yelling out their demands. Although these women’s banner demands abortions for all women, there is a smaller sign an older woman is holding that states “The Poor Deserve Safe Abortions”. Despite the fact that middle class or higher women were mainly the ones that were protesting, it shows that they were also concerned about poor women. The socioeconomic classes might have been different, but the goal for

white women was the same. This shows unity just like it is displayed today but in a different way.



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At the Women’s March in January 2017, everybody came together in order to fight for women’s rights. Celebrities, politicians and others walked with women yelling about reproductive rights and that women’s rights are human rights. An image from the march shows a group of women holding signs stating “KEEP YOUR POLICIES OFF MY BODY” and “ONE LOVE” with the heart colored in the rainbow colors showing support for lesbian women as well. Another picture shows a white educated woman holding a sign stating “1968 IS CALLING, DON’T ANSWER” suggesting that history is attempting to repeat again.³⁹ The above images show that the Women’s March Movement is a more diverse movement compared to the 1960s movement with common goals that all women benefit from.



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³⁶ National Team. Women’s March Movement. <https://www.womensmarch.com/team/>

³⁷ National Team. Women’s March Movement. <https://www.womensmarch.com/team/>

³⁸ <https://kquane.files.wordpress.com/215/01/feminist-rally-7.jpg>.

³⁹ Books, Abram. *Why I March Images from the Women’s March Around the World*. Abrams Image, 2017. Print

⁴⁰ Ibid. Books, Abram.

Feminists in society are seen as tough, less feminine and humorless women.⁴¹ In the current movement though, women use humor to protest about their rights. For instance, in the picture below, a young woman uses pop culture and made a sign about how the women will fight back if their rights are taken away. She combines her message with a popular hip hop song called “My Neck, my Back” by Kia to deliver her message in a humorous way.



In addition, in the Women’s March in January 2017 an older woman was holding a sign that stated “I can’t believe I still have to protest this f**king s**t”.



This was one of the highlighted and symbolic signs of the march. It shows how the Women’s Movement in the 1960s did not resolve issues such as reproductive and labor rights, which are still a

problem today. This is the reason why the third wave feminism emerged the past few years.

Furthermore, considering the fact that the Women’s Movement from the 1960s and the Women’s March movement had similar goals, they are actually different in so many ways. Although, the Women’s Movement in the 1960’s focused on reproductive rights and equal pay rights, some other goals were education and women’s role in society⁴³. “The middle-class suburban housewife downplayed the importance of women’s education. Feminists in the 1960s knew that girls and women must be encouraged to seek an education, and not just as “something to fall back on,” if they were to become, and be seen as, “fully” equal.”⁴⁴ In contrast to the 1960s, the Women’s March movement does not focus on education but on LGBTQIA rights, immigrant rights, and domestic violence.⁴⁵ For instance, today’s feminist movement wants to protect people from gender stereotypes and discrimination.⁴⁶ Compared to the 1960s movement, the homosexuals were not protected by the women’s movement but today, the Women’s March movement want to make up for that and include gender protection in their goals.

By comparing and contrasting the two Women’s Rights Movements from today and the 1960s, it is shown that there are still problems regarding women in society. Women have been downgraded in society. Due to this, women in the 1960s and still today have issues being in higher career positions because they are viewed as mothers first and in order to achieve that position they have to work extra hard. Although the Equal Pay Act was passed in the 1960s, women today still fight for the wage gap between men and women. During the 1960s, women were undergoing abortions in a dangerous way that put their lives in danger. After a long battle to make abortion legal, women are able to have abortions safely but after Donald Trump was elected President of the United States, women still feel they are in danger again of losing their right to their own body. These issues show that

⁴³ Napikoski, Linda. “Goals of the Feminist Movement”. 31 December 2017. <https://www.thoughtco.com/goals-of-the-feminist-movement-3528961>

⁴⁴ Ibid. Napikoski, Linda

⁴⁵ Mission. Women’s March Movement. <https://www.womensmarch.com/mission/>

⁴⁶ Ibid. Mission.

⁴¹ Class notes. Senior Seminar of American Studies. Spring 2017.

⁴² Mccausland, Phil. “Women’s March Marked by Brash, Funny, and Signage Raised High”. NBC News. January 21st 2017.

history is being repeated. Topics that were a problem in the 1960s are starting to emerge again, that is the reason why a third wave of feminism is present today. The Women's March Movement though is better because women from all different backgrounds are united and are fighting for a common goal. Over the days and the months, this wave of feminism is growing and will become bigger until there is change.

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