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CHAPTER 1

Women, Culture, and Political Participation



Eleanora Tomec, born in Pittsburgh in 1910, was the only one of seven siblings to survive past the age of five.¹ She began to work as a secretary immediately after graduating from the eighth grade, but her Slovenian immigrant parents encouraged her to continue her education. She obtained a high school diploma by attending night school and then enrolled in a few college classes. So eager were her parents for her to be part of their adopted homeland, however, that they refused to teach her to speak Slovenian, insisting that she speak English “like a good American girl.”

Tomec became engaged to a local man, and they married in 1945 after he returned from military service in World War II. Thus she was thirty-five at the time of her marriage, not twenty or twenty-one, the typical ages of women who married for the first time in 1945.² The year of her marriage was also the year when the divorce rate reached its highest level of the century.³ Tomec continued to work as a secretary until their first child, a girl, was born in 1946. Tomec was fairly typical in this respect. The birth rate in 1946, 23.3 births per 1,000 people, was the highest since 1921.⁴ Her second daughter was born in 1948. Both Tomec and her husband felt they had to “keep trying” until they had the son they so wanted. Despite her age, Tomec had a third child, a boy, in 1951. She remained out of the paid work force until he entered kindergarten, then returned to work as a secretary

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part-time. By 1960 she was working full-time. In that year, 49.9 percent of the women in her age group, forty-five to fifty-four, were in the labor force on a full- or part-time basis, compared with 95.7 percent of the men in that age group.⁵ Although Tomec was somewhat typical in this regard in 1960, she had not been so earlier in her working life. In 1940, when Tomec was thirty, 95.2 percent of the men ages twenty-five to thirty-four were in the labor force; only 32.9 percent of women could say the same.⁶

Tomec's earnings were earmarked for her children's education. All three graduated from college, but she and her husband had made certain that their son went to a prestigious school, whereas the daughters, both of whom had academic records superior to that of their brother, attended a nearby state university. The daughter who challenged the justice of this decision was told by her father that she was fortunate to attend any college since the family "had a boy to educate."

Tomec died of breast cancer in 1974, two years after a radical mastectomy and radiation therapy. Doctors did not discuss treatment options with her or her family, and the biopsy and surgery were performed in a single operation. She lived to see her children graduate from college but died before the births of her three grandchildren. In 1974, 26.8 of every 100,000 American women died of breast cancer.⁷

Many cultural changes occurred during Tomec's lifetime. She was born ten years before passage of the Nineteenth Amendment guaranteed the right to vote for all American women; the education she received was limited but exceeded that of her parents. Although she spent her working life in a traditional female occupation, she was one of the few women in her neighborhood who worked full-time while her children were young. During World War II Tomec continued to work as a secretary, showing no interest in better-paying defense jobs such as that held by "Rosie the Riveter." The era that encompassed most of her working years was one in which women's status had not yet become a public policy issue. The Equal Pay Act of 1963 and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (which outlawed sexual discrimination in employment) thus had little impact on her life. A devout Catholic, she opposed abortion but was too ill at the time to take much interest in the *Roe v. Wade* decision (1973). When she detected the lump in her breast and went to have it examined, she did not question the doctor's decision that, were the biopsy positive, a radical mastectomy should be performed immediately. When she awoke from the anesthesia, she was told that the lump had been malignant and that the surgery had already been performed.

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Politically, Tomec like her parents and husband, was a Democrat. Unlike many women at that time, she voted regularly. Adlai Stevenson, the Democratic presidential candidate in 1952 and 1956, was her political hero, although his divorce troubled her. She supported John F. Kennedy, the Democratic presidential candidate in 1960, in large part because he was a Catholic. Tomec was not a joiner and belonged to no community groups. She was never involved in any form of legal or illegal protest activity, but she did support her children in their antiwar activities. One of her daughters claimed that she knew that the United States' involvement in Vietnam had lost popular support when she overheard her mother bragging to her father that, of all the children of the Saturday morning regulars at Teresa Eppolito's House of Beauty, one of theirs had been the first in town to march in Washington, D.C.

Politically, Tomec identified with party and faith, not gender. She wanted her daughters to be able to make choices about education and career but often felt distanced from both "girls," as she continued to call them throughout her life. It was Tomec's commitment, emotionally and financially, to her daughters' education that made possible their college degrees. She both gloried in and despaired over their independence. In her mind, her older daughter's wedding assumed mythic proportions because it was the only sign that either of the two young women was interested in leading a traditional lifestyle. If Tomec was at all aware of the women's movement, she never made mention of it to her family.

The story of Tomec and her family is also the story of American women's political participation, for both are about personal and cultural change. Culture can be defined as a core of traditional ideas, practices, and technology shared by a people.⁸ This focus on culture is based on the idea that what matters to individuals—what affects their political attitudes, for example—is learned through their interaction with the people and institutions they encounter throughout their lives.⁹

Tomec played many roles during her lifetime: dutiful daughter, efficient employee, loyal wife and companion, and responsible mother. Both she and her roles changed in that period. All in all, politics had little meaning for her. This is not to say, however, that she had no political opinions. Each of her three children was educated in a parochial school, and she was intent on ensuring that state and local governments not be involved in administering these schools. She acknowledged that she and her husband would have to pay their property taxes to support the public schools while also paying tuition for private schools. Although she lived most of her life in

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segregated white neighborhoods, she supported integration. She opposed the war in Vietnam and told her family that should her son be drafted, she would want him to flee to Canada. Tomec thought that homosexuality was a perversion, marriage was forever, and the United States was the best place in the world to live and raise a family. She died before environmentalism became a household word. She had no objection to paying taxes to support poor families, but she believed that too many people were too lazy to work.

What did political participation mean to Tomec? She viewed herself as a good citizen because she tried to stay informed, and she voted in primaries and general elections. Occasionally she would donate money to a Democratic candidate. But she never wrote a letter to a governmental official or put a political bumper sticker on her car.

WOMEN'S STATUS IN A LIBERAL CULTURE

There are many ways to describe the culture that influenced Tomec and her fellow citizens. It is most commonly defined as "liberal." A liberal culture values individuality, freedom, and equality. Politically, it embraces democracy; economically, it is based on capitalism. What people in a liberal culture do with their lives is their concern, so long as their actions do not harm others or infringe on others' rights.¹⁰ Government is supposed to act as a referee and is not supposed to give special treatment to any person or group. A liberal culture, however, does not require continuous, intense political participation, defined as "those activities of citizens that attempt to influence the structure of government, the selection of government authorities, or the policies of government."¹¹ What is required is that the right to participate politically not be abridged. From this perspective, a liberal culture does not necessarily consider lack of political participation as negative.

Women's status in this liberal culture has changed over time, as has the culture itself.¹² In part, these changes in the lives of women are a result of the organized women's movement, which challenged the rigid roles assigned to women and expanded women's options in such areas as education and employment. The contrasts between Tomec's life and the lives of her daughters are indicative of these changes. Although Tomec worked throughout much of her adulthood, her job took second place to that of her husband; she thought of her work as a job and of her husband's work as a career. When he had to relocate because of work Tomec moved with

him; it was taken for granted that she would take time away from work for child rearing. During the time she stayed home with the children she was not a member of the paid work force. As a result, she never accumulated enough time in any one job to earn a pension. Tomec's older daughter left a promising career upon the birth of her first child. Throughout her marriage she assumed the traditional roles of homemaker and mother. Unlike Tomec, however, she did consider alternatives. She remained out of the work force for almost twenty years, reentering only at the time of her divorce. Although she had a college degree, her skills had become obsolete and her first job on returning to the work force was a low-paying clerical one. The younger daughter, in contrast, worked continually after completing graduate school. She married late and had a child late in her child-bearing years, but neither event caused her to leave the work force for more than two weeks. Both she and her husband viewed child rearing as a shared responsibility.

Tomec and her daughters had different ideas about work, marriage, and motherhood. The daughters had educational opportunities that were unavailable to Tomec. The younger daughter raised her child at a time when there were far more child care options than her mother or sister could ever have imagined. Divorce for Tomec was never an option, but it was for her older daughter. Tomec can be said to have been more accepting of a patriarchal society than were her daughters. Although a liberal culture stresses autonomy and self-determination, they have been relative concepts, not always applicable in theory or practice to everyone. Before the Civil War, for example, many white Americans justified the "peculiar institution" of slavery as the best policy for both whites and blacks. Even in the Constitution of the United States, slaves were originally counted as three-fifths of a person for purposes of taxation and representation. And after women were legally recognized as persons, they were not always able to take full advantage of the opportunities of the liberal culture. Women's responsibilities with regard to home and children, for example, could interfere with their ability to act as autonomous beings in the workplace. Tomec was never denied the right to vote because of her sex, but her life took a certain shape because she was a woman.

WOMEN AND CULTURAL CHANGE

Both Tomec and her daughters were at some time part of the nation's work force, and this is the trend for all American women. In 2001, 60 percent of

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American women worked outside the home; married women were almost as likely as single women to be employed, and the rates of employment for black married women were higher than for white married women.¹³ Approximately five decades earlier, in 1950, only 34 percent of American women were in the work force, and married women were less likely than single women to be employed.¹⁴ Tomec's younger daughter, who continued to work after her child was born, is part of another trend. In 2001 more than 60 percent of all women with children under the age of six worked full- or part-time.¹⁵ Women's areas of employment have not changed as much as have the percentages of women who are employed. Tomec spent all of her working years as a secretary. In 2002, 98 percent of all secretaries were female. In 1940, 988,081 women and 68,805 men were employed as stenographers, typists, or secretaries.¹⁶ Tomec's daughters' occupations reflect the movement of women out of the "pink-collar ghettos," where most women are still employed. Her older daughter was a computer programmer, a profession that in 2001 was 30 percent female. Her younger daughter became a university professor, a profession that in 2001 was 36 percent female.¹⁷

Tomec obtained her high school diploma in night school and earned a few college credits. In respect to education, Tomec was fairly typical of her peers. In 1940 the median number of school years completed by someone in Tomec's age group (thirty to thirty-four) was 9.5. For males the figure was 9.2 and for females 9.9. In that same age group in 1940, women were more likely than men to have completed high school, but men were more likely than women to have four or more years of college. Interestingly, in that year women were more likely than men to have one to three years of college (as did Tomec).¹⁸ Her older daughter earned a bachelor's degree and her younger daughter earned bachelor's, master's, and doctoral degrees. Again, the trend in Tomec's family reflects the broader cultural trend. In 2000 more women than men were enrolled in college, more women than men earned bachelor degrees, and more women than men earned master's degrees. Men continue to earn more doctoral degrees than women. More and more women are earning degrees in traditionally male fields such as engineering and business. Although fewer blacks and Hispanics earn bachelor's degrees than do whites, the rates for black women and men are similar, both around 16 percent, and Hispanic women and men both earn degrees at a rate of 10 percent. Asians and Pacific Islanders are more likely than any other racial or ethnic group to earn college degrees, although the rate for men in this group is close to 48 percent, while for women it is close to 41 percent.¹⁹

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Women's political participation has both caused and been affected by cultural change. Women's efforts to change a culture that denied them the right to participate fully in political activities are the subject of the following section.

WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION:
COLONIAL TIMES TO 1920

Women participated in political activities long before the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution (1920), which established women's right to vote in all federal, state, and local government elections. During the American Revolution, many women joined the Daughters of Liberty and supported the war effort by providing supplies such as food and clothing to soldiers and by persuading women to boycott goods imported from England. Before the Civil War, many women in the North were active in the abolitionist movement. Their experiences enabled them to gain the organizational and oratorical skills that many would use in the women's suffrage movement. During the nineteenth century, many women participated in other efforts to affect policy, which included campaigns to establish free public education, to improve the working conditions of women employed in factories (in textiles and other industries), and to gain the right for labor unions to organize. Women also formed organizations with such varied goals as providing charity to the impoverished, lobbying the federal government to create widow's and orphan's pensions for survivors of soldiers killed in the Civil War, and obtaining passage of federal and state laws prohibiting children from working in factories and mines.²⁰

Women's Political Status Before the Nineteenth Amendment

Under common law, which the colonies' founders brought with them from England, women lost all legal rights when they married.²¹ Husband and wife became one legal entity, and the husband exercised legal rights for the couple, including the right to vote. Single women had few legal rights and did not have the right to vote.²²

In colonial America, women thus did not have a legally established right to vote. Margaret Brent presented one early request for the voting franchise to the Maryland Council in 1647. A wealthy plantation owner,

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Brent was also the agent and representative of Lord Baltimore, the proprietor of the Maryland colony, as well as the executor of the estate of Leonard Calvert, the deceased brother of Lord Baltimore. She demanded not one vote, but two—the first because she met the colony’s property-owning qualifications for voting, and the second because she was the representative of the estate of Leonard Calvert. She argued that if her request were denied, all proceedings of the Maryland House of Burgesses would be invalid. The Maryland Council was not persuaded and rejected her request.²³

Abigail Adams of Massachusetts, the wife of John Adams (who later became the second president of the United States), wrote to him in 1787 when he was serving as a member of the convention that was drafting the U.S. Constitution. She requested that “he remember the ladies” and not put unlimited power in the hands of men.²⁴ But the Constitutional Convention did not consider her request for political rights for women.

Despite the lack of formal enfranchisement of women, in several communities women members of some prominent families did vote until state laws were enacted to prohibit it. For example, women voted in New Jersey until 1807, when political leaders who feared that women’s votes would contribute to their opponents’ success enacted a state law prohibiting women from voting in elections.²⁵

During the nineteenth century, women in a few states obtained the right to vote in school board elections. In recognition of women’s role in child rearing, in 1838 Kentucky became the first state to grant women a limited right to vote; it allowed widows in rural districts who had children in school to vote in school board elections.²⁶ In 1861 Kansas became the second state to grant women the right to vote in school board elections. By 1900 women were eligible to vote in school board elections in twenty-four states.²⁷

Nonetheless, women’s political and legal rights were restricted in most states during the nineteenth century. This is not to say all people accepted the status quo. In 1845, for example, the Transcendentalist Margaret Fuller authored *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*, which argued that civilization could not advance and neither men nor women could perfect their souls until slavery was abolished and all women and men became full members of society. The extension of political rights began in the frontier states and proceeded very slowly. The first full grant of suffrage to women occurred in 1869, when the drafters of the Wyoming territorial constitution enfranchised women in the hope of attracting more of them to settle in that

sparsely populated state. When Wyoming became a state in 1890, its constitution stipulated that women had a right to vote in all elections. By 1918 fifteen states (of which thirteen were western states) had granted women the right to vote in all elections; by 1920 an additional thirteen states had granted women the right to vote only in presidential elections.²⁸

Why is the right to vote so important? It provides a mechanism by which citizens may influence both who rules and what public policies they implement. When a group of people with a common concern votes on the basis of that concern and makes its desires known to political candidates, the group may alter both the campaign promises and the performance in office of those who are elected. The right to vote can thus be a powerful weapon for obtaining preferred policy outcomes.²⁹

The Struggle for Women's Rights and Passage of the Nineteenth Amendment

The struggle that culminated in congressional passage of the Nineteenth Amendment and its ratification by the states lasted more than a century. The organized campaign for women's suffrage can be traced to the involvement of women in the antislavery movement. Two of the founders of that first women's movement, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott, attended an international antislavery convention in London in 1840. Both men and women were there to represent the United States. The convention ruled, however, that the women could not be official delegates and would have to sit in the gallery with the spectators. That incident led Stanton and Mott to spend much of their time in London discussing the legal status and social condition of women; they resolved to work to change them. Both women were married, and Stanton and her large family moved to the small town of Seneca Falls in upstate New York. Because she had almost total responsibility for the daily household and child-rearing tasks (her husband was frequently away on business and she seldom had dependable household help), Stanton had little time to organize a social or political movement.³⁰

In 1848 Lucretia Mott and her husband visited friends residing near the Stanton home in Seneca Falls. Stanton and Mott, together with three women friends, decided to call a "convention" to discuss the social, political, and economic conditions of women. They placed a small advertisement in the *Seneca County Courier* inviting others to attend a women's rights meeting at the Methodist Chapel on July 19 and 20, 1848. Only

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women were asked to attend the first day of the meeting; men were invited to attend the second day. However, men were present on both days, and James Mott was asked to chair the meeting, as none of the women who organized the meeting had such experience.³¹ The women organizers drafted a Declaration of Principles, which was largely a paraphrase of the Declaration of Independence. Stanton also drafted a set of resolutions designed to implement the Declaration of Principles. The only resolution that was not passed unanimously was Resolution 9: “Resolved that it is the duty of the women of this country to secure their sacred right to the elective franchise.” The idea of the vote for women was so controversial that the resolution passed by only a small margin.³² Of the sixty-eight women who signed the Declaration of Principles in 1848, only one lived to cast a ballot in 1920.³³

The Seneca Falls Convention can be considered the beginning of the organized women’s suffrage movement in the United States. It was not, however, the first women’s movement. Since the founding of the republic under the Constitution of 1787, many women had joined the struggle to obtain other rights, such as the right to an education, the right to manage their own property after marriage, and the right to have custody of and guardianship over their children in the event of a divorce.

Married women had few rights in any of the states. If they worked outside the home, they did not have the right to control their own earnings. The husband had the right of guardianship over children. Property earned or acquired during the marriage by the wife was controlled by the husband. It could be disposed of in any way he wished—sold, given, or gambled away.³⁴

Few women had the opportunity to obtain an education. Because society believed women to be frail, frivolous, and less mentally capable than men, an education in academic subjects was considered neither socially appropriate nor within women’s intellectual capabilities. Free public education did not exist at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and until well into that century most of the private schools that existed for women taught the social graces and household management skills. But not everyone shared the negative view of education for women; some (both women and men) believed that women were as intellectually capable as men. In 1819 Emma Willard petitioned the New York State Assembly for a charter for a women’s school and for a financial subsidy to establish a “female seminary” for young women. She received the charter but not the subsidy, and in 1821 she opened the Troy Female Seminary in Troy, New

York. However, even when schools for girls were established, the general lack of public funding for girls' education meant that education was available only to those whose families could afford to pay tuition at private schools. Public elementary schools for girls began to open in the 1820s. In 1824 the first public high school for girls opened in Worcester, Massachusetts, but free public high school education did not become available for girls, even in the larger cities, until after the Civil War.³⁵

At the beginning of the nineteenth century men's colleges had existed for more than one hundred years, but a college education was not available to women. When Oberlin College opened in 1833 it admitted women, but initially not to the regular course of study. Not until 1841 did a woman who had completed the full course of study available to men graduate from Oberlin.³⁶

The efforts to establish women's rights focused on many different issues, but leaders of the women's suffrage movement believed that gaining the right to vote was the key to obtaining other rights more quickly, because by targeting their votes, women might pressure legislators and executives to gain other rights.

The organized effort for women's suffrage lasted from 1848 to 1920. Progress was slow, in part because dissension fragmented the women's suffrage movement into competing and contentious organizations. Women's rights meetings were held both locally and nationally. National women's rights conventions were held almost every year between 1850 and 1860. At these meetings, women voiced their dissatisfaction with their lack of rights; such discussions helped them clarify their beliefs about preferable solutions. The press eventually began to treat the meetings seriously with factual reporting but little editorial support. Dissatisfied with the coverage, some women founded and edited journals that included both factual information about women's issues and sympathetic views.

The absence of a permanent organization handicapped the women's movement in its early years. Women also lacked the strategic weapons they needed to increase support for their cause. All the major institutions of society—state and national legislatures, the courts, the political parties, the press, religious organizations—were arrayed against the women's movement.

One strategy that leaders of the women's movement did use with some effectiveness was to petition state legislatures for specific changes in laws. The goals of Susan B. Anthony's efforts to change New York state laws were to obtain for women: (1) the right to control their own earnings;

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(2) the right to obtain guardianship over their children in the event of divorce; and (3) the right to vote. Her petition drive led to the establishment of county-level and, later, state-level women's organizations.³⁷

Leaders of the women's suffrage movement expected that the granting of political and legal rights to blacks after the Civil War would be accompanied by the extension of those rights to women. However, Republican congressional leaders, fearing that the constitutional amendments would not be ratified by the states if those rights were extended to women, restricted the applicability of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to black males. Greatly disappointed that those amendments did not enfranchise women, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony in 1869 established the National Woman Suffrage Association. The organization's goals were to obtain economic, social, political, and legal rights for women; one specific goal was the enactment of a constitutional amendment to enfranchise women. Believing that these goals were too broad and the strategy inappropriate, Lucy Stone in that year founded the American Woman Suffrage Association, which focused on the right to vote as the key to obtaining other policy changes, on the assumption that controversies associated with other goals could thus be avoided. The association also focused on obtaining the vote by means of state constitutional amendments rather than by a national constitutional amendment. These differences in goals and strategies divided the two organizations until 1890, when they merged to form the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

Several different interest groups opposed voting rights for women. Southern political leaders resented northern women's support for the abolitionist movement before and during the Civil War. The patriarchal culture that prevailed among southern political and social elites also contributed to southern opposition to women's political and legal rights. Conservative religious leaders in both the Catholic Church and fundamentalist Protestant churches opposed women's suffrage. Some business interests were afraid that women's support for laws prohibiting children from working in factories would be more effective if women had the vote. Opposition also came from leaders of the corrupt political organizations that controlled some city and state governments. These groups believed that women would support political reforms to reduce the power of political bosses and would thus bring about more honest government and politics. Women's activism and leadership in the temperance movement caused brewery and liquor interests to fear that women's enfranchisement would result in the success of that movement. When Congress finally proposed the Nineteenth Amendment in June

1919 and sent it to the states for ratification, many changes opposed by these interests had already become law. Many states had enacted laws prohibiting children from working in the mines and factories and had instituted political reforms that restricted the power of political bosses. In January 1919, a constitutional amendment had been ratified that prohibited the manufacture, sale, and transportation of alcoholic beverages. Indeed, the suffrage movement received support from representatives of interests that believed women would support their goals with their votes.

Largely as a result of the skillful leadership of such women as Carrie Chapman Catt, who became president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association in 1915, both Democratic and Republican Parties included planks supporting (although with a weak commitment) women's suffrage in their platforms in 1916. Catt sought to win the support of President Woodrow Wilson for women's suffrage. The association's leaders strengthened both its state and its national organizations in pursuit of their goal—enactment of the women's suffrage amendment by Congress and ratification by the states. One wing of the movement emphasized a continuing campaign to inform and persuade political decision makers. Another organized silent picketing movements, protest marches, and other demonstrations to keep the issue before the American people and their political leaders. President Wilson endorsed the Nineteenth Amendment in January 1918, and it passed in the House of Representatives by a vote of 274 to 136. However, the Senate did not approve the amendment during that term of Congress; it lost by one vote. Not until 1919 did both the Senate and the House of Representatives vote in favor of the amendment. A spirited drive for ratification in the states followed, and Tennessee became the thirty-sixth state to ratify the amendment on August 18, 1920.

Women in every state were now constitutionally guaranteed the right to vote. The campaign that had been sustained by the efforts of thousands of women in every state to educate and persuade and to organize support for women's right to vote had finally achieved its goal. The Nineteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution states:

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex. Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

The enactment of the Nineteenth Amendment was the beginning of a new chapter in the story of women's political participation. Since that time

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there have been radical changes in the way American women live their lives, as evidenced by Tomec and her daughters. The organized women's movement continues to challenge institutions and practices that prevent women from fully participating in all aspects of society, including politics. A major issue of the contemporary women's movement, for example, is women's reproductive freedom. Following in the tradition of Margaret Sanger and her efforts in the early part of the twentieth century, groups such as the National Association for Women (NOW) and NARAL Pro-Choice America (formerly the National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League) contend that control of a woman's reproductive life is essential if women are to take advantage of the hard-fought gains of the earlier women's movements. Not immune from change, the women's movement has been criticized that its agenda has advanced the interests of white, middle-class women. As a result, a movement known as "third wave feminism" has emerged. Following the first wave fight for suffrage and the post-World War II second wave fight for legal and political equality, third wave feminism attracts young women who bring a global perspective to the women's movement. Sometimes identified as "postfeminism," third wave feminism evolved in the late 1980s and early 1990s as a way of integrating factors such as race, ethnicity, and sexual identity into feminist theory and practice.³⁸

American families and gender role expectations have changed, and this has created more options for women. Chapter 2 explores the effects of these and other cultural changes on women's political socialization and examines how the changes in political socialization have affected women.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

In Print

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On the Web

- Black American Feminism. www.library.ucsb.edu/blackfeminism. Sherri L. Barnes at the University of California at Santa Barbara has compiled a bibliography of black feminist writings.
- NARAL Pro-Choice America. www.naral.org. This site contains up-to-date information on reproductive issues and planned political actions.
- National Organization for Women. www.now.org. The NOW Web site contains up-to-date material on women's issues and planned political actions.
- Schooling, Education, and Literacy in Colonial America. <http://alumni.cc.gettysburg.edu/~s330558/schooling.html>. This Web site contains information about school materials and curriculum in colonial America, including pictures and details concerning the early schooling of girls.

NOTES

1. Eleanora Tomec was the mother of one of this book's coauthors.
2. Sara E. Rix, ed., for the Women's Research and Education Institute of the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues, *The American Woman 1987–88: A Report in Depth* (New York: Norton, 1987), 292.
3. The divorce rate in 1945 was 3.5 divorces per 1,000 people. The marriage rate that year was 12.1 marriages per 1,000 people. U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1948* (Washington, D.C.: 1948), 89.

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4. *Ibid.*, 66.
5. Rix, *American Woman*, 302.
6. U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1948*, 169.
7. Paula Ries and Anne J. Stone, eds., for the Women's Research and Education Institute of the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues, *The American Woman 1992-93: A Status Report* (New York: Norton, 1992), 236.
8. Herbert M. Levine, *Political Issues Debate: An Introduction to Politics*, 4th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1993), 20.
9. This is the focus used in M. Margaret Conway, David Ahern, and Gertrude A. Steuernagel, *Women and Public Policy: A Revolution in Progress* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1994). See particularly the discussion of women, public policy, and culture in chapter 1.
10. See, for example, John Rawls's widely acclaimed *A Theory of Justice* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971). According to a popular meaning of "liberal" today (not to be confused with the meaning used here), liberals are identified as supporters of big spending and big government but as opponents of family values.
11. M. Margaret Conway, *Political Participation in the United States*, 2d ed. (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1991), 3-4.
12. Clearly, neither liberalism nor liberal culture is monolithic. There are groups that choose to live apart from the liberal culture (such as the Amish) and groups that, historically, have been denied the right to participate fully. Some observers have taken issue with the characterization of American culture as liberal. See, in particular, Richard M. Merelman, *Making Something of Ourselves: Our Culture and Politics in the United States* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).
13. U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 2002* (Washington, D.C.: 2003), 373.
14. Ries and Stone, *American Woman*, 308, 321.
15. U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Women and Men in the United States: March 2002* (Washington, D.C.: 2002), 3.
16. U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1948*, 169; *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 2002*, 382.
17. U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 2002*, 381.
18. U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1951* (Washington, D.C.: 1951), 110.
19. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 2002*, 134, 139, 177.
20. See, for example, Theda Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 1992).

21. Common law refers to that body of law arising from judicial decisions. This form of law developed before legislatures existed. It is contrasted with statutory law, which refers to laws enacted by legislatures. See Judith A. Baer, *Women in American Law* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1991), 14–15.

22. Earlean McCarrick, “Women and Family Law: Marriage and Divorce,” in Conway, Ahern, and Steuernagel, *Women and Public Policy*, 125–126.

23. Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle*, rev. ed. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 1975), 15.

24. *Ibid.*

25. *Ibid.*, 167.

26. *Ibid.*, 179; Conway, *Political Participation*, 13–15; John J. Stucker, “Women as Voters: Their Maturation as Political Persons in American Society,” in Marianne Githens and Jewel L. Prestage, eds., *A Portrait of Marginality* (New York: McKay, 1977), Table 15.1, 267.

27. Stucker, “Women as Voters,” Table 15.1, 267.

28. *Ibid.*, Table 15.2, 269.

29. M. Margaret Conway, “Fostering Group-Based Political Participation,” in Orit Ichilov, ed., *Political Socialization, Citizenship Education, and Democracy* (New York: Teacher’s College Press, Columbia University, 1990), 297–312; Carole J. Uhlaner, “Rational Turnout: The Neglected Role of Groups,” *American Journal of Political Science* 33 (1989): 390–422; Carole J. Uhlaner, “‘Relational Goods’ and Participation: Incorporating Sociability into a Theory of Rational Action,” *Public Choice* 62 (1988): 253–285.

30. Flexner, *Century of Struggle*, 73–74.

31. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Mathilda Joselyn Gage, eds., *The History of Woman Suffrage*, vol. 1 (Rochester, N.Y.: Susan B. Anthony and Charles Mann, 1881–1922), 72.

32. Upon hearing the draft resolution concerning the vote, Stanton’s husband informed Stanton that he would leave town if that resolution were introduced at the convention. Flexner, *Century of Struggle*, 75.

33. *Ibid.*, 77.

34. McCarrick, “Women and Family Law”; Dorothy McBride Stetson, *Women’s Rights in the U.S.A.* (Pacific Grove, Calif.: Brooks/Cole, 1991), 138.

35. Flexner, *Century of Struggle*, 25–28.

36. *Ibid.*, 29–30.

37. *Ibid.*, 86. The remainder of this discussion draws on chapters 10, 22, and 23 of Flexner.

38. For a fuller discussion of these points, see Amanda D. Lotz, “Communicating Third-Wave Feminism and New Social Movements: Challenges for the Next Century of Feminist Endeavor,” *Women and Language* 26 (2003): 2–9.

