



## *Women and Public Policy*

In 2004 Condoleezza Rice, President Bush's national security adviser, testified publicly before the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States. Acknowledged as one of the president's key foreign policy advisers, Rice was the first woman to hold her post and was one of the highest ranking black females in the national government. She defended the Bush administration, arguing that there was no advance warning of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States. It was a long journey from 1776 when Abigail Adams wrote a letter to her husband, John Adams (a leader in the American Revolution and second president of the United States), in which she made the following request:

In the new code of laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make, I desire you would remember the ladies and be more generous and favorable to them than your ancestors. Do not put much unlimited power into the hands of the husbands. Remember, all men would be tyrants if they could. If particular care and attention is not paid to the ladies, we are determined to foment a rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound by any laws in which we have no voice or representation.<sup>1</sup>

Abigail Adams hoped (in vain) that the legal status of women would be improved and that the new government would confer political rights upon women. Our world today is very different. In 1993, for example, Hillary Rodham Clinton was appointed by her husband, Bill Clinton (the forty-second president), to head the administration's task force on health care reform. An established attorney and a children's rights advocate, she served the administration over two terms as an unpaid volunteer, taking an active role in child care policy and aggressively supporting the president. It was one of the few times since the Clintons married that Hillary earned less than her husband. In 2000 Hillary Rodham Clinton was sworn

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in as a U.S. senator representing New York. She is frequently mentioned as a possible future presidential candidate.

### DEFINING CULTURE

The twentieth century has seen a revolution in the way women live—women have gained the right to vote and moved into the professional world, among other accomplishments. These changes have caused Americans to rethink who they are, both as individuals and as members of the community. The role of government in determining quality of life in modern society (frequently labeled “public policy”) is a controversial but ubiquitous factor that has to be considered in any effort to understand women’s lives.

This book addresses the impact of public policy on women’s lives and the impact of changes in women’s lives on public policy. Abigail Adams lived in a patriarchal society in which men had legal and economic power over women, and cultural expectations regarding the proper roles for women and men were clearly defined. Consequently, women who wanted public policy to lead to greater equality between women and men had to rely on the good graces of men to bring about change. Condoleezza Rice is a major figure in foreign policy, a traditionally male bastion. As the former provost of Stanford University and a member of several corporate boards of directors, Rice has moved freely among the political, corporate, and academic elites. She has been able to shape public policy in her own right.<sup>2</sup> Hillary Rodham Clinton has also had more opportunities than most women to affect public policy directly. Like her husband, she received a law degree and achieved success in her chosen career. Because she and her husband view their marriage as a partnership, they shared responsibility for the care of their daughter and were able to combine family and professional responsibilities.

Since culture is a dominant theme in this book, a discussion of its significance for women and public policy is in order. “Culture” is a complex term not easily defined. It can be used in contexts so broad as to render it useless to those seeking to understand the way of life of a group of people.<sup>3</sup> Culture can be defined as “a core of traditional ideas, practices, and technology shared by a people.”<sup>4</sup> When we speak of culture, we are referring to the products of human activity.<sup>5</sup> A focus on culture assumes that much of what matters to a woman—her identity or sense of self, her beliefs, attitudes, and values—is learned through interaction with the people and institutions she encounters throughout her life. A cultural approach to public policy emphasizes the impact of factors such as class, lifestyle, religion, ethnic identification, and race on women’s understand-

ing of the political significance of their gender, a perception frequently referred to as their “gender consciousness.”<sup>6</sup> In the words of three prominent students of American politics, “culture counts.”<sup>7</sup> This is not to say that factors such as economic influences are unimportant. But the emphasis of this book is less on the economic effects of class than on how, and to what extent, particular life circumstances affect a woman’s perception of who she is, how she got there, what she wants to do with her life, and what she wants for herself and her family. Women living at the time of Abigail Adams and women living at the time of Hillary Rodham Clinton have different interpretations of what it means to be a woman.

Individuals become part of their culture in many ways. The learning process takes place in the family, the school, the workplace, the place of worship, and the community. Many individuals learn political values indirectly—which is another way of saying that they learn politically relevant attitudes, such as that toward authority—in their home and their school. Ethnic background, race, or religion may be important in helping some individuals develop a sense of who they are. For women, developing a sense of identity that includes gender has been an important step in bringing the interests they share as women into the public policy arena.

Culture depends on social groups for its creation and transmission.<sup>8</sup> At any given time the dominant culture houses many subcultures. For example, many of the people involved in the women’s movement of the 1960s advanced ideas about the “proper” role of women that contrasted sharply with those of the dominant culture.

Several contemporary trends illustrate the connection between cultural change and public policy. The emergence of women as an electoral force and the increasing number of women seeking and winning election to public office reflect women’s changing status in American culture—as a result of this change, women have exerted a greater influence on public policy. The emergence of women in politics was not a single cataclysmic event but rather reflected a series of changes in expectations about what women would and could do with their lives and the acceptability of certain actions, such as voting and running for and holding political office.

## WOMEN IN POLITICS

Historically, after gaining suffrage, women voted in lower percentages than men. As late as 1964, 67 percent of women compared to 71.9 percent of men turned out to vote. By 1980, however, the numbers had dropped and evened out—59 percent of both men and women voted in the presidential election. By 1984 women’s turnout was 61 percent compared with men’s 59 percent. The 2000 presidential election saw a 61 percent turnout by women compared with a 58 percent turnout by men.

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However, women participate in fewer campaign activities than men and are less likely than men to contribute money to presidential campaigns.<sup>9</sup>

Women continue to be underrepresented among elected officials, but they are making progress. In 1887 Susan Salter became the first woman mayor in the United States when she was elected to lead Argonia, Kansas. In 2003 fourteen women, including one African American woman and one Hispanic woman, served as mayors of major U.S. cities. In 1894 three women were elected to the Colorado House of Representatives. Clara Cressingham, Carrie C. Holly, and Frances Klock became the first women in the United States elected to a state legislature. Then in 1896 Martha Hughes Cannon of Utah became the first woman elected to a state senate. In 2003 more than 22 percent of all state legislators were female, and 18 percent of these were women of color. In 1917 Jeannette Rankin, R-Mont., became the first woman elected to Congress. In 2003, 13.6 percent of the members of the 108th Congress were women, and almost 25 percent of these were women of color. In 1925 Nellie Tayloe Ross became the country's first woman governor when she was elected in Wyoming to succeed her deceased husband. In 2003 seven women served as governors. None of them were women of color.<sup>10</sup>

Many organizations have contributed to women's success in running for and winning public office, including the National Organization for Women (NOW), founded in 1966; the National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC), founded in 1971; and the Women's Campaign Fund (WCF), founded in 1974. In addition, groups such as EMILY's List (Early Money Is Like Yeast) raise money for women candidates.<sup>11</sup>

Despite the movement of women into electoral politics, gender stereotyping of women candidates continues. In general, the public views women candidates and women officeholders as more compassionate and honest than their male counterparts and more interested and effective than men when dealing with issues such as education, health care, poverty, and child care. In contrast, male candidates and male officeholders are perceived as stronger leaders and more competent in dealing with such issues as the military, trade, and taxes.<sup>12</sup>

Title IX of the Higher Education Amendments of 1972 opened up a number of opportunities for women and resulted in their increased involvement in athletics and the professions. The Equal Pay Act of 1963, the Supreme Court's 1973 ruling upholding a woman's right to an abortion in *Roe v. Wade*, and the Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978 prohibiting employment discrimination against pregnant women have all redefined what it means to be a woman in American society.

Sexual harassment, domestic violence, reproductive rights, and child care have become part of the public policy agenda because of the

changes in women's roles and women's increasingly strong political presence.

#### WOMEN IN THE PROFESSIONS

The past century witnessed unprecedented changes in women's lives, and these continue into the twenty-first century.<sup>13</sup> Perhaps the most significant change, from a cultural and public policy perspective, has been the entry into the workforce of married women with small children. In the middle of the twentieth century, less than 20 percent of these women worked outside the home. By 2001, 62.5 percent of women with children younger than six were in the workforce. Race is also a factor in workforce participation. In 2001 almost 62 percent of white women with children younger than six were in the workforce. For black women, the figure was 76 percent. Perhaps even more startling are the rates of labor participation for women with children age one or younger. In 1975, for example, just more than 29 percent of white women in this situation worked outside the home. The comparable figure for black women was 50 percent. By 2001, more than 57 percent of white women and 70 percent of black women with children age one and younger worked outside the home.<sup>14</sup> There are many reasons for this trend, and they demonstrate the connection between cultural change and public policy. Economic necessity and the desire for self-fulfillment are the major reasons married women with young children work outside the home. Employment is an empowering experience both personally and politically, but it has also created demands on government. The sheer number of women in the workforce, along with their mobilization as a political force, has led to calls for action on issues as diverse as family leave, sexual harassment, pay equity, and reproductive health. In the fictionalized 1950s, June Cleaver always had time for Ward, Wally, and the Beaver. Many of the children whose family lives were very different from that of the Cleavers wished for a home in which Mother, in an attractive dress, pearls, and high-heeled shoes, was always available to lend a sympathetic ear and offer a glass of cold milk and a snack.

Today, June Cleaver has been replaced by a diverse range of images of women and families. Rachel on the popular show *Friends*, for example, had her daughter Emma but did not marry the baby's father, Ross, who plays a prominent role in Emma's life. Indeed, Emma's family consists of her mother's and father's friends; and Rachel raises her daughter as a single working mother. Issues such as child care and health that are important in the "typical" woman's life have moved from the private to the public arena.<sup>15</sup> The changes in women's lives have increased the demands

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on government to address many issues. The intersection of cultural change and public policy has a long history, which is the subject of the next section.

### A BRIEF HISTORY OF CULTURAL CHANGE AND PUBLIC POLICY

Cultural change has shaped public policy by creating a notion of political and legal rights that define an individual. According to Anne Schneider and Helen Ingram, the “social construction of target populations” (their term for the “cultural characterizations or popular images of the persons or groups whose behavior and well-being are affected by public policy”) can remain the same for extended periods or can endure continual change.<sup>16</sup> Because public policy has largely dealt in traditional ideas of women’s roles, it has reinforced women’s subordinate status.<sup>17</sup> The patriarchal male has, in many instances, been replaced by the patriarchal state. Nancy Fraser has argued that women will continue to depend on welfare so long as they are not given the opportunity to develop job skills. Until then they are forced to rely on the state for housing, food, and medical care for themselves and their children.<sup>18</sup>

But public policy can empower women and lessen their dependence on men or on the patriarchal state. Women’s acquisition of political and legal rights has been the result of two distinct women’s political movements, each of which had two phases. In the first phase of the first women’s movement (the first six decades of the nineteenth century), women demanded basic rights. Perhaps best known is the wide range of policy demands contained in the Declaration of Rights issued by the Seneca Falls Convention in 1848. This phase culminated in the unsuccessful drive to include guarantees of legal and political rights for women in the post-Civil War amendments to the U.S. Constitution, which conferred the legal rights of citizenship, including the right to vote, on black males.<sup>19</sup>

The second phase of the first women’s movement, which was dominated by disputes about both the issue agenda that should be pursued and the most appropriate means for seeking policy change, culminated in the ratification of the women’s suffrage amendment to the Constitution in 1920.<sup>20</sup> Women have acquired other rights as a result of court decisions and the enactment of federal and state laws during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

From 1920 to 1960 activism waned because there was little public interest in or support for a policy agenda of particular relevance to women. The extensive changes that took place in American society during those years, however, gave rise to a second women’s movement during the

1960s, a movement that is still strong in the twenty-first century.<sup>21</sup> The first phase of this second movement consisted of raising women's political and social consciousness about policy problems and the denial of women's basic rights. Witness to the beneficial effects of political action in racial minorities' pursuit of civil rights and economic equality during the 1950s and 1960s and the participation of many women in both the civil rights and the antiwar movements, women became increasingly aware of the denial of their basic rights and of the need for collective action to bring about political and social change.<sup>22</sup> Books such as Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* gave expression to the dissatisfaction of many women with the roles assigned them by modern society.<sup>23</sup>

Early in John F. Kennedy's presidential term he appointed an Advisory Commission on the Status of Women. In its October 1963 report, the commission recommended several policy changes, including the removal of restrictions on married women's control over property owned by them, increased opportunities for women to participate in politics by holding appointive and elective office, and the establishment of equal employment opportunity as a federal government policy. The commission recommended that equal employment opportunity be implemented to the extent possible through an executive order of the president, which would make the policy applicable to employees of the federal government and companies having contracts with it. The commission expected compliance with the executive order to be voluntary, however, and the recommendation specified no enforcement mechanisms.<sup>24</sup> The commission's recommendation made no mention of other problems confronted by women in modern society, such as access to adequate and affordable day care for the children of working mothers.

Two major policies affecting employed women were enacted into law during this period. In 1963 Congress passed a bill mandating equal pay for equal work, which had been regularly introduced in Congress since 1948.<sup>25</sup> Then Congress amended Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act to prohibit gender discrimination in employment. In an effort to kill the act, the bill's opponents offered this amendment in the belief that broadening the coverage of the employment discrimination prohibition would result in the bill's defeat. The bill passed, however, and the legislation proved to be an effective deterrent to gender discrimination in employment.<sup>26</sup>

The 1960s witnessed a rapid increase in the creation or growth of organizations that expressed the policy concerns of women and worked to gain an effective public policy on issues of particular interest to women. The founding of one of the largest such organizations, the National Organization for Women (NOW), on October 29, 1966, should be viewed as the start of the second phase of the second women's movement. NOW began

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when women attending the National Conference of State Commissions, sponsored by a presidential Citizen's Advisory Council, had been denied the right to propose and adopt resolutions. Realizing the need for an organization to express women's views, a group of women meeting at lunch on the last day of the conference agreed to become NOW's founding members.<sup>27</sup>

At its national conference in November 1967, NOW drew up a policy agenda that reflected the continuing policy concerns of this second women's movement.<sup>28</sup> The agenda's central issues were:

1. Enforcement of laws prohibiting gender discrimination in employment.
2. Provision of adequate, quality child care for families of employed women and of students in educational and training programs.
3. Maternity leave rights for employed women.
4. Fair tax treatment for employed women, including tax credits or tax deductions for child care expenses and nondiscriminatory tax treatment of two-income families.
5. Equal access to all fields of education.

Although these five goals were controversial in 1967, they have now gained widespread public approval. Now other issues spark controversy. An equal rights amendment to the Constitution passed by Congress and sent to the states for ratification in 1972 failed to be accepted by the required thirty-eight states, even though the time allowed for ratification was extended by three years.<sup>29</sup> Also controversial is the demand by NOW and by other women's groups that women have the right to control their own reproductive processes, including the right to an abortion. Although the Supreme Court upheld as constitutional the right to an abortion in several cases decided during the 1970s, the controversy continues and has resulted not only in a campaign for passage of laws and a constitutional amendment to prohibit abortion but in outbreaks of violence against organizations promoting the right to an abortion and against medical facilities and personnel providing abortions. In addition, supporters of a woman's right to choose argue that "fetal protection" laws, such as the Unborn Victims of Violence Act of 2004, are really attempts to gain personhood status for fetuses as part of a strategy to criminalize abortion.

Furthermore, feminists themselves have leveled charges that the women's movements have served primarily the interests of white, middle-class women.

Feminist scholars and activists as part of a movement known as third wave feminism have attracted younger women with a global

perspective that also strongly emphasizes factors such as race, ethnicity, and sexual identity.<sup>30</sup>

For the most part, this book focuses on the issues of the second women's movement, highlighting the relationship between cultural change and public policy. In addition, it recognizes that not all women are privileged and that factors such as race, ethnicity, class, age, and sexual identity are crucial to an understanding of both cultural change and public policy.

## CULTURAL CHANGE AND PUBLIC POLICY TODAY

The culture of each public policy issue includes all of the thinking about the issue, the language used to discuss the issue, and the values and beliefs relevant to the issue.<sup>31</sup> Cultural changes in women's roles, for example, are part of the history of the culture of child care as a public policy issue. The entry into the workforce of large numbers of women with young children has created the need for a public policy on child care. Over time, thinking about women's roles as mothers and employees has changed. As discussed in Chapter 8, changes in perceptions that caring for children is women's responsibility have greatly influenced policy making on child care.

### THE POLICY-MAKING PROCESS

Because policy making is seldom, if ever, direct, linear, or compartmentalized and can involve national, state, and local governments, it is helpful to think in terms of actions that occur in *most* forms of policy making.

A political movement can help define a problem for public policy reasons.<sup>32</sup> Frequently a political movement begins when individuals realize that the problem that each thought was unique and personal is shared by others, and the problem comes to be viewed as one that government can solve. Activists diagnose the problem's causes and propose solutions; these diagnoses and symbols of them are adopted by those who identify with the political movement. The symbol of the "welfare queen," for example, was used by some welfare reform advocates to promote change in what they diagnosed as a system plagued by fraud and abuse. Despite charges that such a symbol was racist and sexist, it galvanized support for the cause by simplifying a complex problem and making it accessible to the public. By raising awareness of a common problem, political movements increase the likelihood that the issue and

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its proposed solutions will be placed on the public agenda. Political movements frequently find expression in protest activities, but more conventional types of political activity also advance the movement's policy agenda, such as mobilizing voters and forming or joining interest groups. To advance an issue to a high position on the government's policy agenda, interest groups lobby elected and appointed officials, generate and manipulate media coverage of the issue, and mobilize supporters.<sup>33</sup> Other forms of political activity may include endorsing candidates or referenda proposals, making campaign contributions, and doing campaign work in support of candidates who support the preferred solutions to the policy problem.

The process by which a political movement seeks to place its issues on the policy agenda helps to define the policy problem and thus establishes the permissible boundaries for proposed solutions. The process can vary with the issue, the interests involved in the policy controversy, and the scope and intensity of the conflicts surrounding the issue.<sup>34</sup>

Even when an issue gains the support of policy entrepreneurs—the individuals who promote policies and help to create political climates favorable to their adoption—and the attention of policy makers, legislation to alleviate the underlying problem does not necessarily follow. In general, legislation that is perceived as involving radical change (which Joyce Gelb and Marian Palley refer to as “role change”) rather than incremental change (which they term “role equity”) is less likely to be enacted.<sup>35</sup> Unfortunately for women, many of the policy changes advocated as enhancing their status in American society are attacked by opponents as resulting in role change rather than role equity.<sup>36</sup>

Policy can be created and changed through formal government actions, the most obvious of which is the enactment of a law. One of the most significant policy changes affecting women, however, was accomplished with the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution. During the past decades, the challenge of changing policy has resulted in extensive litigation in federal and state courts initiated by both individual women and women's groups. Significant changes have been achieved in a number of policy areas, including employment, education, reproductive rights, and violence against women. Presidential executive orders have also had an important impact, particularly in establishing equal opportunity in employment.<sup>37</sup>

Policy gains achieved through laws can be minimized or subverted in the writing or revising of regulations that specify how a law will be implemented.<sup>38</sup> (See Chapter 2 for a discussion of how this applies to Title IX of the Higher Education Amendments of 1972.) The implementation of a policy once it is established (by whatever means), can also result in the policy's enhancement, distortion, retrenchment, or defeat.<sup>39</sup> The objec-

tives and standards set forth in the policy statement may be vague, too narrow to be effective, or too broad to be achieved. Congress or a state legislature may have felt that it would be easier to enact a law if some of the provisions were deliberately left vague. Conversely, the provisions written during the drafting phase of the legislative process may be so specific that they limit or distort the policy, with the result that it fails to have the effects intended by many of its advocates.

The manner in which responsibility for policy implementation is assigned also can determine the success of a program. The implementing agency is likely to prioritize implementation tasks that fit its mission and work structure. If multiple agencies are responsible for implementing the program, lack of coordination among them could mean that tasks are carried out with different degrees of rigor or that different standards are applied by each agency. This problem has affected several policies of particular importance to women, such as those for employment, education, and credit.

In some cases, policy implementation may be added to the responsibilities of an agency that is already overburdened with responsibility for other policies or that must interact with a large clientele of private firms and state and local government agencies. And if the budgetary resources allocated to the implementing agencies are inadequate, or if the agencies lack appropriately skilled personnel, implementation is less likely to be effective. The efforts of federal, state, or local governmental agencies to implement and enforce a policy or law may be lackluster when the agency personnel charged with those tasks are only weakly committed to the policy or do not support it at all. The result? Suboptimum policy outcomes or even serious distortion of the policy's impact. Effective implementation generally requires that the responsible parties enjoy the support of their immediate and higher-ranking supervisors. Flawed communication within the implementing agency may distort transmission of the policy goal as expressed by Congress or may prevent a strong commitment to the implementation goal. Policies are also endangered farther down the line when those who would violate the law are not deterred by effective sanctions. Indeed, such problems have impeded policy implementation in several equal rights areas. For example, many in the Office of Civil Rights in the Department of Justice, created to enforce a policy of equal rights for racial minorities, found it difficult to develop a strong commitment to equal rights for women during the 1960s and early 1970s, and the implementation of policies designed to guarantee equal employment opportunity for women suffered as a result.<sup>40</sup> In the same spirit, mechanisms for monitoring compliance with the policy's requirements are critical. If nondiscrimination in employment is not monitored, for example, past patterns of job bias may continue. However, mechanisms for monitoring

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compliance are not effective if precise standards for measuring compliance are not established.

Economic, social, and political conditions can shape the implementation of policy. During an economic recession, federal, state, and local governments have fewer resources and are likely to freeze or reduce the budgets of many agencies charged with policy implementation. A president who does not approve of a particular policy may try to hamper its implementation by ordering reductions in the budgets of the relevant administrative agencies or by having the policy's implementation regulations rewritten to reduce the policy's impact, as happened in several equal rights policy areas during the Reagan administration. In addition, social conditions may change, resulting in reduced public support for a policy and less pressure from Congress to implement it effectively. During the past two decades, inadequate implementation and enforcement have been evident in several policy areas of concern to women, including education, health, and employment (see Chapters 2, 3, and 5).

The assessment of a policy's outcome and of its impact on the intended beneficiaries and on others in society depends on the political values of those making the assessments. For example, some Reagan administration appointees advocated changes in the implementation of equal employment opportunity policy that would, in effect, have meant that no affirmative action requirements would be applied to employers covered by the provisions of federal laws (see Chapter 5).

### MODELS OF POLICY MAKING

Because there are so many factors to consider in any discussion of public policy, it is useful to organize them in the context of a general theory or model. Students of the policy process have developed a number of models, three of which have merit for organizing our thinking about women and public policy.

The first model suggests that policy is based on the preferences of a dominant elite whose values are reflected in the policy outputs of government. The members of this elite hold prominent positions in the government and in major social institutions (such as religious organizations, the educational system, business, and the mass media). According to this view, the dominant elite recruits those who share its values and policy preferences, and policy therefore reflects this self-perpetuating consensus. Substantial and rapid policy change would be expected only if there were major changes in the composition of the elite.<sup>41</sup> Such changes have occurred periodically in American society as representatives of new groups attained political power through the electoral process. Changes in

elite compositions are likely to be more extensive in times of crisis; for example, major changes occurred during the economic depressions of the 1890s and the 1930s.

According to the second model, which is based on a more explicit group theory, public policy is the outcome of conflict among organized groups—a balance of interests weighted by the groups' political strengths. A group is a collection of individuals organized around an interest, broadly defined, on the basis of which representatives of the group make demands on the political system. The interest may be highly self-centered (say, the demand of oil well owners for special tax policy benefits) or more altruistic (the demands made by environmental groups for policies protective of the nation's natural resources). In this conflict model of the policy process, the policy reflects the interests of those groups that are dominant in a particular historical era.

The third model suggests that policy is the result of past policies, in which minor changes have occurred incrementally over time. Constraints on decision making, such as limited information about the consequences of proposed policy changes, limited time for decision making, lack of knowledge about citizens' policy preferences, and the costs of both elaborate policy-making processes and significant policy changes, force policy makers to pursue an incremental change strategy. This results in policies that are conservative in the sense of being traditional and slow to change.<sup>42</sup>

#### POLICY SILENCES

Thomas Dye has perceptively described public policy as "whatever government chose to do or not to do."<sup>43</sup> Governmental inaction maintains a set of conditions and is thus just as much an expression of policy as laws would be had they been enacted. If federal marshals in Washington, D.C., do not execute arrest warrants for parents who fail to pay child support (as occurred in 1986), the public policy in the nation's capital is that parents who are legally obligated to pay child support may fail to do so without fear of punishment.<sup>44</sup> The traditional view of policy is that it consists of laws, regulations, actions, and programs that have specified goals and that allocate values authoritatively in the society.<sup>45</sup> According to this view, policy reflects conscious decisions and is manifested in actions and programs. However, policy made by default, when a government ignores a problem and its impact on citizens, is just as significant in its consequences as policy created by deliberate action. In the public policy areas of concern to women, "policy silences" are as frequent and as significant as policy that results from deliberate action.

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## NOTES

1. Quoted in Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), 15. Original source is *Familiar Letters of John Adams and His Wife, Abigail Adams, During the Revolution* (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1876), 148-150, letter dated March 31, 1776.
2. The official biography of Condoleezza Rice is available at the White House Web site, [www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/ricebio.html](http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/ricebio.html).
3. John Tomlinson, *Cultural Imperialism: A Critical Introduction* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 5. For a theoretical discussion of politics and culture, see Michael Ryan, *Politics and Culture: Working Hypotheses for a Post-Revolutionary Society* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989); Douglas Tallack, *Twentieth-Century America: The Intellectual and Cultural Context* (London: Longman, 1991); and Jurgen Habermas, *The New Conservatism*, ed. and trans. Shierry Weber Nichol森 (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989).
4. Herbert M. Levine, *Political Issues Debate: An Introduction to Politics*, 4th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1993), 20.
5. Tomlinson, *Cultural Imperialism*, 23.
6. David C. Leege, Joel A. Lieske, and Kenneth D. Wald, "Toward Cultural Theories of American Political Behavior," in *Political Science: Looking to the Future*, vol. 3, *Political Behavior*, ed. William Crotty (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1991), 194.
7. *Ibid.*, 193.
8. *Ibid.*, 214.
9. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, *Voting and Registration in the Election of November 2000*, series P20-552, Feb. 2002, Table B. In general, turnout is lower in nonpresidential or "off year" elections. In 1994 turnout for men and women was 45 percent. In 1998 the comparable figures were 41 percent for men and 42 percent for women. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Voting and Registration in the Election of November, 1998*, series P20-523RV, August 2000. For a discussion of women's political participation that includes data on participation, see Margaret Conway, Gertrude Steuernagel, and David Ahern, *Women and Political Participation: Cultural Change in the Political Arena*, 2d ed. (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2004).
10. Three publications by the Center for American Women and Politics, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University: "Women in Elective Office 2003," "Women of Color in Elective Office," and "First for Women in U.S. Politics." All are available at [www.cawp.rutgers.edu](http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu).
11. For a list of these groups, including their contributions, consult the Web site of the Center for Responsive Politics, [www.opensecrets.org](http://www.opensecrets.org). Information is also available at the Web site of the Federal Election Commission, [www.fec.gov](http://www.fec.gov).
12. Kathleen A. Dolan, *Voting for Women: How the Public Evaluates Women Candidates* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 2004), 8.
13. As of 2002 women accounted for 51 percent of the U.S. population of 282.1 million people. The percentage of the population that is female rose from 48.9

percent at the turn of the twentieth century. Women increasingly dominate the ranks of the elderly in this country. In the population age sixty-five and older, there are 5.3 million more women than men. Women also were more likely in 2002 than men to predominate among the very elderly, those ages eighty-five and older. Women are more likely than men to be widowed. Among women sixty-five and older, 46 percent are widowed compared with 14 percent for men sixty-five and older.

In 1970, 2.6 percent of all males age eighteen and over were divorced. By 1995 this figure had increased to 8 percent. The increased incidence of divorce among women is equally dramatic. In 1970, 4.1 percent of all women age eighteen and older were divorced. By 1995 this figure had increased to 10.3 percent. In 2002, 8.4 percent of men and 11.3 percent of women in the age group fifteen to sixty-four were divorced. See Renee E. Apraggins, "Women and Men in the United States: March 2002," U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, P20-544, March 2003, 1-5.

14. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract, 1996*, 393; and *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 2002* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 2002), 373.
15. The role that television characters play in America's cultural life and their ability to impact political views were dramatically illustrated during the 1992 presidential campaign. When popular television character Murphy Brown decided to become a single mother, Vice President Dan Quayle deemed her choice a symbol of the decline in "family values," and a controversy ensued. Vice President Quayle later sent a gift to the child.
16. Anne Schneider and Helen Ingram, "Social Construction of Target Populations: Implications for Politics and Policy," *American Political Science Review* 87 (June 1993): 334, 336.
17. Virginia Sapiro, "Gender Politics, Gendered Politics: The State of the Field," in *Political Science: Looking to the Future*, vol. 1, *The Theory and Practice of Political Science*, ed. William Crotty (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1991), 175.
18. Nancy Fraser, "What's Critical about Critical Theory?" in *Feminism as Critique*, ed. Seyla Benhabib and Drucilla Cornell (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), 50.
19. See Flexner, *Century of Struggle*, for a discussion of the first women's movement.
20. Ibid. See also Nancy McGlen and Karen O'Connor, *Women's Rights* (New York: Praeger, 1983), chaps. 1 and 2.
21. For a discussion of the origins of the second women's movement, see Jo Freeman, *The Politics of Women's Liberation* (New York: David McKay, 1975); and Barbara Sinclair Deckard, *The Women's Movement*, 3d ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1983).
22. Freeman, *The Politics of Women's Liberation*, chap. 2.
23. Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: Norton, 1963). Other books that had a significant impact in the form of consciousness raising include Kristen Amundsen, *The Silenced Majority* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1971); Germaine Greer, *The Female Eunuch* (New York: McGraw-Hill,

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- 1971); and Robin Morgan, ed., *Sisterhood Is Powerful* (New York: Vintage, 1970).
24. President's Advisory Commission on the Status of Women, 1963.
  25. Equal Pay Act of 1963, PL 88-38.
  26. Civil Rights Act of 1964, PL 88-352 U.S.C. sect. 2000e-2(a)(1).
  27. For a brief history of the formation and early organizational struggles of NOW, see Freeman, *The Politics of Women's Liberation*, chap. 3.
  28. See, for example, the National Organization for Women Bill of Rights, app. 3, in June Sochen, *Herstory*, 2d ed. (Palo Alto, Calif.: Mayfield, 1981).
  29. For a discussion of the reasons for the failure to pass the equal rights amendment, see Janet K. Boles, "Building Support for the ERA: A Case of 'Too Much, Too Late,'" *PS* 14 (fall 1982): 572-577; Jane J. Mansbridge, *Why We Lost the ERA* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986); Mary Frances Berry, *Why ERA Failed* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986); and Jean Hoff-Wilson, ed., *Rights of Passage* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986).
  30. See Amanda D. Lotz, "Communicating Third-Wave Feminism and New Social Movement: Challenges for the Next Century of Feminist Endeavor," *Women and Language* 26 (2003): 2-9. See also Judith Lorber, *Gender Inequality: Feminist Theories and Politics*, 2d ed. (Los Angeles: Roxbury, 2001).
  31. Dvora Yanow, "Toward a Policy Culture Approach to Implementation," *Policy Studies Review* 7, no. 1 (fall 1987): 108-109.
  32. For a discussion of agenda setting, see Roger W. Cobb and Charles D. Elder, *Participation in American Politics: The Dynamics of Agenda Building* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983); Ellen Boneparth, *Women, Power, and Policy* (New York: Pergamon Press, 1982); and John W. Kingdon, *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1984).
  33. For a discussion of the role of interest groups in U.S. politics, see Jeffrey Berry, *The Interest Group Society* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1984); and Allan Cigler and Burdett Loomis, eds., *Interest Group Politics*, 6th ed. (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2002).
  34. See Cobb and Elder, *Participation in American Politics*; and Boneparth, *Women, Power, and Policy*, chap. 1.
  35. Joyce Gelb and Marian Lief Palley, *Women and Public Policies* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), chap. 1.
  36. Of course, many seemingly "harmless" role equity changes, such as equality of access to credit and education, can result in role change. As Machiavelli reminds us, politics is often about images and appearances.
  37. See, for example, Leo Kanowitz, *Sex Roles in Law and Society* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1973); Leslie Friedman Goldstein, *The Constitutional Rights of Women: Cases in Law and Social Change* (New York: Longman, 1979); and Herman H. Kay, *Sex-Based Discrimination: Text, Cases, and Materials*, 2d ed. (St. Paul, Minn.: West, 1981).
  38. Gelb and Palley, *Women and Public Policies*, chap. 4; M. Margaret Conway, "Anti-Discrimination Law and the Problems of Policy Implementation," in *The Analysis of Policy Impact*, ed. John G. Grumm and Stephen L. Wasby (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1981).

39. For an extended discussion of this problem, see Jeffrey Pressman and Aaron Wildavsky, *Implementation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974); George C. Edwards III, *Implementing Public Policy* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1980); Eugene Bardach, *The Implementation Game* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1977); Randall Ripley and Grace Franklin, *Policy Implementation and Bureaucracy* (Chicago: Dorsey Press, 1986); and Donald S. Van Meter and Carl E. Van Horn, "The Policy Implementation Process," *Administration and Society* 6 (February 1975): 445-487.
40. McGlen and O'Connor, *Women's Rights*, 173-178.
41. See Thomas Dye, *Understanding Public Policy*, 7th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1992) for a summary of the model. For examples of the development, elaboration, and application of the model, see C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956); and Floyd Hunter, *Community Power Structures* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953).
42. Charles Lindbloom, "The Science of Muddling Through," *Public Administration Review* 19 (spring 1959): 79-88.
43. Thomas Dye, *Understanding Public Policy*, 5th ed. (Englewood Cliffs.: Prentice-Hall, 1984), 1.
44. Elsa Walsh, "Marshals' Service Revised," *Washington Post*, January 29, 1987.
45. See, for example, Randall B. Ripley and Grace A. Franklin, *Congress, the Bureaucracy, and Public Policy*, rev. ed. (Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, 1980), 1-2.

## SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

### IN PRINT

- Byrnes, Dolores M. 2003. *Driving the State: Families and Public Policy in Central Mexico*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Fischer, Frank. 2003. *Reframing Public Policy: Discursive Politics and Deliberative Practices*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
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- Norris, Pippa, ed. 1997. *Women, Media, and Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Valdivia, Angharad N. 2000. *A Latina in the Land of Hollywood and Other Essays on Media Culture*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Yanow, Dvora. 2003. *Constructing "Race" and "Ethnicity" in America: Category-Making in Public Policy and Administration*. Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe.

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### ON THE WEB

About-Face. [www.about-face.org](http://www.about-face.org). About-Face is an organization that promotes self-esteem in girls and women and focuses on images of women in the media.

Annenberg Public Policy Center of the University of Pennsylvania. [www.annenbergpublicpolicycenter.org](http://www.annenbergpublicpolicycenter.org). The center conducts research and hosts events on media, communication, and public policy.

Girls, Women + Media Project. [www.mediaandwomen.org](http://www.mediaandwomen.org). This Web site is a source of information on images of girls and women in pop culture and media. The Web site contains information on the group's effort to promote media literacy.

U.S. Census Bureau. [www.census.gov](http://www.census.gov). The U.S. Census Bureau Web site houses the statistical abstracts of the United States and is a source for population trends and demographics.

Women Impacting Public Policy. [www.wipp.org](http://www.wipp.org). This is an organization for women in business. The Web site contains information on relevant legislation as well as opportunities for political advocacy.

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