

The Second and Third Waves

HST/WMS 286
Spring 2007
Professor Lavender



Betty Friedan speaks regarding a national women's strike Aug. 26, 1966.

Women in war efforts



THE GIRL WHO USED TO DRIVE A NAIL WITH HER HAIR BRUSH

Life, 1919

- Wars give women the chance to shine outside their assigned gender roles.
 - And this is used for propaganda



LETTING THE GENIE OUT OF THE BOTTLE
The Des Moines Register & Tribune, 1945

WWII and women in war effort

- Wars bring out concerns about the role of women in U.S. society/ economy
- "Rosie the Riveter" myth versus reality

What became of Rosie?

- Since war employment did not alter the perception that women belonged in the home, after war, women were supposed to return there.
- Many resisted, but were largely abandoned by labor unions (even the CIO)
 - And women within the CIO, like Betty Friedan, recognize this as a key moment: if women are to get equality, they need laws (such as ERA) and a WOMEN'S movement to get it for them.
 - And this women's movement should list women's concerns and posit solutions to their problems.
 - The VOTE is not enough.



Chicago Sun-Times, 1950

What are women's concerns?

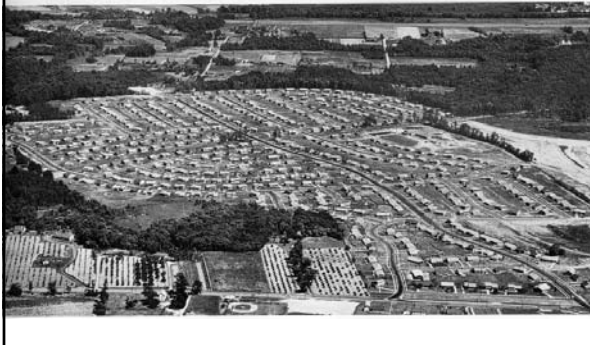
- Generalized "oppression"

Women's Concerns – Trapped in the Home

- Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* (1963)
 - "It was a strange stirring, a sense of dissatisfaction, a yearning that women suffered in the middle of the 20th century in the United States. Each suburban wife struggled with it alone. As she made the beds, shopped for groceries, matched slip cover materials, ate peanut butter sandwiches with her children, chauffeured Cub Scouts and Brownies, lay beside her husband at night, she was afraid to ask of herself the silent question -- 'Is this all?'"
 - The lack of fulfillment of "housewives" restricted to domesticity
 - "the problem that has no name"
 - The typical suburban home for women
 - "a comfortable concentration camp"



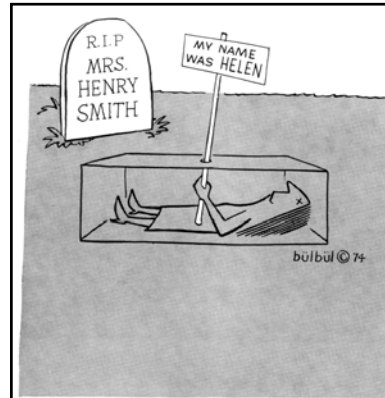
What could possibly be wrong with suburbia?



How could “togetherness” – a term invented by *McCall's Magazine* – ever fail to satisfy women?



What could possibly be wrong with suburban housewifedom?



Women in the “Comfortable Concentration Camp”

- Women lose their separate identities

San Francisco Examiner, 1979

Women in the “Comfortable Concentration Camp”

Anne Sexton (1928-1974), “Housewife” (1962)

Some women marry houses
 It's another kind of skin; it has a heart,
 a mouth, a liver and bowel movements.
 The walls are permanent and pink.
 See how she sits on her knees all day
 faithfully washing herself down
 Men enter by force, drawn back like Jonah
 into their fleshy mothers.
 A woman is her mother.
 That's the main thing.



Women in the “Comfortable Concentration Camp”

- Women unsatisfied – including sexually

“I’ve got an idea for a story: Gus and Ethel live on Long Island, on the North Shore. He works sixteen hours a day writing fiction. Ethel never goes out, never does anything except fix Gus sandwiches, and in the end she becomes a nympho-letho-killer-whore. Here’s your sandwich.”

The New Yorker, 1970

Women in the “Comfortable Concentration Camp”



• Why waste education on women?

The New Yorker, 1951

Women and Education, Post-WWII

- College Attendance of Women
 - more than doubled during 1950s (from 721,000 to 2.3 million)
 - but only 37% graduated (compared with 55% of males)
 - The important anomaly: 90% of Black women college students completed their degrees.



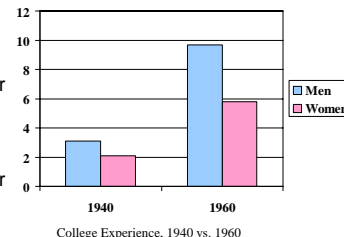
Professional Club at the University of North Texas, 1959

Women and Education, Post-WWII

- As a percentage of college population, ratio of females to males dropped
- 1920: 47% of students were women (historical high) (almost 1:1 ratio)
- 1958: 35% of students were women (about 1:2 ratio)

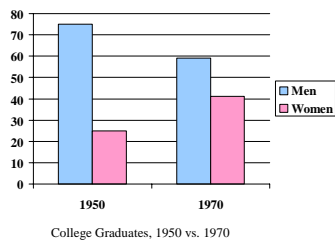
Women and Education, Post-WWII

- As a percentage of US population, a growing gender gap:
- In 1940: 3.1% males, 2.1% females had 4 or more years of college
- In 1960: 9.7% males, 5.8% females had 4 or more years of college



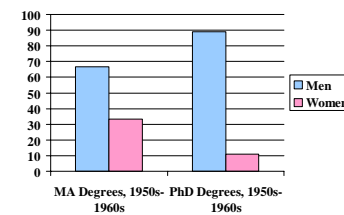
Women and Education, Post-WWII

- But the numbers of women with BA degrees steadily increased throughout the post-war period:
- In 1950: women make up 25% of college graduates.
- In 1970, women make up 41% of college graduates.



Women and Education, Post-WWII

- Few female graduates went on to higher degrees
 - Women earned only 1/3rd of the master's degrees granted in the 1950s and 1960s
 - Women earned only 1/9th of the PhDs granted in the 1950s and 1960s
- Quota systems in graduate admission (GI Bill, etc.) favored male applicants



Married women don't work... or do they?

Women and Employment, Post-WWII

- 1950: majority of female workers were married
 - mostly to supplement household income
 - not to pursue careers
- 1960: 36% of US women worked outside the home
 - But forms of female wage labor shifted
 - Service-industry rather than blue- or white-collar work
 - Lower-paying and unskilled "pink-collar" labor
 - similar to household duties of care & maintenance
 - By 1960, 75% of women held female-only "pink-collar" jobs

Women and Employment, Post-WWII

- Married women's workforce participation:
 - 1940: 15% of all wives worked
 - 1950: 24% of all wives worked
 - 1960: over 30% of all wives worked
 - 1970: over 40% of all wives worked

Year	Percentage of Wives Worked
1940	15%
1950	24%
1960	30%
1970	40%

Does Gender Affect Pay?

The Charlotte Observer, 1982

Women and Employment, Post-WWII

- Pay equity:
 - 1963: women earn .63/male dollar
 - 1973: women earn .57/male dollar
 - 1983: women earn .59/male dollar
 - 1993: women earn .70/male dollar
 - 2003: women earn .57/male dollar

Year	Women's Earnings (% of Men's)
1963	63%
1973	57%
1983	59%
1993	70%
2003	57%

Incomes of U.S. Women and Men

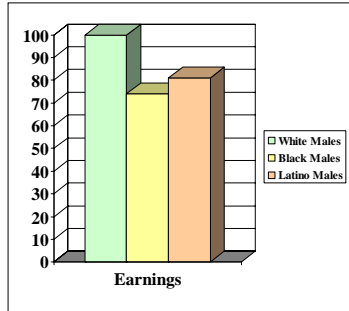
Median weekly earnings

Occupation	Men	Women
All occupations	713	573
Management, professional, and related	1,098	780
Service occupations	476	374
Sales and office occupations	669	512
Natural resources, construction, and maintenance	626	453
Production, transportation, and material moving	578	406

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2004 data.

Women and Employment in 2003 – The Effects of Race

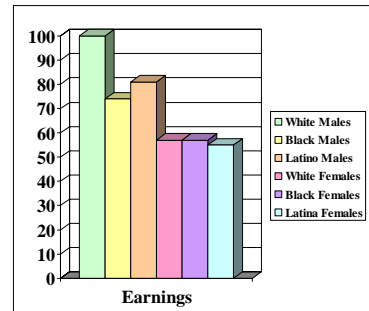
- Pay equity:
 - What role does race play?
 - When comparisons are made with similarly educated white men....
 - Black men make 26% less than white men
 - Latino men make 19% less than white men



Comparative Men's Earnings

Women and Employment in 2003 – The Effects of Race

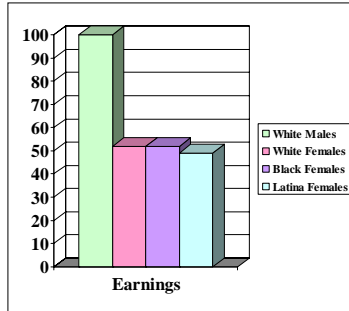
- Pay equity:
 - When comparisons are made with similarly educated white men....
 - White women earn 43% less
 - Black women earn 43% less
 - Latina women earn 45% less



Comparative Earnings

Women and Employment in 2003 – The Effects of Race and Education

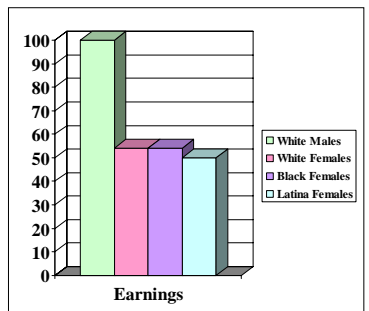
- Pay equity:
 - When women have the High School Diploma
 - White women earn 48% less
 - Black women earn 48% less
 - Latina women earn 51% less



Comparative Earnings with HS Diploma

Women and Employment in 2003 – The Effects of Race and Education

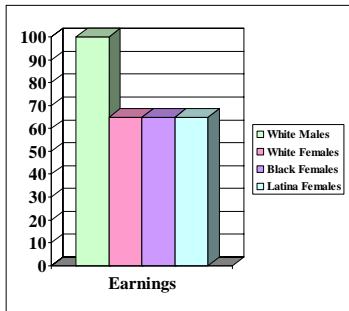
- Pay equity:
 - When women have the College Degree
 - White women earn 46% less
 - Black women earn 46% less
 - Latina women earn 50% less



Comparative Earnings with College Degree

Women and Employment in 2003 – The Effects of Race and Education

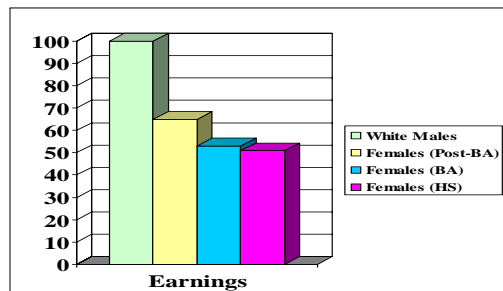
- Pay equity:
 - When women have a Post-Graduate Degree
 - White, Black and Latina women earn 35% less



Comparative Earnings with Post-Graduate Degree

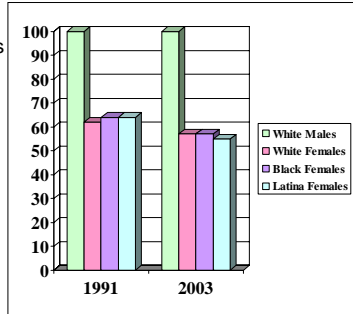
Women and Employment in 2003 – The Effects of Race and Education

The overall effect of education on pay equity



Women and Employment in 2003 – A Widening Gap

- White women with BAs earn 43% less in 1991 (-3% in 2003)
- Black women with BAs earn 36% less in 1991 (-10% in 2003)
- White women w/HS diplomas earn 42% less in 1991 (-6% in 2003)
- Black women w/HS diplomas earn 45% less in 1991 (-3% in 2003)
- Latina women w/HS diplomas earn 44% less in 1991 (-7% in 2003)



Equity, 1991 vs. 2003

Women in the Workplace



- Direct Discrimination: "The Glass Ceiling"

Women in the Workplace

SYLVIA

by Nicole Hollander



1985

- Direct Discrimination: More Subtle Forms

Women in the Workplace



The Greenville News, 1977

- Direct Discrimination: Subtler Forms

What Can Be Done?

- National Organization for Women
- Founded 1966 by Betty Friedan and 27 others
 - "...to take action to bring American women into full participation in the mainstream of American society now."
- By 1967: 1,000 members
- By 1971: 15,000 members



Betty Friedan

NOW's Platform



Gloria Steinem

"We have no desire at all to take over the male role. This revolution—and it is a revolution—not a reform—is about humanizing both roles, not exchanging them."

—Gloria Steinem



Helen Reddy, *I Am Woman* (1972)

I am woman, hear me roar
In numbers too big to ignore
And I know too much to go back an'
pretend
'cause I've heard it all before
And I've been down there on the floor
No one's ever gonna keep me down again

Oh yes I am wise
But it's wisdom born of pain
Yes, I've paid the price
But look how much I gained
If I have to, I can do anything
I am strong (strong)
I am invincible (invincible)
I am woman

You can bend but never break me
'cause it only serves to make me
More determined to achieve my final goal
And I come back even stronger
Not a novice any longer
'cause you've deepened the conviction in
my soul

Chorus

I am woman, watch me grow
See me standing toe to toe
As I spread my lovin' arms across the land
But I'm still an embryo
With a long long way to go
Until I make my brother understand

Oh yes I am wise
But it's wisdom born of pain
Yes, I've paid the price
But look how much I gained
If I have to, I can do anything
I am strong (strong)
I am invincible (invincible)
I am woman
Oh I am woman
I am invincible
I am strong



"Fifty Thousand Women March Down Fifth Avenue on August 6, 1970, to Celebrate the Fiftieth Anniversary of Women's Suffrage"

The "Answer": ERA

ERA: The Equal
Rights Amendment

Suffrage isn't
enough to make the
nation equal



Current History, 1929

The Equal Rights Amendment

- Section 1. Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.
- Section 2. The Congress shall have the power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.
- Section 3. This amendment shall take effect two years after the date of ratification.



LOOK GUYS... WHY DON'T WE JUST SAY THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL... AND LET THE LITTLE LADIES LOOK OUT FOR THEMSELVES?

The Dayton Daily News, 1982

History of the ERA

- The ERA was written in 1923 by Alice Paul, suffragist leader and founder of the National Woman's Party.
- Paul and the NWP considered the ERA to be the next necessary step after the 19th Amendment (Woman Suffrage) in guaranteeing "equal justice under law" to all citizens.

Legislative History of the ERA

- ERA was introduced into every session of Congress between 1923 and 1972
 - But remained in committee – the longest period in committee of any legislation in U.S. history
- In 1972, it was passed by the committee and Congress and sent to the states for ratification.
 - The seven-year time limit in the ERA's proposing clause was extended by Congress in 1978 to June 30, 1982

Legislative History of the ERA

- In the late 1970s a major anti-ERA push emerges
 - Part of the emergence of neoconservatism on the right
 - ERA opposition was led by three major groups:
 - Republican Party under Ronald Reagan, who made opposition to the ERA a part of the 1980 Republican Platform (after 57 years of Republican Party support)
 - The Mormon Church, which filed suit against NOW and pro-ERA forces for calling for boycotts of states which had not ratified the ERA (which boycotts were judged by the Supreme Court to be exercises of First Amendment rights)
 - And antifeminist lawyer Phyllis Schlafly and her "National Committee to Stop ERA."

Legislative History of the ERA

- At the 1982 deadline, the ERA had been ratified by 35 states, leaving it three states short of the 38 required for ratification
 - As a result, the ERA goes back into committee
- It has been reintroduced into every Congress since that time.



The Emergence of Third Wave Feminism and Womanism



"Black Feminism is not White Feminism in Black Face."
--Audre Lorde, *Sister Outsider* (1984)



A Womanist is, "A black feminist or feminist of color . . . who loves other women, sexually and/or nonsexually. Appreciates and prefers women's culture . . . [and who] sometimes loves individual men, sexually and/or nonsexually. Committed to survival and wholeness of entire people, male and female. . . . Womanist is to feminism as purple to lavender." -- Alice Walker, *In Search of Our Mothers' Gardens*

- But the "academic" or "feminist theory" definitions of womanism focus on:

- the inextricable linkages between race, gender and class
- the ideological elision or race and class by "feminism" which privileges gender
- the historical silencing of women of color, even by "feminists"
- the reality that sometimes other women are your oppressors

- (see bell hooks, Barbara Smith, Clenora Hudson-Weems, Julia Hare)



Betinna Aptheker in 1981:

"When we place women at the center of our thinking, we are going about the business of creating an historical and cultural matrix from which women may claim autonomy and independence over their own lives. For women of color, such autonomy cannot be achieved in conditions of racial oppression and cultural genocide. In short, 'feminist,' in the modern sense, means the empowerment of women. For women of color, such an equality, such an empowerment, cannot take place unless the communities in which they live can successfully establish their own racial and cultural integrity."

-- Betinna Aptheker, in "Strong Is What We Make Each Other: Unlearning Racism Within Women's Studies," *Women's Studies Quarterly* (1981).

Black Feminists in the 1960s-1970s



"I'm sick and tired of being sick and tired."

—Fannie Lou Hamer

Civil Rights Activist Fannie Lou Hamer (1917-1977)

Black Feminists in the 1960s-1970s



Barbara Jordan (1936-1996),
Congresswoman and Professor

Representative
Barbara Jordan (D-
Texas), speaking at
the 1976 National
Democratic Party
Convention

"What the people want
is simple. They want
an America as good
as its promise."

Black Feminists in the 1960s-1970s



Shirley Chisholm (1924 - 2005),
Teacher, CUNY Graduate,
Congresswoman

**"Fighting Shirley
Chisholm --
Unbought and
Unbossed."**

First African American
woman elected to the US
Congress (1968, D-New
York) and the first to run
for the presidency (1972).

Feminists of Color in the 1960s-1970s



Dolores
Huerta
(1930-),
co-founder
of the
United
Farm
Workers
(UFW)

"Si, Se Puede"