

Women and Politics

The Pursuit of Equality

FOURTH EDITION

Lynne E. Ford

College of Charleston



Routledge

Taylor & Francis Group

New York London

First published 2017 by Westview Press

Published 2018 by Routledge

711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017, USA

2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

Copyright © 2017 Taylor & Francis

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Notice:

Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

Every effort has been made to secure required permissions for all text, images, maps, and other art reprinted in this volume.

A CIP catalog record for the print version of this book is available from the Library of Congress

ISBN 13: 978-0-8133-5081-3 (pbk)

Design and composition by Eclipse Publishing Services

Printed in Canada

Contents

List of Illustrations xi

Preface xiii

Chapter 1 – Two Paths to Equality 1

► **BOX 1.1: ENCOUNTERING THE CONTROVERSIES OF EQUALITY**

How Should Female Veterans Be Memorialized 2

Politics and Women's Pursuit of Equality 4

Defining Women's Politics 6

Distinguishing Sex from Gender 7

The First Path: The Legal Equality Doctrine 8

The Second Path: The Fairness Doctrine 12

Feminism's Direct Challenge to Gender Relations 17

Approaches to Feminism 19

Using Politics to Bring About Change 30

Chapter 2 – All Rights Are Not Equal: Suffrage Versus the Equal Rights Amendment 35

From Seneca Falls to Suffrage:

Three Generations of Women Work for the Vote 36

► **BOX 2.1**

Declaration of Sentiments 38

► **BOX 2.2: ENCOUNTERING THE CONTROVERSIES OF EQUALITY**

Two Means to the Same End: Alice Paul and Carrie Chapman Catt 48

Opposition to Women's Suffrage 53

► **BOX 2.3: POINT OF COMPARISON**

Women's Voting Rights Around the World 54

Postsuffrage Divisions: The Equal Rights Amendment or Special Protections for Women?	57
Three Political Lessons About Gender Equality	69
Conclusion	72

Chapter 3 – Suffrage Accomplished: Women as Political Participants 77

Women Enter the Electorate as Voters	78
The Gender Gap	86
► BOX 3.1: SPOTLIGHT ON THE 2016 ELECTION	
The Glass Ceiling Remains: Are Women Voters Responsible?	93
Gender Differences in Political Participation Beyond the Ballot	94
Explaining the Patterns of Participation	98
► BOX 3.2: ENCOUNTERING THE CONTROVERSIES OF EQUALITY	
Female, Activist, Conservative, Republican . . . and Feminist?	104
Mobilizing Women's Political Participation	109
► BOX 3.3: POINT OF COMPARISON	
“Hey Baby!” Is Not My Name”:	
Global Activism Against Street Harassment	112
Conclusion	120

Chapter 4 – Women Seeking Office: The Next Phase of Political Integration 129

Women Candidates Are as Likely to Win Elections as Men . . . but Context Matters	132
The Key to More Women in Office: More Women Candidates	140
► BOX 4.1: POINT OF COMPARISON	
The Power of Positive Discrimination:	
Electoral Quotas to Advance Women in Office	148
Gender and the Campaign Experience	152
► BOX 4.2: ENCOUNTERING THE CONTROVERSIES OF EQUALITY	
Impossible Expectations:	
Hillary Clinton's Candidacy for the Presidency	162
Initiatives Designed to Increase the Number of Women Candidates	165
► BOX 4.3: SPOTLIGHT ON THE 2016 ELECTION	
Future Women Candidates:	
Will 2016 Mobilize or Paralyze Women's Political Ambition?	168
Conclusion	169

Chapter 5 – Women as Political Actors: Representation and Advocacy 175

- Political Representation: Why Numbers Matter 176
- Qualities of Political Leadership: How Do Men and Women Differ? 182
- **BOX 5.1: ENCOUNTERING THE CONTROVERSIES OF EQUALITY**
 - Would More Women in Government
Reduce Corruption? It Depends 184
- Women in Political Roles 193
- **BOX 5.2: POINT OF COMPARISON**
 - Women World Leaders, 2016 204
- Women in the Military 214
- **BOX 5.3: SPOTLIGHT ON THE 2016 ELECTION**
 - A Change Election? No Increase
for Women in Congress but Gains in Diversity 219
- Conclusion 220

Chapter 6 – Education and the Pursuit of Equality 227

- A Brief History of the Education of Women 228
- Title IX: Legislating Gender Equity in Education 231
- **BOX 6.1: ENCOUNTERING THE CONTROVERSIES OF EQUALITY**
 - A Mattress as Alleged Crime Scene, Performance Art,
Political Statement, and Maybe a Violation of Title IX 240
- Women's Educational Equity Act 255
- Equity in Action: How Girls and Boys Experience School 256
- Education's Long-Term Impact on Women's Pursuit of Equality 260
- The Unique Nature of Education as a Public Good 262
- Conclusion 263
- **BOX 6.2: POINT OF COMPARISON**
 - Global Gender Gap Ranking and Educational Attainment 264

Chapter 7 – Women and Work: In Pursuit of Economic Equality 271

- Women Enter the Workforce: A Brief History 273
- Gender Socialization and Attitudes About Work 275
- Legal Paths to Equality: Federal Antidiscrimination Policies 277
- The Impact of Federal Policies on Women's Work Experiences 294
- The Wage Gap: The Legal Equality Doctrine's Ultimate Test 303

► BOX 7.1: POINT OF COMPARISON

The Global Gender Wage Gap 306

The Consequences of a Gendered Economy 313

► BOX 7.2: ENCOUNTERING THE CONTROVERSIES OF EQUALITY

The Underside of Globalization: Are Immigrant Women
Becoming the New “Wife” at Home? 314

Conclusion 320

Chapter 8 – The Politics of Family and Fertility: The Last Battleground in the Pursuit of Equality? 327

Demographics of Modern American Families 328

Forming Families Through Marriage 330

Supporting Families with Working Parents 341

► BOX 8.1: ENCOUNTERING THE CONTROVERSIES OF EQUALITY

Need a Baby Boom? Come to Terms with Gender Equality 346

Safety Net for Poor Families 353

Fertility and Reproduction 357

► BOX 8.2: POINT OF COMPARISON

Regulating Access to Legal Abortion 364

Women’s Rights Versus Fetal Rights 375

Threats to Women’s Autonomy 386

Conclusion 391

Chapter 9 – Setting the Agenda and Taking Action: New Challenges in the Pursuit of Equality 397

Elective Franchise and Political Representation 399

► BOX 9.1

Seneca Falls Women’s Rights Convention Resolutions 400

Marriage and Family Rights 405

► BOX 9.2: ENCOUNTERING THE CONTROVERSIES OF EQUALITY

Burkinis and Bikinis: Who Decides How Women Must Dress? 406

Education, Employment, and Economic Opportunities 410

► BOX 9.3: POINT OF COMPARISON

The Best and Worst States for Gender Equality in the United States 412

Where Do We Go from Here? 415

Glossary 417

Index 427