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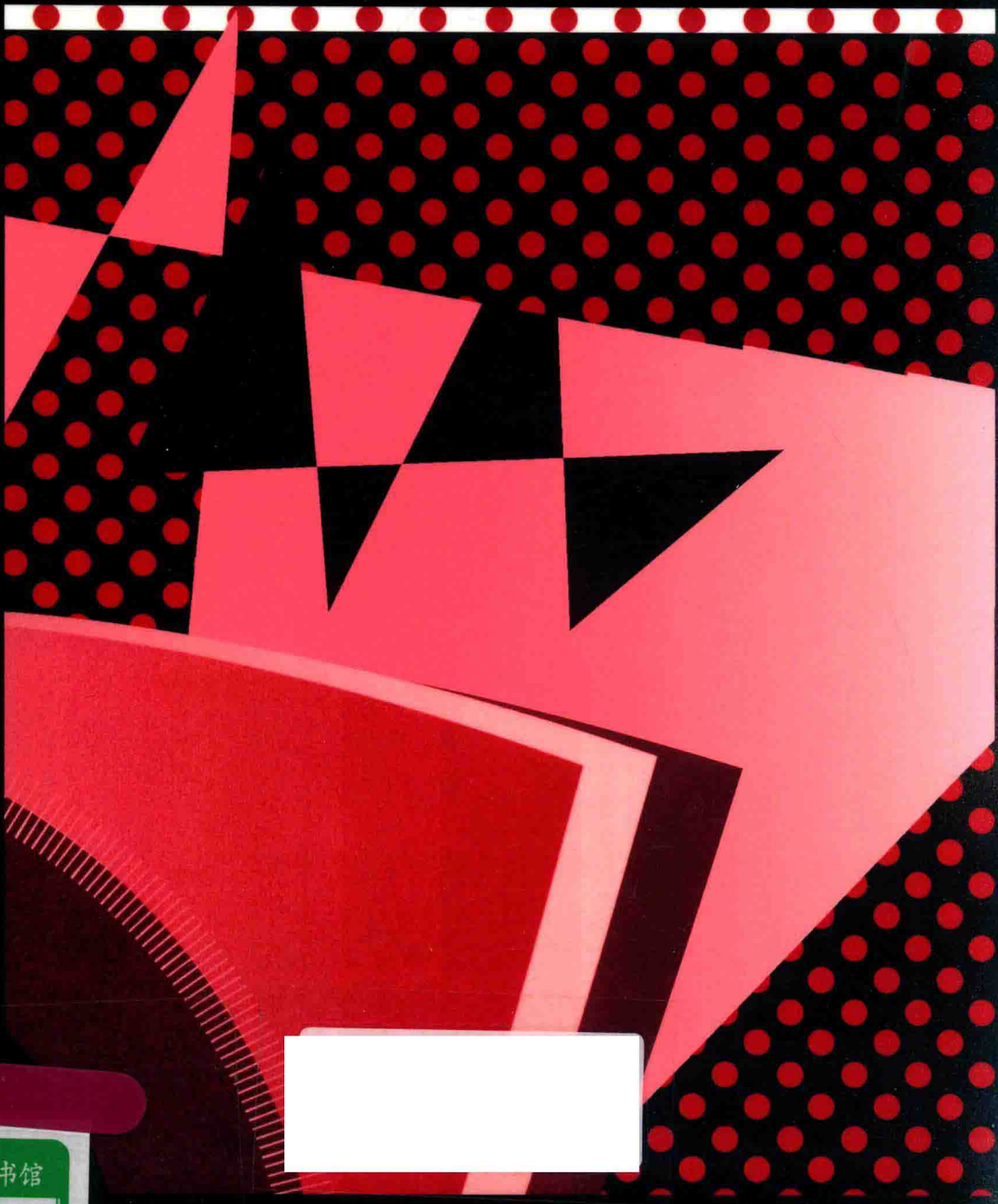
Women and Citizenship



edited by

MARILYN FRIEDMAN

WOMEN AND CITIZENSHIP

EDITED BY

Marilyn Friedman

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

2005

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UNIVERSITY PRESS

Oxford University Press, Inc., publishes works that further
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Oxford New York
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Published by Oxford University Press, Inc.
198 Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10016

www.oup.com

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Women and citizenship / edited by Marilyn Friedman.
p. cm.—(Studies in feminist philosophy)
Papers presented at a conference held at Washington University in St. Louis in April 2002.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN-13 978-0-19-517534-9; 978-0-19-517535-6 (pbk.)
ISBN 0-19-517534-4; 0-19-517535-2 (pbk.)
1. Women's rights—Congresses. 2. Women—Government policy—Congresses.
3. Women in politics—Congresses. 4. Women—Social conditions—Congresses.
5. Citizenship—Congresses. 6. Feminist theory—Congresses.
I. Friedman, Marilyn, 1945– II. Series.

HQ1236.W6326 2005
323.3'4—dc22 2005047749

9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Printed in the United States of America
on acid-free paper

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IRIS MARION YOUNG is Professor of Political Science at the University of Chicago. She is a member of the faculty boards of the Center for Gender Studies and the Human Rights Program. Her research interests are in contemporary political theory, feminist social theory, and normative analysis of public policy. Her books include *Justice and the Politics of Difference* (1990), *Throwing Like a Girl and Other Essays in Feminist Philosophy and Social Theory* (1990), *Intersecting Voices: Dilemmas of Gender, Political Philosophy, and Policy* (1997), and *Inclusion and Democracy* (2000). Young has held visiting fellowships at several universities and institutes around the world, including Princeton University, the Institute for Human Sciences in Vienna, Australian National University, and the Human Sciences Research Council of South Africa.

Contents

WOMEN AND CITIZENSHIP

Introduction

MARILYN FRIEDMAN

Citizenship is multiple and various. It can be an identity; a set of rights, privileges, and duties; an elevated and exclusionary political status; a relationship between individuals and their states; a set of practices that can unify—or divide—the members of a political community; and an ideal of political agency. It can be all these things and more.

In recent decades, citizenship has attracted multidisciplinary attention and analysis. Changing political boundaries, resurgent nationalisms, ethnic hostilities, increased migrations, and the global realignment of military power are among the many recent developments that have destabilized citizenship and impelled states and peoples to reassess longstanding citizenship practices (Beiner 1995). Western European countries have admitted large influxes of immigrants from their respective former colonies. Western countries generally have been engaged for some time now with the presence of non-Western cultural traditions, languages, and identities (Honig 2001; Kymlicka and Norman 2000). Some of those developments followed the collapse of the Soviet Union and the apparent triumph of liberal democracy. Some followed the end of Western colonialism and the frequent repudiation of liberal democracy.

The economic sphere has been equally instrumental in stimulating interest in citizenship. Western capitalism has become ever more aggressively global, as information technology has encircled the earth, the transnational movement of capital has soared, and multinational corporations have accelerated their searches for cheaper and cheaper labor markets (Held 1995). These trends, too, have destabilized identities, languages, boundaries, and traditions. All of these developments have directed both practical and theoretical attention to the nature of citizenship and to what it means to be, as T. H. Marshall defined it, a full member of a community (Marshall 1950).

At the same time that the practices, conditions, and meanings of citizenship were coming under these pressures in many parts of the world, gender was also undergoing intense scrutiny. The identities, categories, boundaries, and traditions

that comprise gender practices have also shifted, attracting their own practical engagement and theoretical attention. Transformations in citizenship and those in gender are mutually relevant in a variety of ways. This is no surprise. Citizenship is one of many sets of social practices in which differentiation by gender is ancient and stubbornly persistent.

Throughout most of human history and in all regions of the globe, women of all classes, races, ethnicities, and religions were, and often continue to be, denied state citizenship of even the lowest rank. So exclusively male has this status been for nearly all of human history that it is a singular development of women's movements in the twentieth century to have ended this exclusion in many places. Substantial numbers of women have made enormous political headway in the past century. In many states, however, women do not yet have a citizenship status equal to that of their male counterparts. In any given state, still today, women and men are likely to differ in the political rights and privileges of citizenship that affect them, and differ in ways that are linked systematically to gender categories as well as categories such as race and class (Collins 1998; Hirschmann and DiStefano 1996; Nussbaum 2000; Okin 1989, 1999).

Issues of women and citizenship, however, are not merely about the deprivation of political rights to women. Also important is the gendered nature of the practices and contexts of political citizenship itself. The public and political realms in which citizenship is paradigmatically conceptualized and practiced are realms based largely on modes of living as well as attributes that are stereotypically male—the role of wage-earner, for example. This means that even when the rights and privileges of political citizenship are made available to women, practical and conceptual obstacles may make it difficult for women to avail themselves fully of these options. How we understand women (and men) as citizens is, in turn, dependent on these differentiated political elaborations (Landes 1998; Phillips 1998; Young 1997).

At the same time, citizenship is not confined to the public or political spheres. The citizenship practices of the public and political spheres are themselves related to conditions in other social spheres, such as those of family and civil society. Gender is generally salient to the meanings and practices of citizenship in these other social realms as well. These nonstate realms of citizenship practice provide options for women's political agency that may circumvent the restrictions of the political sphere, for example, agency based on women's traditional roles as nurturers (Kittay 1999; Ruddick 1989). If citizenship is about full membership in one's community, then these additional realms of culture and society are necessary contexts and conditions for its practice. Gender and citizenship thus intersect and engage each other in a variety of ways, often through the mediation of other social institutions.

The essays in this collection explore a number of these various political and cultural dimensions of citizenship and their relevance to women and gender. These essays were presented at a conference on "Women and Citizenship" at Washington University in St. Louis, Missouri, in April 2002 (see the acknowledgments at the end of this introduction). Some of these essays take account of contexts and practices of citizenship in the United States (Young, Bartky, Ackelsberg,

Jaggar, Hurtado, and Tronto) while the other essays focus on contexts and practices of citizenship elsewhere (Scott, Joseph, Wadud, and Nussbaum). Together, these studies survey a variety of ways in which citizenship—full membership in the community—has been politically and culturally en-gendered, for better and worse, yet is open to transformation through women's agency.

1. Citizenship, Government, and Law

Iris Marion Young's essay, "The Logic of Masculinist Protection: Reflections on the Current Security State," draws attention to practices of citizenship that can arise under a government at war. However, in contrast to literature that explains war in terms of stereotypically masculine tendencies toward violence (see the overview in Goldstein 2001), Young instead explores the logic of the masculine role of protector. A government acting in accord with this role protects its members in an overly aggressive fashion from external dangers as well as from internal dissension. This role, which Young calls the "security regime," threatens to undermine democratic practice. A state acting as a security regime expects to be rewarded by its population with uncritical obedience and submissiveness. A security regime plays a role toward its citizens that is analogous to that played by a protective family patriarch toward the women and children of his family. Young argues that adult citizens do not accept this sort of political relationship with their government. Even from a protective government, what adult citizens want instead are relationships that respect their autonomy and equality.

The question of whether women should be formally included in representative numbers in their respective legislative assemblies has been a part of the citizenship debates for some time now (Phillips 1995). In "French Universalism in the Nineties," Joan W. Scott brings out the complex nature of the processes that enacted this requirement in France in 2000. The *parité* law, enacted that year, calls for equal numbers of women and men to serve in various elected assemblies at all levels of government. The law challenged a theory of representation that was attributed to the French Revolution and that took the abstract individual to be the unit of citizenship. Although this notion of the individual was meant to be neutral (without religious, social, or economic identity), in fact it was consistently taken to be masculine. Even when women were granted the vote, the typical representative chosen for political office was a man.

The *parité* movement sought to rectify discrimination against women in political office by insisting that the individual also be abstracted from any association with sex. In order to do this, they drew a distinction between anatomical duality (an abstract notion) and sexual difference (an attribution of meaning to sexed bodies). The abstract individual, they argued, came in two sexes, but this had nothing to do with cultural ideas about gender. In the course of the debates about *parité* (and they were many and fierce), the original distinction between anatomical duality and sexual difference was lost. The law that passed seemed to implement an essentialist vision, when in fact that was not the intention of its first supporters. The strategy of "sexing" the abstract individual was, thus, both fruitful

and dangerous. Scott believes this tension in the support for *parité* is an unresolvable feature of the nature of representation in liberal or, like France, liberal republican states.

Sandra Bartky, in "Battered Women, Intimidation, and the Law," highlights features of legal institutions that obstruct women's attempts to use the law to reduce domestic violence. A large literature has dealt with domestic violence for several decades (Cardarelli 1997; Yllö and Bograd 1990). Bartky's analysis brings out some less remarked dimensions of the law's resistance to women's use of it to end domestic battery. One of these dimensions is the material embodiment of law; law is practiced in buildings of intimidating size and scale. In addition, law is practiced in forms of language that are inaccessible to ordinary women. Furthermore, judges and lawyers may abuse their power, intimidate the women who seek their help, and collude with each other in virtue of gender or class connections that the women do not share. Insofar as women are unable to gain redress from the legal system for the domestic violence they suffer, they fall outside the citizenship protection of the Social Contract, argues Bartky, and are effectively returned to the state of nature.

2. Practices of Citizenship in Culture and Civil Society

Citizenship is exercised in a variety of domains, not simply those of government and law. Civil society is a particularly important sphere for practices of citizenship (Walzer 1991). The practices of citizenship available to women in the realms of culture and civil society interweave in important ways with those of the political sphere (Benhabib 2002). The next four essays deal with culture and civil society and those important interconnections.

Martha Ackelsberg's essay, "Women's Community Activism and the Rejection of 'Politics': Some Dilemmas of Popular Democratic Movements," investigates the participation of certain women in a voluntary, activist association. As the public, political sphere undergoes changes that permit the greater participation of women, the challenge for women is to participate in policy-making in ways that incorporate differences while avoiding the exclusions of the past (Hirschmann and DiStefano 1996). According to Ackelsberg, the National Congress of Neighborhood Women (NCNW), a Brooklyn association established in 1974–75, is a model of such democratic civic engagement. The association aimed to assist poor and working-class women to organize to better meet their needs and those of their communities. The NCNW arose as a result of the discrimination and suppression that its members experienced when they attempted to engage in political work both in their communities and beyond. In working with each other, the women found right away that they needed to address issues of diversity. The programs they created to help build bridges across differences helped facilitate their successful activism while simultaneously broadening their understanding of what constitutes "politics."

Alison Jaggar, in "Arenas of Citizenship: Civil Society, the State, and the Global Order," explores some of the feminine and feminist practices of citizenship that occur in nongovernmental associations. She recounts the optimism of recent years, as expressed in Ackelsberg's essay, that these and other groups in civil society offer