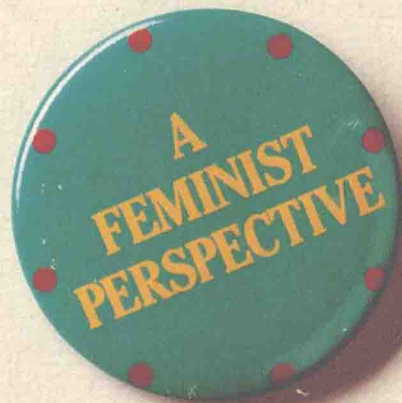


WOMEN



Fourth Edition



Edited by Jo Freeman

WOMEN

A Feminist Perspective

FOURTH EDITION

Edited by Jo Freeman



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Preface

The first edition of this book was put together as a labor of love and published primarily as an act of faith. It had its genesis in 1968, at the first national conference of what was to become the younger branch of the women's liberation movement. Many of us at that conference had just begun reading everything we could find on women, and in that traditional era we were appalled at the scarcity of perceptive writings and only occasionally delighted by a gem that sparkled with new ideas. There were no books or anthologies presenting a feminist perspective on women's status, and those books about women that were not written from a wholly traditional view generally discounted feminism as outmoded, extreme, or both.

Ironically for a group that has since produced so much writing, most of us then felt unable to express our rising consciousness in words. Why not, we thought, do the next best thing? Why not bring together those few existing pieces that were worthwhile and save other women the task of seeking them out? That was a job I took on. Unfortunately, at the same time, I started working for my Ph.D. in political science. It took two years longer to publish the anthology than it did to get the degree.

During the years I worked on the book it grew and changed with the movement. Of the earliest selections, only two made it to the first edition. The rest represented the new research of that time, the new thinking, and the new interpretations of old research inspired by the women's liberation movement.

The first-edition articles came from a variety of sources. I placed ads in most of the burgeoning feminist media, and some organizations, notably the Women's History Research Library of Berkeley and KNOW of Pittsburgh, included special notices with their regular mailings. The response was overwhelming. Hundreds of articles and proposals poured in, and well over a year was spent reading and editing them.

From the beginning the standards were high. This book was to contain pieces that were comprehensive, lucidly written, and well grounded in schol-

arly research. Needless to say, the submissions I received in response to ads were not uniform in style and approach; nor did they cover all the topics needed. Hence I also collected movement pamphlets and other publications on women, attended feminist meetings, and audited panel discussions on women at professional meetings to find potential authors.

During this period both scholarly and popular writing on women was increasing exponentially, with feminist insights sparking analysis of the contradictions in women's lives in every conceivable sphere. Simultaneously, it was becoming harder and harder to interest a publisher in the book. Some who had expressed tentative interest when I first began sending out the prospectus decided as the book took shape that "this women's thing" was a fad and what market there was, was already glutted. Then one of my authors discussed the book with the traveling editor of a small house on the West Coast. That editor was Alden Paine. He wrote to me; I sent the manuscript; and after I agreed to decrease its length by one-third, National Press Books (soon to become Mayfield Publishing Company) sent me a contract.

As the book went to press, almost everything about it (except the quality of the articles) was an unknown. Owing to its size and recent name change, the publisher was unknown. I was an unknown. All but a few of the authors were unknowns. The potential readership was unknown. All publishing involves some risk, but this was extraordinary. Within two years we knew that love and faith had carried the day. Women's studies courses grew and spread, and both teachers and students found the volume an appropriate introductory text. The reason the courses spread, even in an atmosphere of skepticism and a period of declining college enrollments, is that feminism is not a fad, but a national consciousness that is fundamentally changing the fabric of all our lives.

The first edition took seven years to complete. The second, third, and fourth editions took only about two and a half years each. All have required hard decisions about what to delete and what to add. In each revision, some decisions have made themselves: Not all authors were available to update their contributions; a few articles no longer had the same impact as they had earlier; feedback from users of the text identified some articles that were not widely assigned in class. And, as much as possible, I wanted to replace reprints with original articles and to survey the current issues.

Despite the many problems that remain, the women's liberation movement has been a very successful endeavor. The fourth edition of this book is as much a testament to what the movement has accomplished as it is a critique of what still needs to be done. For the fourth edition as in previous ones we ran calls for papers in approximately twenty newsletters and journals. New authors and topics emerged from this process. Still other new contributors were proposed by the publisher. Some authors of classics that we wanted revised had gone on to other things. Recognizing the importance of educating the next generation, they solved this problem by taking on co-authors. In other cases I did the revision myself. The process made me acutely conscious of how much has changed in the twenty years since this book was first conceived.

The evolution of this book also illustrates some of the developments of

feminist scholarship. Papers submitted for the first edition tended to be light on data and heavy on expression of personal feelings. Most authors tried to say a little bit about everything because women were so conscious of the interconnections between the various facets of their existence. Papers for the second edition were well substantiated but still dealt with broad themes (thus it was the easiest edition to edit). In contrast, papers sent in for consideration for the third edition sometimes drowned in data and were too narrow for this particular book. Many of the fourth edition submissions were less interested in analyzing institutions and presenting basic facts than they were in exploring the usefulness of different theoretical frameworks.

Through all these changes I have tried to maintain the standards set in the first edition of providing solid, accurate and up-to-date information along with a critical analysis that interpreted the facts from a feminist perspective. As in previous editions, authors were encouraged to use the most recent data and to double-check them for accuracy. Often I checked the data myself. During the editing of the second edition, I had an office in the Department of Labor in Washington, D.C. and learned how to locate and use the tons of statistics the government produces each year. Before editing the third edition I finished law school. Consequently, the statistics and legal citations in this edition have all been carefully scrutinized and often revised. For this edition I spent many days in the documents department of Brooklyn College Library, whose cooperative staff were extremely resourceful in locating obscure government publications. As in the previous two editions, Howard Hayghe of the Bureau of Labor Statistics was a gold mine of information; he never failed to come through with a necessary number or an explanation of why there wasn't one. All references to "unpublished data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics" in the different chapters are a tribute to his efforts. In addition, I phoned many different subunits in the Bureau of the Census, the Bureau of Justice Statistics, the Department of Education, and the Department of Health and Human Services to find the best sources. As I had learned in previous years, there is often a lot of valuable information around that isn't in university libraries or isn't catalogued in a way that makes it readily accessible. Networking through the telephone is often the only way to find it.

The book that has emerged from this effort contains not only an enormous amount of painstaking research and original thinking but some information that cannot easily be found anywhere else. The reader will find this a useful reference book as well as a general text. What can't be found in the articles can probably be found in sources cited in the footnotes. But while accuracy, thoroughness, and the use of the most recent data are stressed throughout, the true strength of the book rests not in its facts but in its ideas, and in the comprehensive orientation provided by a feminist perspective.

Introduction

The feminist perspective can best be understood in contrast to the traditional view, for each arises from a dramatically different set of premises. The traditionalist view looks at the many ways in which women differ from men and concludes that these differences reflect some basic intrinsic difference that far transcends reproductive capacities. The traditionalist notes that historically women have always had less power, less influence, and fewer resources than men, and assumes this must accord with some natural order. The feminist perspective looks at the many similarities between the sexes and concludes that women and men have equal potential for individual development. Differences in the realization of that potential, therefore, must result from externally imposed restraints, from the influence of social institutions and values. The feminist view holds that so long as society prescribes sex roles and social penalties for those who deviate from them, no meaningful choice exists for members of either sex. Such roles and restraints are incisively examined and challenged in this book, in the belief that only by first understanding their origins and manifestations can we gain the wisdom to dismantle them and create a more just society.

The organization of the book allows readers to begin by looking at their own lives, then moves out in widening circles to bring in the social and historical context of women's present-day status. The book concludes with a section on feminism as the historical and contemporary challenge to that status. Nonetheless, owing to the scope of many of the pieces and the very nature of their topics, the global and the personal are often combined.

In Part One, Carole J. Sheffield provides an overview of the different ways in which a woman's body is controlled and, through it, women as a group. Beginning with Lucy Stone's admonition that a woman's right to herself is the most fundamental one of all, Sheffield argues that such practices as rape, wife assault, the sexual abuse of children, and sexual harassment form a system of *sexual terrorism* "by which males frighten, and by frightening, control and dominate females." Nonetheless, women are perceived as perpetrators rather than as victims of this system because, as

Dianne Herman argues, we live in a “rape culture” in which women are held responsible for the sex act even when it is against their will. Susan Ehrlich Martin shows that this is also true of sexual harassment, which has never been a crime and only recently has been held to be a form of illegal sex discrimination. Nadean Bishop chronicles the twists and turns in the abortion controversy, and Barbara Katz Rothman points out how both reproductive and mothering functions have been co-opted by the medical establishment. Together these authors illuminate how something as personal as a woman’s body has been used and misused for political purposes.

The family has been the primary social institution to inform women’s lives, and the patriarchal family has been perhaps the single most pervasive and effective means of confining and controlling women’s activities. In Part Two, Naomi Gerstel and Harriet Engel Gross put the family in a historical context, showing how different family forms and different systems of production have interacted with patriarchal norms about woman’s place. The other contributions to this section look at the different phases of the family. Letitia Anne Peplau and Susan Campbell show how power is wielded in the mating game called dating; Janice M. Steil argues that the inequity in marital relationships has psychic as well as tangible costs for women; Janet Chafetz analyzes the social structural factors which make marriage a very different experience for men than for women; Michele Hoffnung explores the contradictions of the motherhood mystique and the conflict it creates with other important aspects of women’s lives. Jill Norgren concludes this section by analyzing why the United States is the sole industrial nation for which child care is primarily a private responsibility.

It is through socialization and education that women are steered away from participating in the major social and economic institutions of our society. In Part Three, Hilary Lips summarizes the sex role socialization literature, with a particular emphasis on how the experience of growing up female differs by race and class. Lois M. Greenwood-Audant argues that this socialization creates, along with the financial dependence and the norms and values resulting from working primarily in the home, a sense of powerlessness in housewives that incapacitates them when they become displaced homemakers. Mary Frank Fox looks at higher education, which has opened many opportunities for women but still does not treat them as the equals of men. Inge Powell Bell examines the consequences for older women of accepting the social norms of the female life cycle.

In Part Four, the economic consequences of society’s channeling are clearly delineated by Francine D. Blau and Ann Winkler who point out that there are two distinct labor markets—one male and one female—and the female market is economically depressed. Woman’s share of the total income earned in this country, by and large, is not proportionate to her productive contribution. Evelyn Nakano Glenn and Roslyn L. Feldberg focus on clerical work to show how increased employment of women in clerical occupations has led to decreased benefits. It is clear that income is more *directly related to the sex of the employee than to the requirements of the job*. Anne Nelson, a colleague of the late Barbara Wertheimer, updated Wertheimer’s exploration of labor history which documents women’s val-

iant, but often unwelcome, contribution to the labor movement. Debra Renee Kaufman profiles the professions and how they are structured around the typical male lifestyle, while Judith Lorber looks at some of the noneconomic reasons why women are excluded from male domains in the work world. Looking at different types of work, Shelly Coverman shows how domestic work interacts with paid work to create burdens and stresses on women that men, no matter what their class, values or education, do not experience.

More overt institutions of social control are analyzed in Part Five. Jo Freeman looks at the history of women's constitutional rights and public policy on women, which were significantly increased after the emergence of the women's liberation movement. Martha Reineke analyzes how myths, rituals, and symbols are used to socialize and control women. Elizabeth McTaggart Almquist examines eight minority groups to show how ethnicity and sex interact in shaping the everyday lives of women. Rose Weitz calculates the price of independence by looking at the fate of women who would live without men: spinsters, widows, nuns, and particularly lesbians. More subtle spheres of control are charted by two complementary pieces, one by Nancy Henley and Jo Freeman on nonverbal communication and the other by Karen L. Adams and Norma C. Ware on language; both reveal the pervasiveness of sexism in interpersonal dealings, as well as the ways in which everyday conversation constantly reinforces prescribed sex-role behaviors in our society. Less subtle spheres of control are described by two other complementary pieces that address the increasing impoverishment of women. Kathleen Shortridge asks who the female poor are and why they are in poverty. Diana M. Pearce examines why welfare has not only failed to eliminate women's poverty but is locking women into it. Nancy Theberge shows how control of women's sports and athletic activities has been used to control their bodies and to reinforce traditional definitions of what is appropriate for women. Jan Yoder examines how tokenism affects women's performance and evaluations in a particularly male dominated institution—West Point.

The last section, Part Six, is devoted to feminism past and present, a subject well worth a book in itself. Jo Freeman chronicles feminist activities after Suffrage through the current feminist movement. Pauline Terrelonge advocates the relevance of feminism for black women and identifies barriers to its active acceptance. Finally, Susan E. Marshall looks at the rhetoric of the anti-feminist backlash to both the suffrage and the women's liberation movements, and Michael S. Kimmel looks at the ways in which men have responded to feminism.

The articles in this book are not merely a critique of society; implicitly, they take to task the scholarly disciplines whose research and concepts they draw upon. These disciplines, like the institutions and agencies of society at large, are dominated by those on the inside. They still reflect, to a great degree, the traditionalist point of view, and with it a desire to explain, justify, and maintain the status quo of human and institutional relationships. The result is too often a consistency of approach that is almost stifling. It may be politically convenient to view the world through the most comfortable

lenses, but the resulting distortion is scientifically unacceptable. Only when one changes position, views the world from another stance, and relaxes one's claim to a monopoly on truth can new knowledge be gained.

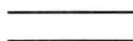
The papers in this book show how feminist thought can contribute to this process by providing a new perspective from which to reexamine basic concepts in many spheres of learning. They not only point out the sexist prejudices of old research but show how new human opportunities can be created by changing outworn institutions and values. A feminist perspective is practical as well as theoretical; it illuminates possibilities for the future as well as criticizes the limitations of the present.

Yet these new ideas can have real meaning only within the context of a political movement organized to put them into practice. They will not be adopted merely because they appear in print. For proof of this fact, we need only look at what happened during and after the last feminist movement. We are, after all, not the first scholars to challenge traditional attitudes toward women. Within the limits of the scholarly tools then available to them, our feminist forebears did this once before. One has only to visit the library of the National Woman's Party in Washington or the Schlesinger Library in Cambridge, Massachusetts, or the library of the Fawcett Society in London to realize the magnitude of their work. And one has only to think about how this work was relegated to dusty shelves and ignored after the last wave of feminism ended to feel a certain amount of despair: Clearly new ideas are not espoused by society on the basis of merit alone.

Thus we are in the position of calling "new" what is in fact very old. The feminist ideas of today are "new" only in the sense that most people now alive have not been exposed to them until recently, and in the sense that the more advanced methodology of the scholarly disciplines can "renew" their significance. But if we are not to repeat history—if we are not to see our own volumes ultimately join those others on the dusty shelves—we cannot complacently assume that they will be readily embraced. Instead we must recognize the political context in which such ideas thrive, and we must work to maintain that context until they are thoroughly incorporated into the everyday frame of mind.

The Contributors

JO FREEMAN is the author of *The Politics of Women's Liberation* (winner of a 1975 American Political Science Association prize as the Best Scholarly Work on Women and Politics) and the editor of *Social Movements of the Sixties and Seventies* (1983). She has a Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Chicago (1973) and a J.D. from New York University School of Law (1982). Her articles on feminism, social movements, law, public policy, sex-role socialization, organizational theory, education, federal election law, and party politics have been published in *The Nation*, *Ms.*, *Valparaiso Law Review*, *Trans-action*, *School Review*, *Liberal Education*, *American Journal of Sociology*, *Intellect*, *Political Science Quarterly*, *Acta Sociologica*, *Prospects*, *Signs*, *Pace Law Review*, and numerous anthologies.



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the American Sociological Association, which is assessing the status of women from minority groups in fifteen countries. Her articles have appeared in *Gender and Society*, *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, *Sex Roles*, *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, and *Social Science Quarterly*. She is writing a book which describes research on gender inequality in occupations and political offices in the United States.

INGE POWELL BELL, formerly professor of sociology at Pitzer College, is now retired and gardening in Northern California. Her published works include *Core and the Strategy of Nonviolence* (1967), "The Double Standard" (*Transaction*, Nov. 1970), "Buddhist Sociology" (In Scott McNall, ed., *Theoretical Perspectives in Sociology*, 1979), and *This Book Is Not Required*, 1984. The latter is a sociologist's advice to undergraduates on how to get an education, though in college.

NADEAN BISHOP is professor of English literature and women's studies at Eastern Michigan University at Ypsilanti. She has contributed poetry and articles to such journals as *The Wordsworth Circle*, *Literature and Psychology*, *Labyris*, *Corridors*, and *Human Behavior*, and she is editor of *Lovers and Other Losses: Poetry by Seven Women* (1981). She is a former co-ordinator of Women's Studies at EMU and contributed the chapter on Women in Literature to the textbook, *American Women: Their Past, Present, and Future*, edited by Marie Richmond-Abbott. At age fifty she went to seminary at Pacific School of Religion; and after receiving the M. Div. degree, she became pastor of the Northside Community Church in Ann Arbor. In addition to teaching and pastoring, she is director of Isis House, a retreat center for the study of women and spirituality in Ann Arbor.

FRANCINE D. BLAU is professor of economics and labor and industrial relations at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign where her teaching includes courses on women in the labor market. She is the author of *Equal Pay in the Office* (1977) and, with Marianne A. Ferber, *The Economics of Women, Men, and Work* (1986). She has contributed widely to professional journals and is a member of the editorial boards of *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, *Social Science Quarterly*, and *Women and Work*. She is a member of the Executive Board of the Industrial Relations Research Association and a former vice president of the Midwest Economics Association.

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SHELLEY COVERMAN was an associate professor of sociology at Tulane University. Much of her work concerned the connections between work and family, specifically how gender inequality in the home and in the labor force reinforced each other. In a brief seven year academic career, she published more than a dozen scholarly works, among them "Role Overload, Role Conflict, and Stress: Assessing Consequences of Multiple Role Demands" (*Social Forces*, 1988); "Change in Men's Housework and Child Care Time, 1965–1975," with Joseph F. Sheley (*Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 1986); and "Gender, Domestic Labor Time, and Wage Inequality" (*American Sociological Review*, 1983). She worked actively to foster an academic environment sympathetic to women chairing both the Tulane Faculty Salary Pay Equity Study and the Newcomb College Center for Research on Women Faculty Committee. She died in August 1988.

ROSLYN L. FELDBERG is a sociologist who studies women's employment and works in coalitions to promote pay equity and policies that make it easier to encompass the work-family connection for the varying configurations of contemporary families. Her recent publications include *Hidden Aspects of Women's Work* (co-edited by Chris Bose and Natalie Sokoloff) and articles on comparable worth. As associate director of labor relations at the Massachusetts Nurses Association, Dr. Feldberg is beginning a study of the origins and meanings of part-time work among nurses.

MARY FRANK FOX is associate professor of sociology and women's studies at Pennsylvania State University. Her research focuses upon stratification processes in science and academia and gender stratification in organizations and occupations. She has published in over twenty different scholarly journals and collections. She is an Associate Editor of *Gender & Society*, Editorial Board Member of *Work and Occupations*, and past Chair of the Sex and Gender Section of the American Sociological Association. She is a Council Member and the Publication Chair of the Society for the Social Studies of Science.

EVELYN NAKANO GLENN teaches at the State University of New York, Binghamton, where she is professor of sociology and women's studies. Her research focuses on women's work, with particular emphasis on race and gender hierarchies and technology. In addition to co-authoring many articles on transformations in clerical work, she has written extensively on the work and family lives of racial/ethnic women. She is the author of *Issei, Nisei Warbride: Three Generations of Japanese American Women in Domestic Service*, and she is a member of the Women and Work Research Group, which recently published a collection of articles, *Hidden Aspects of Women's Work*.

LOIS M. GREENWOOD-AUDANT received her Ph.D. in political science in 1980 from the University of California at Berkeley. She has worked as an organizational evaluation consultant for Berkeley Planning Associates and for the Displaced Homemakers Center in Oakland, California. She was the principal investigator for a national evaluation of demonstration projects for displaced homemakers funded by the U.S. Department of Labor; this evaluation resulted in a five-volume study of displaced homemaker programs throughout the nation. For five years, she taught political science and women's studies courses as a lecturer at the University of California at Berkeley and at Davis. She is a member of the Women's Caucus for Political Science and served as its San Francisco Bay Area coordinator for three years. In 1984 she was the director of a Cross-Cultural Communication Program for U.C. Berkeley Extension and lectures on the subject of women, work, and power.

NAOMI GERSTEL is an associate professor of sociology at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. With a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, she is currently conducting research on changes in the meaning and practice of "charity work" and caregiving that occur with women's entrance into the labor force. She is co-author (with Harriet Gross) of *Commuter Marriage* and co-editor of *Families and Work*. Her articles on marriage and divorce have appeared in such journals as *Gender & Society*, *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, *Social Forces*, *Social Problems*, and a number of anthologies.

HARRIET ENGEL GROSS is professor of sociology at Governors State University, where she is responsible for the graduate program in Family Studies. She is currently engaged in research with Professor Grace Budrys of DePaul University on physicians' responses to alternative health care delivery systems. She is co-editor with Naomi Gerstel, of *Families and Work* (1987) and *Commuter Marriage* (1984).

NANCY HENLEY is professor of psychology at the University of California at Los Angeles. Her research in recent years has focused on gender and communication, both verbal and nonverbal. Dr. Henley's published works include *Body Politics: Power, Sex and Nonverbal Communication* (1977), *Language and Sex: Difference and Dominance* (co-edited with Barrie Thorne, 1975), *Gender and Nonverbal Behavior* (co-edited with Clara Mayo, 1981), and *Language, Gender and Society* (co-edited with Barrie Thorne and Cheris Kramarae, 1983).

DIANNE HERMAN is Director of Community Mental Health Services for the Montgomery County Board of Mental Health in Dayton, Ohio. She is a Licensed Social Worker in the State of Ohio. At Family Service Association, she managed the SCAN Program, which provides prevention and treatment for victims and perpetrators of child abuse and neglect. She also directed a shelter for victims of domestic violence and their children. She teaches a course on Family Violence and produced a television edition of the course for Sinclair Community College. She has presented at numerous workshops on sexual assault, incest, and battered women.

MICHELE HOFFNUNG is professor of psychology at Quinnipiac College in Hamden, Connecticut. Since 1969, she has been teaching psychology of women, psychology of motherhood, and other women's studies courses. She is the editor of *Roles Women Play: Readings Toward Women's Liberation* (1971) and the author of articles about childbirth, child care, motherhood, and feminist teaching. Her current research focuses on the experience of motherhood for contemporary women; she is also active in revising the liberal arts curriculum to integrate women. She is mother of three children.

DEBRA RENEE KAUFMAN is professor of sociology and the coordinator of the women's studies program at Northeastern University in Boston, Massachusetts. Her book length scholarly works include: *Achievement and Women: Challenging the Assumptions* (1982, co-authored with B. Richardson and nominated for the C. Wright Mills Award for notable contributions to sociological thought); *Public/Private Spheres: Women Past and Present* (edited volume to be published by Northeastern University Customs Textbooks, Spring 1989); *Coming Home: The Feminine Awakening Among Newly Orthodox Jewish Women* (forthcoming Rutgers University Press, 1990). She has published numerous articles on related topics. She regularly reviews for *Gender and Society*, actively supports Sociologists for Women in Society, and is a member of the Princeton Advisory Board on women's studies. She was the twenty-third annual Robert D. Klein lecturer at Northeastern University in recognition of her outstanding scholarly achievement, professional contribution, and creative classroom activity. Her lecture was entitled: "Religious Revival in America: Awakening the Feminine" (published by Northeastern University Press, Annual Publication Series, 1987).

MICHAEL S. KIMMEL is a sociologist at State University of New York at Stony Brook, where he teaches courses on gender, social movements, sexuality, and social theory. His books include *Against the Tide: Pro-Feminist Men in America, 1830-1987*, a documentary history co-edited with Tom Mosmiller (Beacon Press, in press), *Changing Men: New Directions in Research on Men and Masculinity* (Sage Publications, 1987), *Men Confronting Pornography* (Crown Books, in press), and *Men's Lives: Readings on Men Through the Life Course*, co-edited with Michael Messner (Macmillan, in press). He is currently working on *Gender and Desire* with John Gagnon (Basic Books), which is a study of the ways in which sexual experience is organized by and filtered through masculinity and femininity. He is the book editor of the magazine, *Changing Men*, and he has served on the National Council of the National Organization for Changing Men.

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