

GENDERED LIVES

Communication, Gender, and Culture

EIGHTH EDITION

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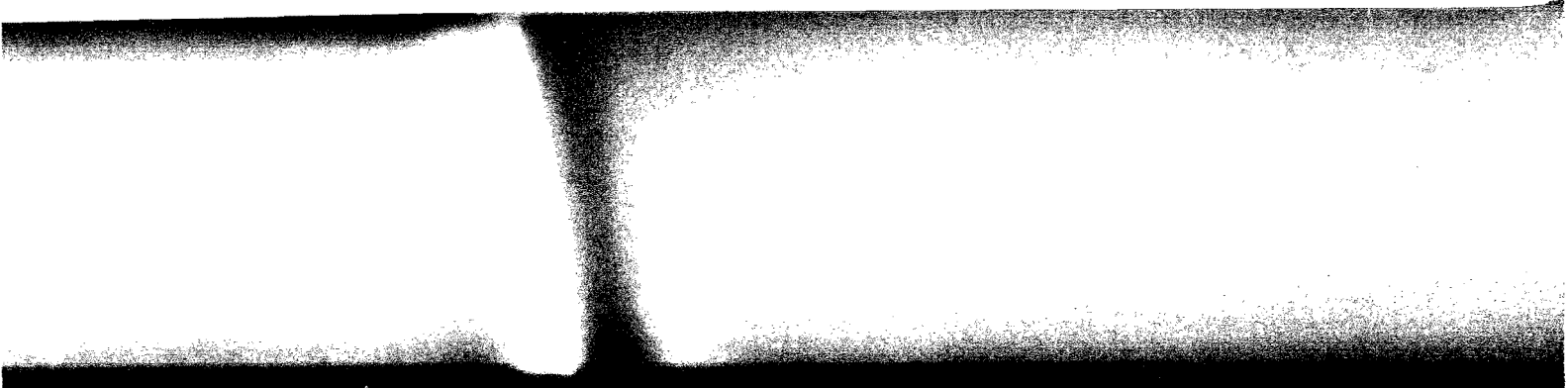
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2009

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in any conventional sense. After watching the movie, use at least three of the theories discussed in this chapter to shed light on Ludovic's experiences.

5. How might you engage in queer performance? Describe one way that you could express yourself that would challenge conventional understandings of sex and gender, and the "normal" or "abnormal" judgments that are attached to them.

Citizenship must be practiced to be realized.

Spano

THE RHETORICAL SHAPING OF GENDER: WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

CHAPTER **3**

Knowledge Check:

1. To what extent have women's movements in the U.S. fought for the rights of all women?
2. When did reproductive rights become an issue in women's movements?
3. Who are the Guerrilla Girls?

In the opening chapters, we saw that communication in society influences our understandings of gender and our gendered identities. It's equally true that our communication shapes society's views of masculinity and femininity and, by extension, of women's and men's roles and rights. In this chapter and the next one, we'll look closely at how individuals and groups have changed cultural views of gender and sex.

Think about changes in gender roles in the United States. Once, women could not vote; now they can. Once, women routinely experienced discrimination on the job; now we have laws that prohibit sex discrimination in employment. Two centuries ago few men did housework or took active roles in

raising children, but today many men participate in homemaking and child care. Changes such as these do not just happen. Instead, they grow out of rhetorical movements that alter cultural understandings of gender and, with that, the rights, privileges, and roles available to women and men.

Rhetoric is persuasion; rhetorical movements are collective, persuasive efforts to challenge and change existing attitudes, laws, and policies. In this chapter, we will consider women's movements that have affected the meaning, roles, status, and opportunities of women in the United States. In addition, we'll note antifeminist movements that have arisen and continue to arise in response to feminist movements. In Chapter 4, we'll explore men's movements that have affected the meaning, roles, status, and opportunities of men in the U.S. As we survey these rhetorical movements, you'll discover that they are anything but uniform. They advocate diverse views of gender and pursue a range of goals, not all of which are compatible. Knowledge of the range of rhetorical movements about gender may allow you to more clearly define your own ideas about gender, as well as how you personally express your gender.

THE THREE WAVES OF WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

Many people think the Women's Movement in America began in the 1960s. This, however, disregards more than a century during which women's movements had significant impact. It also implies that there is a single women's movement, when actually there have been and are multiple women's movements.

Rhetorical movements to define women's nature and rights have occurred in three waves. During each wave, two distinct ideologies have informed movement goals and efforts at change. One ideology, **liberal feminism**, holds that women and men are alike and equal in most respects. Therefore, goes the reasoning, they should have equal rights, roles, and opportunities. A second, quite different ideology, **cultural feminism**, holds that women and men are fundamentally different and, therefore, should have different rights, roles, and opportunities. We'll see that these conflicting ideologies lead to diverse rhetorical goals and strategies. Also, as we'll learn later in this chapter, each wave of activism for women has witnessed a reactionary backlash against changes in women's roles.

THE FIRST WAVE OF WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

Roughly spanning the years from 1840 to 1925, the first wave of women's movements included both liberal and cultural branches. Ironically, the conflicting views of these two movements worked together to change the status and rights of women in U.S. society.

THE WOMEN'S RIGHTS MOVEMENT

The women's rights movement engaged in activism aimed at enlarging women's political rights. One of the earliest events in the women's rights movement was the initial demand for voting rights for women. From approximately 1918 until 1920, Alice Paul and Lucy Burns spearheaded a nonviolent protest for women's suffrage. Jailed for protesting, a number of the protesters engaged in a prolonged hunger strike, and the correctional staff force-fed the women. This protest and the personalities who led it are splendidly documented in the HBO film *Iron Jawed Angels*, which premiered in 2004.

As important as Paul and Burns were, they were not the first to fight for women's rights. In 1840, Lucretia Coffin Mott was chosen as a representative to the World Anti-Slavery Convention in London (Campbell, 1989a), but she was not allowed to participate, because she was a woman. At the convention, Mott met Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who had accompanied her husband (who was a delegate), and the two women discussed the unfairness of Mott's exclusion. The two women quickly bonded on the personal and the political levels.

In the years that followed, Mott and Stanton worked with others to organize the first women's rights convention, the Seneca Falls Convention, which was held in New York in 1848. Lucretia Coffin Mott, Martha Coffin Wright, Mary Anne McClintock, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton collaboratively wrote the keynote address, entitled "Declaration of Sentiments." Ingeniously modeled on the Declaration of Independence, the speech, delivered by Stanton, proclaimed (Campbell, 1989b, p. 34):

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Continuing in the language of the Declaration of Independence, Stanton catalogued specific grievances women had suffered, including denial of the right to vote, exclusion from most forms of higher education, restrictions on employment, and denial of property rights upon marriage. Following Stanton's oration, 32 men and 68 women signed a petition supporting a number of rights for women. Instrumental to passage of the petition was the support of the former slave Frederick Douglass (Campbell, 1989b).

Although Douglass supported women's rights, this fact does not signify widespread participation of black citizens in the women's rights movement. Initially, there were strong links between abolitionist efforts and women's rights. However, those ties dissolved as many abolitionists became convinced that attaining voting rights for black men had to precede women's suffrage. In addition, many black women thought that the women's rights movement focused on white women's circumstances and ignored grievous differences caused by race (Breines, 2006). Forced to choose between allegiance to their race and allegiance to their sex, most black women of the era chose race. Thus, the women's rights movement became almost exclusively white in its membership and interests.

Exploring Gendered Lives**A'N'T I A WOMAN?**

Isabella Van Wageningen was born as a slave in Ulster County, New York, in the late 1700s. After she was emancipated, Van Wageningen moved to New York City and became a Pentecostal preacher at the age of 46. She preached throughout the Northern states, using the new name she had given herself: Sojourner of God's Truth. She preached in favor of temperance, women's rights, and the abolition of slavery.

On May 28, 1851, Truth attended a women's rights meeting in Akron, Ohio. Throughout the morning, she listened to speeches that focused on white women's concerns. Here, the historical account splits. Some historians (Painter, 1996) state that Sojourner Truth did not speak at the meeting and that someone else gave the speech that is widely credited to Truth. Other scholars state that Sojourner Truth delivered the speech "A'n't I a Woman?" Whether given by Truth or another person, the speech pointed out the ways in which white women's situations and oppression differed from those of black women. The speech eloquently voiced the double oppression suffered by black women of the time (Campbell, 2005; Clift, 2003; Hine & Thompson, 1998). Truth had been owned by a Dutch master, so English was a second language for her, one in which she was not fully fluent. The following excerpt from the speech is based on Frances Dana Gage's transcription (Stanton, Anthony, & Gage, 1882, p. 116).

Dat man over dar say dat womin needs to be helped into carriages, and lifted ober ditches, and to hab de best place everywhar. Nobody eber helps me into carriages, or ober mud-puddles, or gives me any best place! And a'n't I a woman? . . . I have borne thirteen chilren and seen 'em mos' all sold off to slavery, and when I cried out with my mother's grief, none but Jesus heart me! And a'n't I a woman?

The Seneca Falls Convention did not have immediate political impact. Women's efforts to secure the right to vote, based on the argument that the Constitution defined suffrage as a right of all individuals, fell on deaf ears. At that time in American history, women still were not considered individuals but rather the property of men. In 1872, two years after black men received the right to vote, Susan B. Anthony and other women attempted to cast votes at polls but were turned away and arrested. Not until 48 years later, on August 26, 1920, would women gain the right to vote, in part as a result of other, directly conflicting views of women that were circulating in 1800s America.

THE CULT OF DOMESTICITY

In the 1800s a majority of women did not ally themselves with the women's rights movements. Instead, believing the ideal of "true womanhood" (Welter, 1966) to be domesticity, most women of the time were part of a movement



Suffragists marched during the first wave of the U.S. Women's Movement.

referred to as the *cult of domesticity*. Their focus on good homes, families, and communities led them to participate in efforts to end slavery (abolition), ban the consumption of alcohol (temperance, or prohibition) (Fields, 2003; Million, 2003), and enact child labor laws. These early reformers discovered that their efforts to instigate changes in society were hampered by their lack of a legitimate public voice. They realized that a prerequisite for their political action was to secure the rights to speak and vote so they would have a voice in public life (Baker, 2006; Sarkela, Ross, & Lowe, 2003).

These women reformers did not agree with women's rights activists that women and men are fundamentally alike and equal. Instead, they thought that women were more moral, nurturing, concerned about others, and committed to harmony than men. This view led them to argue that women's moral virtue would reform the political world that had been debased by immoral men. This rhetorical strategy was instrumental in women's struggle to gain political franchise.

Although the combined force of the cultural and liberal women's movements was necessary to win suffrage, the deep ideological chasm between these two groups was not resolved. Nor did securing voting rights immediately fuel further efforts to enlarge women's rights, roles, influence, and opportunities. Few women exercised their hard-won right to vote, and in 1925 an amendment to regulate child labor failed to be ratified, signaling the close of the first wave of women's movements.

After this, women's movements in the United States were relatively dormant for about 35 years. This time of quiescence resulted from several factors. First, America's attention was concentrated on two world wars. During that time, women joined the labor force in record numbers to maintain the economy and support the war effort while many men were at war. Between 1940 and 1944, six million women went to work—a 500% increase in the number of women in paid labor (Harrison, 1988). In postwar America, men's professional opportunities expanded tremendously, but women's shrank. More than two million women who had held jobs during the wars were fired, and their positions were given to male veterans (Barnett & Rivers, 1996). During these years, only 12% of married women with children under the age of six were employed outside their homes (Risman & Godwin, 2001).

Although no clear women's movement(s) emerged between the 1920s and the 1960s, there were changes that affected women's lives. Amelia Earhart showed that women could be bold and adventurous; women's sports teams were established and gained some public following; and more effective and available methods of birth control were developed.

THE SECOND WAVE OF WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

Roughly spanning the years between 1960 and 1995, a second wave of women's movements surged across the U.S. As in the first wave, both liberal and cultural ideologies coexisted. Also as in the first wave, the second wave pursued diverse goals and used distinct rhetorical strategies.

RADICAL FEMINISM

The first form of feminism to emerge during the second wave was radical feminism, also called the *women's liberation movement*. It grew out of New Left politics that protested the Vietnam War and fought for civil rights. New Left women did the same work as their male peers and risked the same hazards of arrest and physical assault, but New Left men treated women as subordinates, expecting them to make coffee, type news releases, do the menial work of organizing, and be ever available for sex.

In 1964, women in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) challenged the sexism in the New Left, but most male members were unresponsive. Stokely Carmichael, a major leader for civil rights, responded to women's demands for equality by telling them that "the position of women in SNCC is prone." (He actually meant *supine*—"on their backs.") In 1965, women in the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) also found no receptivity to their demands for equality (O'Kelly & Carney, 1986). Outraged by men's refusal to extend to women the democratic, egalitarian principles they advocated for minorities, many women withdrew from the New Left and formed their own organizations. These radical feminists' most basic principle

was that oppression of women is the fundamental form of oppression on which all others are modeled (DuPlessis & Snitow, 1999; Willis, 1992).

Radical feminists relied on "rap" groups, or consciousness-raising groups, in which women gathered to talk informally about personal experiences with sexism and to link those personal experiences to larger social and political structures. Radical feminists' commitment to equality and their deep suspicion of hierarchy led them to adopt communication practices that ensured equal participation by all members of rap groups. For instance, some groups used a system of chips, in which each woman was given an equal number of chips at the outset of a rap session; each time she spoke, she tossed one of her chips

Exploring Gendered Lives

REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS

Birth control was and is a priority in many women's movements. In the nineteenth century, Elizabeth Cady Stanton insisted that "voluntary motherhood" was a prerequisite of women's freedom (Gordon, 1976; Schiff, 2006). Margaret Sanger's work as a nurse and midwife made her painfully aware that many women, particularly immigrants and poor women, died in childbirth or as a result of illegal abortions (Chesler, 1992). In speeches throughout America and Europe, Sanger advocated birth control for women. In her periodical publication, *The Woman Rebel*, Sanger declared, "A woman's body belongs to herself alone. It is her body. It does not belong to the Church. It does not belong to the United States of America. ... Enforced motherhood is the most complete denial of a woman's right to life and liberty" (1914, p. 1).

During the second wave of feminism in the United States, feminists again protested for safe, accessible birth control and abortion for all women. In 1969, a group of feminists disrupted the New York state legislature's expert hearing on abortion reform—the experts who had been invited to address the legislature consisted of fourteen men and one nun (Pollitt, 2000). The protesters insisted that none of the experts had had personal experience with what reproductive choices mean. Four years later, the landmark case *Roe v. Wade* established abortion as a woman's right. Yet, abortion is still not available to all women who are citizens of the United States.

Reproductive rights have also emerged as a focus of the third wave (Jacobson, 2004a; Smeal, 2004). The March for Women's Lives, held on April 25, 2004, on the Capitol Mall in Washington, D.C., drew hundreds of thousands of marchers who were concerned that rights won with *Roe v. Wade* might be reversed. Voicing their support for the right of women to be in charge of their own reproductive health, the marchers included young men and women, grandmothers, and mothers with babies.

Not all feminists believe that women should have access to abortion. Groups such as Feminists for Life argue that abortion is wrong and antithetical to feminine values.

into the center of the group. When she had used all of her chips, she could not contribute further, and other, less outspoken women had opportunities to speak. This technique encouraged individual women to find and use their voices and taught women to listen to and respect each other. Consciousness-raising groups as well as working committees were leaderless so that participants would have equal power.

Radical feminists relied on revolutionary analysis and politics along with high-profile public events to call attention to the oppression of women and to demand changes in women's place in society and changes in relationships between women and men (Barry, 1998a; Freeman, 2002). Examples of public events they staged include:

- Occupation of the *Ladies' Home Journal* office.
- Speak-outs about silenced issues such as rape and abortion.
- Protests against the Miss America pageants in 1968 and 1969, in which women threw cosmetics and constrictive underwear for women into a "Freedom Trash Can" to protest the view of women as sex objects.
- Guerrilla theater, in which they engaged in public communication to dramatize issues and arguments.

Radical feminism continues in the United States and in other countries. One example of current radical feminists is the Missile Chick Dicks, who present in-your-face protest performances on the street, in post offices, in Times Square, and any other place that strikes them. The Chicks arrive uninvited and unannounced and identify themselves as "a posse of pissed-off housewives from Crawford, Texas, the home of our beloved President George Walker Bush" (The Missile Chick Dicks, 2004a). The Chicks are outfitted in the colors of the American flag, and each Chick is generously endowed with a phallus that looks like a U.S. missile. They protest war by parodying songs from pop culture. For example, Nancy Sinatra's "These Boots Are Made for Walkin'," when sung by the Chicks, becomes (The Missile Chick Dicks, 2004b)

The new Iraq will love its Western lifestyle
They'll buy our cars, our Botox and our jeans
They'll buy our Tampax Americana
At the great big mall we call Democracy.
These bombs are made for droppin'
And that's just what they'll do
One of these days these bombs are going to drop all over you.

Another radical feminist group that operates today is the Radical Cheerleaders (Boyd, 2002). Dressed in exaggerated cheerleader outfits, these women make spontaneous appearances and shout chants that are like those of cheerleaders in form but not in content. When I was in Washington, D.C., in 2004 for a protest, the Radical Cheerleaders appeared, complete with bright pink pom-poms, and chanted, "One, two, three, four/Gender roles are such a bore."

Exploring Gendered Lives

THE GUERRILLA GIRLS

The Guerrilla Girls, an anonymous radical-feminist organization, campaigns against sexism, racism, and elitism in the art world (Guerrilla Girls, 1995). They first captured public attention in the 1980s when they protested the Museum of Modern Art's exhibit entitled, "International Survey of Contemporary Art." The Guerrilla Girls plastered posters throughout public places in New York City. The posters featured one nude woman from the Met's exhibit, but her head was covered by a gorilla mask. Armed with equal measures of information, sarcasm, and humor, the posters asked, "Do women have to be naked to get into the Metropolitan Museum?" Following the question were statistics on the number of women artists (5%) and women nudes (85%) in the museum's exhibit (Kollwitz & Kahlo, 2003). The press appreciated the media-savvy tactics of the Guerrilla Girls and gave them good coverage. The Guerrilla Girls remain anonymous, insisting that their identities are irrelevant and that they want to focus on the issues, not on themselves. This mystery, of course, enhances public interest in the Guerrilla Girls, who appear on talk shows and give public lectures—all the while wearing masks to preserve anonymity.

The Guerrilla Girls continue their work to serve, in their words, as "the conscience of the art world." Visit their website at <http://www.guerrillagirls.com>.

Radical feminists are also active in working for the liberation of women in non-Western countries. For instance, some Muslim feminists are adopting strong voices and revolutionary challenges to Islam. In her amazingly brash book *The Trouble with Islam*, Irshad Manji (2005) takes on the promise to suicide bombers that they'll awake in paradise to 70 virgins. Manji likens that to a "perpetual license to ejaculate in exchange for a willingness to detonate" (Dickey & Power, 2004, p. 30). Manji wants to reform Islam so that it provides women with the fairness it pledges but has not delivered.

Perhaps the most important outcome of radical feminism has been the identification of the structural basis of women's oppression. The connection between social practices and individual women's situations was captured in radical feminists' declaration that "the personal is political." Through consciousness raising and collective efforts, radical feminists launched a women's

Sarah

I have a lot of sympathy with the Muslim woman who wants to reform her faith. I'm a Catholic, and I am really committed to the Church. At the same time, I think the Church should allow women to be leaders and should speak out publicly against domestic violence. I mean, the Church takes public stands saying homosexuality and contraception are wrong, but it says nothing about the wrongness of beating your wife or girlfriend. I will never give up my religion, but that doesn't mean I won't try to change it in some ways.

Exploring Gendered Lives**THE FAMOUS BRA BURNING
(THAT DIDN'T HAPPEN!)**

One of the most widespread misperceptions is that feminists burned bras in 1968 to protest the Miss America pageant. That never happened. Here's what did. In planning a response to the pageant, protesters considered a number of strategies to dramatize their disapproval of what the pageant stood for and how it portrayed women. They decided to protest by throwing false eyelashes, bras, and girdles into what they called the Freedom Trash Can. They also put a crown on an animal labeled Miss America and led it around the pageant. In early planning for the protest, some members suggested burning bras, but this idea was abandoned (Hanisch, 1970; Oakley, 2002). However, a reporter heard of the plan and reported it as fact on national media. Millions of Americans accepted the report as accurate, and even today many people refer to feminists as "bra burners."

health movement that has helped women recognize and resist doctors' sexist and dictatorial attitudes and become knowledgeable about their own bodies (Boston Women's Health Club Book Collective, 1976; The Diagram Group, 1977). Although radical feminists' refusal to formally organize has limited their ability to affect public policies and structures, they offered—and continue to offer—a profound and far-reaching critique of sexual inequality.

LESBIAN FEMINISM

Radical feminism's rejection of male dominance and sexual exploitation of women paved the way for the emergence of a group called Radicalesbians. Members of this group took the radical feminist idea of putting women first a few steps further to assert that only women who loved and lived with women were really putting women first. Arguing that only women who do not orient their lives around men can be truly free, Radicalesbians embraced lesbianism as a positive and liberated identity.

Not all lesbians are feminists, and not all lesbians who adopt feminism are Radicalesbians. Many lesbian feminists are also committed to political activism designed to improve the conditions of women's lives. They join groups ranging from mainstream to radical (Taylor & Rupp, 1998). However, the Radicalesbians worked out much of the political philosophy that informs the more general group of lesbian feminists. They define themselves as women identified to distinguish themselves from heterosexual women whom they see as male-identified. Being woman-identified fuels their commitment to ending discrimination against all women, including lesbians.

For lesbian feminists, the primary goals are to live as woman-identified women and to make it possible for women in committed, enduring relationships to enjoy the same property, insurance, and legal rights granted to heterosexual spouses. The rhetoric of lesbian feminists has two characteristic forms.

First, lesbian feminists use their voices to respond to social criticism of their sexual orientations. Second, some lesbian feminists adopt proactive rhetorical strategies to assert their value, rights, and integrity.

SEPARATISM

During the 1960s and 1970s, many heterosexual feminists distanced themselves from radical lesbians and even more from lesbian feminists. Moderate feminists feared that accepting lesbians into the movement would stigmatize feminism. In response to this exclusion, some lesbians formed separate rap groups and protest organizations (Freeman, 2002).

Separatists build communities in which women live independently in mutual respect and harmony. Many, although not all, separatists are lesbian. Some women believe, as first-wave cultural feminists did, that women are fundamentally different from men in the value they place on life, equality, harmony, nurturance, and peace. Finding that these values gain little hearing in a patriarchal, capitalist society, some women form all-women communities in which feminine values can flourish without intrusion from men and the aggressive, individualistic, oppressive values these women associate with Western masculinity.

Separatists believe it is impossible—or a poor use of their generative energies—to attempt to reform America's patriarchal, homophobic culture. Instead, they choose to exit mainstream society and form communities that value women and strive to live in harmony with people, animals, and the earth. In adopting this course of action, separatists limit their potential to alter dominant social values. Because they do not assume a public voice to critique the values they find objectionable, they exercise little political influence. Yet, their very existence defines an alternative vision of how we might live—one that speaks of harmony, cooperation, and peaceful coexistence of all life forms.

REVALORISM

Many first- and second-wave women's movements led to an enlarged respect for the music, literature, and art created by women whose creative, artistic work has been silenced or ignored for centuries (Aptheker, 1998). Revalorists are feminists who focus on appreciating women's traditional activities and contributions and increasing society's appreciation of women

Regina

I don't see much to be gained by having equal rights to participate in institutions that are themselves all wrong. I don't believe dog-eat-dog ethics are right. I don't want to be part of a system where I can advance only if I slit somebody else's throat or step on him or her. I don't want to prostitute myself for bits of power in a business. I would rather work for different ways of living, ones that are more cooperative, like win-win strategies. Maybe that means I'm a dreamer, but I just can't motivate myself to work at gaining status in a system that I don't respect.

and their contributions to society. The broad goal of revalorists is to increase the value that society places on women and on the skills, activities, and philosophies derived from women's traditional roles.

Drawing on standpoint theory, which we discussed in Chapter 2, revalorists believe that women's traditional involvement in homemaking and caregiving makes most women more nurturing, supportive, cooperative, and life-giving than most men. Sara Ruddick (1989), for instance, claims that the process of mothering young children cultivates "maternal thinking," which is marked by attentiveness to others and commitment to others' health, happiness, and development. Karlyn Campbell's book, *Man Cannot Speak for Her* (1989a, 1989b), documents women's rhetorical accomplishments that have been excluded from conventional histories of the United States. In documenting women's contributions, revalorists aim to render a more complete history of the U.S. and the people who comprise it.

An example that reflects revalorism was the Million Mom March that took place on May 14, 2000 (Hayden, 2003). At least 750,000 people rallied and marched on the National Mall in Washington, D.C. The event was organized and led by mothers who advocate gun control legislation. Many mothers who spoke had lost children to violence involving guns. In addressing the crowd, mothers told stories about their efforts to protect their children by not drinking during pregnancy, by buying car seats so babies would be safer in cars, by making sure children had all vaccinations. They told of protecting, nurturing, and caring for children, only to see their children gunned down senselessly.

Revalorist rhetoric is consistent with the goal of heightened public awareness of and respect for women and their contributions to society. First, revalorists often use unusual language to call attention to what they are doing. For instance, they talk about *re-covering*, not *recovering*, women's history, to indicate that they want to go beyond patriarchal perspectives on history. Second, revalorists affirm the integrity of women and their contributions by supporting exhibitions of women's traditional arts, such as weaving and quilting, and public festivals that highlight women's creative expression. Perhaps the best-known example of this is Lilith Fair, a women's music festival. Third, revalorists enter into debates in an effort to secure unique legal rights for women; for instance, they argue that laws must recognize that only women bear children and thus they have special needs that must be legally protected.

ECOFEMINISM

Sharing the separatists' belief in living in harmony, but not embracing the separatists' ideal of women-only communities, are ecofeminists, who unite the intellectual and political strength of feminist thought with ecology's concerns about our living planet. Ecofeminism was launched in 1974, when Françoise d'Eaubonne published *Le Féminisme ou la Mort*, which is translated *Feminism or Death*. This book provided the philosophical foundation of ecofeminism.

Ecofeminists in both Europe and America perceive a connection between efforts to control and subordinate women and the quest to dominate nature (perhaps not coincidentally called "Mother Earth"). Rosemary Radford Ruether (1974, 1983, 2001), a Christian and theological scholar, argues that the lust to dominate has brought the world to the brink of a moral and ecological crisis in which there can be no winners and all will be destroyed. According to Judith Plant, a fortuitously named early proponent of ecofeminism (Sales, 1987, p. 302):

[This movement] gives women and men common ground... The social system isn't good for either—or both—of us. Yet we are the social system. We need some common ground ... to enable us to recognize and affect the deep structure of our relations with each other and with our environment.

Ecofeminists believe that, as long as oppression is culturally valued, it will be imposed on anyone and anything that cannot or does not resist. Thus, oppression is the focus, and women's oppression is best understood as a specific example of an overarching cultural ideology that esteems oppression. Many animal rights activists, vegetarians, and peace activists have joined the ecofeminist movement. Prominent first-wave feminists such as Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Susan B. Anthony, and Mary Wollstonecraft thought that vegetarianism and animal rights were integral to a feminist agenda (Oakley, 2002).

The goals of this movement flow directly from its critique of cultural values. Ecofeminists seek to bring themselves and others to a new consciousness of humans' interdependence with all other life forms. To do so, they speak out against values that encourage exploitation, domination, and aggression and show how these oppress women, men, children, animals, and the planet itself (Beate, 2001; Cudworth, 2005; Mellor, 1998; Warren, 2000). To learn more about ecofeminism, visit Eve Online at <http://eve.enviroweb.org> or visit the home page of the ecofeminist organization at <http://www.ecofem.org/ecofeminism>.

Radical feminism, lesbian feminism, separatism, revalorism, and ecofeminism are all cultural feminist movements because they share the idea that women and men are different in important ways. In contrast, a number of second-wave women's movements adopt the liberal ideology that women and men are fundamentally alike. We turn now to those groups to see what they believe and what they accomplish.

Stephanie

Some of my strongest values involve ending the oppression of animals and living a sustainable lifestyle. Until I read about ecofeminism, I never saw the connection between those beliefs and feminism. But it makes sense, once you think about it, that if it's wrong to oppress animals and the earth, it's wrong to oppress women . . . or anyone . . . or anything.

Exploring Gendered Lives**FEMINISM IS FOR EVERYBODY**

In *Feminism Is for Everybody*, author bell hooks (2002a) says it's a mistake to think that feminism is about only women or women's rights. She says feminism is about justice, which she thinks is achieved by ending all kinds of domination and oppression, including but not limited to sexism and racism. For her, all forms of oppression are linked. She thinks that only when nobody is oppressed will it be possible for us to form truly authentic, loving bonds of mutuality.

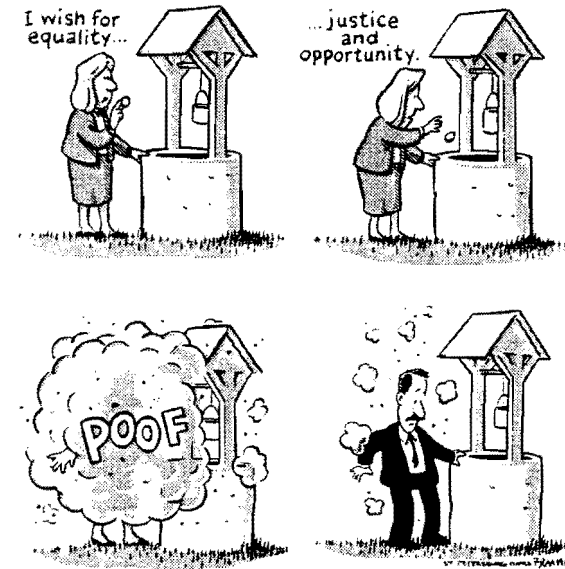
LIBERAL FEMINISM

The best-known second-wave feminist movement is liberal feminism, which advocates women's equality in all spheres of life. This movement has its roots in the mid-1900s. At that time, many white, middle-class women were living what they had been told was the American dream: Their husbands earned the income while they took care of the children, maintained their suburban homes with matching appliances, and chauffeured the children in their station wagons. But many of these middle-class homemakers were not happy. They loved their families and homes, but they also wanted an identity beyond the home. So they were not only unhappy, but they felt guilty that they were not satisfied. Because they felt guilty about their dissatisfaction, they kept their feelings to themselves. Consequently, they didn't realize that many other women also felt unfulfilled.

The liberal feminist movement crystallized in 1963 with publication of Betty Friedan's landmark book, *The Feminine Mystique*. The book's title was Friedan's way of naming what she called "the problem that has no name," by which she meant the vague, chronic discontent that many white, middle-class American women felt. Friedan named the problem and, following the insight of radical feminists, defined it as a political issue, not a personal one. She pointed out that women were not able to pursue personal development because of political reasons: American institutions, especially laws, kept many women confined to domestic roles with no opportunity for fulfillment in arenas outside of home life.

Acting according to the liberal belief that women and men are alike in most respects and are therefore entitled to equal rights and opportunities, the movement initiated by Friedan's book is embodied in NOW, the National Organization for Women. Founded in 1966, NOW works to secure political, professional, and educational equality for women and has become a public voice for equal rights for women. It remains a powerful and visible organization that is effective in gaining passage of laws and policies that enlarge women's opportunities and protect their rights.

Liberal feminism identifies and challenges institutional practices, policies, and laws that exclude women from positions of influence in public and professional life (Brownmiller, 2000; Rosen, 2001). The rhetorical strategies of this movement include lobbying, speaking at public forums, drafting



Cartoon by Clay Bennett. Reprinted by permission.

legislation, and holding conventions where goals and strategies are developed. Initially, liberal feminism focused almost exclusively on issues in the lives of women who were white, middle-class, heterosexual, able-bodied, and young or middle-aged (Hooymann, 1999). In response to criticism of this narrow focus, liberal feminism began to pay more attention to and devote more political effort to issues faced by women who are not white, middle-class, heterosexual, able-bodied, and young. As a result, liberal feminism has become more inclusive of diverse women and the issues in their lives.

Liberal feminism is not confined to the United States. Feminist groups around the world are committed to equal rights for women. Spain, the country that gave birth to the word *machismo*, is responding to the influence of liberal feminism. In April 2004, Prime Minister José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero appointed eight women to his cabinet so that women would make up half the cabinet (Abend & Pingree, 2004). Elsewhere, some Muslim women work within their religion to expand women's rights and opportunities (Dickey & Power, 2004). Activist work, particularly work done by feminist NGOs (non-government organizations) in the third world at the grassroots level, has contributed substantially to global awareness of particular forms of oppression of women, such as sex trafficking (Hegde, 2006; Vargas, 2003; Townsley, 2006). In 2004 in Mumbai, India, record numbers of women participated in The World Social Forum and drew worldwide attention to the

Exploring Gendered Lives**WHO WAS BETTY FRIEDAN?**

Betty Friedan was a key figure in second-wave feminism (Hartman, 1998; Hennessee, 1999; Horowitz, 1998). Born Bettye Naomi Goldstein in Peoria, Illinois, in 1921, she engaged in nightly conversations about politics with her father.

Bettye enrolled in Smith College, where she was the star student in the psychology department. After dropping the “e” from her name, Betty became the editor-in-chief of the Smith College newspaper, which she used as a platform for espousing her political views. In 1942, Goldstein graduated with highest honors and began graduate studies at the University of California at Berkeley. She left graduate school and moved to New York City, where she met and married Carl Friedan, a theatrical director.

Friedan worked as a journalist until 1952, when she became pregnant with her second child, moved to the suburbs, and was bumped from political writing to penning articles for women’s magazines. Wondering if other women of her generation also were as unhappy as she was, Friedan questioned other Smith graduates and discovered that they, too, were dissatisfied with having given up their careers for their families. These conversations led her to write *The Feminine Mystique*, in which she addressed “the problem that has no name,” thus naming it and giving impetus to the second wave of feminism in the United States. Friedan died in 2006.

urgent and continuing issues of violence against women (Sen & Saini, 2005; Vargas, 2003). In Iraq, women today have fewer rights than before U.S. troops invaded the country. Women there have created The Organization of Women’s Freedom in Iraq (OWFI; <http://www.equalityiniraq.com>) to fight for women’s rights to education, employment, marital choice, and inheritance (McKee, 2006). After a long struggle for suffrage, Kuwaiti women gained the right to vote in 2006 (Fattah, 2006).

WOMANISM

Another group of second-wave activists who believe that women and men are alike in many ways call themselves **womanists** to differentiate themselves from white feminists. Beginning in the 1970s, a number of African American women who were disenchanted with white, middle-class feminism but who were committed to women’s equality began to organize their own groups (Smith, 1998). Feminist organizations such as Black Women Organized for Action and the National Black Feminist Organization sprang up and quickly attracted members. Many African American women see womanism as addressing both their racial and gender identities (Guy-Sheftall, 2003; Radford-Hill, 2000).

Womanists highlight the ways in which gender and racial oppression intersect in the lives of women of color. Black women in America have a

Exploring Gendered Lives**ABOUT NOW**

The National Organization for Women was established on June 30, 1966, in Washington, D.C., at the Third National Conference on the Commission on the Status of Women. Among the 28 founders of NOW were Betty Friedan, its first president, and the Reverend Pauli Murray, an African American woman who was an attorney and poet. Murray co-authored NOW’s original mission statement, which begins with this sentence: “The purpose of NOW is to take action to bring women into full participation in the mainstream of American society now, exercising all privileges and responsibilities thereof in truly equal partnership with men.” Among NOW’s achievements:

- Executive Order 11375, which prohibits sex discrimination by federal contractors.
- Amendment of the Civil Rights Act of 1965 to include sex, along with race, religion, and nationality, as an illegal basis for employment discrimination.
- Support of federally financed child-care centers to enable women to work outside the home.
- Identification of and publicity about sexism in children’s books and programs to enable parents and teachers to make informed choices about media for their children.
- Reform of credit and banking practices that disadvantage women.
- Enlargement of women’s opportunities to participate in sports.
- EEOC adoption of a rule that sex-segregated want ads are discriminatory.
- Support for women who seek elective and appointive public office.

Visit the NOW website at <http://www.now.org>.

distinctive cultural history that has not been well recognized, much less addressed, by the white, middle-class women who have dominated both waves of American women’s movements. Compared to white women, black women as a group are more often single, have less formal education, bear more children, are paid less, and assume more financial responsibility for supporting families. Many black women don’t identify with feminist agendas that ignore their experiences (Findlen, 1995; Morgan, 2003; Roth, 2003).

In addition to focusing on race, womanists attend to ways in which class intersects race and sex to create inequality. Womanist organizations often include working-class women and address issues that keenly affect lower-class African American women. Their goals include reforming social services to respond more humanely to poor women, and increasing training and job opportunities so that women of color can improve the material conditions of their lives. Womanists’ rhetorical strategies include consciousness raising and support among women of color, lobbying decision makers for reforms in laws, and community organizing to build grassroots leadership of, by, and for women of color.

Exploring Gendered Lives

Alice Walker is credited with coining the term *womanism* as a label for black women who believe in women's value, rights, and opportunities. According to Walker, Southern black women often said to their daughters, "You acting womanish," which meant the daughters were being bold, courageous, and willful. To be womanish is to demand to know more than others say is good for you—to stretch beyond what is prescribed for a woman or girl (Collins, 1998). In her 1983 book *In Search of Our Mothers' Gardens*, Walker writes, "Womanist is to feminist as purple is to lavender" (p. xii).

In 1997, African American women organized a march to celebrate and nourish community among African American women. Following the second Million Man March, which we'll discuss in the next chapter, the **Million Woman March** was held in Philadelphia on October 24 and 25, 1997. Powered by grassroots volunteers who built support in their localities, the steering committee of the Million Woman March was made up not of celebrities

Lashenna

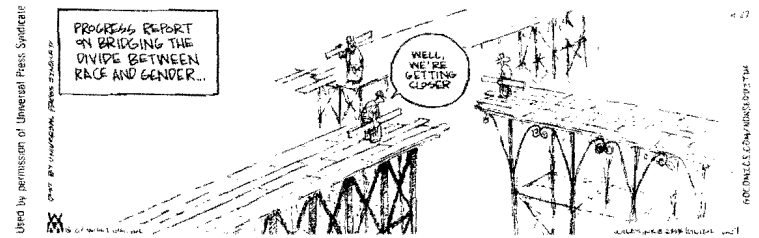
NOW's answer to African American women is just a trickle-down theory. Whatever big gains and changes NOW makes in the lives of middle-class white women are supposed to trickle down to us so we get a little something too. Well, thanks, but no thanks, I say. NOW and all those white feminist movements ignore the issues in black women's lives. We have to deal not only with gender but with race as well. Unlike a majority of white women, many African American women are faced with economic disadvantages, single parenthood, factory or housekeeping jobs, and little education. I have family members who face one or more of these problems. I don't want white women's trickle-down theory. I want a bottom-up theory!

TO BE WOMANISH, TO BE A WOMANIST

but of average women who worked at unglamorous jobs and lived outside the spotlight. The march deemphasized media hype in favor of woman-to-woman sharing of experiences, hopes, and support. Perhaps the spirit of the Million Woman March is best summed up by Irma Jones, a 74-year-old woman who had marched with Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. from Selma to Montgomery. After the Million Woman March, Jones said, "I'm glad we did this before I died. People say black women can never get together. Today, we got together, sister" (Logwood, 1998, p. 19).

MULTIRACIAL FEMINISM

Building on womanism's critique of mainstream feminism's focus on white, middle-class women, **multiracial feminism** emphasizes multiple systems of domination that affect the lives of women and men (Anzaldúa & Keating, 2002; Collins, 1998; Ryan,



2004). Leaders of this new movement prefer the term *multiracial* to *multicultural* because they believe that race is a particularly potent power system that shapes people's identities and opportunities (Zinn & Dill, 1996).

At the same time, **multiracial feminists** insist that race cannot be viewed in isolation. Although especially important from multiracial feminists' perspective, race intersects other systems of domination in ways that affect what race means. For instance, an Asian American will experience his or her race differently, depending on whether he or she is a member of the professional class, the working class, or the middle class.

Multiracial feminists insist that gender does not have universal meaning—instead, what gender means and how it affects our lives varies as a result of race, economic class, sexual orientation, and so forth. Gloria Anzaldúa (1999), a Chicana feminist, resists being categorized only according to her sex or her race-ethnicity or her sexual orientation. She insists that, on its own, each category misrepresents her identity because her race-ethnicity affects the meaning of being a woman and a lesbian; her sex affects the meaning of her race-ethnicity and sexual orientation; and her sexual orientation affects the meaning of being a woman and a Chicana. Yen Le Espiritu (1997) makes the same argument about Asian American women and men, as does Minh-ha Trinh (1989) about Vietnamese women.

For multiracial feminists, the key to understanding identity lies in the intersection of multiple categories such as gender, race-ethnicity, sexual orientation, and economic class. This leads multiracial feminists to write and talk, not about women or men as broad groups, but about more precise and complex categories such as black, working-class lesbians, and middle-class, heterosexual Chicanas. Articulating multiracial feminism's goals, Gloria Anzaldúa (2002) states that it must "incorporate additional underrepresented voices" (p. B11).

Central to multiracial feminism is emphasis on women's agency. Despite the constraints imposed by systems of domination, women of color have often resisted their oppressions. Even when they operated within abhorrent systems of domination such as slavery, women of color found ways to care for themselves and their families and to contribute to their communities. In recognizing that women of color have resisted oppression, multiracial feminists highlight the strengths of women.

Katie

I like the ideas of the multiracial feminists. I agree that race cuts across everything else. I'm middle-class, but my life isn't the same as a white, middle-class girl's, because I'm Asian American. It's like the issues in my life aren't just about my sex; they're also about my race. I can talk to black or Hispanic girls, and we have a lot in common—more than I have in common with most white girls. You just can't get away from the issue of race unless you're white.

causes of inequities and the harm that women suffer. As an alternative, Wolf advocates power feminism, which contends that society doesn't oppress women, because women have the power to control what happens to them.

Wolf urges women to “stop thinking of themselves as victims” and to capitalize on the power inherent in their majority status. Power feminism is closely linked to the ideas of Shelby Steele (1990), a conservative African American who claims that racial discrimination is no longer part of society but only a paranoid victim psychology in the heads of blacks and other minorities. Following in Steele's footsteps, Wolf tells women that the only thing holding them back from equality is their own belief that they are victims.

Katie Roiphe is another visible proponent of power feminism. In her 1993 book, *The Morning After: Sex, Fear, and Feminism on Campus*, Roiphe denied that rape is widespread on campuses and in society. Roiphe asserts that Take Back the Night marches, annual nonviolent protests that began in 1978 to speak out against rape, are self-defeating because “proclaiming victimhood” does not project strength. Roiphe ignores the fact that, for many people, Take Back the Night marches fuel activism, not victimhood.

Power feminism ignores the difference between being a victim at one moment, on the one hand, and adopting the status of victim as an identity, on the other hand. Bryn Panee, a student of mine, clarified this distinction when she reported on her experiences as a rape crisis counselor: “Every turnaround case, where a woman is able to make the transformation from a helpless victim to an empowered survivor, could not have happened if she did not recognize she was a victim of a horrible crime” (1994, n.p.).

Power feminism appeals to some women who, like Naomi Wolf and Katie Roiphe, are white, financially comfortable, successful, and well educated. It is less helpful to women who do not enjoy those privileges. Perhaps that is why power feminism is embraced mainly by white, heterosexual, middle- and upper-class

Multiracial feminists have contributed significantly to feminist theory and practice by challenging the idea of a “universal woman” and by showing that many groups are disadvantaged by multiple and intersecting forms of domination. This important insight compels us to recognize how intersections among multiple social locations, or standpoints, shape individual lives and structure society.

POWER FEMINISM

The 1990s gave birth to a new movement called power feminism. Writing in 1993, Naomi Wolf argued that it is self-defeating to focus on the social

women who have little or no personal experience with discrimination and violation. Although power feminism has not become a major movement, its emphasis on empowering women has been influential in shaping the third wave of American women's movements.

THE THIRD WAVE OF WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

Many branches of second-wave feminism continue to be active today. At the same time, a third wave of feminism has emerged. Drawing from multiple branches of second-wave feminism, especially radical and multiracial feminism, third-wave feminism includes women of different ethnicities, abilities and disabilities, classes, appearances, and sexual orientations. Third-wave feminism is less fully formed and less uniform than most other branches of feminism. Groups who identify as third-wave feminists include ones working to end violence against women and MomsRising, which aims to change policies that limit parents' abilities to participate in paid labor. Perhaps because it is new, this wave of feminism has not yet found a center. On the other hand, it could be that the third wave will be characterized by multiplicity and the resistance of any single center.

Although the newest feminist movement draws from earlier movements, third-wave feminism is not simply an extension of the goals, principles, and values of the second wave (Fixmer, 2003; Fixmer & Wood, 2005; Hernández & Rehman, 2002; Howry & Wood, 2001; Johnson, 2007). The newest feminists have a distinct historical location that informs their politics and goals. At this early stage, we can identify five features that seem common to third-wave feminism and a sixth feature that is embraced by only some third wavers. To learn more about the third wave and differences and commonalities between it and earlier waves, visit this website: <http://womensissues.about.com/cs/feminism/f/thirdwave.htm>.

REMAKING SOLIDARITY TO INCORPORATE DIFFERENCES AMONG WOMEN

Informed by multiracial feminists' attention to differences among women, third-wave feminists recognize that women differ in many ways, including race, class, sexual orientation, body shape and size, and (dis)ability. Third-wavers, coming of age in an era sharply infused with awareness of differences,

Folana

The only people I know who talk the power feminist talk have never been raped and never been slapped in the face with discrimination. They think their success and safety is a result of their own efforts and that any woman or minority person who hasn't achieved what they have just didn't try. I'll bet a lot of them would drop the power feminist line if they got raped. That might make them see that women and minorities don't have as much power as people like Wolf and Roiphe. As for me, I don't think of myself as a victim, but I know I'm vulnerable just because I'm black and a woman.

Natalie

I really appreciate what the sixties women's movement did to make my life better, but I can't identify with it. My life is different than my mother's, and so are the issues that matter to me. Mom fought to get a job. I want a job that pays well and lets me advance. Mom worked really hard to find day care for her children. I want to have a marriage and a job that allow me not to have to rely on day care. Her generation fought to make it okay for women not to marry. My generation wants to figure out how to make marriages work better, more fairly. Different generations. Different issues.

beyond these divisions and build a movement that not only accepts but celebrates diversity.

According to third-wave writers, struggling to understand and incorporate differences can lead to a deep appreciation of the intersections among various forms of privilege and oppression. In third-waver Mocha Jean Herrup's (1995) words, people need to "realize that to fight AIDS we must fight homophobia, and to fight homophobia we must fight racism, and so on. . . . Oppression is interrelated" (p. 247).

Third-wave feminists are committed to building positive connections with men as friends, romantic partners, co-workers, brothers, and fathers. But, warn these women, "We can't do the work for men, and we won't try. Social change requires efforts from *both* sides. We want to meet men in the middle, not do all the adjusting ourselves" (3rd Wave, 1999). For these feminists, women and men must work together to achieve equality in public life and in family life.

INTEGRATING THEORY INTO EVERYDAY PRACTICES

Although appreciative of the achievements of earlier waves of feminism, third-wave feminists insist that the reforms won by the second wave have not been woven into everyday life. According to Shani Jamila (2002), laws no longer permit race and gender to be used as automatic barriers, but women and minorities still experience injustices that are subtle and outside legal censure. Thus, a key goal is to incorporate the structural changes wrought by the second wave into material, concrete life and all of its moments. This means challenging racist comments in the workplace and on the street, confronting

are figuring out how to speak about and for women as a group while simultaneously recognizing differences among women (Dicker & Piepmeier, 2003; Fixmer, 2003; Zack, 2005).

BUILDING COALITIONS

A second defining feature of third-wave feminism is a commitment to building alliances with men and other groups that work against various kinds of oppression. Most previous branches of feminism have focused primarily on the needs and rights of white, heterosexual women, which created tensions between heterosexual women and men and between white, heterosexual women and other women. Third-wavers want to get be-

homophobic attitudes, and being willing to examine class privileges, including those that benefit us.

INSISTING THAT THE POLITICAL IS PERSONAL

Third-wavers think that power and privilege are no longer exerted primarily by institutions such as laws and religion. Instead, argue third-wavers, power is exercised and resisted in concrete, local situations, in particular moments. Inverting the second-wave insight that "the personal is political," third-wavers believe that the political is personal. Jennifer Baumgardner and Amy Richards (2000) declare that, for third-wave feminists, "our politics emerge from our everyday lives" (p. 18). Personal acts are a key way to instigate change (Fixmer & Wood, 2005).

Third-wave feminists insist that their politics must be rooted in personal, bodily resistance to oppressive ideologies. In a stunning essay that explicitly links social constructions of female beauty to eating disorders that jeopardize millions of women's health, Abra Fortune Chernik (1995) writes, "Gazing in the mirror at my emaciated body, I observed a woman held up by her culture as the physical ideal because she was starving, self-obsessed and powerless, a woman called beautiful because she threatened no one except herself" (p. 81). After recognizing the connection between cultural codes for femininity and her own body, Chernik responded in a way that was both personal and political: "Gaining weight and getting my head out of the toilet bowl was the most political act I have ever committed" (p. 81).

Many self-identified third-wave feminists are committed to personal action, which they see as deeply connected to political change. Borrowing bell hooks's (2000) term, "door-to-door feminism," Lisa Bowleg (1995) has "challenged my family and friends" (pp. 51–52). And Mocha Jean Herrup (1995) notes that "social change is not just about the kind of political action brought about by group action. Politics is also interpersonal—about how we talk to each other and how we relate to one another" (pp. 249–250).

Born into a media-saturated culture, third-wave feminists use mass and social media to advance their ideas. Singer Tori Amos's songs decry violence against women. Her fans' response to such songs led Amos to found R.A.I.N.N., The Rape, Abuse, and Incest National Network, which is a national hotline. Many other young feminists find their voices on blogs, in zines, and in exchanges on social network websites (Kearney, 2006).

BEING MEDIA SAVVY

More than previous generations, third-wavers are media savvy. They grew up in a media-saturated world, so engaging media is part of how they define their identities, interrogate politics, and advance a feminist agenda. Third-wave feminists, like other members of their generation, tend to be wired, plugged in, and virtually networked so that they gain information from numerous sources and also create media of their own (Kearney, 2006; Johnson, 2007; Nunes, 2006). Whereas second-wave feminists waited for the 6 p.m. news broadcast to learn about the day's events, third-wavers are likely to learn

immediately of new developments from IMs, text messages, and blogs, and they often post their own videos of rallies and other events on YouTube and other websites.

Third-wavers also know how to use media, particularly social media, to galvanize their political goals. The Exploring Gendered Lives box on MomsRising illustrates how one media-savvy third-wave group organizes for political impact.

EMBRACING AESTHETICS AND CONSUMERISM

One implication of living in a media-saturated era is that news and images of celebrities are easy to find and, in fact, hard to avoid. When Britney bares various parts of her body, or Paris goes to prison, gets out of prison, and goes back in, videos are available almost immediately online. Blogging and IMing allow people to talk about celebrity exploits. The rising generation is bombarded by images of celebrities who are scantily dressed, frequently in trouble with the law, and in and out of various highly publicized sexual relationships (Deveny with Kelley, 2007). It is unsurprising that some young women see women in the limelight as role models. Yet, we might ask whether celebrities known for driving under the influence (Paris Hilton, Lindsay Lohan), not wearing underwear (Britney Spears), and having eating disorders (Mary Kate Olsen, Nicole Richie) are really people after whom we want to model ourselves. A number of young women who identify as third-wave feminists—but not all who identify as third-wavers—embrace traditional “girl culture” by placing a premium on being pretty, feminine, sexy, and having the latest fashions. They argue that there is no contradiction between feminism and fashion—it’s possible to be sexy and feminine and to still be and be seen as serious (Waggoner & Hallstein, 2001).

Exploring Gendered Lives

THE MOTHERHOOD MANIFESTO

That’s the title of a book co-written by Joan Blades, who previously co-founded the highly influential MoveOn.org, and Kristin Rowe-Finkbeiner. Behind the title is a fast-growing grassroots movement called MomsRising, which is dedicated to changing government and institutional policies that make it difficult or impossible for parents to simultaneously engage in paid labor and care responsibly for children. Their demands include paid maternity and paternity leave, flexible work hours and locations, and decent health care for children. Blades and Rowe-Finkbeiner collaborate and coordinate their leadership primarily through e-mail messages, and MomsRising relies on cyberspace mobilization to increase membership, keep members informed about issues, and organize members for political impact. More than 85,000 members have joined in just the past year (Seligman, 2007).

To learn more about MomsRising, visit the organization’s website: MomsRising.org.

Being sexy and feminine, however, takes a lot of energy and money. Thus, some, although not all, third-wave feminists embrace consumerism—spending money to belong to or be seen at the “right” restaurants, bars, spas, and stores and to acquire status symbols, including designer clothes and name-brand products (Chaudhry, 2005; Levy, 2006). For some young women, being cool means wearing glitter nail polish and sexy heels and carrying a designer handbag.

Taken to extremes, commodification may go beyond acquiring commodities and lead to regarding the self—one’s own mind and body—as a commodity (Shugart, Waggoner, & Hallstein, 2001). In her provocatively titled book, *Female Chauvinist Pigs* (2006), Ariel Levy argues that many young women today equate sexual freedom with objectifying themselves, particularly by making themselves into sex objects for others’ consumption. The availability of sexually explicit and sometimes pornographic materials creates a pressure for women to accept sexual images of women and to imitate exotic dancers in order to feel that they are liberated and to convince others that they are not uptight about sex (Paul, 2006). But, asks Levy, whose version of sexy is at stake when teen-aged women trade exposing themselves for a girls-gone-wild T-shirt? Whose pleasure is being served? Rather than using sex as currency, Levy encourages women to explore their sexuality on their own terms.

In sum, third-wave feminists use media, particularly social media, to build on and go beyond the ideas and accomplishments of prior feminist movements in an effort to make feminism more inclusive, more engaged with everyday life, and more collaborative. As they voice their concerns and carry out their politics, they will remake feminism to resonate with the priorities of their generation.

ANTIFEMINISM: THE BACKLASH

Challenging and changing women’s roles and rights have not gone unchecked. The successes of feminism have led to intense antifeminist efforts, also called the backlash against feminism. A backlash against feminism has surfaced in response to each wave of activism for women (Superson & Cudd, 2002).

Antifeminism opposes changes in women’s roles, status, rights, or opportunities. Antifeminist movements arose in response to both the first and second waves of women’s movements in the United States (Blee, 1998). There is also evidence that a third antifeminist movement is shaping up in reaction to the third wave of feminism.

THE FIRST WAVE: THE ANTISUFFRAGE MOVEMENT

The first formal example of antifeminism was the *antisuffrage movement*, which aimed to prevent women from gaining the right to vote in the United States. Immediately following the Seneca Falls Convention in 1848, vocal opposition to women’s suffrage surfaced. Both men and women claimed that allowing women to vote, to pursue higher education, and to own property would contradict women’s natural roles as wives and mothers.

By the 1870s, opposition to women's suffrage was formalized in public organizations that were often led by the wives of socially prominent men (Blee, 1998). The best-known antisuffrage organization was the National Association Opposed to Women's Suffrage, which claimed to have 350,000 members (Blee, 1998). The antisuffrage movement reached its apex between 1911 and 1916 and disbanded after women won the right to vote in 1920.

THE SECOND WAVE: FASCINATING, TOTAL WOMEN

A second antifeminist movement emerged in the 1970s when Marabel Morgan launched the Total Woman movement and Helen Andelin founded the Fascinating Womanhood movement, both of which advocated women's return to traditional attitudes, values, and roles. The Total Woman movement (Morgan, 1973) stressed the conventional social view of women as sex objects and urged women to devote their energies to making themselves sexually irresistible to men. One example of advice given to women was to surprise their husbands by meeting them at the door dressed only in Saran Wrap. Fascinating Womanhood (Andelin, 1975) was grounded in conservative interpretations of biblical teachings, and it emphasized women's duty to embody moral purity and submit to their husbands.

Although many people saw the Fascinating Womanhood and Total Woman movements as laughable, more than 400,000 women paid to take courses that taught them to be more sexually attractive and submissive to their husbands (O'Kelly & Carney, 1986). Primary support for these courses and the ideologies behind them came from women who were economically dependent on husbands and who embraced conservative values.

THE SECOND WAVE: THE STOP ERA CAMPAIGN

Another instance of backlash was the STOP ERA movement, which also emerged in the 1970s. This movement was a direct response to the 1972 and 1973 campaign to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA).

The most prominent spokesperson for STOP ERA was Phyllis Schlafly, who traveled around the nation to persuade people that feminism was destroying femininity by turning women into men. She told women to return to their roles as helpmates and homemakers and affirmed men's traditional roles as heads of families. Ironically, although Schlafly argued that women should be deferential and that their place was in the home, she didn't take her own advice. In speaking forcefully in public, she violated her advice on feminine style. Further, her speaking schedule kept her on the road or writing much of the time, so she was unable to devote much time to being a homemaker, wife, or mother.

The STOP ERA movement carried out its work not only through Schlafly's speeches but also through lobbying legislators and courting the media. STOP ERA members warned legislators and the public that passing ERA would undercut men's willingness to support children, allow women to be drafted, threaten the family, and permit women and men to use the same public restrooms (Mansbridge, 1986). Like the antisuffrage movement in the

Exploring Gendered Lives

THE TEXT OF THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

Equality of the rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

1800s and early 1900s, the STOP ERA movement was supported by men and women who believed in traditional roles. Also like the previous antifeminist movement, STOP ERA was funded largely by corporate leaders and other people in the upper economic class who did not see the ERA as consistent with their economic and political interests (Blee, 1998; Klatch, 1998).

THE THIRD WAVE: SURRENDERED WIVES AND THE WAR AGAINST BOYS AND MEN

Remember the Total Woman and Fascinating Womanhood movements in the second wave? The same idea resurfaced in the 2001 book *The Surrendered Wife: A Practical Guide for Finding Intimacy, Passion, and Peace with A Man* (L. Doyle). This book, like the earlier two that it echoes, counsels women to abandon the quest for equality if they want happy marriages (Clinton, 2001). Women are advised to let their husbands lead the family and to accommodate their husbands.

The new millennium has seen other examples of antifeminism. For instance, the gains achieved by second-wave liberal feminism in equality of educational access and achievement for women are now being challenged. In 2000, Christina Sommers published *The War Against Boys*, which challenges decades of research documenting disadvantages that females experience in schools. Sommers argues that it is males, particularly boys, who are at a disadvantage in schools today. Another book, *The War Against Men* (Hise, 2004), claims that women have gained power at the expense of men and that this is contrary to God's commandments, which define the proper relationship between women and men.

THE CONTRADICTORY CLAIMS OF ANTIFEMINISM

In her 1991 book *Backlash: The Undeclared War Against American Women*, Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist Susan

Zack

I don't know why so many people think that the Bible says women should be subordinate to men. I'm a Christian, and the Bible I read says men and women are pretty equal. If you read Romans, you'll see that 10 of the 27 people that Paul identifies as prominent in the early Church were women. Keep reading, and in Paul's letter to Galatians you'll see that it says, "there is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus" [3:27-28].

Faludi identifies two arguments that characterize the antifeminist, or backlash, movement. Faludi also notes that they are internally contradictory. On one hand, a good deal of antifeminist rhetoric defines feminism as the source of women's problems, including broken homes, tension between spouses, and delinquent children. According to this claim, in encouraging women to become more independent, feminism has turned women into fast-track achievers who have nothing to come home to but microwave dinners. Antifeminists argue that, rather than helping women, feminism has created more problems for them and made their lives miserable. They conclude that the solution to these problems is to renounce feminism.

A second antifeminist claim, which directly contradicts the first one, is that women have never had it so good—they have won the battles for equality, all doors are open to them, and they can have it all. Pointing to the gains in status and opportunities won by feminists, antifeminists assert that all inequities have disappeared and that there is no longer any need for feminism. This line of rhetoric has been persuasive with some people, particularly women who have benefited from feminism. Yet, if women have full equality, why is one woman in four the victim of assault by a man? If women have full equality, why does the average woman get paid less than a man for doing the same job? If women have full equality, why do they still perform most of the child-care and housekeeping tasks in two-earner families?

Many feminists charge that claims advanced by antifeminists are misrepresentations and exaggerations. There is truth to that charge. At the same time, some of the claims made by some feminists have been exaggerated, too. It is productive to have different voices, including feminist and antifeminist ones, to act as checks and balances on each other.

SUMMARY

The issue of whether a person is a feminist is considerably more complicated than it first appears. The “women’s movement” is really a collage of many movements that span more than 150 years and include a range of political and social ideologies. The different goals associated with women’s movements are paralleled by diverse rhetorical strategies ranging from consciousness raising to public lobbying and zines. Whether or not you define yourself as a feminist, you have some views on women’s identities, rights, and nature. Much of the analysis in various women’s movements should inform your thinking about women’s roles and lives.

Key Terms

The terms following are defined in this chapter on the pages indicated, as well as in alphabetical order in the book’s glossary, which begins on page 318. The text’s companion website (academic.cengage.com/communication/wood/genderedlives8) also provides interactive flash cards and crossword puzzles to help you learn these terms and the concepts they represent.

antifeminism 89	multiracial feminism 82
antisuffrage movement 89	power feminism 84
backlash 89	radical feminism 70
cultural feminism 66	revalorists 75
ecofeminism 76	separatists 75
lesbian feminists 74	third-wave feminism 85
liberal feminism 66	womanists 80
Million Woman March 82	women’s rights movement 67

Reflection and Discussion

1. How have your views of feminism changed as a result of reading this chapter?
2. With which of the feminist movements discussed in this chapter do you most identify? Why?
3. To what extent do you think we should work to ensure that women have equal rights and opportunities within existing systems (liberal feminism) or should work to change the systems to incorporate traditionally feminine values and concerns (cultural feminism)?
4. Log on to InfoTrac College Edition to find and read Lisa Marsh Ryerson’s speech “Seneca Falls Revisited: Reflections on the Legacy of the 1848 Women’s Rights Convention.” Pay particular attention to the excerpts from Elizabeth Cady Stanton’s speech that appear in Ryerson’s speech.
5. Write or act out a discussion about whether women should serve in combat roles, which takes place between three feminists: an ecofeminist, a power feminist, and a separatist.
6. To what extent do you think it is possible for women to be both politically engaged feminists and sexy and conventionally feminine?