

Intersectionality and Matrix of Domination

Nineteen Wikipedia Articles

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Intersectionality

Intersectionality (or **Intersectionalism**) is the study of intersections between different groups of minorities; specifically, the study of the interactions of multiple systems of oppression or discrimination^[1]. This feminist sociological theory was first highlighted by Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989). Intersectionality is a methodology of studying "the relationships among multiple dimensions and modalities of social relationships and subject formations" (McCall 2005). The theory suggests—and seeks to examine how—various biological, social and cultural categories such as gender, race, class, ability, sexual orientation, and other axes of identity interact on multiple and often simultaneous levels, contributing to systematic social inequality. Intersectionality holds that the classical conceptualizations of oppression within society, such as racism, sexism, homophobia, and religion- or belief-based bigotry, do not act independently of one another; instead, these forms of oppression interrelate, creating a system of oppression that reflects the "intersection" of multiple forms of discrimination.^[2]

Concept

A standard textbook example of intersectionality theory might be "the view that women experience oppression in varying configurations and in varying degrees of intensity" (Ritzer, 2007, pg. 204). Cultural patterns of oppression are not only interrelated, but are bound together and influenced by the intersectional systems of society. Examples of this include race, gender, class, and ethnicity (Collins, 2000, pg. 42).

Intersectionality is an important paradigm not only for sociological and cultural studies, but there have been many challenges in utilizing it to its fullest capacity. Difficulties arise due to the many complexities involved in making "multidimensional conceptualizations"^[3] that explain the way in which socially constructed categories of differentiation interact to create a social hierarchy. For example, intersectionality holds that knowing a woman lives in a sexist society is insufficient information to describe her experience; instead, it is also necessary to know her race, sexual orientation, class, etc., as well as her society's attitude toward each of these.

The theory of intersectionality also suggests that discrete forms and expressions of oppression actually shape, and are shaped by, one another. Thus, in order to fully understand the racialization of oppressed groups, one must investigate the ways in which racializing structures, social processes, and social representations (or ideas purporting to represent groups and group members in society) are shaped by gender, class, sexuality, etc.^[4] While the theory began as an exploration of the oppression of women within society, today sociologists strive to apply it to all people and to many different intersections of group membership.

Historical background of intersectionality

A comprehensive historical study of the development of intersectionality theory has yet to be documented. From the little documentation that exists, it is understood that the concept of intersectionality came to the forefront of sociological circles in the late 1960s and early 1970s in conjunction with the multiracial feminist movement. It came as part of a critique of radical feminism that had developed in the late 1960s known as the "re-visionist feminist theory." This re-visionist feminist theory "challenged the notion that 'gender' was the primary factor determining a woman's fate".^[5]

The movement led by women of color disputed the idea that women were a homogeneous category sharing essentially the same life experiences. This argument stemmed from the realization that white middle-class women did not serve as an accurate representation of the feminist movement as a whole. Recognizing that the forms of oppression experienced by white middle-class women were different from those experienced by black, poor, or disabled women, feminists sought to understand the ways in which gender, race, and class combined to "determine the female destiny."^[5] Leslie McCall, a leading intersectionality theorist, argues that the introduction of the intersectionality theory was vital to sociology, claiming that before its development, there was little research that

addressed specifically the experiences of people who are subjected to multiple forms of subordination within society.^[6]

The term also has historical and theoretical links to the concept of "simultaneity" advanced during the 1970s by members of the Combahee River Collective, in Boston, Massachusetts. Members of this group articulated an awareness that their lives—and their forms of resistance to oppression—were profoundly shaped by the simultaneous influences of race, class, gender, and sexuality. Thus, the women of the Combahee River Collective advanced an understanding of African American experiences that challenged analyses emerging from Black and male-centered social movements; as well as those from mainstream White, middle-class, heterosexual feminists. Theories of intersectionality increasingly also address the more than human. Examples of posthuman intersectionality include ecofeminism and are under development in the field of animal studies.

Intersectionality theory and feminist thought

The term *intersectionality theory* was first coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1989. Crenshaw mentioned that the intersectionality experience within black women is more powerful than the sum of their race and sex, that any observations that do not take intersectionality into consideration cannot accurately address the manner where black women are *subordinated*.^[7]

The term gained prominence in the 1990s when sociologist Patricia Hill Collins reintroduced the idea as part of her discussion on black feminism. This term replaced her previously coined expression "black feminist thought", "and increased the general applicability of her theory from African American women to all women" (Mann and Huffman, 2005, pg. 61). Much like her predecessor Crenshaw, Collins argued that cultural patterns of oppression are not only interrelated, but are bound together and influenced by the intersectional systems of society, such as race, gender, class, and ethnicity (Collins, 2000, pg. 42).

According to feminists of color, and many white feminists, experiences of class, gender, sexuality, etc., cannot be adequately understood unless the influences of racialization are carefully considered. Feminists argue that an understanding of intersectionality is a vital element to gaining political and social equality and improving our democratic system. Collins' theory is one of particular interest because it represents the sociological crossroads between modern and post-modern feminist thought.

The complexities of intersectionality

There are three different approaches to studying intersectionality. The three approaches are anticategorical complexity, intercategory complexity, and intracategory complexity, and they serve to represent the broad spectrum of current methodologies that are used to better understand and apply the intersectionality theory.^[6]

1. **Anticategorical complexity:** The anti-categorical approach is based on the deconstruction of categorical divisions. It argues that social categories are an arbitrary construction of history and language and that they contribute little to understanding the ways in which people experience society. Furthermore the anticategorical approach states that, "inequalities are rooted in relationships that are defined by race, class, sexuality, and gender,"^[6] therefore the only way to eliminate oppression in society is to eliminate the categories used to section people into differing groups. This analysis claims that society is too complex to be reduced down into finite categories and instead recognizes the need for a holistic approach in understanding intersectionality.
2. **Intercategorical (aka categorical) complexity:** The intercategory approach to intersectionality begins by addressing the fact that inequality exists within society, and then uses this as the base of its discussion of intersectionality. According to intercategory complexity, "the concern is with the nature of the relationships among social groups and, importantly, how they are changing."^[6] Proponents of this methodology use existing categorical distinctions to document inequality across multiple dimensions and measure its change over time.

3. **Intracategorical complexity:** The intracategorical approach can best be explained as the midpoint between the anticategorical and intercategorical approaches. It recognizes the apparent shortcomings of existing social categories and it questions the way in which they draw boundaries of distinction. Yet, this approach does not completely reject the importance of categories like the anticategorical approach; rather the intracategorical approach recognizes the relevance of social categories to the understanding of the modern social experience. Moreover it attempts to reconcile these contrasting views by focusing on people who cross the boundaries of constructed categories, in an effort to understand the ways in which the complexity and intersectionality the human experience unfold.

Key concepts

Interlocking matrix of oppression

Collins refers to the various intersections of social inequality as the Matrix of Domination. This is also known as "vectors of oppression and privilege" (Ritzer, 2007, pg. 204). These terms refer to how differences among people (sexual orientation, class, race, age, etc.) serve as oppressive measures towards women, and ultimately change the experiences of living as a woman in society. Collins, Audre Lorde (in *Sister Outsider*), and bell hooks point towards either/or thinking as an influence on this oppression and as further intensifying these differences. Specifically, Collins refers to this as the construct of dichotomous oppositional difference. This construct is characterized by its focus on differences rather than similarities (Collins, 1986, pg. S20).

For example, society commonly uses dichotomies as descriptors such as black/white or male/female. Additionally, these dichotomies are directly opposed to each other and intrinsically unstable, meaning they rarely represent equal relationships. In a 1986 article, Collins further relates this to why Black women experience oppression. Notice in the dichotomies mentioned above, Black women typically fall into what is seen by society as the inferior halves. Internalization of this leads to further the oppression faced by women (most notably Black women) in society.

Standpoint epistemology and the outsider within

Both Collins and Dorothy Smith have been instrumental in providing a sociological definition of standpoint theory. A standpoint is an individual's unique world perspective. The theoretical basis of this approach involves viewing societal knowledge as being located within an individual's specific geographic location. In turn, knowledge becomes distinctly unique and subjective—it varies depending upon the social conditions under which it was produced (Mann and Kelley, 1997, pg. 392).

The concept of the outsider within refers to a special standpoint encompassing the self, family, and society (Collins, 1986, pg. S14). This relates to the specific experiences to which people are subjected as they move from a common cultural world (i.e. family) to that of the modern society (Ritzer, 2007, pg. 207). Therefore, even though a woman (especially a Black woman) may become influential in a particular field, she may feel as though she never quite belongs. Essentially, their personalities, behaviors, and cultural beings overshadow their true value as an individual; thus, they become the outsider within (Collins, 1986, pg. S14).

Resisting oppression

Speaking from a critical standpoint, Collins points out that Brittan and Maynard claim "domination always involves the objectification of the dominated; all forms of oppression imply the devaluation of the subjectivity of the oppressed" (Collins, 1986, pg S18). She later notes that self-evaluation and self-definition are two ways of resisting oppression. Participating in self-awareness methods helps to preserve the self-esteem of the group that is being oppressed and help them avoid any dehumanizing outside influences.

Marginalized groups often gain a status of being an "other" (Collins, 1986, pg. S18). In essence, you are "an other" if you are different from what Audre Lorde calls the mythical norm. "Others" are virtually anyone that differs from the

societal schema of an average white male. Gloria Anzaldúa theorizes that the sociological term for this is "othering", or specifically attempting to establish a person as unacceptable based on certain criterion that fails to be met (Ritzer, 2007, pg. 205).

Individual subjectivity is another concern for marginalized groups. Differences can be used as a weapon of self-devaluation by internalizing stereotypical societal views, thus leading to a form of psychological oppression. (In psychology this is known as a self-fulfilling prophecy.) The point Collins effectively makes is that having a sense of self-value and a stable self-definition not obtained from outside influences helps to overcome these oppressive societal methods of domination.

Applications of intersectionality

Intersectionality and social work

In the field of social work, proponents of intersectionality hold that unless service providers take intersectionality into account, they will be of less use, and may in fact be detrimental, for various segments of the population. Thus, service providers have an obligation to be aware of the seemingly unrelated factors that can impact a person's life experience and response to the service and to adapt their methods accordingly. For instance, according to intersectionality, domestic violence counselors in the United States that urged all women to report their abusers to police would be of little use to women of color due to the history of racially-motivated police brutality in that population, and those counselors should therefore develop a different approach appropriate for women of color.

Intersectionality and psychology

Research in psychology has lagged behind other social and behavioral science fields in fully incorporating intersectionality into their theory or methods. Psychologists who study social processes and organization tend to think of intersecting identities as separable categories. That is, they assume that the research project can separate, for example, the effects of gender and socioeconomic status from one another. Some recent publications point to the development of a more sophisticated psychology of intersecting identities.^[8]

Intersectionality and the labor market

The intersectionality of race and gender has been shown to have a visible impact on the labor market. "Sociological research clearly shows that accounting for education, experience, and skill does not fully explain significant differences in labor market outcomes." The three main domains on which we see the impact of intersectionality are wages, discrimination, and domestic labor. Most studies have shown that people who fall into the bottom of the social hierarchy in terms of race or gender are more likely to receive lower wages, to be subjected to stereotypes and discriminated against, or be hired for exploitive domestic positions. Through the study of the labor market and intersectionality we gain a better understanding of economic inequalities and the implications of the multidimensional impact of race and gender on social status within society.^[3]

A Marxist-feminist critical theory

Collins' intersectionality theory and its relative principles have a wide range of applicability in the sociological realm, especially in topics such as politics and violence (see, for instance, Collins, 1998). A central tenet of interest is on the struggle faced by Black women in the economic sector. This provides a wonderful example of how the interrelated principles of Collins' theory come together to add a new twist to a Marxist economic theory. A brief historical perspective will allow for better understanding of how Collins used her insight and built a dynamic theory of political oppression as related to Black women in particular.

W. E. B. Du Bois theorized that the intersectional paradigms of race, class, and nation might explain certain aspects of Black political economy. Collins writes "Du Bois saw race, class, and nation not primarily as personal identity categories but as social hierarchies that shaped African American access to status, poverty, and power" (2000, pg.

42). Interestingly, Du Bois omitted gender from his theory, and considered it more of a personal identity category.

Cheryl Townsend Gilkes further expands upon this by pointing out the value of centering upon the experiences of Black Women. Joy James takes things one step further by "using paradigms of intersectionality in interpreting social phenomena" (Collins, 2000, pg. 44). Collins later integrated these three views by examining a Black political economy through both the centering of Black women's experiences and using a theoretical framework of intersectionality (Collins, 2000, pg. 44).

Collins uses a "Marxist feminist" approach and applies her intersectional principles to what she calls the "work/family nexus and black women's poverty". In her 2000 article "Black Political Economy" she describes how the intersections of consumer racism, gender hierarchies, and disadvantages in the labor market can be centered on Black women's unique experiences (pg. 45–46). Considering this from a historical perspective examining interracial marriage laws and property inheritance laws creates what Collins terms a "distinctive work/family nexus that in turn influences the overall patterns of Black political economy" (pg. 46).

A historical example will clarify this and provide a more precise case of this application. Essentially, anti-miscegenation laws effectively suppressed the potential economic rising of black women. Many times, a marriage can be economically stabilizing for both husband and wife. However, since Black women were outlawed from marrying White men, Black women were denied access to sharing the prosperities of White male property. In essence, their biracial children were deprived of this as well. A perhaps latent consequence of this was the regulation of wealth for Black women.

Citations

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External links

- Black Feminist Thought in the Matrix of Domination (<http://www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/45a/252.html>)
- Black Feminist Thought (<http://www.hsph.harvard.edu/Organizations/healthnet/WoC/feminisms/collins2.html>)
- A Brief History of Black Feminist Thought (<http://www.rpi.edu/~eglash/eglash.dir/SST/bft.htm>)
- Intersectionality Theory (http://www.sagepub.co.uk/upm-data/13299_Chapter_16_Web_Byte_Patricia_Hill_Collins.pdf)
- The Intersectional Feminist Archives - GirlwPen.com (http://girlwpen.com/?page_id=1724)
- Transnational and transdisciplinary network on intersectionality for young scholars: www.intersectionality.org (<http://www.intersectionality.org>)
- "Intersectionality: The Double Bind of Race and Gender" (http://www.americanbar.org/content/dam/aba/publishing/perspectives_magazine/women_perspectives_Spring2004CrenshawPSP.authcheckdam.pdf), interview with Kimberlé Crenshaw, American Bar Association, spring 2004

Matrix of Domination

The **Matrix of Domination** is a sociological paradigm that explains issues of oppression that deal with race, class, and gender, which, though recognized as different social classifications, are all interconnected. Other forms of classification, such as sexual orientation, religion, or age, apply to this theory as well. Patricia Hill Collins is credited with introducing the theory in her work entitled *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*.

As the term implies, there are many different ways one might experience domination, facing many different challenges in which one obstacle, such as race, may overlap with other sociological features. Such things as race, age, and sex, may affect an individual in extremely different ways, in such simple cases as varying geography, socioeconomic status, or simply throughout time. Many feminist authors have contributed a great deal of research toward the understanding and application of domination models in many realms of society.

Theory applied

Though Collins' main focus of the theory of the matrix of domination was applied to African-American women, there are many other examples that can be used to illustrate the theory.

Research contributions

An article found in the November 1998 issue of *Social Problems* details the conflict involving racial domination by identifying the complexity African-Americans face. In many cases, sociologists and laypersons alike are often limited in their approach to the problem. Michelle Byng, in "Mediating Discrimination: Oppression among African-American Muslim Women"—the 1998 article—brings to focus new approaches to understanding discrimination, but also, she writes to illustrate the many overlooked opportunities in which the discriminated are able to empower themselves in certain situations.

External links

- Patricia Hill Collins, Black Feminist Thought in the Matrix of Domination ^[1]
- The Matrix of Domination, Prof Pat's World of Women's Studies ^[2]

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Postfeminism

Post-feminism is a reaction against some perceived contradictions and absences of second-wave feminism. The term *post-feminism* is ill-defined and is used in inconsistent ways. However, it generally connotes the belief that feminism has succeeded in its goal of ameliorating sexism, making it fundamentally opposed to the third-wave intention of broadening feminist struggle.

It was historically used to pose a contrast with a prevailing or preceding feminism.

History of the term

Post-feminism describes a range of viewpoints reacting to feminism.

In 1919, a journal was launched by which "female literary radicals" stated "we're interested in people now—not in men and women", that "moral, social, economic, and political standards 'should not have anything to do with sex,'" that it would "be 'pro-woman without being anti-man,'" and that "their stance [is called] 'post-feminist.'"^[1]

The term was used in the 1980s to describe a backlash against second-wave feminism. It is now a label for a wide range of theories that take critical approaches to previous feminist discourses and includes challenges to the second wave's ideas.^[2] Other post-feminists say that feminism is no longer relevant to today's society.^[3] Amelia Jones has written that the post-feminist texts which emerged in the 1980s and 1990s portrayed second-wave feminism as a monolithic entity and were overly generalizing in their criticism.^[4]

Angela McRobbie argues that adding the prefix *post-* to *feminism* undermines the strides that feminism has made in achieving equality for everyone, including women. Post-feminism gives the impression that equality has been achieved and that feminists can now focus on something else entirely. McRobbie believes that post-feminism is most clearly seen on so-called feminist media products, such as *Bridget Jones's Diary*, *Sex and the City*, and *Ally McBeal*. Female characters like Bridget Jones and Carrie Bradshaw claim to be liberated and clearly enjoy their sexuality, but what they are constantly searching for is the one man who will make everything worthwhile.^[5]

One of the earliest modern uses of the term was in Susan Bolotin's 1982 article "Voices of the Post-Feminist Generation", published in *New York Times Magazine*. This article was based on a number of interviews with women who largely agreed with the goals of feminism, but did not identify as feminists.^[6]

Some contemporary feminists, such as Katha Pollitt or Nadine Strossen, consider feminism to hold simply that "women are people". Views that separate the sexes rather than unite them are considered by these writers to be *sexist* rather than *feminist*.^{[7][8]}

According to Prof. D. Diane Davis, postfeminism wants what first- and second-wave feminisms want.^[9]

In her 1994 book *Who Stole Feminism? How Women Have Betrayed Women*, Christina Hoff Sommers considers much of modern academic feminist theory and the feminist movement to be gynocentric and misandrist. She labels this "gender feminism" and proposes "equity feminism"—an ideology that aims for full civil and legal equality. She argues that while the feminists she designates as gender feminists advocate preferential treatment and portray women as victims, equity feminism provides a viable alternative form of feminism.^[10] These descriptions and her other work have caused Hoff Sommers to be described as an antifeminist by some other feminists.^{[11][12]}

Susan Faludi, in the 2006 edition of her 1991 book *Backlash: The Undeclared War Against American Women*, argues that a backlash against second wave feminism in the 1980s has successfully re-defined feminism through its terms. She argues that it constructed the women's liberation movement as the source of many of the problems alleged to be plaguing women in the late 1980s. She also argues that many of these problems are illusory, constructed by the media without reliable evidence. According to her, this type of backlash is a historical trend, recurring when it appears that women have made substantial gains in their efforts to obtain equal rights.^[13]

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Further reading

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Standpoint theory

Standpoint theory is a postmodern method for analyzing inter-subjective discourses. This theory concerns the authority generated by people's knowledge and the power such authority has to shape people's opinions in daily life. Standpoint theory's most important concept is that an individual's own perspectives are shaped by his or her experiences in social locations and social groups. Standpoints always involve more than one factor. For example, if you look at different Hispanic women, their standpoints may resemble one another in terms of race and biological sex categories; however, if their socioeconomic status is different, their standpoints are not completely the same. These perspectives are the core point of view for individuals to see the world. Standpoint theory focuses especially on gender perspectives to see how feminine viewpoints shape women's communication with themselves, others, and the world. Standpoint theory has a huge effect on how people's perceptions change from one thing to another. A standpoint is a place from which one views and sees the world, that determines both what one focuses on as well as what is obscured. Depending on one's situation, one's standpoint may vary from that of another individual who may be of a similar status.

Standpoint theories are said to remind people why a naturalistic conception of knowing is important. Knowledge helps people understand part of the world that they normally tend to not understand. Gaining knowledge occurs only in specific circumstances and has real consequences. These consequences can have an effect on how a person can live his or her life. It matters politically as well as epistemically which concepts are intelligible, which claims are heard and understood by whom, which features of the world are perceptually salient, and which reasons are understood to be relevant and forceful, as well as which conclusions credible.^[1]

Standpoint theory supports what feminist theorist Sandra Harding calls strong objectivity, or the notion that the perspectives of marginalized and/or oppressed individuals can help to create more objective accounts of the world. Through the outsider-within phenomenon, these individuals are placed in a unique position to point to patterns of behavior that those immersed in the dominant group culture are unable to recognize.^[2] Standpoint theory gives voice to the marginalized groups by allowing them to challenge the status quo as the outsider within. The status quo representing the dominant white male position of privilege.^[3]

The predominant culture in which all groups exist is not experienced in the same way by all persons or groups. The views of those who belong to groups with more social power are validated more than those in marginalized groups. Those in marginalized groups must learn to be bicultural, or to "pass" in the dominant culture to survive, even though that perspective is not their own.^[4] For persons of color, in an effort to help organizations achieve their diversity initiatives, there is an expectation that they will check their color at the door in order to assimilate into the existing culture and discursive practices.^[5]

History

Standpoint Theory was more theory based in the beginning, but now communication scholars, especially Nancy Hartsock, are focusing on looking at communication behaviors. Standpoint theory began when Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, a German philosopher, studied the different standpoints between slaves and masters in 1807.^[6] He analyzed that the master-slave relationship is about people's belonging positions, and the groups affect how people receive knowledge and power.^[7] Karl Marx also discussed that the position of a work shapes his or her knowledge. From these two scholars' studies, Nancy Hartsock examined Standpoint Theory by using relations between men and women. From this view, Nancy Hartsock published "The Feminist Standpoint: Developing Ground for a Specifically Feminist Historical Materialism." The theory was similar to a combination of Marxist theory and feminism. Then, Hartsock put Hegel's ideas of masters and slaves and Marx's ideas of class and capitalism into issues of sex and gender. She refers to sex as a biological category and gender as a behavioral category. Therefore, Nancy called this theory "Feminist Standpoint Theory" in 1983. The focus of this theory is women's social positions, such as race, class, culture, and economic status.^[8] "Developed primarily by social scientists, especially sociologists & political

theorists; it extends some of the early insights about consciousness that emerged from Marxist/socialist feminist theories and the wider conversations about identity politics. Standpoint Theory endeavors to develop a feminist epistemology, or theory of knowledge, that delineates a method for constructing effective knowledge from the insights of women's experience.^[9] The theory arose amongst feminist theorists, such as Dorothy Smith, Nancy Hartsock, Donna Haraway, Sandra Harding, Alison Wylie, and Patricia Hill Collins.

According to this approach:

- A standpoint is a place from which human beings view the world.
- A standpoint influences how the people adopting it socially construct the world.
- A standpoint is a mental position from which things are viewed
- A standpoint is a position from which objects or principles are viewed and according to which they are compared and judged
- The inequalities of different social groups create differences in their standpoints.
- All standpoints are partial; so (for example) Standpoint feminism coexists with other standpoints.

Key concepts of standpoint theory

A standpoint is the point where we view the world around us. The standpoint theory strives to understand the world from the standpoint of women and other marginalized groups in society. Generally, the standpoint theory gives insight into specific circumstances only available to the members of a certain collective standpoint. [36] According to Michael Ryan, "the idea of a collective standpoint does not imply an essential overarching characteristic but rather a sense of belonging to a group bounded by a shared experience." That viewpoint can also be said about women who identify as feminists and exhibit strong preferences for specific issues. Kristina Rolin states, "Whereas the assumption of essentialism is that all women share the same socially grounded perspective in virtue of being women, the assumption of automatic epistemic privilege is that epistemic advantage accrues to the subordinate automatically, just in virtue of their occupying a particular social position."^[10]

Factors defining our unique standpoint include viewpoint, perspective, outlook, and position. Our locations within society shape the way in which we understand and communicate with ourselves and the world around us. Our worldview is a direct result of our individual standpoint. Inequalities found in gender, race, class, and sexual orientation contribute to the differences found in social hierarchy. Emphasis on the relationship between power and knowledge is crucial in defining the terms the standpoint theory sets forth. Perspectives of the less powerful provide a more objective view than the perspectives of the more powerful in society.

The more authority an individual possesses, the more power they have when implementing their viewpoints on the world [37]. Without power, one does not have a voice and a silenced individual has little say regarding policy. These forces are all contributors to the way people communicate in our world.

Arguably, women being considered a marginalized group is one of the most important key concepts within The Standpoint Theory. This theory recognizes fundamental differences in men and women thus promoting marginalization. A primary discrepancy is noted in the different communication styles found in each gender. While females use communication as a means of connection, males have a tendency to converse in hopes of being assertive and gaining power. Traditionally, society can contribute these communication differences to expectations culture has established.

Hill Collins argues women are the most marginalized group in society and more specifically black feminists because of their "unique angle of vision [38]". Documented struggles against oppression along with race and gender show the unique characteristics of this group. Collins was the first scholar to combine race, class, and gender calling it the Paradigm of Intersectionality. She insisted these three dimensions intertwined made black feminists the most marginalized group [38].

Strong objectivity is an ideal element when researching the world and communication patterns using The Standpoint Theory. The strongest objectivity is found through the marginalized feminist perspective, specifically, black feminists. These perspectives can guarantee the most accurate and least distorted view of the world because these individuals aren't obligated to defend the status quo [38]. The least objective group, white males, primarily hold positions of power therefore obligating them to preserve the status quo [39]. Also, it is essential for individuals with little power to understand the perspectives of the power holders. Power holders have little interest or need to consider other perspectives other than their own. Strong objective groups find comfort in recognizing various perspectives from members outside of their own group. This is a form of adaptation in the face of adversity.

Assumptions

Although Standpoint theories realize that this theory has a limited source of proof, they emphasize that the main characteristics of Standpoint Theory is a feminist theory, as well as the nature of life, which are defined as:

1. The main focus is sex or gender.
2. The view of sex or gender relations is uncertain.
3. The view of sex or gender relations is variable.

Also, Standpoint Theory makes assumptions about the nature of life:

1. Class position gives a limited perspective on social relations.
2. Ruling groups dominate subordinate groups and suppress the subordinate groups opinions.
3. Ruling groups have more powerful standpoint than subordinate groups.

In addition to these assumptions, Standpoint Theory suggests knowledge which is created by knowers as a concept of the theory. Knowledge is a familiarity with someone or something, which can include facts, information, descriptions, or skills acquired through experience or education. Also this theory highlights that social locations affect men and women's reactions in their social life. It means that "the perspectives of women's lives are more important key points than women's experiences," although this feminist standpoint theory needs to be developed by hearing more from those women who have not been examined as a part of this method.^[11]

Applications

Being that Standpoint Theory focuses on marginalized populations, it would prove relevant within fields that focus on these populations as well. Standpoint has been referenced as a concept that should be acknowledged and understood in the Social Work field, especially when approaching and assisting clients.^[12] Many marginalized populations rely on the welfare system to survive. Unfortunately, those who structure the welfare system typically have never needed to utilize its services before. Standpoint Theory has been presented as a method to improving the welfare system by recognizing suggestions made by those within the welfare system.^[13] In Africa, Standpoint Theory has catalyzed a social movement where women are introduced to the radio in order to promote awareness of their experiences and hardships and to help these women heal and find closure.^[14] Another example dealing with Africa is slavery and how slavery differed greatly depending on if one was the slave or the master. If there were any power relationships there could never be a single perspective. No viewpoint could ever be complete, and there is no limit to anyone's perspective.

Standpoint theory and feminism

Local knowledge. Definition- "Knowledge situated in time, place, experience and relative power, as opposed to knowledge from nowhere that's supposedly value-free." This aspect of standpoint theory focuses on the idea that there is no possible way to have an unbiased perspective or viewpoint of the world. People live in a social hierarchy, and therefore, all have different ways of life and have viewpoints of the world according to one's place in the world. These viewpoints are based on experiences that one may have compared to someone else in a different part of the

hierarchy.^[15]

Situated knowledge is the only kind of knowledge there is and it is and always will be partial. This type of knowledge however, is seen as being more complete in the minds of those who are subordinate in society compared to those who are of a higher status in society. The belief is that those who come from a lower status community have a more complete knowledge on account of the fact that they endure so many more struggles in their lifetimes. Adding to this knowledge, they also ponder more regularly about how those from higher status communities live on a day-to-day basis. On account of their experiences and their patterns of thought, those who come from lower status communities “experience” more and have a more complete and diverse knowledge of the world. This provides them with a better foundation for their worldviews and their standpoint.^[16]

Proletarian standpoint suggests that the impoverished and other members of lower levels of the societal hierarchy are the ideal knowers. This statement is only true if they understand the class system and the struggles that they endure on a daily basis. Feminists often substitute the term “women” for “proletariat” and they have a good foundational claim for their cause.^[17]

Strong objectivity. Definition- “The strategy of starting research from the lives of women and other marginalized groups, thus providing a less false view of reality. “This aspect of standpoint theory focuses on the fact that research from the lives of women and other marginalized groups is usually forgotten or intentionally ignored.^[16]

Strong objectivity introduces two new ideas to standpoint theory.

- 1. People who are in a marginalized group have more incentive to understand perspectives other than their own over those who belong to a more powerful group. Those who have power or are in a more powerful group have less reason to understand how those who are in a lesser position than them live or are treated.
- 2. People in a marginalized group have little incentive to defend the current status quo of the age. They have no reason to keep the status quo as it is because they are at the bottom instead of the top reaping the benefits.^[16]

4 ways in which black women validate knowledge claims

- 1. Firsthand experience. If one has lived through an experience that they claim to be experts on, they are seen to be more credible than those who have not lived through that same experience.^[18]
 - a. When a speaker relates what they are saying to an actual experience they have had in the past, it works to increase their credibility. It gives the audience a sense that they have an emotional tie to what they are saying and also shows that they understand from a personal perspective what they are talking about. The information they are sharing is no longer coming from an objective standpoint, but is rather coming from their own personal knowledge.
 - 2. Use of dialogue. Black women appreciate and really take into account whether or not one is willing to participate in conversation about what other people are talking about. If one is not willing to have what they are speaking on tested, they are viewed as being less credible.^[18]
 - a. When a speaker is willing to listen to and consider the input of the audience, they make themselves appear more approachable by their audience. This tends to lead to a better response from their audience whether they agree with what the speaker is saying or not. This shows the audience are willing to receive both praise and critique.
 - 3. Ethic of caring. If a speaker is talking with emotion behind their words, they are seen as being someone who actually cares about what they are talking about, rather than simply fulfilling a task or obligation set before them.^[18]
 - a. For example, speakers who are presenting at a local protest sound more convincing and are viewed as being more credible if they have some charisma. This is also true of candidates for President during campaigns and election time. If these speakers did not have emotion behind their speeches, they would not be nearly as successful in their endeavors because the audience would not acquire the feeling that they genuinely care about what they are speaking about.

- 4. Ethic of personal accountability. If one has their knowledge assessed and counted for, they are viewed as being more ethical in general.^[18]

a. A speaker must be willing to have their peers and colleagues assess what they are presenting as truth. If a speaker is simply talking about a topic and presenting it as true to their audience while they are the only one who has read their material and agree with what they are saying, it would be unethical to present the information in a formal manner.

Feminist standpoint theories

Feminist standpoint theorists make three principal claims: (1) Knowledge is socially situated. (2) Marginalized groups are socially situated in ways that make it more possible for them to be aware of things and ask questions than it is for the non-marginalized. (3) Research, particularly that focused on power relations, should begin with the lives of the marginalized.^[19]

The history of feminist standpoint begins in Hegel's account of the master/slave dialectic, and subsequently in Marx and, particularly, Lukacs' development of the idea of the standpoint of the proletariat. In 1807, German philosopher Georg Hegel analyzed the master-slave relationship to show that what people "know" about themselves, others, and society depends on which group they are in.^[20] Hegel stated that slaves who were oppressed can eventually reach a state of freedom of consciousness as a result of his or her realization of self-consciousness through struggles against the master, and via involvement through physical labor in projects that enable her/him to fashion the world to affect it in various ways. Hegel further went on to give an example saying that those in captivity have a decidedly different perspective on the meaning of chains, laws, childbirth, and punishment than do their captors who participate in the same "reality." He also added that since masters are backed by the established structure of their society, it is they who have the power to make their view of the world; they are the ones who write the story books. Differences between men and women can be very influential dealing with this theory. Its important to remember that culture is not experienced identically by all members because of inequality. Women are not a monolithic group, and they do not always share the same standpoint.^[21]

Feminist standpoint theorists such as Dorothy Smith, Patricia Hill Collins, Nancy Hartsock, and Sandra Harding claimed that certain socio-political positions occupied by women (and by extension other groups who lack social and economic privilege) can become sites of epistemic privilege and thus productive starting points for enquiry into questions about not only those who are socially and politically marginalized, but also those who, by dint of social and political privilege, occupy the positions of oppressors. This claim was specifically generated by Sandra Harding and as such, "Starting off research from women's lives will generate less partial and distorted accounts not only of women's lives but also of men's lives and of the whole social order."^[20] This practice is also quite evident when women enter into professions that are considered to be male oriented. Women in science are a perfect example as not only a select few are allowed, but those who get in find it difficult to climb the structural ladder. Londa Schiebinger states, "While women now study at prestigious universities at about the same rate as men, they are rarely invited to join the faculty at top universities...The sociologist Harriet Zuckerman has observed that 'the more prestigious the institution, the longer women wait to be promoted.' Men, generally speaking, face no such trade-off."^[10]

There has been agreements between feminist standpoint theorist that a standpoint is not just a perspective that is occupied simply by the fact of being a woman. Whereas a perspective is occupied as a matter of the fact of one's socio-historical position and may well provide the starting point for the emergence of a standpoint, a standpoint is earned through the experience of collective political struggle, a struggle that requires both science and politics.^[22] He then went to say that while both the dominant and the dominated occupy perspectives, the dominated are much more successfully placed to achieve a standpoint. However, this is not saying that those who occupy perspectives that are not-marginalized cannot help in reaching a shared critical conscientious with relation to the effects of power structures and epistemic production. Only through such struggles can we begin to see beneath the appearances created by an unjust social order to the reality of how this social order is in fact constructed and maintained. This

need for struggle emphasizes the fact that a feminist standpoint is not something that anyone can have simply by claiming it. It is an achievement. A standpoint differs in this respect from a perspective, which anyone can have simply by 'opening one's eyes.'^[23]

Strong objectivity and the relation to feminist standpoint

The notion of strong objectivity was first articulated by feminist philosopher Sandra Harding. Strong objectivity builds on the insights of feminist standpoint theory, which argues for the importance of starting from the experiences of those who have been traditionally left out of the production of knowledge. By starting inquiry from the lived experiences of women and others who have been traditionally outside of the institutions in which knowledge about social life is generated and classified, more objective and more relevant knowledge can be produced.^[24] Naples also stated that Harding argued that knowledge produced from the point of view of subordinated groups may offer stronger objectivity due to the increased motivation for them to understand the views or perspectives of those in positions of power. A scholar who approaches the research process from the point of view of strong objectivity is interested in producing knowledge for use as well as for revealing the relations of power that are hidden in traditional knowledge production processes. Strong objectivity acknowledges that the production of power is a political process and that greater attention paid to the context and social location of knowledge producers will contribute to a more ethical and transparent result.

Black feminist standpoint theories

Black feminist thought is a collection of ideas, writings, and art that articulates a standpoint of and for black women of the African Diaspora. Black feminist thought describes black women as a unique group that exists in a "place" in US social relations where intersectional processes of race, ethnicity, gender, class, and sexual orientation shape black women's individual and collective consciousness, self-definitions, and actions.^[25] As a standpoint theory, black feminist thought conceptualizes identities as organic, fluid, interdependent, multiple, and dynamic socially constructed "locations" within historical context. Black feminist thought is grounded in black women's historical experience with enslavement, anti-lynching movements, segregation, Civil Rights and Black Power movements, sexual politics, capitalism, and patriarchy. Distinctive tenets of contemporary black feminist thought include: (1) the belief that self-authorship and the legitimization of partial, subjugated knowledge represents a unique and diverse standpoint of and by black women; (2) black women's experiences with multiple oppressions result in needs, expectations, ideologies, and problems that are different than those of black men and white women; and (3) black feminist consciousness is an ever-evolving concept. Black feminist thought demonstrates Black women's emerging power as agents of knowledge. By portraying African-American women as self-defined, self-reliant individuals confronting race, gender, and class oppression, Afrocentric feminist thought speaks to the importance that knowledge plays in empowering oppressed people. One distinguishing feature of Black feminist thought is its insistence that both the changed consciousness of individuals and the social transformation of political and economic institutions constitute essential ingredients for social change. New knowledge is important for both dimensions to change.^[26]

Tina Campt uses standpoint theory to examine the narrative of the Afro-German Hans Hauck in her book *Other Germans*.

Standpoint theory and power relations

"I argue that relations of power are not just like any other object of inquiry in the social sciences because they can suppress or distort relevant evidence. By relations of power I refer to a particular conception of power, namely, the ability of an individual or a group to constrain the choices available to another individual or group (Allen 1989, 33). Power in this sense of the term is a relation (see also Young 1990, 31). Even though relations of power do not always involve domination, they function as vehicles of domination when they constrain an individual's or a group's choices

in a way that is harmful for the individual or the group. I argue that because relations of power can be used to dominate people, they are likely to mobilize a complex set of motivations that prompt potential informants to either conceal or distort relevant evidence.” Kristina Rolin^[27]

What Rolin has written basically states that power is not objective at all. Power in some cases does not even require one person to realistically have power over another, there only has to be perceived power among the individuals. For example, when parents tell their children what to do and the children obey, there is a perceived power that the parents have over their children. In reality, the children could disobey their parents. The parents then have the authority to punish the children. Suppose the punishment is grounding the child from any outdoor play for the next week. The child could simply go against this punishment and play outside. Rebellion against the parents is always an option, but one that does not seem to always be present because of the perceived power that the parents have over the child.

The standpoint this comes from depends on the environment you are brought up in. We can see this in society by looking at the way that parents raise their children. In many cases, parents raise their children the way that they were raised when they were younger. This standpoint affects how they view parenting and how it should be exhibited.

Criticisms

Standpoint Theory evaluates the critical perspective in communication theories. This theory is formed by social reality and culture and primarily shaped by those with power and without power. This theory's purpose is to promote participation and empowerment of those who are opposed or marginalized. Although Standpoint Theory can be examined, the most critical of this theory is utility. Since standpoint theory focuses on the location of social groups, many scholars argue that this theory is related to the idea of essentialism, which means that all women are essentially the same. People tend to think that people in the same social groups have the same perspectives; however, this is a problem with the theory. Researchers have argued that standpoint theory does not apply to universal levels. Standpoint Theory focuses on locations of the social groups, and so people tend to think that all women are essentially the same. However, they do not realize that there are different cultures present even it is in the same social group. Therefore, many researchers have doubted the idea of essentialism. Just like any other theories, the standpoint theory also has its critiques. Standpoint Theory relies on essentialism and the complaint that it focuses on the dualisms of subjectivity and objectivity.^[28] Essentialism refers to the practice of generalizing about all women (or any group) as though they were essentially the same. Essentialism obscures the diversity that exists among women. Because standpoint theory focuses on the location of social groups, many researchers have argued that it is essentialist. West and Turner stated that an author by the name of Catherine O'Leary (1997) argued that although Standpoint Theory has been helpful in reclaiming women's experiences as suitable research topics, it contains a problematic emphasis on the universality of this experience, at the expense of differences among women's experiences. The other critique of Harding and Wood's standpoint theory that was mentioned is the dualism of strong objectivity and subjectivity. Joseph Rouse also reinforces how pedagogy is such an important concept to standpoint theory as it is important for individuals to know and understand the concept behind standpoint theory. It is not simply a a theory of ideas that exist to create discussion but that it actually serves a purpose and that is to nullify the idea of pure objectivity. “The first lesson suggested by standpoint theories has not been sufficiently emphasized in the literature. Standpoint theories remind us why a naturalistic conception of knowing is so important. Knowledge claims and their justification are part of the world we seek to understand. They arise in specific circumstances and have real consequences. They are not merely representations in an idealized logical space, but events within a causal nexus. It matters politically as well as epistemically which concepts are intelligible, which claims are heard and understood by whom, which features of the world are perceptually salient, and which reasons are understood to be relevant and forceful, as well as which conclusions credible.”^[29]

In postmodern fashion, standpoint theorists argue that standpoints are relative and cannot be evaluated by any absolute criteria, yet they propose that the oppressed are less biased or more impartial than the privileged.^[20]

Feminists note that much of Western thought is organized around a set of oppositions, or dualisms. Reason and emotion, public and private, nature and culture, and subject and object are just a few of the pairs of opposites that are common organizing principles in Western thinking.

Feminists have been concerned with these dualisms for two related reasons. First, dualisms usually imply a hierarchical relationship between the terms, elevating one and devaluing the other.^[30] He also said that when we suggest that decisions should be made rationally, not emotionally, for example, we are showing that reason holds a higher value in our culture than does emotion. Also, related to this issue is the concern that these dualisms often become gendered in our culture. In this process, men are associated with one extreme and women with the other. In the case of reason and emotion, women are identified with emotion. Because our culture values emotion less than reason, women suffer from this association. Feminist critics are usually concerned with the fact that dualisms force false dichotomies (partition of a whole) onto women and men, failing to see that life is less either/or than both/and, as Relational Dialectics Theory holds.

- Postmodern critique – The basis of this critique is summed up by scholar, Seyla Benhabib. She sums it up by stating, “transcendental guarantees of truth are dead;... there is only the endless struggle of local narratives vying with one another for legitimization.” What this says is that there cannot be one way that all people should act in certain circumstances, but rather studies and theories focused on the common good of the public majority. This critique also states that there is not any narrative in which we can base one universal version of truth in societies around the world. The moral ideals of the Enlightenment and Western liberal democracy are discredited by postmodernists.
- Communitarian critique – This critique focuses on how the theory looks at relationships and communication without knowing anything about the history of the people, relationships, or obligations within the communication premise. Real-life is messy and has several aspects behind every interaction. In order to avoid this generalization, Benhabib suggests that we should study ordinary people who live in communities instead of performing a study in an unfamiliar environment.
- Feminist critique – This critique’s basis is that Habermas disregards gender distinctions while forming this theory. The theory ignores the history of women and how they have been confined in society both politically and socially and therefore is not an adequate observation of the differences that may be present between men and women.^[31]

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Feminist theory

Feminist theory is the extension of feminism into theoretical or philosophical discourse. It aims to understand the nature of gender inequality. It examines women's social roles, experience, interests, and feminist politics in a variety of fields, such as anthropology and sociology, communication, psychoanalysis, economics, literary, education, and philosophy.^[1] While generally providing a critique of social relations, much of feminist theory also focuses on analyzing gender inequality and the promotion of women's interests. Feminist researchers embrace two key tenets: (1) their research should focus on the condition of women in society, and (2) their research must be grounded in the assumption, that women generally experience subordination. Thus, feminist research rejects Weber's value-free orientation in favour of being overtly political—doing research in pursuit of gender equality.^[2] Themes explored in feminism include discrimination, objectification (especially sexual objectification), oppression, patriarchy,^{[3][4][5]} stereotyping, art history^[6] and contemporary art,^{[7][8]} and aesthetics.^{[9][10]}

History of Feminist theory

Feminist theories first emerged as early as 1792 in publications such as “The Changing Woman”,^[11] “Ain't I a Woman”,^[12] “Speech after Arrest for Illegal Voting”,^[13] and so on. “The Changing Woman” is a Navajo Myth that gave credit to a woman who, in the end, populated the world.^[14] In 1851, Sojourner Truth addressed women's rights issues through her publication, “Ain't I a Woman.” Sojourner Truth addressed the issue of women having limited rights due to men's flawed perception of women. Truth argued that if a woman of color can perform tasks that were supposedly limited to men, then any woman of any color could perform those same tasks. After her arrest for illegally voting, Susan B. Anthony gave a speech within court in which she addressed the issues of language within the constitution documented in her publication, “Speech after Arrest for Illegal voting” in 1872. Anthony questioned the authoritative principles of the constitution and its male gendered language. She raised the question of why women are accountable to be punished under law but they cannot use the law for their own protection (women could not vote, own property, nor themselves in marriage). She also critiqued the constitution for its male gendered language and questioned why women should have to abide by laws that do not specify women.

Nancy Cott makes a distinction between *modern feminism* and its antecedents, particularly the struggle for suffrage. In the United States she places the turning point in the decades before and after women obtained the vote in 1920 (1910–1930). She argues that the prior *woman movement* was primarily about woman as a *universal* entity, whereas over this 20 year period it transformed itself into one primarily concerned with social differentiation, attentive to *individuality* and diversity. New issues dealt more with woman's condition as a social construct, gender identity, and relationships within and between genders. Politically this represented a shift from an ideological alignment comfortable with the right, to one more radically associated with the left.^[15]

Susan Kingsley Kent says that Freudian patriarchy was responsible for the diminished profile of feminism in the inter-war years,^[16] others such as Juliet Mitchell consider this to be overly simplistic since Freudian theory is not wholly incompatible with feminism.^[17] Some feminist scholarship shifted away from the need to establish the origins of family, and towards analyzing the process of patriarchy.^[18] In the immediate postwar period, Simone de Beauvoir stood in opposition to an image of “the woman in the home”. De Beauvoir provided an existentialist dimension to feminism with the publication of *Le Deuxième Sexe* (The Second Sex) in 1949.^[19] As the title implies, the starting point is the implicit inferiority of women, and the first question de Beauvoir asks is “what is a woman?”.^[20] Woman she realizes is always perceived of as the “other”, “*she is defined and differentiated with reference to man and not he with reference to her*”. In this book and her essay, “*Woman: Myth & Reality*”, de Beauvoir anticipates Betty Friedan in seeking to demythologise the male concept of woman. “*A myth invented by men to confine women to their oppressed state. For women it is not a question of asserting themselves as women, but of becoming full-scale human beings.*” “One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman”, or as Toril Moi puts it “a woman defines herself through the way she lives her embodied situation in the world, or in other words, through the

way in which she makes something of what the world makes of her". Therefore, woman must regain subject, to escape her defined role as "other", as a Cartesian point of departure.^[21] In her examination of myth, she appears as one who does not accept any special privileges for women. Ironically, feminist philosophers have had to extract de Beauvoir herself from out of the shadow of Jean-Paul Sartre to fully appreciate her.^[22] While more philosopher and novelist than activist, she did sign one of the *Mouvement de Libération des Femmes* manifestos.

The resurgence of feminist activism in the late 1960s was accompanied by an emerging literature of what might be considered female associated issues, such as concerns for the earth and spirituality, and environmentalism. This in turn created an atmosphere conducive to reigniting the study of and debate on matricentricity, as a rejection of determinism, such as Adrienne Rich^[23] and Marilyn French^[24] while for socialist feminists like Evelyn Reed,^[25] patriarchy held the properties of capitalism. Feminist psychologists, such as Jean Baker Miller, sought to bring a feminist analysis to previous psychological theories, proving that "there was nothing wrong with women, but rather with the way modern culture viewed them."^[26]

Elaine Showalter describes the development of Feminist theory as having a number of phases. The first she calls "feminist critique" - where the feminist reader examines the ideologies behind literary phenomena. The second Showalter calls "Gynocritics" - where the "woman is producer of textual meaning" including "the psychodynamics of female creativity; linguistics and the problem of a female language; the trajectory of the individual or collective female literary career and literary history". The last phase she calls "gender theory" - where the "ideological inscription and the literary effects of the sex/gender system" are explored.^[27] This model has been criticized by Toril Moi who sees it as an essentialist and deterministic model for female subjectivity. She also criticized it for not taking account of the situation for women outside the west.^[28] From the 1970s onwards, psychoanalytical ideas that have been arising in the field of French feminism have gained a decisive influence on feminist theory. Feminist psychoanalysis deconstructed the phallic hypotheses regarding the Unconscious. Julia Kristeva, Bracha Ettinger and Luce Irigaray developed specific notions concerning unconscious sexual difference, the feminine and motherhood, with wide implications for film and literature analysis.^[29]

Disciplines

There are a number of distinct feminist disciplines, in which experts in other areas apply feminist techniques and principles to their own fields. Additionally, these are also debates which shape feminist theory and they can be applied interchangeably in the arguments of feminist theorists.

Bodies

In western thought, the body has been historically associated solely with women, whereas men have been associated with the mind. Susan Bordo, a modern feminist philosopher, in her writings elaborates the dualistic nature of the mind/body connection by examining the early philosophies of Aristotle, Hegel and Descartes, revealing how such distinguishing binaries such as spirit/matter and male activity/female passivity have worked to solidify gender characteristics and categorization. Bordo goes on to point out that while men have historically been associated with the intellect and the mind or spirit, women have long been associated with the body, the subordinated, negatively imbued term in the mind/body dichotomy.^[30] The notion of the body (but not the mind) being associated with women has served as a justification to deem women as property, objects, and exchangeable commodities (among men). For example, women's bodies have been objectified throughout history through the changing ideologies of fashion, diet, exercise programs, cosmetic surgery, childbearing, etc. This contrasts to men's role as a moral agent, responsible for working or being allowed to fight in bloody wars. The race and class of a woman can determine whether her body will be treated as decoration and protected, which is associated with middle or upper-class women's bodies. On the other hand, the other body is recognized for its use in labor and exploitation which is generally associated with women's bodies in the working-class or with women of color. Second-wave feminist activism has argued for reproductive rights and choice, women's health (movement), and lesbian rights (movement)

which are also associated with this Bodies debate.

Epistemologies

The generation and production of knowledge has been an important part of feminist theory. This debate proposes such questions as “Are there ‘women’s ways of knowing’ and ‘women’s knowledge?’” And “How does the knowledge women produce about themselves differ from that produced by patriarchy?” (Bartowski and Kolmar 2005, 45) Feminist theorists have also proposed the “feminist standpoint knowledge” which attempts to replace “the view from nowhere” with the model of knowing that expels the “view from women’s lives”. (Bartowski and Kolmar 2005, 45). A feminist approach to epistemology seeks to establish knowledge production from a woman's perspective. It theorizes that from personal experience comes knowledge which helps each individual look at things from a different insight.

Central to feminism is that women are systematically subordinated, and bad faith exists when women surrender their agency to this subordination, e.g., acceptance of religious beliefs that a man is the dominant party in a marriage by the will of God; Simone de Beauvoir labels such women "mutilated" and "immanent".^{[31][32][33][34]}

Love

A life's project to be in love may result in bad faith; love is an example of bad faith given by both Simone de Beauvoir and Jean Paul Sartre (who were in love with each other).^{[35][36][37]} A woman in love may in bad faith allow herself to be subjugated by her lover, who has created a dependency of the woman on him, allowed by the woman in bad faith.^[38]

Intersections of Race, Class, and Gender

This debate can also be termed as intersectionality. This debate raises the issue of understanding the oppressive lives of women that are not only shaped by gender alone but by other elements such as racism, classism, ageism, heterosexism, disableism etc. One example of the concept of intersectionality can be seen through the Mary Ann Weathers' publication, “An Argument for Black Women’s Liberation as a Revolutionary Force.”^[39] Mary Ann Weathers states that “black women, at least the Black women I have come in contact with in the movement, have been expending all their energies in “liberating” Black men (if you yourself are not free, how can you “liberate” someone else?)” Women of color were put in a position of choosing sides. White women wanted women of color and working-class women to become a part of the women’s movement over struggling with their men (working-class, poor, and men of color) against class oppression and racism in the Civil Rights Movement. This was a conflict for women of color and working-class women who had to decide whether to fight against racism or classism versus sexism—or prioritize and participate in the hierarchy. It did not help that the women’s movement was shaped primarily by white women during the first and second feminist waves and the issues surrounding women of color were not addressed. Contemporary feminist theory addresses such issues of intersectionality in such publications as “Age, Race, Sex, and Class” by Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw. Another example of intersectionality can be seen through Bell Hooks’ publication, *Feminist Theory from Margin to Center*.^[40] Hooks similarly advocates for a movement that does not isolate black women or women of color. She says, “I advocate feminism” rather than “I am a feminist” to avoid the assumption that women’s issues are more important than issues such as race or class.^[41] Not only does she emphasize class and race but also she focuses on the role men must play in the feminist movement. According to Hooks, the second-wave feminists “reinforced sexist ideology by positing in an inverted form the notion of a basic conflict between the sexes, the implication being that the empowerment of women would necessarily be at the expense of men.”^[42] She points out that if women are the only ones responsible for feminism, then feminist ideology only serves to reinforce the gap between the sexes in terms of the division of labor. Moreover, women cannot be solely responsible for abolishing sexism because, she says, “men are the primary agents maintaining and supporting sexism and sexist oppression, they can only be eradicated if men are compelled to assume responsibility for transforming their consciousness and the consciousness of society as a whole.”^[43] Because

of this, men who support the fight against sexism are those with whom women need to band together.

Language

In this debate, women writers have addressed the issues of masculinized writing through male gendered language that may not serve to accommodate the literary understanding of women's lives. Such masculinized language that feminist theorists address is the use of, for example, "God the Father" which is looked upon as a way of designating the sacred as solely men (or, in other words, biblical language glorifies men through all of the masculine pronouns like "he" and "him" and addressing God as a "He"). Feminist theorists attempt to reclaim and redefine women through re-structuring language. For example, feminist theorists have used the term "womyn" instead of "women." Some feminist theorists find solace in changing titles of unisex jobs (for example, police officer versus policeman or mail carrier versus mailman). Some feminist theorists have reclaimed and redefined such words as "dyke" and "bitch" and others have invested redefining knowledge into feminist dictionaries.

Psychology

Feminist psychology, is a form of psychology centered on societal structures and gender. Feminist psychology critiques the fact that historically psychological research has been done from a male perspective with the view that males are the norm.^[44] Feminist psychology is oriented on the values and principles of feminism. It incorporates gender and the ways women are affected by issues resulting from it. Ethel Dench Puffer Howes was one of the first women to enter the field of psychology. She was the Executive Secretary of the National College Equal Suffrage League in 1914.

One major psychological theory, *Relational-Cultural Theory*, is based on the work of Jean Baker Miller, who's book *Toward a New Psychology of Women* proposes that "growth-fostering relationships are a central human necessity and that disconnections are the source of psychological problems."^[45] Inspired by Betty Friedan's *Feminine Mystique*, and other feminist classics from the 1960s, Relational-Cultural Theory proposes that "isolation is one of the most damaging human experiences and is best treated by reconnecting with other people," and that a therapist should "foster an atmosphere of empathy and acceptance for the patient, even at the cost of the therapist's neutrality".^[46] The theory is based on clinical observations and sought to prove that "there was nothing wrong with women, but rather with the way modern culture viewed them."^[26]

Psychoanalysis

Psychoanalytic feminism is based on Freud and his psychoanalytic theories. It maintains that gender is not biological but is based on the psycho-sexual development of the individual. Psychoanalytical feminists believe that gender inequality comes from early childhood experiences, which lead men to believe themselves to be masculine, and women to believe themselves feminine. It is further maintained that gender leads to a social system that is dominated by males, which in turn influences the individual psycho-sexual development. As a solution it was suggested to avoid the gender-specific structuring of the society by male-female coeducation.^{[4][5]} In the last 30 years, the contemporary French psychoanalytical theories concerning the feminine, that refer to sexual difference rather than to gender, with psychoanalysts like Julia Kristeva,^{[47][47]} Maud Mannoni, Luce Irigaray,^{[48][48]} and Bracha Ettinger^[49] has largely influenced not only feminist theory but also the understanding of the subject in philosophy and the general field of psychoanalysis itself.^{[50][51]} Other feminist psychoanalysts and feminist theorists whose contributions have enriched the field through an engagement with psychoanalysis are Jessica Benjamin,^[52] Jacqueline Rose,^[53]

Ranjana Khanna,^[54] and Shoshana Felman.^[55]

Literary theory

Feminist literary criticism is literary criticism informed by feminist theories or politics. Its history has been varied, from classic works of female authors such as George Eliot, Virginia Woolf,^[56] and Margaret Fuller to recent theoretical work in women's studies and gender studies by "third-wave" authors.^[57]

In the most general, feminist literary criticism before the 1970s was concerned with the politics of women's authorship and the representation of women's condition within literature.^[57] Since the arrival of more complex conceptions of gender and subjectivity, feminist literary criticism has taken a variety of new routes. It has considered gender in the terms of Freudian and Lacanian psychoanalysis, as part of the deconstruction of existing power relations.^[57]



Girl with doll

Film theory

Feminists have taken many different approaches to the analysis of cinema. These include discussions of the function of women characters in particular film narratives or in particular genres, such as film noir, where a female character can often be seen to embody a subversive sexuality that is dangerous to males and is ultimately punished with death. In considering the way that films are put together, many feminist film critics, such as Laura Mulvey, have pointed to the "male gaze" that predominates in classical Hollywood film making. Through the use of various film techniques, such as shot reverse shot, the viewer is led to align themselves with the point of view of a male protagonist. Notably, women function as objects of this gaze far more often than as proxies for the spectator.^{[58][59]} Feminist film theory of the last twenty years is heavily influenced by the general transformation in the field of aesthetics, including the new options of articulating the gaze, offered by psychoanalytical French feminism.^[60]

Art history

Linda Nochlin^[61] and Griselda Pollock^{[62][63]} are prominent art historians writing on contemporary and modern artists and articulating Art history from a feminist perspective since the 1970s. Pollock works with French psychoanalysis, and in particular with Kristeva's and Ettinger's theories, to offer new insights into art history and contemporary art with special regard to questions of trauma and trans-generation memory in the works of women artists.

History

Feminist history refers to the re-reading and re-interpretation of history from a feminist perspective. It is not the same as the history of feminism, which outlines the origins and evolution of the feminist movement. It also differs from women's history, which focuses on the role of women in historical events. The goal of feminist history is to explore and illuminate the female viewpoint of history through rediscovery of female writers, artists, philosophers, etc., in order to recover and demonstrate the significance of women's voices and choices in the past.^{[64][65][66][67][68]}

Geography

Feminist geography is often considered part of a broader postmodern approach to the subject which is not primarily concerned with the development of conceptual theory in itself but rather focuses on the real experiences of individuals and groups in their own localities, upon the geographies that they live in within their own communities. In addition to its analysis of the real world, it also critiques existing geographical and social studies, arguing that academic traditions are delineated by patriarchy, and that contemporary studies which do not confront the nature of previous work reinforce the male bias of academic study.^{[69][70][71]}

Philosophy

The Feminist philosophy refers to a philosophy approached from a feminist perspective. Feminist philosophy involves attempts to use methods of philosophy to further the cause of the feminist movements, it also tries to criticize and/or reevaluate the ideas of traditional philosophy from within a feminist view. This critique stems from the dichotomy Western philosophy has conjectured with the mind and body phenomena.^[72] There is no specific school for feminist philosophy like there has been in regard to other theories. This means that Feminist philosophers can be found in the analytic and continental traditions, and the different viewpoints taken on philosophical issues with those traditions. Feminist philosophers also have many different viewpoints taken on philosophical issues within those traditions. Feminist philosophers who are feminists can belong to many different varieties of feminism. The writings of Judith Butler, Rosi Braidotti, Donna Haraway and Avital Ronell are the most significant psychoanalytically informed influences on contemporary feminist philosophy.

Sexology

Feminist sexology is an offshoot of traditional studies of sexology that focuses on the intersectionality of sex and gender in relation to the sexual lives of women. Feminist sexology shares many principles with the wider field of sexology; in particular, it does not try to prescribe a certain path or "normality" for women's sexuality, but only observe and note the different and varied ways in which women express their sexuality. Looking at sexuality from a feminist point of view creates connections between the different aspects of a person's sexual life.

Politics

Feminist political theory is a recently emerging field in political science focusing on gender and feminist themes within the state, institutions and policies. It questions the "modern political theory, dominated by universalistic liberalist thought, which claims indifference to gender or other identity differences and has therefore taken its time to open up to such concerns".^[73]

Economics

Feminist economics broadly refers to a developing branch of economics that applies feminist insights and critiques to economics. Research under this heading is often interdisciplinary, critical, or heterodox. It encompasses debates about the relationship between feminism and economics on many levels: from applying mainstream economic methods to under-researched "women's" areas, to questioning how mainstream economics values the reproductive sector, to deeply philosophical critiques of economic epistemology and methodology.^[74]

One prominent issue that feminist economists investigate is how the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) does not adequately measure unpaid labor predominantly performed by women, such as housework, childcare, and eldercare.^[75] Feminist economists have also challenged and exposed the rhetorical approach of mainstream economics.^[76] They have made critiques of many basic assumptions of mainstream economics, including the Homo economicus model.^[77] In the *Houseworker's Handbook* Betsy Warrior presents a cogent argument that the reproduction and domestic labor of women form the foundation of economic survival; although, unremunerated and not included in the GDP. Warrior also notes that the unacknowledged income of men from illegal activities like

arms, drugs and human trafficking, political graft, religious emollients and various other undisclosed activities provide a rich revenue stream to men, which further invalidates GDP figures. Somehow proponents of this theory operate under the assumption that women don't generate revenue from illegal sources and men provide no domestic production. They have been instrumental in creating alternative models, such as the Capability Approach and incorporating gender into the analysis of economic data to affect policy. Marilyn Power suggests that feminist economic methodology can be broken down into five categories.^[78]

Legal theory

Feminist legal theory is based on the feminist view that law's treatment of women in relation to men has not been equal or fair. The goals of feminist legal theory, as defined by leading theorist Claire Dalton, consist of understanding and exploring the female experience, figuring out if law and institutions oppose females, and figuring out what changes can be committed to. This is to be accomplished through studying the connections between the law and gender as well as applying feminist analysis to concrete areas of law.^{[79][80][81]}

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- Feminist Theories and Anthropology (<http://lit.polylog.org/2/eah-en.htm>) by Heidi Armbruster
- (<http://www.redletterpress.org/rwmanifesto.html>) *The Radical Women Manifesto: Socialist Feminist Theory, Program and Organizational Structure* (Seattle: Red Letter Press, 2001)
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- Feminist Theory Papers (<http://www.feministtheorypapers.wordpress.com/>), Brown University
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- (http://www.unifem.org/gender_issues/women_poverty_economics/facts_figures.php) Women, Poverty, and Economics- Facts and Figures

Patricia Hill Collins

Patricia Hill Collins

Born	May 1, 1948
Era	Contemporary philosophy
Region	Western Philosophy
School	Black Feminism, American pragmatism, Sociology of Knowledge

Patricia Hill Collins (born May 1, 1948) is currently a Distinguished University Professor of Sociology at the University of Maryland, College Park. She is also the former head of the Department of African American Studies at the University of Cincinnati, and the past President of the American Sociological Association Council.

Collins' work primarily concerns issues involving feminism and gender within the African-American community. She first came to national attention for her book "Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness and the Politics of Empowerment", originally published in 1990.

Early Life and Career

Collins was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania in 1948. The daughter of a factory worker and a secretary, Collins attended the Philadelphia public schools.

After obtaining her bachelor's degree from Brandeis University in 1969, she continued on to earn a Master of Arts Degree in Teaching from Harvard University in 1970. From 1970 to 1976, she was a teacher and curriculum specialist at St Joseph Community School, among two others, in Boston. She continued on to become the Director of the Africana Center at Tufts University until 1980, after which she completed her doctorate in sociology at Brandeis in 1984.

While earning her PhD, Collins worked as an assistant professor at the University of Cincinnati beginning in 1982. In 1990, Collins published her first book, "Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness and the Politics of Empowerment". A revised tenth anniversary edition of the book was published in 2000, and subsequently translated into Korean in 2009.

She is married to Roger L. Collins, a professor of education at the University of Cincinnati, with whom she has one daughter, Valerie L. Collins.

Sociological Work

In 1990, Collins published *Black Feminist Thought*, which looked at the title topic through such figures as Angela Davis, Alice Walker and Audre Lorde. The analysis incorporated a wide range of sources, including fiction, poetry, music and oral history. Collins' work concluded with three central claims:

- Oppressions of race, class, gender, sexuality and nation are intersecting, mutually constructing systems of power. Collins utilizes the term "intersectionality," originally coined by Kemberle Crenshaw, to refer to this simultaneous overlapping of multiple forms of oppression.
- Because Black women have unique histories at the intersections of systems of power, they have created world views out of a need for self-definition and to work on behalf of social justice.
- Black women's specific experiences with intersecting systems of oppression provide a window into these same processes for other individuals and social groups.

First published in 1992, *Race, Class and Gender: An Anthology* was a collaboration with Margaret Andersen, in which Collins helped edit a compilation of essays on the issues of race, class and gender. The book is widely

recognized for shaping the field of race, class and gender studies as well as its related concept of intersectionality. The included essays cover a variety of topics, from historical trends and their lasting effects today, to the current media portrayal of minority groups. The sixth edition was published in 2007.

Collins published a third book *Fighting Words: Black Women and the Search for Justice* in 1998. *Fighting Words* focused on how black women have confronted the injustices against them within black communities, expanding on the idea of "outsiders within" from her previous book. She examines how outsiders resist the majority's perspective, while simultaneously pushing for and creating new insight on the social injustices that exist. Collins also notes how acknowledging the social theories of oppressed groups are important because their different experiences have created new angles of looking at human rights and injustice. This has not always been the case because, as she points out, the "elites possess the power to legitimate the knowledge that they define as theory as being universal, normative, and ideal".^[1] "Fighting Words" seeks to explore how black women can change from simply having "thoughts", to rather being considered as having "theories".

Another book by Collins is *Black Sexual Politics: African Americans, Gender, and the New Racism*, published in 2004. The work argued that racism and heterosexism were intertwined, and that ideals of beauty work to oppress African-Americans males and females, both homo- and heterosexual. Collins believes that people must examine the intersection of race, class, and gender, and that looking at each issue separately leads to missing a large part of the problem. Her argument for resisting the creation of such narrow gender roles requires action on individual and community levels, and recognizing success in areas other than those typically respected by Americans, such as money or beauty. Collins also makes the important observation that the oppression of African-Americans cannot be successfully resisted until oppression within their own group, such as towards women or LGBT, are stopped. *Black Sexual Politics* won the Distinguished Publication Award from the American Sociological Association.^[2]

In 2006 she published *From Black Power to Hip Hop : Racism, Nationalism, and Feminism*, which examines the relationship between black nationalism, feminism and women in the hip-hop generation. The book is a compilation of multiple essays of hers, written over multiple years, and compiled into one cohesive examination of the current situation of African-Americans. Collins examine the prejudice existing today, which she calls "new racism", and explores how old ideas about what racism is prevents society from recognizing and fixing the wrongdoings that still very much exist. The author explores a range of examples, from American identity, to motherhood, to feminine portrayal in hip-hop. Following the Civil Rights Movement, Collins argues, there was a "shift from color-blind racism that relied on strict racial segregation to a seemingly colorblind racism that promised equal opportunities yet provided no lasting avenues for African American advancement".^[3]

Her most recent books include *Another Kind of Public Education: Race, Schools, the Media and Democratic Possibilities* published in 2009, and *The Handbook of Race and Ethnic Studies* published in 2010.

Career Honors

In 1990, Collins was the recipient of the prestigious C. Wright Mills Award. She was also later awarded the Jessie Bernard Award by the American Sociological Association in 1993 for the book. Collins is recognized as a social theorist, drawing from many intellectual traditions; her more than 40 articles and essays have been published in a wide range of fields, including philosophy, history, psychology, and most notably sociology.

The University of Cincinnati named Collins The Charles Phelps Taft Professor of Sociology in 1996, making her the first ever African-American, and only the second woman, to hold this position. She received Emeritus status in the Spring of 2005, and became a professor of sociology at the University of Maryland, College Park. The University of Maryland named Collins a Distinguished University Professor in 2006.

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Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw

Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw (born 1959) is a prominent figure in Critical Race Theory and currently a professor at UCLA School of Law and Columbia Law School specializing in race and gender issues.

She was born in Canton, Ohio in 1959. She received a B.A. from Cornell in 1981, a J.D. from Harvard Law in 1984, an LL.M. from the University of Wisconsin–Madison in 1985, and has been a part of the University of California, Los Angeles School of Law faculty since 1986. At Cornell, she was a member of the Quill and Dagger society. She has published works on civil rights, black feminist legal theory, and race, racism, and the law. She often commentates on various aspects of law and racial politics and her scholarly interests center around race and the law. She is the founding coordinator of the intellectual movement called the Critical Race Theory Workshop. She is presently a Professor of Law at UCLA and Columbia Law School and teaches Civil Rights and other courses in critical race studies and constitutional law. In 1991 and 1994, she was elected Professor of the Year. At the University of Wisconsin Law School, where she received her LL.M., Professor Crenshaw was a William H. Hastie Fellow. Later on, she clerked for Justice Shirley Abrahamson of the Wisconsin Supreme Court.

Crenshaw has published numerous works including *Words that Wound: Critical Race Theory, Assaultive Speech and the First Amendment*. She was also the coeditor of *Critical Race Theory: Key Documents That Shaped the Movement* and her works have appeared in the *Harvard Law Review*, the *National Black Law Journal*, the *Stanford Law Review*, and the *Southern California Law Review*. She has lectured nationally and internationally on race matters, addressing audiences throughout Europe, Africa, and South America as well as facilitating workshops for civil rights activists in Brazil and constitutional court judges in South Africa.

Her work on race and gender was influential in the drafting of the equality clause in the South African Constitution. In 2001, she wrote the background paper on Race and Gender Discrimination for the United Nations World Conference on Racism and helped to facilitate the addition of gender in the WCAR Conference Declaration. Crenshaw has also served as a member of the National Science Foundation's Committee to Research Violence Against Women and has assisted the legal team representing Anita Hill. She is also a founding member of the Women's Media Initiative and is a regular commentator on NPR's *The Tavis Smiley Show*. Crenshaw is known for her work in the late 1980s and early 1990s which was especially important in influencing and developing the idea of intersectionality.

Crenshaw is also co-founder, with Prof. Luke Harris, of the African American Policy Forum (AAPF). AAPF was founded in 1996. According to AAPF's mission statement: The Policy Forum is dedicated to advancing and expanding racial justice, gender equality, and the indivisibility of all human rights, both in the U.S. and internationally.

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Second-wave feminism

Second-wave feminism is a period of feminist activity that first began in the early 1960s in the United States, and eventually spread throughout the Western world. In the United States the movement was initially called the Women's Liberation Movement and lasted through the early 1980s.^[1] It later became a worldwide movement that was strong in Europe and parts of Asia, such as Turkey^[2] and Israel, where it began in the 1980s, and it began at other times in other countries.^[3]

Whereas first-wave feminism focused mainly on suffrage and overturning legal obstacles to gender equality (i.e. voting rights, property rights), second-wave feminism broadened the debate to a wide range of issues: sexuality, family, the workplace, reproductive rights, de facto inequalities, and official legal inequalities.^[4] At a time when mainstream women were making job gains in the professions, the military, the media, and sports in large part because of second-wave feminist advocacy, second-wave feminism also focused on a battle against violence with proposals for marital rape laws, establishment of rape crisis and battered women's shelters, and changes in custody and divorce law. Its major effort was passage of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) to the United States Constitution, in which they were defeated by anti-feminists led by Phyllis Schlafly, who argued as an anti-ERA view that the ERA meant women would be drafted into the military.

Many historians view the second-wave feminist era in America as ending in the early 1980s with the intra-feminism disputes of the Feminist Sex Wars over issues such as sexuality and pornography, which ushered in the era of third-wave feminism in the early 1990s.^{[5][6][7][8][9]}

Overview

The second wave of feminism in North America came as a delayed reaction against the renewed domesticity of women after World War II: the late 1940s post-war boom, which was an era characterized by an unprecedented economic growth, a baby boom, a move to family-oriented suburbs, and the ideal of companionate marriages. This life was clearly illustrated by the media of the time; for example television shows such as *Father Knows Best* and *Leave It to Beaver* idealized domesticity.^[10]

Before the second wave there were some important events which laid the groundwork for it. French writer Simone de Beauvoir had in the 1940s examined the notion of women being perceived as "other" in the patriarchal society. She went on to conclude that male-centered ideology was being accepted as a norm and enforced by the ongoing development of myths, and that the fact that women are capable of getting pregnant, lactating, and menstruating is in no way a valid cause or explanation to place them as the "second sex".^[11] This book was translated from French to English (with some of its text excised) and published in America in 1953.^[12] In 1960 the Food and Drug Administration approved the combined oral contraceptive pill, which was made available in 1961.^[13] This made it easier for women to have careers without having to leave due to unexpectedly becoming pregnant. The administration of President Kennedy made women's rights a key issue of the New Frontier, and named women (such as Esther Peterson) to many high-ranking posts in his administration.^[14] Kennedy also established a Presidential

Commission on the Status of Women, chaired by Eleanor Roosevelt and comprising cabinet officials (including Peterson and Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy), senators, representatives, businesspeople, psychologists, sociologists, professors, activists, and public servants.^[15] There were also notable actions by women in wider society, presaging their wider engagement in politics which would come with the second wave. In 1961, 50,000 women in 60 cities, mobilized by Women Strike for Peace, protested above ground testing of nuclear bombs and tainted milk.^{[16][17]}

In 1963 Betty Friedan, influenced by *The Second Sex*, wrote the bestselling book *The Feminine Mystique* in which she explicitly objected to the mainstream media image of women, stating that placing women at home limited their possibilities, and wasted talent and potential. The perfect nuclear family image depicted and strongly marketed at the time, she wrote, did not reflect happiness and was rather degrading for women.^[18] This book is widely credited with having begun second-wave feminism.^[19]

Though it is widely accepted that the movement lasted from the 1960s into the early 1980s, the exact years of the movement are more difficult to pinpoint and are often disputed. The movement is usually believed to have begun in 1963, when "Mother of the Movement" Betty Friedan published *The Feminine Mystique*, and President John F. Kennedy's Presidential Commission on the Status of Women released its report on gender inequality. The report, which revealed great discrimination against women in American life, along with Friedan's book, which spoke to the discontent of many women (especially housewives), led to the formation of many local, state, and federal government women's groups as well as many independent women's liberation organizations. Friedan was referencing a "movement" as early as 1964.^[20]

The movement grew with legal victories such as the Equal Pay Act of 1963, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the *Griswold v. Connecticut* Supreme Court ruling of 1965; in 1966 Friedan joined other women and men to found the National Organization for Women.

Amongst the most significant legal victories of the movement after the formation of NOW were a 1967 Executive Order extending full Affirmative Action rights to women, Title IX and the Women's Educational Equity Act (1972 and 1974, respectively, educational equality), Title X (1970, health and family planning), the Equal Credit Opportunity Act (1974), the Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978, the illegalization of marital rape (although not illegalized in all states until 1993^[21]), the legalization of no-fault divorce (although not allowed in all states until 2010^[22]), a 1975 law requiring the U.S. Military Academies to admit women, and many Supreme Court cases, perhaps most notably *Reed v. Reed* of 1971 and *Roe v. Wade* of 1973. However, the changing of social attitudes towards women is usually considered the greatest success of the women's movement.

By the early 1980s, it was largely perceived that women had met their goals and succeeded in changing social attitudes towards gender roles, repealing oppressive laws that were based on sex, integrating the "boys' clubs" such as Military academies, the United States armed forces, NASA, single-sex colleges, men's clubs, and the Supreme Court, and illegalizing gender discrimination. However, in 1982 adding the Equal Rights Amendment to the United States Constitution failed, three states short of ratification.

Second-wave feminism was largely successful, with the failure of the ratification of the ERA the only major legislative defeat. Efforts to ratify it have continued, and twenty-one states now have ERAs in their state constitutions. Furthermore, many women's groups are still active and are major political forces. As of 2011, more women earn bachelor's degrees than men,^[23] half of the Ivy League presidents are women, the numbers of women in government and traditionally male-dominated fields have dramatically increased, and in 2009 the percentage of women in the American workforce temporarily surpassed that of men.^[24] The salary of the average American woman has also increased over time, although as of 2008 it is only 77% of the average man's salary, a phenomenon often referred to as the Gender Pay Gap.^[25] Whether this is due to discrimination is very hotly disputed, however economists and sociologists have provided evidence to that effect.^{[26][27][28]}

Second-wave feminism ended in America in the early 1980s with the feminist sex wars, followed by third wave feminism in the early 1990s.

View on popular culture

Second-wave feminists viewed popular culture as sexist, and created pop culture of their own to counteract this. Australian artist Helen Reddy's song "I Am Woman" played a large role in popular culture and became a feminist anthem; Reddy came to be known as a "feminist poster girl" or a "feminist icon".^{[29][30][31][32][33][34][35]} "One project of second wave feminism was to create 'positive' images of women, to act as a counterweight to the dominant images circulating in popular culture and to raise women's consciousness of their oppressions." (Arrow, Michelle. 2007).

Timeline of second-wave feminism worldwide

1963

- The report of the [American] Presidential Commission on the Status of Women found discrimination against women in every aspect of American life and outlined plans to achieve equality. Specific recommendations for women in the workplace included fair hiring practices, paid maternity leave, and affordable childcare.^{[36][37]}
- Twenty years after it was first proposed, the Equal Pay Act became law in the U.S., and it established equality of pay for men and women performing equal work. However, it did not originally cover executives, administrators, outside salespeople, or professionals.^[38] In 1972, Congress enacted the Educational Amendments of 1972, which (among other things) amended the Fair Labor Standards Act to expand the coverage of the Equal Pay Act to these employees, by excluding the Equal Pay Act from the professional workers exemption of the Fair Labor Standards Act.
- Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* was published, became a best-seller, and laid the groundwork for the second-wave feminist movement in the U.S.^{[37][39]}
- Alice S. Rossi presented "Equality Between the Sexes: An Immodest Proposal" at the American Academy of Arts and Sciences conference.^{[37][40]}

1964

- Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 became law in the U.S., and it barred employment discrimination on account of sex, race, etc. by private employers, employment agencies, and unions.
- The [U.S.] Equal Employment Opportunity Commission was established; in its first five years, 50,000 complaints of gender discrimination were received.^[41]
- Haven House, the first "modern" women's shelter in the world, opened in California.^[42]

1965

- Casey Hayden and Mary King circulated a memo about sexism in the American civil rights movement.^[37]
- The U.S. Supreme Court case *Griswold v. Connecticut* struck down the only remaining state law banning the use of contraceptives by married couples.^[43]
- The case *Weeks v. Southern Bell* marked a major triumph in the fight against restrictive labor laws and company regulations on the hours and conditions of women's work in the U.S., opening many previously male-only jobs to women.^[44]
- The "Woman Question" was raised for the first time at a Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) conference.^[45]
- EEOC commissioners were appointed to enforce the Civil Rights Act. Among them there was only one woman, Aileen Hernandez, a future president of the National Organization for Women.^[46]

1966

- Twenty-eight women, among them Betty Friedan, founded the National Organization for Women (NOW) to function as a civil rights organization for women. Betty Friedan became its first president. The group is now one of the largest women's groups in the U.S. and pursues its goals through extensive legislative lobbying, litigation, and public demonstrations.^[47]

1967

- Due to a new law, abortion in Britain was made legal under certain criteria and with medical supervision.^[48]
- American feminist Valerie Solanas wrote and published "SCUM Manifesto".^{[49][50]}
- Executive Order 11375 expanded President Johnson's 1965 affirmative action policy to cover discrimination based on sex, resulting in federal agencies and contractors taking active measures to ensure that all women as well as minorities have access to educational and employment opportunities equal to white males.^[51]
- Women's liberation groups sprang up all over America.^[52]
- NOW began petitioning the EEOC to end sex-segregated want ads and adopted a Bill of Rights for Women.^[53]
- Senator Eugene McCarthy introduced the Equal Rights Amendment in the U.S. Senate.^[54]
- New York Radical Women was formed by Shulamith Firestone and Pam Allen.^{[55][56][57]}
- Anne Koedt organized American "consciousness raising" groups.^[58]
- The [American] National Welfare Rights Organization was formed.^[59]

1968

- Robin Morgan led members of New York Radical Women to protest the Miss America Pageant of 1968, which they decried as sexist and racist.^{[37][60]}
- The first American national gathering of women's liberation activists was held in Lake Villa, a suburb of Chicago, Illinois.^[61]
- Coretta Scott King assumed leadership of the African-American Civil Rights Movement following the death of her husband, and expanded the movement's platform to include women's rights.^[62]
- The EEOC issued revised guidelines on sex discrimination, making it clear that the widespread practice of publishing "help wanted" advertisements that use "male" and "female" column headings violates Title VII.^[63]
- New York feminists buried a dummy of "Traditional Womanhood" at the all-women's Jeanette Rankin Brigade demonstration against the Vietnam War in Washington, D.C.^[37]
- For the first time, feminists used the slogan "Sisterhood is Powerful."^[64]
- The first public speakout against abortion laws was held in New York City.^[37]
- *Notes from the First Year*, a women's liberation theoretical journal, was published by New York Radical Women.^[65]
- NOW celebrated Mother's Day with the slogan "*Rights, Not Roses*".^[66]
- Mary Daly, professor of theology at Boston College, published a scathing criticism of the Catholic Church's view and treatment of women entitled "The Church and the Second Sex."^{[67][68]}
- 850 sewing machinists at Ford in Dagenham, which is in Britain, went on strike for equal pay and against sex discrimination. This ultimately led to the passing of the Equal Pay Act 1970, the first legislation in the United Kingdom aimed at ending pay discrimination between men and women.^[48]

1969

- The American radical organization Redstockings organized.^[69]
- Members of Redstockings disrupted a hearing on abortion laws of the New York Legislature when the panel of witnesses turned out to be 14 men and a nun. The group demanded repeal, not reform, of laws restricting abortion.^[37]
- NARAL Pro-Choice America, then called The National Association for the Repeal of Abortion Laws (NARAL), was founded.^[70]
- California adopted a "no fault" divorce law, allowing couples to divorce by mutual consent. It was the first state to do so; by 2010 every state had adopted a similar law. Legislation was also passed regarding equal division of common property.^[64]

1970

- American feminist Kate Millett published her book, *Sexual Politics*.^[71]
- Australian feminist Germaine Greer published her book, *The Female Eunuch*.^[72]
- In *Schultz v. Wheaton Glass Co.*, a U.S. Court of Appeals ruled jobs held by men and women must be "substantially equal" but not "identical" to fall under the protection of the Equal Pay Act, and that it is therefore illegal for employers to change the job titles of women workers in order to pay them less than men.^[73]
- *Sisterhood Is Powerful, An Anthology of Writings from the Women's Liberation Movement* edited by the American feminist Robin Morgan, is published.^[64]
- The American women's health book *Our Bodies* was first published as a newsprint booklet for 35 cents.^[74]
- *A Ladies' Home Journal* sit-in protested "women's magazines" as sexist.^[75]
- The North American Indian Women's Association was founded.^[76]
- Chicana feminists founded Comisión Femenil Mexicana Nacional.^[77]
- American feminist Toni Cade Bambara published *The Black Woman*.^[78]
- On August 26, the 50th anniversary of woman suffrage in the U.S., tens of thousands of women across the nation participated in the Women's Strike for Equality, organized by Betty Friedan, to demand equal rights.^[79]
- Feminist leader Bella Abzug was elected to the U.S. Congress, famously declaring "A woman's place is in the House".^[80]
- President Richard Nixon vetoed the Comprehensive Child Development Act, which would have established federally funded childcare centers throughout the U.S.^[81]
- The AFL-CIO met to discuss the status of women in unions. It endorsed the ERA and opposed state protective legislation.^[37]
- The Lutheran Church in America and the American Lutheran Church allowed women to be ordained.^[82]
- The U.S. Congress enacted Title X of the Public Health Service Act, the only American federal program — then and now — devoted solely to the provision of family planning services nationwide.^[83]
- The first national meeting of the women's liberation movement in Britain took place at Ruskin College.^[48]
- The Equal Pay Act 1970 became law in the United Kingdom, although it did not take effect until 1975.^[48]
- The Miss World contest in London was disrupted by women's liberation protesters armed with flour bombs, stink bombs, and water pistols.^[48]



A Women's Liberation march in Washington, D.C., 1970

1971

- Switzerland allowed women to vote in national elections. However, some cantons did not allow women to vote in local elections until 1994. ^[48]
- The first women's liberation march in London occurred. ^[48]
- In the U.S. Supreme Court Case *Reed v Reed*, for the first time since the Fourteenth Amendment went into effect in 1868, the Court struck down a state law on the ground that it discriminated against women in violation of the Equal Protection Clause of that amendment. The law in question—enacted in Idaho in 1864—required that when the father and mother of a deceased person both sought appointment as administrator of the estate, the man had to be preferred over the woman. ^[84]
- The Westbeth Playwrights Feminist Collective was founded in New York. It was one of the first feminist theater groups formed to write and produce plays about women's issues and to provide work experience in theatrical professions which had been dominated by men. ^{[85][86][87]}
- The song "I Am Woman" was published. It was a popular song performed by Australian singer Helen Reddy, which became an enduring anthem for the women's liberation movement. ^{[29][30][31][32][33][34][35]}
- Women's Equality Day has been August 26 in America since 1971. ^[88] This resolution was passed in 1971 designating August 26 of each year as Women's Equality Day:

The full text of the resolution reads:

Joint Resolution of Congress, 1971 Designating August 26 of each year as Women's Equality Day

WHEREAS, the women of the United States have been treated as second-class citizens and have not been entitled the full rights and privileges, public or private, legal or institutional, which are available to male citizens of the United States; and

WHEREAS, the women of the United States have united to assure that these rights and privileges are available to all citizens equally regardless of sex; and

WHEREAS, the women of the United States have designated August 26, the anniversary date of the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment, as symbol of the continued fight for equal rights; and

WHEREAS, the women of United States are to be commended and supported in their organizations and activities,

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that August 26 of each year is designated as "Women's Equality Day," and the President is authorized and requested to issue a proclamation annually in commemoration of that day in 1920, on which the women of America were first given the right to vote, and that day in 1970, on which a nationwide demonstration for women's rights took place. ^[89]

1972

- Britain's first feminist magazine, *Spare Rib*, was launched by Marsha Rowe and Rosie Boycott.
- Egyptian feminist Nawal El-Saadawi published her book *Women and Sex*. ^[48]
- Five formerly all-male colleges at Oxford University opened to women. ^[48]
- American feminists Gloria Steinem and Letty Cottin Pogrebin co-founded *Ms.* magazine. ^{[90][91]}
- The Equal Rights Amendment was sent to the U.S. states for ratification. The amendment reads: "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex." ^[92]
- In *Eisenstadt v. Baird* the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that unmarried couples have a right to use contraception. ^[93]
- Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, became law. It is a comprehensive federal law that prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex in any federally funded education program or activity. ^[94] The Educational Amendments of 1972 also amended the Fair Labor Standards Act to expand the coverage of the Equal Pay Act to executives, administrators, outside salespeople and professionals, by excluding the Equal Pay Act from the

professional workers exemption of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

- The [American] National Women's Political Caucus was founded.^[95]
- Gloria Steinem delivered her *Address to the Women of America*.^[96]
- The American feminist magazine *Ms. magazine* was launched.^[97]
- New York Radical Feminists held a series of speakouts and a conference on rape and women's treatment by the criminal justice system.^[37]
- The Feminist Women's Health Center was founded in Los Angeles by Carol Downer and Lorraine Rothman.^[37]
- In San Francisco, California, Margo St. James organized Call Off Your Old Tired Ethics (COYOTE) to improve the working conditions of prostitutes.^[37]

1973

- Women are allowed on the floor of the London Stock Exchange for the first time.^[48]
- American tennis player Billie Jean King defeated Bobby Riggs in the "Battle of the Sexes" tennis match in 1973. This match is remembered for its effect on society and its contribution to the women's movement.^[98]
- The Supreme Court of the United States ruled in *Roe v. Wade* that laws prohibiting abortion are unconstitutional. States are constitutionally allowed to place regulations on abortion which fall short of prohibition after the first trimester.^[99]
- The U.S. Supreme Court held that sex-segregated help wanted ads are illegal in *Pittsburgh Press Co. v. Pittsburgh Commission on Human Relations*, 413 U.S. 376.^[100]
- AT&T agreed to end discrimination in women's salaries and to pay retroactive compensation to women employees.^[37]
- The [American] National Black Feminist Organization was formed.^[37]



1974

- Contraception became free for women in the United Kingdom.^[48]
- *Virago Press*, a British feminist press, was set up by the publisher Carmen Callil. Its first title, *Life As We Have Known It*, was published in 1975.^[48]
- The Women's Aid Federation was set up to unite battered women's shelters in Britain.^[48]
- The Equal Credit Opportunity Act became law in the U.S. It prohibits discrimination in consumer credit practices on the basis of sex, race, marital status, religion, national origin, age, or receipt of public assistance.^[101]
- In *Corning Glass Works v. Brennan*, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that employers cannot justify paying women lower wages because that is what they traditionally received under the "going market rate." A wage differential occurring "simply because men would not work at the low rates paid women" is unacceptable.^[102]
- The U.S. First Lady Betty Ford was pro-choice.^[103] A moderate Republican, Ford lobbied to ratify the ERA, earning the ire of conservatives, who dub her "No Lady".^{[103][104]}
- The Mexican-American Women's National Association was founded.^[105]
- The American Coalition of Labor Union Women was founded.^[106]
- The Women's Educational Equity Act (WEEA) of 1974 was enacted in 1974 to promote educational equity for American girls and women, including those who suffer multiple discrimination based on gender and on race, ethnicity, national origin, disability, or age, and to provide funds to help education agencies and institutions meet the requirements of Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972.^[107]

1975

- The Equal Pay Act 1970 took effect in the UK. ^[48]
- The Sex Discrimination Act 1975 became law in the UK, making it illegal to discriminate against women in education, recruitment, and advertising. ^[48]
- The Employment Protection Act 1975 became law in the UK, introducing statutory maternity provision and making it illegal to fire a woman because she is pregnant. ^[48]
- In *Taylor v. Louisiana*, the U.S. Supreme Court held that women could not be excluded from a venire, or jury pool, on the basis of having to register for jury duty, thus overturning *Hoyt v. Florida*, the 1961 case that had allowed such a practice. ^[108]
- The U.N. sponsored the First International Conference on Women in Mexico City. ^[109]
- U.S. federal employees' salaries could be garnished for child support and alimony. ^[110]
- Tish Sommers, chairwoman of NOW's Older Women Task Force, coined the phrase "displaced homemaker". ^[111]
- American feminist Susan Brownmiller published the landmark book *Against Our Will*, about rape. ^[112] She later became one of *TIME*'s "Women of the Year" (see below). ^{[112][113]}
- NOW sponsored "Alice Doesn't" Day, asking women across the country to go on strike for one day. ^[114]
- Joan Little, who was raped by a guard while in jail, was acquitted of murdering her offender. The case established a precedent in America for killing as self-defense against rape. ^[115]
- In New York City, the first women's bank opened. ^[116]
- The United States armed forces opened its military academies to women. ^[108]
- *Time* declared: "[F]eminism has transcended the feminist movement. In 1975 the women's drive penetrated every layer of society, matured beyond ideology to a new status of general — and sometimes unconscious — acceptance." The Time Person of the Year award goes to American Women, celebrating the successes of the feminist movement. ^[113]
- The Equal Opportunities Commission came into effect in the UK (besides Northern Ireland, where it came into effect in 1976) to oversee the Sex Discrimination and Equal Pay Acts. ^{[48][117]}

1976

- The Equal Opportunities Commission came into effect in Northern Ireland to oversee the Sex Discrimination and Equal Pay Acts. ^{[48][117]}
- The Domestic Violence Act became law in Britain, enabling women to obtain a court order against their violent husband or partner. ^[48]
- The first marital rape law was enacted in Nebraska, making it illegal for a husband to rape his wife. ^[118]
- Congresswoman Barbara Charline Jordan of Texas, the first African-American congresswoman to come from the Deep South and the first woman ever elected to the Texas Senate, who had received widespread recognition as a key member of the House Judiciary Committee during President Nixon's impeachment, delivered the keynote address to the Democratic National Convention. ^{[119][120]} She was the first black person and first woman to address the convention as a keynote speaker, declaring that "My presence here . . . is one additional bit of evidence that the American dream need not forever be deferred." ^{[119][120]}
- The Organization of Pan Asian American Women was formed for women of Asian and Pacific American Islander descent. ^[121]

1977

- The Canadian Human Rights Act was passed, prohibiting discrimination based on characteristics including sex and sexual orientation, and requiring "equal pay for work of equal value." [122]
- In the U.S., the first National Women's Conference since the Seneca Falls Convention was held in Houston, Texas. Women from all over the country, 20,000 in all, gathered to pass a far-reaching National Plan of Action. [123]
- The National Association of Cuban-American Women was established. [124]
- The first women pilots of the United States Air Force graduated. [125]
- International Women's Day was formalized as an annual event by the U.N. General Assembly. [48]
- The first Rape Crisis Centre opened in London. [48]

1978

- The *Oregon v. Rideout* decision led to many American states allowing prosecution for marital and cohabitation rape. [126]
- The Pregnancy Discrimination Act banned employment discrimination against pregnant women in the U.S., stating a woman cannot be fired or denied a job or a promotion because she is or may become pregnant, nor can she be forced to take a pregnancy leave if she is willing and able to work. [127]
- The Equal Rights Amendment's deadline arrived with the ERA still three states short of ratification; there was a successful bill to extend the ERA's deadline to 1982, but it was still not ratified by then. [92]

1979

- Margaret Thatcher became the first female Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. [128]
- The feminist art piece *The Dinner Party*, by American feminist artist Judy Chicago, was first put on display at the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art. [48]

The 1980s

- In the U.S., the early 1980s were marked by the end of the second wave and the beginning of the feminist sex wars. Many historians view the second-wave feminist era in America as ending in the early 1980s with the intra-feminism disputes of the Feminist Sex Wars over issues such as sexuality and pornography, which ushered in the era of third-wave feminism in the early 1990s. [5][6][7][8][9]
- The second wave began in the 1980s in Turkey [129] and in Israel. [130]
- The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms was enacted by the Canada Act of 1982, and it declares (among other things), "15. (1) Every individual is equal before and under the law and has the right to the equal protection and equal benefit of the law without discrimination and, in particular, without discrimination based on race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age or mental or physical disability. (2) Subsection (1) does not preclude any law, program or activity that has as its object the amelioration of conditions of disadvantaged individuals or groups including those that are disadvantaged because of race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age or mental or physical disability....28. Notwithstanding anything in this Charter, the rights and freedoms referred to in it are guaranteed equally to male and female persons." [131]
- In 1983 in France the women's minister, Yvette Roudy, passed a law obliging all companies with more than 50 employees to carry out a comparative salary survey between men and women. [132]
- The Japanese Equal Employment Opportunity Law of 1985, effective in April 1986, prohibits gender discrimination with respect to recruitment, hiring, promotion, training, and job assignment. [133]

Education

Coeducation

One debate which developed in the United States during this time period revolved around the question of coeducation. Most men's colleges in the United States adopted coeducation, often by merging with women's colleges. In addition, some women's colleges adopted coeducation, while others maintained a single-sex student body.

Seven Sisters Colleges

Two of the Seven Sister colleges made transitions during and after the 1960s. The first, Radcliffe College, merged with Harvard University. Beginning in 1963, students at Radcliffe received Harvard diplomas signed by the presidents of Radcliffe and Harvard and joint commencement exercises began in 1970. The same year, several Harvard and Radcliffe dormitories began swapping students experimentally and in 1972 full co-residence was instituted. The departments of athletics of both schools merged shortly thereafter. In 1977, Harvard and Radcliffe signed an agreement which put undergraduate women entirely in Harvard College. In 1999 Radcliffe College was dissolved and Harvard University assumed full responsibility over the affairs of female undergraduates. Radcliffe is now the *Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study* in Women's Studies at Harvard University.

The second, Vassar College, declined an offer to merge with Yale University and instead became coeducational in 1969.

The remaining Seven Sisters decided against coeducation. Mount Holyoke College engaged in a lengthy debate under the presidency of David Truman over the issue of coeducation. On November 6, 1971, "after reviewing an exhaustive study on coeducation, the board of trustees decided unanimously that Mount Holyoke should remain a women's college, and a group of faculty was charged with recommending curricular changes that would support the decision."^[134] Smith College also made a similar decision in 1971.^[135]

In 1969, Bryn Mawr College and Haverford College (then all male) developed a system of sharing residential colleges. When Haverford became coeducational in 1980, Bryn Mawr discussed the possibility of coeducation as well, but decided against it.^[136] In 1983, Columbia University began admitting women after a decade of failed negotiations with Barnard College for a merger along the lines of Harvard and Radcliffe (Barnard has been affiliated with Columbia since 1900, but it continues to be independently governed). Wellesley College also decided against coeducation during this time.

Mississippi University for Women

In 1982, in a 5–4 decision, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Mississippi University for Women v. Hogan* that the Mississippi University for Women would be in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment's Equal Protection Clause if it denied admission to its nursing program on the basis of gender. Mississippi University for Women, the first public or government institution for women in the United States, changed its admissions policies and became coeducational after the ruling.^[137]

In what was her first opinion written for the Supreme Court, Justice Sandra Day O'Connor stated, "In limited circumstances, a gender-based classification favoring one sex can be justified if it intentionally and directly assists members of the sex that is disproportionately burdened." She went on to point out that there are a disproportionate number of women who are nurses, and that denying admission to men "lends credibility to the old view that women, not men, should become nurses, and makes the assumption that nursing is a field for women a self-fulfilling prophecy."^[138]

In the dissenting opinions, Justices Harry A. Blackmun, Warren E. Burger, Lewis F. Powell, Jr., and William H. Rehnquist suggested that the result of this ruling would be the elimination of publicly supported single-sex educational opportunities. This suggestion has proven to be accurate as there are no public women's colleges in the

United States today and, as a result of *United States v. Virginia*, the last all-male public university in the United States, Virginia Military Institute, was required to admit women. The ruling did not require the university to change its name to reflect its coeducational status and it continues a tradition of academic and leadership development for women by providing liberal arts and professional education to women and men.^[139]

Mills College

On May 3, 1990, the Trustees of Mills College announced that they had voted to admit male students.^[140] This decision led to a two-week student and staff strike, accompanied by numerous displays of non-violent protests by the students.^{[141][142]} At one point, nearly 300 students blockaded the administrative offices and boycotted classes.^[143] On May 18, the Trustees met again to reconsider the decision,^[144] leading finally to a reversal of the vote.^[145]

Other colleges

Pembroke College merged with Brown University. Sarah Lawrence College declined an offer to merge with Princeton University, becoming coeducational in 1969. Connecticut College also adopted coeducation during the late 1960s. Wells College, previously with a student body of women only, became co-educational in 2005. Douglass College, part of Rutgers University was the last publicly funded women's only college until 2007 when it became coed.

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Dorothy E. Smith

Dorothy Edith Smith is a Canadian sociologist with research interests, besides in sociology, in many disciplines including women's studies, psychology, and educational studies, as well as sub-fields of sociology including feminist theory, family studies, and methodology. She also founded the sociological sub-disciplines of feminist Standpoint theory and Institutional Ethnography.

Smith was born on July 6, 1926 in Northallerton, Yorkshire England to Dorothy F. Place and Tom Place, into a family including three brothers. One of her brothers, Ullin Place, is well known for his work on consciousness as a process of the brain, another is a recognized British poet, Milner Place.

Smith did her undergraduate work at the London School of Economics, earning her B.Sc in Sociology with a Major in Social Anthropology in 1955. She then married William Reid Smith, whom she had met while attending LSE,^[1] and they moved to the United States. They both attended graduate school at the University of California, Berkeley, where she received her Ph.D in Sociology in 1963, nine months after the birth of their second child. Not long afterwards she and her husband were divorced; she retained custody of the children. She then taught as a lecturer at UC Berkeley from 1964 to 1966.^[2] In 1967 she moved with her two sons to Vancouver British Columbia to teach at the University of British Columbia, where she helped to establish a Women's Studies Program. In 1977 she moved to Toronto, Ontario to work at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, where she stayed until she retired. In 1994 she became an adjunct professor at the University of Victoria, where she continues her work in institutional ethnography.

Selected works

- *Institutional Ethnography: A Sociology for People* (2005)
- *Mothering for Schooling -- with Alison Griffith* (2004)
- *Writing the Social: Critique, Theory, and Investigations* (1999)
- *The Conceptual Practices of Power: A Feminist Sociology of Knowledge* (1990)
- *Texts, Facts, and Femininity: Exploring the Relations of Ruling* (1990)
- *The Everyday World as Problematic: A Feminist Sociology* (1987)
- *Feminism and Marxism: A Place to Begin, A Way to Go* (1977)
- *Women Look at Psychiatry: I'm Not Mad, I'm Angry*—Collection edited by Smith and David (1975) Press Gang Publishing

Professional recognition

In recognition of her contributions in "transformation of sociology", and for extending boundaries of "feminist standpoint theory" to "include race, class, and gender", Dr. Smith received numerous awards from American Sociological Association, including the American Sociological Association's Career of Distinguished Scholarship Award (1999) and the Jessie Bernard Award for Feminist Sociology (1993). In recognition of her scholarship, she also received two awards from the Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association: the Outstanding Contribution Award (1990) and the John Porter Award for her book "The Everyday World as Problematic: A Feminist Sociology." (1990).

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