

ECO 2011-L: POLITICAL ECONOMY OF WOMEN - CHRISTENSEN – 2015/2016

Lecture: Monday, Wednesday 3:35 – 5:00 in Science Auditorium (Science 103). Discussion sections (group conferences): Mon. & Wed. 5:15 – 6:15 (rooms in Science TBA). (Note: Group conferences may run late when we screen movies.) Office: Science 317. Email: kchristensen@slc.edu, Cell phone: (914)584-2340.

"The past isn't dead. It isn't even past." (William Faulkner)

What determines the status of women in different communities? What role is played by women's labor (inside and outside of the home)? By cultural norms regarding sexuality and reproduction? By racial/ethnic identity? By religious traditions? After some brief theoretical grounding, this course will address these questions by examining the economic, political, social, and cultural histories of women in the various racial/ethnic groups that make up the US today.

REQUIRED TEXTS All required and most recommended texts are on reserve (hard copy) in the library. Required sections of many texts are also posted on MySLC.

1. Amott, Teresa and Julie Mattheai, *Race, Gender, and Work: A Multi-Cultural Economic History of Women in the U.S.*, 2nd ed., South End Press, 1999, ISBN 978-0896085374.
2. Ruiz, Vicki, *Unequal Sisters: An Inclusive Reader in US Women's History*, 4th ed., Routledge, 2007, ISBN 978-0415958417.
3. Kessler-Harris, Alice, *Out to Work: A History of Wage-Earning Women in the US*, Oxford Univ. Press, 2003. ISBN 978-0195157093.
- *4. Davis, Angela, *Women, Race, and Class*, 1983, Vintage. ISBN 978-0394713519.
- *5. Evans, Sara, *Personal Politics: The Roots of Women's Liberation in the Civil Rights Movement and the New Left*, 1980, Vintage, ISBN 978-0394742281.
6. Hochschild, Arlie, *The Second Shift: Working Families and the Revolution at Home*, Penguin, 2012. ISBN 978-0143120339.
7. Cobble, Dorothy Sue, *The Other Women's Movement: Workplace Justice and Social Rights in Modern America*, Princeton Univ. Press, 2004. ISBN 978-0691123684.
8. Eisenstein, Hester, *Feminism Seduced, How Global Elites Use Women's Labor and Ideas to Exploit the World*, Paradigm Press, 2009. ISBN 978-1594516603.

Recommended Texts

1. Stansell, Christine, *The Feminist Promise: 1792 to the Present*, Modern Library, 2011. ISBN 978-0812972023.
2. Rosen, Ruth, *The World Split Open: How the Modern Women's Movement Changed America*, Penguin, 2006, ISBN 978-0140097191.
3. Lewis, Reina, and Sara Mills, *Feminist Postcolonial Theory: A Reader*, Routledge, 1999.
4. McCann, Carole, and Seung-Kyung Kim, *Feminist Theory Reader: Local and Global Perspectives*, 3rd ed., Routledge, 2013. ISBN 978-0415521024.
5. Allen, Robert, *Reluctant Reformers: Racism & Social Reform Movements in the US*, Anchor Books, 1975.
6. Ehrenreich, Barbara & Arlie Hochschild, *Global Women: Nannies, Maids & Sex Workers in the New Economy*, Holt, 2004. ISBN 978-0805075090.
7. Karlsen, Carol, *The Devil in the Shape of a Woman: Witchcraft in Colonial New England*, W.W. Norton, 1998. ISBN 978-0393317596.

EXPECTATIONS and ASSIGNMENTS

1. Attendance: Consistent attendance at lectures and group conferences is important. However, if you have a respiratory illness (cough, cold, etc.), please do NOT come to class. Email me *before class begins* to be excused from attendance. If there is an assignment due that day, email it to me *before class*. You are responsible for getting notes from your classmates if you are absent.

2. Review questions: After every lecture, I will send out review questions *and a list of upcoming assignments*. Please review these questions carefully; you do not need to write out the answers.

3. Academic freedom: I strive to maintain a classroom atmosphere where people can voice their opinions, questions, disagreements, and concerns. I have strong opinions about many of the topics we'll be discussing. However, you will never be penalized (re: grades, evaluations, etc.) for disagreeing with me.

4. Academic integrity: Be careful to avoid committing plagiarism, the *intentional or unintentional* use of another's words or ideas without proper attribution (citation, footnote, etc.). If you are confused about proper citation format, please ask!

5. Disabilities: If you have a physical, learning, or other disability that requires accommodation, please register with Associate Dean of Studies and Disability Services Polly Waldman and speak to me immediately. We will work together to make necessary accommodations.

6. Assignments: The primary assignments for this course will consist of a number of "review essays." Although these will focus on the lecture material, you should include relevant material from the readings. --Unless you are ill, submit a stapled, double-spaced hard copy of each assignment. (If you are ill, email me your paper by the due date.) --Timing of the assignments will depend on our progress in lecture. You will be given at least one week's notice before a paper is due. *No late papers will be accepted.* --If your paper contains an unacceptable number of grammatical/style errors, it will be returned for mandatory revision. You will have one week to revise; please submit the original paper with the revision. If your paper is returned for rewrite, I highly recommend that you visit the Writing Center for assistance. --Please bring this syllabus to class and group conference with you, as it contains discussion questions.

7. Group conferences: *Please* come to group conferences having read the relevant texts. While you are reading, make note of any questions or confusions and raise these during group conference. --Several times during the year, in lieu of regular group conferences, we will screen and discuss a film. Screenings will be held during class and/or group conference time slots. Those unable to attend the screenings should view the films on their own; films will be available on reserve at the front desk in the library.

8. Questions? If you are confused about your assignment, please consult the latest set of review questions, which will be distributed online and posted on MySLC. If you have other questions, please email me at kchristensen@slc.edu.

SCHEDULE OF TOPICS AND ASSIGNMENTS

Readings will tend to “run ahead” of lectures. Many required and recommended articles are on MySLC.

I. Introduction; Conceptual framework for the course

What determines the status of women in a given community?

The role of: sex/gender systems, economic systems, racial/ethnic systems, religion and other variables.

Recommended (Rec): hooks, “Feminism: A Movement to End Sexist Oppression”

Rec: Rich, “Towards a Politics of Location”

Rec: Mohanty, “Under Western Eyes, Revisited: Feminist Solidarity Through Anti-Capitalist Struggle”

Rec: Hartsock, “The Feminist Standpoint”

II.A. Gender and Economics in the Iroquois (Haudenosaunee) Confederation

The relationship of Iroquois (Haudenosaunee) women’s economic position to their social and political status

READ: Jensen, Joan, “Native American Women and Agriculture: A Seneca Case Study” from Dubois/Ruiz (D/R), *Unequal Sisters*, 1st ed.

READ: Amott/Mattheai (A/M) Ch.3: “I Am the Fire of Time: American Indian Women”

READ: Brown, Judith, “Economic Organization and the Position of Women Among the Iroquois” *Ethnohistory* 17, Summer/Fall 1970.

Rec: Perdue, Theda, “Cherokee Women and the Trail of Tears” from D/R, 1st ed.

Rec: Mihesuah, Devon Abbott, *Indigenous American Women: Decolonization, Empowerment, Activism*, Univ. of Nebraska, 2003.

The impact of Iroquois political/social structures on American colonial women

READ: Gunn Allen, Paula, “Who is Your Mother? The Red Roots of White Feminism” 2005

SUGGESTED DISCUSSION QUESTIONS ON IROQUOIS READINGS #1

1. Describe the economic/political position of Seneca (Iroquois) women before the arrival of white colonists. Contrast this with the position of women in white colonial culture.
2. Contrast the two cultures’ economic organizations.
- *3. Describe several factors that gave Seneca women relatively equal political & economic power with Seneca men.
4. Describe the forces that eroded the position of the Seneca, especially of Seneca women.
5. What evidence is there that traces of Seneca women’s older roles survive in their culture?

II. B. Gender and Sexuality in the Iroquois (Haudenosaunee) Confederation

Two-Spirit People

READ: Whitehead, Harriet, “The Bow and the Burden Strap: A New Look at Institutionalized Homosexuality in Native North America,” From Ortner, Sherry and Harriet Whitehead, *Sexual Meanings: The Cultural Construction of Gender and Sexuality*, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1981.

READ: Blackwood, Evelyn, “Sexuality and Gender in Certain Native American Tribes: The Case of Cross-Gender Females,” From *Signs*, 10(1). 1984.

Highly Rec: Jacobs, Sue-Ellen, Wesley Thomas, and Sabine Lang, *Two Spirit People: Native American Gender Identity, Sexuality, and Spirituality*, Univ. of Illinois, 1997. (Anthology by Native Americans)
Rec: Callender, Charles and Lee Kochems, "The North American Berdache[sic]," *Current Anthropology*, 24(2), Aug-Oct. 1983. Data-rich article with rejoinders from a number of authors.
Rec: Roscoe, Will, *Living in the Spirit: A Gay American Indian Anthology*, St. Martin's, 1988.
Rec: Williams, Walter. *The Spirit & the Flesh: Sexual Diversity in American Indian Culture*. Beacon, 1986.

Suggested Discussion Questions on Gender/Sexuality Among the Iroquois

1. Describe the relationship between biological sex, gender identification, and sexual orientation among the Iroquois.
2. How do Iroquois funeral/burial customs exemplify this complex relationship?
3. What aspects of Iroquois society/economy encourage the development of this system?
4. How did white colonists react to the Iroquois traditions? Discuss the consequences.

III. White women in the colonial U.S. political economy

Petty commodity production and women's unpaid labor

Economic systems, labor demand and fertility: The case of Puritan New England

READ: Kessler-Harris, "The Limits of Independence in the Colonial Economy," (ch. 1 of *Out to Work*)

READ: A/M 5: "Whatever Your Fight, Don't Be Ladylike: European American Women"

READ: Folbre, "Patriarchy in Colonial New England"

Rec: Ulrich, Laurel Thatcher, *The Age of Homespun: Objects and Stories in the Creation of the American Myth*, Knopf, 2002 and *Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England, 1650-1750*, Knopf, 1982.

Rec: Demos, John, *A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony*, Oxford Univ. Press, 1970.

ESSAY #1: Contrast the situation/status of women in the Iroquois Nations prior to the arrival of white colonists with that of Puritan women in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Explain, in detail, the factors, institutions, and practices that account for their disparate positions.

IV. African American women under slavery in the U.S. South

Ascendant industrial capitalism and US slavery; The triangular trade

Economic systems, labor demand, sexual violence and fertility: The case of the antebellum US South

The gendered division of labor under US slavery

READ: A/M 6: "We Specialize in the Wholly Impossible: African American Women"

READ: Davis, ch. 1, 2, 3.

READ: Grey-White, Deborah, "Female Slaves: Sex Roles & Status in the Plantation South," D/R.

Highly rec: Jones, Jacqueline, *A Dreadful Deceit: The Myth of Race from the Colonial Era to Obama's America*, Basic Books, 2013 and *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow*, Basic Books, 1985.

Rec: Fredrickson, George, *White Supremacy: A Comparative Study of American and South African History*, Oxford Univ. Press, 1981 and *Racism: A Short History*, Princeton Univ. Press, 2002.

Rec: Rodney, Walter, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, Howard Univ. Press, 1974.

Rec: Lincoln & Mamiya, *The Black Church in the African American Experience*, Duke Univ.Press, 1980.
Rec: Gutman, Herbert, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom 1750-1925*, Vintage Books, 1977.
Rec: Allen, Theodore, *The Invention of the White Race*, Verso Books, 1997.

Discussion Questions on the Gender Division of Labor Under Slavery

1. Why did slaveowners work female slaves so hard that they increased infant mortality and thereby did not maximize their profits?
2. Why did slaveowners impose a strict gender division of labor in the skilled crafts but not in fieldwork?
3. Re: the gender division of labor in the slave quarters, Davis argues that “the salient theme emerging from domestic life in slave quarters is one of sexual equality,” (18). Farnham argues that, “. . . although women took pride in their strength and competence, their labor . . . represented double duty, not power parity,” (A/M, p. 147). With whom do you agree? Why?
4. Describe the ideologies about African American female sexuality that arose to justify the rape of slave women by their owners. Are these ideologies still active in US politics and popular culture? Discuss.

V. White women in the transition to capitalism in New England: Salem witchcraft trials

De facto theocracy, gender roles, and economic change: The case of Salem

READ: Kessler-Harris, ch. 2 of *Out to Work*, “From Household Manufactures to Wage Work”

READ: Christensen, “‘Double, Double, Toil and Trouble’: Women, Economic Development, and the Salem Witchcraft Trials of 1692,” Ch. 1 & 2, manuscript in progress.

Rec: Karlsen, Carol, *The Devil in the Shape of a Woman: Witchcraft in Colonial New England*, Norton.

Rec: Boyer, Nissenbaum, *Salem Possessed: The Social & Economic Origins of Witchcraft*, Harvard 1974.

Rec: Norton, Mary Beth, *In the Devil’s Snare: The Salem Witchcraft Crisis of 1692*, Knopf, 2002.

Suggested Discussion Questions on 1692 Salem Witchcraft Trials

- *1. Using material re: the religious context, the sexual/reproductive context, and economic change, explain the Salem trials of 1692.
2. Discuss the ways in which the coming of capitalism changes gender roles and family relations. Why are women often targeted/scapegoated during such transitions?
 3. Weber asserted Protestantism is more compatible than Catholicism with capitalism. Discuss. Discuss ways in which capitalism is and is not compatible with religious ideologies, practices, and institutions.
 4. How can religious ideologies serve to solidify/support capitalism and/or serve as bases of resistance?
 5. Were you were raised in a religious tradition? If so, what were its views on economics? On social justice? On gender? How were these views operationalized/practiced (or not)?

ESSAY #2: Using lecture material and recommended readings, describe the context of, and the reasons for, the Salem witchcraft trials of 1692.

VI. White middle-class women and the cult of true womanhood

Industrialization and the creation of the “public/private split”

Commodification, superfluous labor and infantilization

READ: Lerner, Gerda, “The Lady and the Mill Girl: Changes in the Status of Women in the Age of

Jackson 1800-1840” from Cott & Pleck (eds.), *A Heritage of Her Own*.

READ: Welter, Barbara, “The Cult of True Womanhood 1820-1860” (classic article) and critiques by Rupp, Roberts, Hewitt, and Guy in *Journal of Women’s History*, Spring 2002.

Rec: Gilman, Charlotte Perkins, *The Yellow Wallpaper*, (any edition)

Rec: Parker, Gail, *The Oven Birds: American Women on Womanhood 1820-1920*, Anchor, 1972.

Rec: Gordon, Linda, *Heroes of Their Own Lives: Politics & History of Family Violence*, Univ.Ill, 2002.

Suggested Discussion Questions on Welter and Critiques by Rupp, Roberts, Hewitt, and Guy

1. Welter says that the white, middle class American man had turned the “shining city on a hill” into a counting-house, but he left behind a hostage to the values he held so dear. Similarly, Gilmore says that the new middle class declared itself primarily through its gender arrangements and separation of the “public” from the “private” sphere; i.e., that the reality of class struggle was hidden by a seeming conflict over gender norms. *Discuss the relationship between the rise of the new urban middle class and the ideals of the cult of true womanhood. How did these ideals flow from and help to reproduce the realities of middle class urban life in the 1800s?
2. What were the four virtues advocated by the cult? How did middle class women attempt to function within its constraints? Do you see remnants of these “virtues” in current-day definitions of femininity?
3. Today, as in the 1800s, most women do not have the option of being “angels in the parlor”: most have to work for a living. How does the cult impact the majority of women who are unable, for economic, racial/ethnic, and other reasons, to live by its precepts?
4. Welter and Hewitt discuss the participation of “true women” in social movements ranging from abolitionism to women’s suffrage. Discuss the strengths and weaknesses of using cult ideology as a launching pad for social activism.

ESSAY #3: Describe the relationship between the changes in white women’s economic position and their changing social roles in the early to mid-1800s.

VII. Black and white women in the abolitionist movement; The birth of the US women's movement

The promise and betrayal of Reconstruction; The Equal Rights Association and its demise

READ: Davis, Ch. 4,7.

Rec: Aptheker, Bettina, *Woman’s Legacy*, Univ. of Mass./Amherst, 1981.

Rec: DuBois, W.E.B., *Black Reconstruction in America 1860-1880*, Atheneum, 1935.

Rec: Goldfield, Michael, *The Color of Politics*, ch. 4, “Reconstruction”

Rec: Foner, Eric, *Reconstruction 1863-1877*, Harper & Row, original edition 1988.

Rec: Flexnor, Eleanor, *Century of Struggle: The Women’s Rights Movement in the U.S.*, Cambridge, 1959.

Rec: Wells-Barnett, Ida. B., *The Red Record: Tabulated Statistics & Alleged Causes of Lynching in the United States*, originally published 1895, republished 1969, 2005.

Possible Discussion Questions on Reconstruction & the ERA:

1. Describe the economic circumstances in the North and South at the end of the Civil War.
2. Contrast the views of Davis and Aptheker re: the long-run viability of the Equal Rights Association.
3. Why was the fall of Reconstruction one of the crucial “turning points” in American history?

ESSAY #4: Two parts. Answer BOTH:

A. Recount the purpose of, plans for, and reasons for the failure of Reconstruction. (Be sure to set your

essay within the relevant economic context.) AND

B. Describe the Kradt/DuBois vs. the Aptheker/Lerner/Davis positions on the advisability of the split of the ERA. With whom do you agree and why?

VIII. Mexican American/Chicana women in the Southwest

The relationship between US labor demand and US immigration policy (lecture)

Immigration and gender: The “Americanization” campaigns

VIII.A. The “Americanization” Campaigns of the Early 1900s

READ: A/M 4: “The Soul of Tierra Madre: Chicana Women”

READ: Sanchez, George, “Go After the Women: Americanization & Mexican Immigrants” D/R, 1st ed.

READ: Garcia, “The Growth of Chicana Feminist Discourse” in D/R, 1st ed.

Rec: Acuna, Rodolfo, *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos*, HarperCollins, 1988.

Rec: Barrera, Mario, *Race and Class in the Southwest*, Univ. of Notre Dame Press, 1980/2005.

Discussion Questions on Sanchez, “Go After the Women”

1. What were the “Americanization” programs? Who were its primary targets? Why?
2. How does Sanchez describe the function of the family in traditional Mexican-American life?
3. Why did immigration escalate from 1910 to 1930? How large was the increase? How did immigration affect Mexican-American communities?
4. How did restrictionists, nativists, employers, and Americanists respond to the increase in immigration?
5. Who were the primary actors in the Americanization programs? Describe their philosophies.
6. Were work/family conflicts addressed by the Americanization programs? Why/Why not?
7. How did food/diet and hygiene become tools of social control?
8. Discuss the views of Americanization workers re: family size and population growth.
9. Why did the programs stress employment outside of the home? What type of jobs were viewed as appropriate for Mexican-American women?
10. Why did the Americanization programs fail?

VIII.B. The United Farm Workers as Union and Civil Rights Organization

READ: Tejada-Flores, Rick, “The United Farm Workers”

READ: Bardache, Fred, “Cesar’s Ghost.” *The Nation*, July 26, 1993.

Rec: Garcia, Matthew, *From the Jaws of Victory: The Triumph and Tragedy of Cesar Chavez and the Farm Worker Movement*, Univ. of Cal., 2012.

Rec: Pawel, Miriam, *The Union of Their Dreams*, Bloomsbury Press, 2009.

Rec: Shaw, Randy, *Beyond the Fields: Cesar Chavez, The UFW and the Struggle for Immigrant Justice in the 21st Century*, Univ. of Cali. Press, 2008.

Rec: Giagnoni, Silvia, *Fields of Resistance: The Struggle of Florida’s Farmworkers for Justice*, Haymarket Books, 2011. (re: the Coalition of Immokalee Workers).

Discussion Questions on the UFW:

1. What is the Wagner Act? Who is left out of Wagner & why? What is Taft-Hartley? What types of activities does it prohibit? Do these restrictions apply to agricultural workers? Why?
2. Describe the UFW’s grape and lettuce boycotts; the major victory for the UFW in 1969.
3. What is CALRA? Discuss the costs and benefits of relying on legislation/regulation like CALRA.
4. Discuss the factors responsible for the demise of the UFW.

VIII.C. Immigration reform and the “Dreamers”

READ: Giovagnoli, “Overhauling Immigration Law: A Brief History and Basic Principles of Reform.”

SKIM: re: the Dream Act: <http://www.immigrationpolicy.org/just-facts/dream-act-resource-page>

ESSAY #5: Choose A, B, or C:

A. Describe, in some detail, the fluctuations in the U.S. government’s treatment of Mexican immigrants from 1910 to the present. Discuss the reasons for these fluctuations. OR

B. Explain, in detail, how this country’s migrant agricultural labor force was established. OR

C. Describe the origin of, tactics of, and successes of, the United Farm Workers. Describe reasons for the rapid fall in the UFW’s membership and influence.

IX. Women’s labor and anti-poverty activists

A short history of women in the early US labor movement: The AFL, the Knights, and the Wobblies

IX.A. Triangle and its aftermath

READ: “Triangle: The Fire That Changed Everything,” *NY Times*, Feb. 22, 2011.

Rec: Tax, Meredith, “The Uprising of the 30,000” (D/R) and *The Rising of the Women: Feminist Solidarity and Class Conflict 1880-1917*, Univ. of Illinois Press, 2001.

Rec: Von Drehle, Davis, *Triangle: The Fire that Changed America*, Grove Press, 2003.

IX.B. The Strengths and Contradictions of Cross-Class Gender Solidarity: The WTUL

READ: Dye, “Feminism or Unionism? The New York WTUL & the Labor Movement” 1980.

READ: Dye, “Creating a Feminist Alliance: Sisterhood and Class Conflict in the NY WTUL 1903-1914”

Rec: Dye, Nancy, *As Equals & as Sisters: Feminism, the Labor Movement & the NY WTUL*, Missouri, 1980.

Discussion Questions re: Dye Articles on WTUL

1. Describe the numbers and job distribution of women workers in NYC in 1900.
2. Describe the goals and membership of the WTUL.
3. Describe the special problems of organizing women workers in this era. Why was the standard AFL model problematic? How did the WTUL attempt to address women’s unique difficulties?
4. Describe the pros & cons of AFL affiliation for women workers & the WTUL. Why/How did this shift?
5. Describe alternative possibilities to the AFL model and the problems with each.
6. Describe the motivations and contradictions for middle class women who affiliated with the WTUL. Why did they often end up in leadership positions? Describe WTUL efforts to change this.
7. Describe the ways in which differing class backgrounds caused problems within the WTUL. Discuss the pros and cons of cross-class organizations like the WTUL. In what ways are conflicts within cross-class organizations similar to/different from those in multiracial/ethnic organizations? Discuss.
9. What does Dye say was the central issue causing conflict within the WTUL? Discuss.

IX.C. US Labor Law and the Current State of US Labor

READ: Brody, David, “How the Wagner Act Became a Management Tool,” *New Labor Forum*, Spr. 2004

READ: Becker, Craig, “Reconstructing the Right to Organize,” Fall/Winter 1998 and Benz, Dorothy, “The Case for Card Check Campaigns,” Fall/Winter 1998.

Rec: Bronfenbrenner, Kate, *No Holds Barred: The Intensification of Employer Opposition to Organizing*.

SKIM: Milkman & Luce, (Murphy Center), *The State of the Unions 2013: A Profile of Organized Labor*.

Rec: Warner (CEPR), “The Real Reason for the Decline of American Unions” 2013

Rec: Macaray (Counterpunch), “Three Big Reasons for the Decline of Labor Unions, 2008.

Discussion Questions on Brody, Becker, et al.

1. Review the economic/political context for, purpose of, and major provisions of the Wagner Act (NLRA).
2. Contrast the underlying philosophies of Wagner vs. Taft-Hartley re: the status and power of workers; the proper relationship among the government, unions, and corporations.
3. How did Taft Hartley limit the right to self-organization? Contrast the Taft provisions re: secondary boycotts with those re: unfair labor practices such as firing a union supporter.
4. Discuss current proposals to restore the original intent of the Wagner Act.

IX.D. Women in the current US labor movement (Optional section; depends on time.)

READ: Milkman, “Two Worlds of Unionism: Women in the New Labor Movement”

READ: Covert, ‘How the Rise of Women in Labor Could Save the Movement’

Rec: Milkman, *Women, Work & Protest: A Century of US Women’s Labor History*, Routledge, 1985

Rec: Cobble, *The Other Women’s Movement*, ch. 1 – 5.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS ON MILKMAN

1. Review the union wage & benefit premiums for women. What are other ways in which unions have helped to improve working conditions & wages for women?
2. Discuss several factors that predict a given union’s receptivity to and commit to women’s leadership and women’s issues.
3. Review female vs. male unionization rates. Where are female v. male union members concentrated? How does this vary (for women) by race?
4. Cite evidence that women may actually be “more organizable” than men.
5. Discuss women’s representation in organizer roles; in leadership roles (officers & exec. boards). What factors account for these continuing differentials?

FILM, “Norma Rae” - Discussion Questions on “Norma Rae”

1. Describe the conditions in the mills before the arrival of the TWUA organizer. Cite evidence that this was a “mill town.” What is brown lung?
2. What was your reaction to the poor white, rural culture portrayed in the movie?
3. What was the reaction of many of the mill workers to the TWUA organizer? Relate this to the history of union organizing in textiles in the South.
4. Discuss the reaction of the Black vs. the white church re: the union. Why might this be the case?
5. How did the company attempt to use racial divisions to thwart the organizing drive? Discuss.
6. Discuss the anti-Semitism shown by the workers and the company. How did this affect the drive?
7. How was the Wagner Act enforced/not enforced during this drive?
8. Discuss the visit from the national TWUA representatives.
9. Discuss the scene(s) re: the Dylan Thomas book. Why are they in the movie?

10. Discuss the conflict between Norma Rae & Sonny over housework.
11. Discuss the scene where Norma Rae stands on the table. How do her coworkers react?
12. Aside from higher wages, what does the union represent to these workers?

IX.E. Triangle Revisited: Rana Plaza and the contradictions of monitoring globalized corporations

READ/VIEW: Institute for Global Labor and Human Rights website. See especially the video, “Triangle Returns” on the right side of the site. <http://www.globallabourrights.org/campaigns?id=0049>.

READ/VIEW: Huffington Post updates on Bangladesh labor accords:

www.huffingtonpost.com/tag/bangladesh-factory-collapse

READ: *New York Times* articles on Bangladesh tragedy (Greenhouse and others).

READ: Surowiecki, James, “After Rana Plaza,” *New Yorker*, May 20, 2013.

READ: Dudley, et al., “The Hidden Cost of Fast Fashion,” *Business Week*, 02/11-17/13.

READ: “ILO Statement on the Reform of Bangladesh Labor Law”

Highly Rec: AFL-CIO, “Responsibility Outsourced: Social Audits, Workplace Certification and 20 Years of Failure to Protect Workers’ Rights”

Discussion Questions – Rana Plaza

1. Recount the basic events at Rana Plaza and the factors that contributed to this accident.
2. How do globalization and subcontracting complicate efforts to ensure worker safety?
3. Describe the differences between the Accord & the Alliance. Which did most US companies sign? Why?
4. Describe several alternative methods of improving working conditions and wages at garment plants in Bangladesh and elsewhere. Discuss the pros and cons of each.
5. What might students and other consumers in the developed world do to contribute to these efforts?

ESSAY #6: Choose A, B, or C:

A. Using lecture material, describe the membership, philosophy, activities, and successes of the Knights of Labor. Briefly describe several reasons for their demise. OR

B. Using both lecture and the written texts, describe the membership, goals, activities, and successes of the WTUL. How was this cross-class organization able to persist for 45 years? OR

C. Discuss the strengths and weaknesses of reliance on global monitoring organizations to ensure the safety and well-being of workers in developing nations.

X. The U.S. economy in the late 1800s/early 1900s: The impact on women's economic roles

Monopolization and internationalization

Changes in the labor process and labor control strategies; The impact on the demand for women’s labor

Changes in class structures: The rise of the professional-managerial class

READ: Edwards, selections from *Contested Terrain: The Transformation of the Workplace in the 20th Century*, Basic Books, 1979 (rest of book recommended.)

Skim: Bowles, Edwards, Roosevelt, “American Capitalism: Accumulation and Change” (ch. 7 of *Understanding Capitalism*).

READ: Ehrenreich, John and Barbara, “The Professional Managerial Class,” *Radical America*, 1977.

ESSAY #7: Describe the changes in the US economy (both domestically and internationally) in the late 1800s/early 1900s. Explain, in some detail, the impact of these changes on the demand for women’s paid labor and on women’s occupational position.

XI. Women in the Great Depression

READ: Milkman, “Women’s Work and Economic Crisis: Some Lessons from the Great Depression”

READ: Helmbold, “Beyond the Family Economy: Black and White Working-Class Women During the Great Depression.”

Rec.: Rose, Nancy, *Put to Work: Relief Programs in the Great Depression*, MR, 1994.

Rec.: Collins, Sheila and Gertrude Goldberg (eds.), *When Government Helped: Learning from the Successes and Failures of the New Deal*, Oxford Univ. Press, 2014.

Rec.: Sitkoff, Howard, *A New Deal for Blacks*, Oxford Univ. Press, 2008.

Discussion Questions on Great Depression

1. Why did women’s unemployment rates not rise as fast as men’s in the initial stages of the Great Depression? How did this change as the Depression wore on? Why?
2. How did many politicians, corporate leaders, and male unionists scapegoat women for the economic problems of the 1930s?
3. Describe some of the discriminatory practices against married working women; (e.g., Article 213 of the Economy Act of 1932 or the treatment of married teachers).
4. Describe the changing nature and importance of household labor during the Depression. How did women compensate for the lack of income? How did they earn extra money? How did their “emotional labor” increase?
5. Describe the changes in Black and white women’s labor force participation rates during the Depression. Discuss possible reasons for this discrepancy.
6. How does Helmbold critique the portrayals of family harmony during the Depression? Describe the strains put on families when women worked & men did not. Describe the impact on divorce/desertion.
7. Discuss the responsibilities of unmarried daughters to parents’ well-being. Could unmarried daughters expect reciprocal support? Why families not always meet their obligations to one another?

XII. Women in the Great Depression vs. The Great Recession

READ: Christensen, “‘He-cession, She-cession’: The Gendered Impact of the Great Recession.” 2014.

READ: Feminist Historians for a *New New Deal*, “An Open Letter to President-Elect Obama.”

READ: Boris, Eileen, and Lisa Levenstein, “Feminist Academics and the Stimulus Package: A Report from the Field,” Spring 2009.

SKIM: Center for American Progress (CAP), “The American Recovery & Reinvestment Act,” 2009.

Discussion Questions on the ARRA

1. Using lecture material and the CAP report, summarize the basic provisions of the ARRA.
2. Using lecture material, describe the work programs of the New Deal.
3. How did feminist economists and historians assess the successes and failures of the New Deal work programs with respect to women and /or people of color? What recommendations did they make to President-elect Obama to avoid these problems in the ARRA? To what extent were they successful?

ESSAY #8: Choose A or B:

A. Critique the claim that the 2008 economic crisis was a “man-cession.” Describe the impact of the 2008 crisis on American women. OR

B. Describe the demands made by feminist economists and historians re: the ARRA. What were the major problems with the ARRA? In what ways was the ARRA more favorable (or not) women and/or people of

color than similar legislation from the 1930s?

XIII. World War II: Impact on women's economic and social roles

XIII.A. "Rosie the Riveter" and the changes in women's economic roles

READ: Milkman, "Redefining 'Women's Work': Sexual Division of Labor in the Auto Industry in WWII"

FILM: "The Life and Times of Rosie the Riveter"

XIII.B. Jewish labor and the economics of the Holocaust

SKIM: "The Holocaust and Economic Exploitation" <http://www.holocaustresearchproject.org/economics/>

READ: Pagenstecher, "We Were Treated Like Slaves: Remembering Forced Labor for Nazi Germany"

READ: Kaplan, "Jewish Women in Nazi Germany: Daily Life, Daily Struggles" (*Fem. St.*, 1990)

Rec: Gruner, *Jewish Slave Labor Under the Nazis: Economic Needs & Racial Aims*, Cambridge, 2006.

Rec: Suhl, Yuri, *They Fought Back: The Story of Jewish Resistance in Nazi Europe*, Schocken, 1987.

Rec: Dawidowicz, *The War Against the Jews 1933-1945*, Bantam, 1986.

Rec: Ofer & Weitzman (eds.), *Women in the Holocaust*, Yale Univ., 1998.

Rec: Kaplan, *Between Dignity & Despair: Jewish Life in Nazi Germany*, Oxford, 1998.

Rec: Coontz, *Mothers in the Fatherland: Women, the Family, and Nazi Politics*, St. Martin's, 1987.

Rec: Bridenthal, et al., *When Biology Became Destiny: Women in Weimar & Nazi Germany*, MR, 1984.

Discussion Questions on Kaplan re: Jewish Women in Nazi Germany

1. Describe the demographics of German Jews in the early 1930s. What percent of the population was Jewish? Describe their occupational and educational status. Were they "assimilated"? Explain.
2. Describe the Nazi boycotts; the April expulsion laws; the Nuremberg Laws; Kristallnacht (Crystal Night). Describe the impact of these and similar laws on Jewish lives and livelihoods.
3. Describe ways in which the increasing anti-Semitism disproportionately affected Jewish women.
4. How did Jewish women respond to the increasing financial, educational, and other hardships?
5. Why were Jewish women more likely to support emigration? Why were men more likely to emigrate?
6. Describe the changing mission and activities of the JBF.

ESSAY #9: Answer A and B:

A. Using lecture material, describe several factors that contributed to the rise of Nazism. AND

B. Describe the scope and impact of German forced/slave labor.

XIII.C. The impact of WWII on the Japanese American community

The economics of internment; The impact on Japanese American women and families

READ: Matsumoto, Valerie, "Japanese American Women During WWII," 1984.

FILM: "Mitsuye and Nellie"

Rec: Otsuka, Julie, *When the Emperor was Divine*, Anchor, 2003.

ESSAY #10: Choose A or B:

A. Describe the reasons for, and economic impact of, Executive Order 9066. OR

B. Using Matsumoto, describe the impact of camp life on women internees.

XIII.D. War and Violence Against Women: The "Comfort Women" of WWII

READ: *New York Times* article on Abe's attempts to repudiate the Kono agreements.

Rec: Yoshimi, Yashiaki, *Comfort Women: Sexual Slavery in the Japanese Military During WWII*, Columbia University Press, 2001.

Rec: Hicks, George, *The Comfort Women: Japan's Regime of Enforced Prostitution During WWII*, Norton, 1997 and Soh, Sarah, *The Comfort Women: Sexual Violence and Postcolonial Memory in Korea and Japan*, Univ. of Chicago, 2009.

Related websites:

Coalition Against Trafficking in Women: <http://www.catwinternational.org/>

Gabriela: Alliance of Filipina Women: <http://www.gabrielaph.com/>

XIII.E. The impact of WWII: The seeds of the women's and LGBT liberation movements

READ: Berube, Allan, "Coming Out Under Fire"

READ: D'Emilio, John, "Capitalism & Gay Identity"

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS ON BERUBE

1) How did WWII contribute to lesbian/gay self-discovery and community?

2a) Describe the treatment of publicly identified lesbians & gay men during WWII. 2b) What was the "blue discharge"? 2c) What were the implications of a blue discharge for a person's postwar life?

2d) Were the military's anti-gay policies always enforced? Explain.

3a) Describe the treatment of lesbians & gays after WWII: in the military, in government, in schools and universities. 3b) Why did the climate re: lesbians & gays, women, and people of color shift after the war?

4a) How did the purges and discrimination contribute to the emergence of the lesbian/gay liberation movement? 4b) List some of the early organizations.

*5) How did WWII & its aftermath contribute to the development of the modern LGBT movement?

ESSAY #11: List and explain several ways in which WWII contributed to the rise of the American LGBT liberation movement(s).

XIV. Feminism at mid-century

1. Radical Feminism

READ: Morgan, "Goodbye to All That"

READ: Dworkin, "Marx and Gandhi were Liberals"

Rec: "Redstockings Manifesto"

Rec: MacKinnon, "Feminism, Marxism, Method, and the State: An Agenda for Theory"

Rec: Brownmiller, "Against Our Will: Men, Women, and Rape"

2. Lesbian Feminism

READ: Radicalesbians, "The Woman-Identified Woman"

READ: Bunch, "Lesbians in Revolt"

READ: Small, "Lesbians and the Class Position of Women"

3. Women of Color Feminism

READ: Smith, et al., Combahee River Collective, "A Black Feminist Statement"

READ: Moraga, "La Guera" and "A Long Line of Vendidas"

READ: Lorde, "The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House"

4. Socialist Feminism

READ: Rubin, “The Traffic in Women”

Rec: Hartman, “Capitalism, Patriarchy, and Job Segregation by Sex”

(In-class discussions of these readings.)

XV. The LGBT Movement from mid-century

READ: Chauncey, George, *Gay New York*, (chapters TBA), Basic Books, 1994.

Rec: Faderman, Lillian, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers*, Penguin, 1991.

Rec: Kennedy, Elizabeth and Madeline Davis, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold*, Routledge, 1993.

Tape: Ma Rainey, “Prove It On Me Blues” and Bessie Jackson, “BD Women”

XV.1. The evolution of LGBT legal rights

READ: Handout (found at end of syllabus) on relevant Supreme Court decisions, case law, etc.

XV.2. AIDS and the LGBT movement

Tape: Malliaris, Tony, “Storm the NIH!”

Rec: (film) “United in Anger” and (film) “How to Survive a Plague”

XV.3. Marriage equality

READ: *NY Times* summary of Obergefell v. Hodges decision

Rec: Graff, “What’s So Radical About Same Sex Marriage?”

Rec: Stein, “What’s Wrong with Newark? Race, Class, Marriage Politics, and the Limits of Queer Liberalism” from Bernstein, 2013

Rec: Duggan, “Beyond Marriage”

Rec: Interview with Amber Hollibaugh:

<http://www.thenation.com/video/168582/amber-l-hollibaugh-lgbtq-movements-radical-vision#>

Rec: Bernstein, Mary, *The Marrying Kind? Debating Same Sex Marriage within the Lesbian and Gay Movement*, University of Minnesota, 2013.

XV.4. Trans and the definition of gender

READ: Minter, “Do Transgenders Dream of Gay Rights?” (from Currah, et al.)

Rec: Christensen, “Thank God! Thought You were Converting to Socialism! Gender and Identity in McCloskey’s *Crossing*” and McCloskey, Deirdre, *Crossing*: Univ. of Chicago, 1999.

Rec: Bornstein, Kate, *My Gender Workbook*, 2nd ed., Routledge, 2013.

Rec: Goldberg, “What is a Woman?” (*New Yorker*, 08/04/14)

Rec: Currah, Paisley, Richard Juang, and Shannon Minter, *Transgender Rights*, Univ. of Minn., 2006

Rec: Broadus, “The Evolution of Employment Discrimination Protections for Transgender People”

ESSAY #12: How do the experiences & politics of the transgender movement illuminate/challenge our definitions of gender? What do they tell us about the changing politics of the LG(BT) movement?

XVI. Asian American Women

Immigration law; Gendered immigration and women’s status; Commonalities and diversity

XVI.A. Chinese American Women

Legal restrictions and their impact on family structure: The Gum Shan Poo

Sex work and the question of trafficking

READ: Handout on Legal restrictions on Chinese immigrants (later in syllabus)

READ: Yung, Judy, “Unbound Feet: Chinese American Women in the Public Sphere”

READ: A/M 7: “Climbing Gold Mountain: Asian American Women”

Rec: Yung, Judy, “The Social Awakening of Chinese American Women” D/R, 4th ed.

Rec: Ling, Huping, *Surviving on the Gold Mountain: A History of Chinese American Women*, SUNY, 1998.

Rec: See, Lisa, *On Gold Mountain: The 100 Year Odyssey of My Chinese American Family*, Vintage, 1995.

Rec: Yung, Judy, *Unbound Voices: A Documentary History of Chinese Women in San Francisco*, UC, 1999.

Rec: Yu, Renqui, *To Save China, To Save Ourselves: The Chinese Hand Laundry Alliance of New York*, Temple Univ., 1992.

Rec: Bao, Xiaolan, *Holding Up More Than Half the Sky: Chinese Women Garment Workers in NYC*, Univ. of Illinois Press, 2001.

ESSAY #13: Describe the legal/political/economic restrictions placed on Chinese immigrants to the US. AND Describe the impact of these restrictions on family structure & sexuality in early Chinese American communities.

XVI.B. Women from the Indian Sub-Continent

READ: Bhalla, “Couch Potatoes and SuperWomen: Gender, Migration and the Emerging Discourse on Housework Among Asian Indian Immigrants”

READ: Sayeed, “Chappals & Gym Shorts: An Indian Muslim Woman in the Land of Oz”

READ: Handout of “Countries of Origin of Legal Immigrants, 2013” (later in syllabus)

READ: Narayan, “Male Order Brides, Immigrant Women, Domestic Violence & Immigration Law”

READ: Kabeer, Huq, and Malmud, “Diverging Stories of ‘Missing Women’ in South Asia: Is Son Preference Weakening in Bangladesh vs. India?” (*Feminist Economics*)

Rec: Sinha, “Gender in the Critiques of Colonialism and Nationalism: Locating the ‘Indian Woman’”

Discussion Questions on Bhalla

1. How did immigration to the US change the economic status of the women in Bhalla’s study? (Discuss both paid and unpaid work.) How did this impact their views on the division of household labor?
2. How did the women’s class position affect their views on housework?
3. How did predominant views about men sharing housework change over the course of her study?
4. How did the debates over housework interact with debates over loyalty to homeland/home culture?
5. “Migration’s dislocations provide women with new opportunities to renegotiate power and recreate family patterns in ways that are favorable to them.” Discuss.

Discussion Questions on Sayeed

1. What would Sayeed’s “capitulation” to an arranged marriage or wearing hijab symbolize to her father? To her? How does western education complicate relationships between immigrant parents and children?
2. Discuss the pros and cons for Sayeed of “assimilation” into western gender norms. Discuss the complications of these ongoing negotiations.
3. Discuss Sayeed’s relationship to her (predominantly white, American) feminist community. How is she learning to “dissect” their models western feminism?

XVI.C. Women from Predominantly Muslim Countries

READ: Kongar, Olmstead, and Shehanuddin, “Gender and Economics in Muslim Communities: A

Critical Feminist and Postcolonial Analysis” (*Fem. Econ*, Intro. to special issue, Oct. 2014)

READ: Braunstein, “Patriarchy vs. Islam: Gender & Religion in Economic Growth” (*Fem.Econ*)

READ: Spierings, “The Influence of Patriarchal Norms, Institutions, and Household Composition on Women’s Employment in 28 Muslim-Majority Countries” (*Fem.Econ.*)

Highly Rec: Shalhoub, Woodsum, Zu’bi, and Busbridge, “Funding Pain: Bedouin Palestinian Women and Political Economy in the Naqab/Negev” (*Fem.Econ.*)

Rec: Kumar, “Political Islam: A Marxist Analysis”

Possible Review/Discussion Questions on Fem Econ Intro.

1. What is Orientalism? How has it affected the West’s approach to military and development policies?
2. What percent of the world’s population is Muslim? What percent of the global South? How many countries now have Muslim majorities? How many will be majority Muslim by 2030? What percent of Muslims are Arabs? Where are Muslims concentrated geographically?
3. Describe the diversity of global Muslim countries re: a) their past experiences with colonialism; b) the level of per capita income and poverty; c) women’s (official) labor force participation rates; d) the adoption of western/colonial, secular/modern, and sharia law.
4. Describe the version of development theory prevalent in the 1950s in the West. How did Marxists/dependency theorists critique this model? Describe the 1970s WID approach. How was this critiqued by feminists & anti-colonialists?
5. Describe & critique a neoliberal approach to development.
6. What are NGOs? Describe some of the issues of contention re: NGOs in poor countries.
7. What is a capabilities approach? How does it differ from standard models of development? Describe a human rights approach to development and what that would entail.
8. Critique the “facile link” that is often made between women’s employment outside the home and women’s empowerment. What other factors need to be taken into account?
9. Describe the standard “bargaining power” model of household negotiation. On what factors is a woman’s bargaining power said to depend? How does the article complicate this theory? Describe the impact of divorce laws on women’s bargaining power in the household.
10. What is the Index of Patriarchal Dominance? What are patriarchal rents? Are these associated with Muslim-dominant societies? How do they impact economic growth?
11. Women often identify themselves as “more religious” than men. Why might this be the case?
12. Describe the pros and cons of the Universal Breadwinner vs. Caretaker Parity Models.

FILM: “Feminism, Inshallah”

Guest Speaker: SHEMEEM ABBAS (Kempner Distinguished Professor of Political Science, SUNY/Purchase) on “Liberal Democracy, Militarism, Gender Apartheid, and the Sharia in Pakistan”

Rec: Interview of Leila Ahmed re: hijab: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d_CTrbVqWW0

Rec: Videos of speakers from “Re-envisioning Pakistan” conference, SLC, April 2014:

<http://new.livestream.com/SarahLawrence/re-envisioningpakistan>

ESSAY #14: Choose A or B.

A. Using specific examples from the Bhalla, Sayeed, and/or Harris, discuss the impact of immigration on the gender/sexual customs of immigrant families from the Indian subcontinent (India, Pakistan, Bangladesh).

B. Using Kongar, et al., summarize and critique (from a feminist perspective) liberal, Marxist, and neoliberal models of development. Sketch an outline for a feminist theory of development. How would you measure “development”? What factors, institutions, and practices would you emphasize?

XVII. Puerto Rican women on the island and the mainland

Spanish and American colonialism; The nationalist movement, yesterday and today

Operation Bootstrap and the transformation of the Puerto Rican economy

Immigration and the sterilization campaign

Recent changes in the Puerto Rican economy and their implications for women's employment

READ: A/M 8: "Yo Misma Fui Mi Ruta (I Was My Own Path)"

READ: Lugo –Lugo, "The Madonna Experience: A US Icon Awakens a Puerto Rican Adolescent's Feminist Consciousness"

READ: La Luz, Jose, "Class Solidarity vs. the Pursuit of the Elusive Nation," *New Labor Forum*, 2004.

Rec: Azize-Vargas, "The Emergence of Feminism in Puerto Rico" in D/R.

Rec: Ayala, Cesar, *Puerto Rico in the American Century: A History Since 1898*, Univ. NC, 2007.

Rec: Fernandez, Ronald, *The Disenchanted Island: Puerto Rico & the US in the 20th C.*, Prager, 1996.

Rec: CARASA, *Women Under Attack: Abortion, Sterilization Abuse & Reproductive Freedom*, 1979.

Rec: Dennis, Nelson. *The War Against All Puerto Ricans*. Nation Books. 2015.

Rec: Monge, Jose Trias, *Puerto Rico: The Trials of the Oldest Colony in the World*, Yale, 1999.

Rec: Carrion, Arturo Morales, *Puerto Rico: A Political and Cultural History*, Norton, 1984.

Rec: Lopez, Alfredo, *Dona Licha's Island: Modern Colonialism in Puerto Rico*, South End Press, 1987.

Rec: Dietz, James, *An Economic History of Puerto Rico*, Princeton, 1987.

Discussion Questions on Lugo Lugo

1. Describe the changes in the Puerto Rican economy 1980s and beyond. How did these changes impact Puerto Rican women's economic and educational roles?
2. How did the economic changes affect women's family and related roles and labors? Men's lives and roles? Discuss her contradictory feelings towards the lives of the women in her mother's generation.
3. Lugo-Lugo says that Madonna "provided alternatives to the traditional, established definitions of womanhood and femininity . . . in a society where traditional beliefs were set in stone." Explain. How did Madonna help Lugo-Lugo and her friends to question traditional gender dichotomies ("good/bad girl," etc.) and to "reinterpret and reconceptualize gender roles." In what ways does she see Madonna as "contesting patriarchy"?
4. Lugo-Lugo says that the popularity of Madonna has to be understood in the context of the colonial relationship between the US and Puerto Rico. In what ways has Puerto Rican culture been influenced by US culture? In what ways has it resisted the dominant US culture?
5. Discuss Lugo-Lugo's "rebellions" such as refusing the third religious sacrament and dressing like Madonna. How does her family react?
6. Lugo-Lugo's grandfather is upset when she discusses the possibility of marrying a Black man. Discuss the history of race relations on the Island and the impact of US (mainland) racism.
- *7. Discuss both the positives and negatives of Madonna being a role model for Puerto Rican girls.

Discussion Questions on Azize-Vargas

1. Describe the status of women's education under Spanish colonialism. How did it change with the US invasion?
2. How did the devaluation of the peso affect people's economic status? Describe the impact on women.
3. How did WWI affect women's employment? Describe the types of discrimination women experienced in the garment and tobacco industries. Describe women's experiences organizing in tobacco; describe their demands.
4. Describe the origins and demands of the Puerto Rican Feminine

League. How did they differ from the demands of the working class women?

5. Describe the struggles over enforcing the 19th amendment in Puerto Rico. What was the basis of the opposition? How did ties with North American feminists influence this struggle?

ESSAY #15: Summarize the reasons for, and results of, Operation Bootstrap. Discuss the relationship between Bootstrap and the US/Island government campaign to sterilize Puerto Rican women.

XVIII. The Growth of the 20th c. Women's Movement(s)

Changes in women's paid and unpaid labor in the 20th century

The relationship of the women's movement to the civil rights & new left/anti-war movements of the 1960s

READ: Evans, Sara, *Personal Politics: The Roots of Women's Liberation in the Civil Rights Movement and the New Left*, Vintage, 1980.

Rec: Stansell, *The Feminist Promise*, ch. 7 – 10.

Rec: Cobble, *The Other Women's Movement*.

ESSAY #16: Using Davis, Cobble, and lecture material, summarize and critique Evans' argument in *Personal Politics* re: the rise of the feminist movement at mid-century.

XIX. GLOBAL FEMINISM

READ: Bunch, "Women's Human Rights: From Slogan to Global Agenda"

READ: "An Activist Temperament: An Interview with Charlotte Bunch"

(re)READ: Rich, "Towards a Politics of Location"

READ: Stansell, Ch. XI, "Global Feminism: The Age of Reagan & Beyond"

READ: Mohanty, "Under Western Eyes, Revisited: Feminist Solidarity Through Anti-Capitalist Struggle"

READ: Basu, "Globalization of the Local: Mapping Transnational Women's Movements"

READ: Eisenstein, *Feminism Seduced: How Global Elites Use Women's Labor and Ideas to Exploit the World*, Paradigm, 2009.

Highly Rec: Lewis, Reina and Sara Mills, *Feminist Postcolonial Theory: A Reader*, Routledge, 2003.

Rec: Beneria, Lourdes, et al., Intro to special issue of *Feminist Economics* on Globalization and Gender.

Possible final paper (depending on time) on the promise and limitations of global feminism.

LGBT – Supreme Court Decisions, Case Law, etc.

Sodomy laws

Sodomy originally referred to any non-procreative sexual acts. Over time, sodomy laws came to be associated with same-sex partners and were rarely enforced against others. Every state adopted sodomy laws, either directly or via the adoption of English common law which prohibited sodomy.

--In 1961, the Illinois legislature revised their criminal code without prohibiting sodomy.

--By 1970, 21 more states had repealed their sodomy laws, often while modernizing their legal codes.

--1986 *Bowers v. Hardwick*: Supreme Court decision upheld the constitutionality of sodomy laws.

--2003: *Lawrence v. Texas*: Overturned *Bowers v. Hardwick*, invalidating the sodomy laws in the remaining fourteen states that had them (Utah, Idaho, Michigan & 11 southern states). (ABA 2015)

LGBs in the military

1993 President Clinton signed into law “Don’t ask; Don’t tell,” theoretically lifting the ban on LGB in the military that had been in force since WWII. (Those who remained closeted were supposedly safe from prosecution and dishonorable discharge.) Enforcement proved difficult and discriminatory; President Obama signed legislation repealing DADT, which ended in 2011.

ENDA Employment Non-Discrimination Act

--Research by Lee Badgett (Williams Institute) found that gay men who work fulltime make an average 17% less than heterosexual men of the same age, race, education, location & occupation.

--ENDA is proposed legislation that would prohibit discrimination in hiring and promotion on the basis of sexual orientation and/or gender identity. Currently, 17 states and DC prohibit discrimination based on both orientation and identity, and four prohibit discrimination based on sexual orientation alone; i.e., trans persons are not covered. (Wash.Post 7/8/15)

--ENDA was first introduced in Congress in 1994 by Gerry Studds (D-MA) & Ed Kennedy (D-MA). Barney Frank (D-MA) succeeded in getting it passed in the House in 2007, but it failed to pass the Senate.

--The 2014 SCOTUS *Burwell v. Hobby Lobby* decision stated that corporations may be exempt from a law if the owners have a religious objection to it; (in this case, the birth control provisions of the ACA). Since then, the ACLU and many LGBT groups have withdrawn their support from ENDA, fearing that “religious objection” provisions in the bill might render it worse than useless. The recent passage of “religious freedom” acts in Indiana & Arkansas has increased concern.

Marriage equality: www.freedomtomarry.org/states/

--1970 *Baker vs. Nelson*: Minnesota Supreme Court decided against Jack Baker (who had applied for a license to marry his long-term, male partner); The Court ruled that laws and policies restricting marriage to “opposite sex” partners are constitutional.

--1993 *Baehr v. Miike*: Supreme Court of Hawai’i ruled that the state must demonstrate a “compelling interest” to prohibit marriages of “same sex” couples.

--1996 DOMA (Defense of Marriage Act). In response to *Baehr v. Miike*, DOMA allowed states to refuse to honor marriage licenses among “same sex” couples that had been granted in other states. And DOMA prohibited federal recognition of such marriages for purposes of benefits, etc.

--*US v. Windsor*: June 26, 2013: SCOTUS ruled that DOMA’s restriction of marriage to “opposite sex” couples was unconstitutional under the Due Process clause of the 5th amendment.

--*Obergefell v. Hodges*: June 26, 2015: SCOTUS rules that, under the 14th Amendment, states must

recognize marriages, including same-sex marriages, performed in other states.

Examples of Anti-Chinese Legislation and Court Cases

1854 - *People v. Hall*. Testimony restriction: The California Supreme Court rules that the testimony of a Chinese man who witnessed a murder by a white man is inadmissible.

1852 - Foreign Miner's License Tax. This California tax law requires a payment of \$3 each month from all foreign miners. While in force, the tax extracts \$5 million from Chinese miners, supplying 25% to 50% of all state revenue.

1870 – San Francisco Sidewalk Ordinance prohibits transporting goods on "yeo-ho" poles slung across the shoulders. Gongs may not be rung at theatrical performances, and no plays may be performed between midnight and daylight.

1875 - Asian Exclusion Act (Immigration Act of 1875) prohibits importation of Chinese who do not voluntarily consent to work in the US and of Chinese women for the purposes of prostitution; used to prevent single women from entering.

*1882 - Chinese Exclusion Act. Suspends the immigration of Chinese laborers to the U.S. It is the first U.S. restriction on immigration based on race and nationality. The Chinese American community used the American court system to challenge this and similar laws; the findings from these cases continue to be cited in U.S. constitutional law.

1886 - *Yick Wo v. Hopkins*. The first case in which Supreme Court rules that a law that was race-neutral on its face but administered in a prejudicial manner was an infringement of the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment.

1885 - *Tape v. Hurley*. Immigrants Joseph & Mary Tape not permitted to enroll their U.S.-born daughter Mamie in a SF public school. Cal. Sup. Ct. decides in their favor; one of the pioneering decisions in the fight for equality in education.

1888 - Scott Act prohibits the reentry of a Chinese laborer unless he has property worth \$1,000 or family in the country. The Act reclassifies all persons of Chinese ancestry, regardless of citizenship, as Chinese and subject to exclusion.

1892 - Geary Act requires all Chinese residents, including children, to carry a government-issued photo ID at all times.

1892 - The Chinese Equal Rights League is formed and stages acts of civil disobedience to protest the Geary Act.

1898 - *Wong Kim Ark v. U.S.* Birthright citizenship. Upholds the rights of citizenship conferred by the 14th Amendment upon all persons born in the U.S. regardless of race.

1913 - California Alien Land Acts prohibit Chinese and Japanese from owning land. Other states pass similar laws.

1917 – Immigration Act of 1917 designates an "Asiatic Barred Zone," including China, much of eastern Asia, and the Pacific Islands, from which people cannot immigrate.

1922 - Cable Act. Any American woman who marries "an alien ineligible for citizenship shall cease to be a citizen.

1924 National Origins Act sets immigration quotas at 2% of the 1890 population figures, favoring northern Europeans.

1928 - *Gong Lum v. Rice et al.* Supreme Court decides that Martha Lum, a US-born child, was not denied equal protection by being classified as a "colored" person; the state had the right to assign her to a segregated school.

1933 - NYC City Council passes an ordinance requiring one-person laundries to pay a \$25 annual fee and to post a \$1000 bond. Laundry owners form the Chinese Hand Laundry Alliance convinced the Council to reduce the fee.

1943 - Chinese Exclusion Act repealed; Chinese given the right to become naturalized citizens with priority given to family members & skilled workers. The 1949 Chinese Revolution increases the number admitted as political refugees.

Countries of Origin of Legal Immigrants to the US, end of 2013

28%	Mexico
5% each	China, India, Philippines
3% each	Vietnam, El Salvador, Cuba, Korea
2% each	Dominican Republic, Guatemala
.8%	Pakistan
.5%	Bangladesh

Unlike the average migrant from Mexico or Central America, legal immigrants from the Indian subcontinent tend to have immigrated more recently, are more likely to have college degrees, and tend to have higher incomes than either the native born or other immigrants. For instance:

Indians

--As of December 2013, there were over two million legal immigrants from India in the US. Most are fairly recent immigrants; the Indian population in the US has grown over 150 times since 1960.

--Indian Americans are more likely to have college degrees than either the native born or other immigrants; e.g., 75% of Indian immigrant men have at least four years of college and 40% have master's or doctoral degrees.

--Indian Americans are more likely to work in technical fields (29% of Indian men) or in business and finance (29% of Indian women).

--Indians are the second largest group of foreign students (after Chinese) currently studying in the US.

--The average Indian immigrant family's annual income is ~\$91,000, compared to \$51,000 for the rest of the US population.

Pakistanis

--33% of Pakistani immigrants have at least a bachelor's degree (compared to 20% of the general US population) and 23% have advanced degrees (compared with 11% of the US population).

--The average income of Pakistani immigrant families is ~\$60,000 compared to \$51,000 for the general US population.

Bangladeshis

--Like Pakistanis, Bangladeshi immigrants are more than twice as likely to have bachelor's and advanced degrees as the rest of the US population.

--Bangladeshi American women have lower rates of labor force participation than other US women (39% vs. 58% in 2013). Note that the general rate of women's LFPR has now fallen to 56.5%.

Immigrants from the Indian subcontinent are less likely than the general population, or other immigrants, to be in poverty. Poverty rates for Indian immigrants, for instance, are 7% compared to 15% for native borns and 20% for all immigrants.

Political Economy of Women - Student Information (Feel free to use the back!)

Legal name (on roster):

How would you like to be addressed (“nickname”):

Preferred promouns:

Year in school:

Phone(s):

Email address(es):

Don:

Please list your primary academic interests/fields (American history, math, art history, etc.):

Have you taken other courses either in economics or in gender studies? If yes, please list.

Is English your first language?

Do you have any disabilities that I should know about? If yes, what accommodations do you require?

What social/political issues concern you the most?

Do you consider yourself to be a feminist? Why or why not?

Anything else I should know about you? Thanks! 😊