CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS FOUNDATION

BILL OF RIGHTS IN ACTION

SPRING 2004 VOLUME 20 NUMBER 2

How Women Won the Right to Vote

In 1848, a small group of visionaries started a movement to secure equal rights for women in the United States. But it took more than 70 years just to win the right for women to vote.

After male organizers excluded women from attending an anti-slavery conference, American abolitionists Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott decided to call the "First Woman's Rights Convention." Held over several days in July 1848 at Seneca Falls, New York, the convention brought together about 300 women and 40 men. Among them was Charlotte Woodward, a 19 year-old farm girl who longed to become a printer, a trade then reserved for males.

By the end of the meeting, convention delegates had approved a statement modeled after the Declaration of Independence. The Seneca Falls "Declaration of Sentiments" began with these words: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal . . . ."

The declaration then listed "repeated injuries" by men against women, claiming that men had imposed "an absolute tyranny" over women." These injuries included forcing women to obey laws that they had no voice in passing. They included making married women "civilly dead" in the eyes of the law, without rights to property, earned wages, or the custody of their children in a divorce. The injuries included barring women from most "profitable employments" and colleges.

U S HISTORY

The convention also voted on a resolution that said, "it is the duty of the women of this country to secure to themselves their sacred right" to vote. This resolution provoked heated debate. It barely passed.

In the middle of the 19th century, most Americans, including most women, accepted the idea of "separate spheres" for males and females. Men worked and ran the government. Women stayed home and cared for the family. This notion was based on the widely held assumption that women were by nature delicate, childlike, emotional, and mentally inferior to men.

In 1913, Alice Paul organized a massive parade through the streets of Washington, D.C., for women's suffrage. (Library of Congress)

In the United States and in other democratic countries, the right to vote (also called the "elective franchise" or "suffrage") remained exclusively within the men's "sphere." The Seneca Falls declaration promoted a radical vision of gender equality in all areas of American public life, including women's suffrage. Women in most states did not gain the right to vote until 1919, after their role in American society had dramatically changed.

(Continued on next page)

Developments in Democracy

This issue of *Bill of Rights in Action* looks at developments in democracy. Two articles focus on the women's movement in the United States—the first examines how women achieved the right to vote and the second explores whether women have achieved equality in our society. The final article looks at four Enlightenment philosophers—Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, Charles Montesquieu, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau—and their views on democracy.

U.S. History: How Women Won the Right to Vote
Current Issues: Have Women Achieved Equality?
World History: Hobbes, Locke, Montesquieu, and Rousseau on Government

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Susan B. Anthony and the Women's Suffrage Movement

One of the main leaders of the women's suffrage movement was Susan B. Anthony (1820–1906). Brought up in a Quaker family, she was raised to be independent and think for herself. She joined the abolitionist movement to end slavery. Through her abolitionist efforts, she met Elizabeth Cady Stanton in 1851. Anthony had not attended the Seneca Falls Convention, but she quickly joined with Stanton to lead the fight for women's suffrage in the United States.

The Civil War interrupted action to secure the vote for women. During the war, however, the role of women in society began to change. Since many men were fighting, their wives and daughters often had to run the family farm, go to work in factories, or take up other jobs previously done by men.

After the war, Anthony, Stanton, and others hoped that because women had contributed to the war economy, they along with the ex-slaves would be guaranteed the right to vote. But most males disagreed.

The Republicans who controlled Congress wrote three new amendments to the U.S. Constitution. The 13th Amendment abolished slavery. The 14th Amendment awarded citizenship to all people born within the United States and granted every person "the equal protection of the laws." The 15th Amendment dealt with voting. It stated: "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." It failed to grant women the right to vote.

In 1869, Anthony and Stanton organized the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) to work for a federal constitutional amendment, guaranteeing all American women the right to vote. Some activists disagreed with this tactic. They believed the best way to get the vote for women was to persuade the legislatures of each state to grant women suffrage.

Ironically, the first place to allow American women to vote was neither the federal government nor a state. In 1869, the all-male legislature of the Territory of Wyoming passed a law that permitted every adult woman to "cast her vote . . . and hold office." In the West, pioneer women often worked shoulder-to-shoulder with men on farms and ranches and thus proved they were not weak or inferior.

Meanwhile, in Rochester, New York, Anthony conspired with sympathetic male voting registrars who allowed her and other women to cast ballots in the 1872 presidential election. The following year, she was put on trial for illegally voting, a criminal offense. The judge at Anthony's trial ruled that because she was a woman, she was incompetent to testify. The jury found her guilty, and the judge ordered her to pay a fine of $100. Anthony told the judge she would never pay it. She never did.

In 1875 in the case of *Minor v. Happersett*, the U.S. Supreme Court decided that women were citizens under the 14th Amendment. But the court went on to say that citizenship did not mean women automatically possessed the right to vote.

The "Anthony Amendment"

In 1878, the NWSA succeeded in getting a constitutional amendment introduced in Congress. The proposed amendment stated, "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex." This became known as the "Anthony Amendment."

While NWSA lobbied Congress for the "Anthony Amendment," another advocacy group, the American Woman Suffrage Association, concentrated on campaigning for women's right to vote in states and territories. Before 1900, only a few of these efforts in the western territories succeeded.

When the Territory of Wyoming applied for statehood in 1889, Congress threatened to deny it admission because its laws allowed women to vote. In response, the territorial legislators wrote Congress, "We will remain out of the Union a hundred years rather than come in without the women." The following year, Congress admitted Wyoming as a state, the first one with women's suffrage. This set the trend for a few other Western states to pass women's suffrage laws (Colorado, 1893; Utah, 1896; and Idaho, 1896).

In 1890, the two national women's suffrage organizations merged to form the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) with Elizabeth Cady Stanton as the president. Susan B. Anthony took over in 1892 and remained president until she retired in 1900.

In the late 1800s, the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) was actually the largest national organization promoting women's suffrage. The WCTU led a "Home Protection" movement aimed at prohibiting "strong drink" because of its damaging effects on men and their families. WCTU leaders realized that to increase its influence and affect lawmakers, women needed to be able to vote.

White and middle-class women dominated the WCTU, NAWSA, and most other national women's groups. The groups usually rejected black women for fear of alienating white supporters in the racially segregated

South. In addition, the groups rarely recruited immigrant women. The failure to include all women in the movement, while politically expedient, undermined the cause.

Toward the turn of the 20th century, Congress dropped its consideration of the Anthony Amendment, and in the states, most attempts to grant women the right to vote failed. Heavy opposition from traditionalists and liquor and brewing interests contributed to these defeats.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton (seated) and Susan B. Anthony were two of the first leaders in the women's suffrage movement. Neither lived long enough to see the passage of the 19th Amendment. (Library of Congress)

The "New Woman"

The concept of a new American woman emerged after 1900. Writers and commentators described the "New Woman" as independent and well-educated. She wore loose-fitting clothing, played sports, drove an automobile, and even smoked in public. She supported charities and social reforms, including women's suffrage. She often chose to work outside the home in offices, department stores, and professions such as journalism, law, and medicine that were just opening up to women. The image of the "New Woman" also usually made her white, native born, and middle class.

By 1910, "feminist" was another term being used to describe the "New Woman." Feminism referred to a new spirit among a few middle-class women to liberate themselves from the old notion of "separate spheres." An early feminist writer condemned this traditional view of the role of women since it prevented their full development and robbed the nation of their potential contribution.

Of course, working outside the home was nothing new for poor white, immigrant, and black women. They toiled as housekeepers, factory workers, and in other menial jobs in order to survive. Female factory workers earned only a quarter to a third of what men earned for the same job. There were no sick days or health benefits. Women were known to have given birth on the floors of factories where they worked. Since they did not have the right to vote, they had little opportunity to pressure lawmakers to pass laws that would have improved their wages and working conditions.

The Final Push

Western states continued to lead way in granting women's suffrage. Washington state allowed women the right to vote in 1910. California followed in 1911. Arizona, Kansas, and Oregon passed laws the next year.

The presidential election of 1912 saw the two major parties, the Republicans and Democrats, opposing women's suffrage. But the 1912 election featured two major independent parties, the Progressives (led by former Republican President Theodore Roosevelt) and the Socialists (led by Eugene Debs). Both the Progressives and Socialists favored women's suffrage. And they received about one-third of the votes cast.

Alice Paul headed NAWSA's effort to lobby Congress to consider again the Anthony Amendment. Brought up as a Quaker, Paul (1885–1977) graduated from Swarthmore College and received postgraduate degrees in social work. Traveling to Great Britain, she encountered radical feminists demanding the right to vote. She joined them in hunger strikes and demonstrations. On returning to the United States, she joined NAWSA.

In 1913, 28-year-old Paul organized a massive parade in Washington, D.C. Hostile crowds of men attacked the marchers, who had to be protected by the National Guard.

Paul and the president of NAWSA, Carrie Chapman Catt, disagreed over using public demonstrations to promote women's suffrage. Catt (1859–1947) had grown up in the Midwest, graduated from Iowa State College, and gone on to work as a teacher, high school principal, and superintendent of a school district (one of the first women to hold such a job). She worked tirelessly for women's causes, and in 1900 she was elected to succeed Anthony as president of NAWSA.

Catt's tactics contrasted sharply with Paul's. She preferred to quietly lobby lawmakers in Congress and the state legislatures. Paul favored demonstrations. Both leaders, however, were dedicated to equal rights for women.

In the election of 1916, Catt supported Democratic President Woodrow Wilson. Wilson was running on the slogan, "He kept us out of war." Paul opposed Wilson.

(Continued on next page)

She parodied his slogan, saying, "Wilson kept us out of suffrage."

Paul broke with NAWSA and founded the National Woman's Party. Soon afterward, she organized daily picketing of the White House to pressure President Wilson to support the Anthony Amendment. After the United States entered World War I in 1917, Paul kept up the picketing. The women demonstrators silently carried signs with slogans like "Democracy Should Begin at Home" and "Kaiser Wilson." Onlookers assaulted the White House picketers, calling them traitors for insulting the wartime president.

In June 1917, police began arresting the picketers for obstructing the sidewalks. About 270 were arrested and almost 100 were jailed, including Paul. She and the others in jail went on hunger strikes. Guards force-fed the women hunger strikers by jamming feeding tubes down their throats. The force-feeding was reported in all the major newspapers. Embarrassed by the publicity, President Wilson pardoned and released them.

Meanwhile, women replaced men by the thousands in war industries and many other types of jobs previously held by men. By 1920, women made up 25 percent of the entire labor force of the country.

President Wilson was disturbed that the push for women's suffrage was causing division during the war. He was also deeply impressed by Carrie Chapman Catt. In January 1918, he announced his support for the Anthony Amendment. By this time, 17 states as well as Great Britain had granted women the right to vote. Wilson's support helped build momentum for the amendment. In the summer of 1919, the House and Senate approved the 19th Amendment by a margin well beyond the required two-thirds majority. Then the amendment had to be ratified by three-fourths of the states.

Those opposed to women's suffrage, the so-called "antis," assembled all their forces to stop ratification. The liquor and brewing industries, factory owners, railroads, banks, and big city political machines all feared women would vote for progressive reforms. Southern whites objected to more black voters. Some argued that the 19th Amendment invaded states' rights. Others claimed that it would undermine family unity. Besides, the "antis" said, wives were already represented at the ballot box by their husbands.

But state after state ratified the amendment. With one last state needed for ratification, the Tennessee legislature voted on the amendment. The outcome depended on the vote of the youngest man in the Tennessee state legislature. He voted for ratification, but only after receiving a letter from his mother, urging him to be a "good boy" and support women's suffrage. Thus, on August 18, 1920, half the adult population of the United States won the right to vote.

Women voted nationwide for the first time in the presidential election of 1920. Among the new voters was 91-year-old Charlotte Woodward, the only surviving member of the Seneca Falls Convention. In her lifetime, she had witnessed a revolution in the role of women in American society.

For Discussion and Writing

1. In what ways did the role of women in American society change between 1848 and 1920?
2. Do you think Alice Paul or Carrie Chapman Catt had the best strategy for winning the right to vote for women? Why?
3. Why do you think women won the right to vote in 1920 after failing for more than 70 years?

For Further Reading

Matthews, Jean V. *The Rise of the New Woman, The Women's Movement in America, 1875–1930*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2003.

Schneider, Dorothy and Carl. *American Women in the Progressive Era, 1900–1920*. New York: Facts on File, 1993.

A C T I V T Y

Petitioning President Wilson

In this activity, students will petition President Wilson to support the Anthony Amendment.

1. Form the class into small groups. Each group will write a petition to President Wilson, listing arguments why he should support the Anthony Amendment.
2. Each group should review the article to find arguments in favor of the amendment. The group should also list counterarguments against the positions taken by the "antis" who opposed the amendment.
3. Each group should only list those arguments on its petition that all members of the group agree with.
4. Each group should read its petition to the rest of the class.
5. The class members should then debate what they believe was the best argument for persuading President Wilson to support the "Anthony Amendment."

Standards Addressed

National High School U.S. History Standard 20: Understands how Progressives and others addressed problems of industrial capitalism, urbanization, and political corruption. (5) Understands efforts to achieve women's suffrage in the early twentieth century (e.g., methods used by Carrie Chapman Catt in her leadership of the National Women's Suffrage Association to get the 19th amendment passed and ratified, why President Wilson changed his mind about the amendment, which of Catt's tactics were most successful).

California History-Social Science Content Standard 11.5: Students analyze the major political, social, economic, technological, and cultural developments of the 1920s. (4) Analyze the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment and the changing role of women in society.

National High School U.S. History Standard 29: Understands the struggle for racial and gender equality and for the extension of civil liberties. (2) Understands conflicting perspectives on different issues addressed by the women's rights movement (e.g., the Equal Rights Amendment, Title VII, and Roe v. Wade).

California History-Social Science Content Standard 11.11: Students analyze the major social problems and domestic policy issues in contemporary American society. (3) Describe the changing roles of women in society as reflected in the entry of more women into the labor force and the changing family structure.

National High School World History Standard 27: Understands how European society experienced political, economic, and cultural transformations in an age of global intercommunication between 1450 and 1750. (4) Understands influences on the spread of scientific ideas and Enlightenment thought . . . .

California History-Social Science Content Standard 10.2: Students compare and contrast the Glorious Revolution of England, the American Revolution, and the French Revolution and their enduring effects worldwide on the political expectations for self-government and individual liberty. (1) Compare the major ideas of philosophers and their effects on the democratic revolutions in England, the United States, France, and Latin America (e.g., John Locke, Charles-Louis Montesquieu, Jean-Jacques Rousseau . . .).

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Have Women Achieved Equality?

In 1920, American women won the right to vote, but they did not attain legal equality with men in other areas. Since 1920, women have won many other rights, but some people argue today that women have not yet achieved equality.

After the ratification of the 19th Amendment in 1920, politicians learned that women, like men, did not always agree and vote as a bloc. At first women did not even vote in large numbers. Since a powerful "female vote" did not occur, both Republicans and Democrats gave the demands of women for equal rights a low priority.

Alice Paul was a leader in the women's suffrage movement and later in trying to get the Equal Rights Amendment passed. Here, she sewed the 36th (and last) star on the women's suffrage flag. Each star stood for a state that had ratified the 19th Amendment. (Library of Congress)

Women's rights leaders felt disappointed that their hard-won fight for suffrage did not bring about immediate equality with men in all areas of American life. In 1921, Alice Paul, head of the National Woman's Party, charged that "women today. . . are still in every way subordinate [inferior] to men before the law, in the professions, in the church, in industry, and in the home." In many states women still could not serve on juries, make contracts, or control their own earnings. Also, federal courts had ruled that the 14th Amendment's guarantee of "equal protection of the laws" did not apply to women. In 1923, Paul began lobbying Congress to consider a new constitutional amendment that would guarantee equal rights for women.

CURRENT ISSUES

The Equal Rights Amendment

Paul's Equal Rights Amendment stated that, "Men and women shall have equal rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction." With the amendment, Paul intended to eliminate all sex discrimination and inequality in the law in one bold move.

Paul's amendment did not make clear exactly what "equal rights" meant or included. As a result, a split occurred in the women's rights movement between "reformers" and "feminists."

The League of Women Voters, which had replaced the National American Woman Suffrage Association, led the reformers. The reformers wanted to work within the political system to pass laws for equal pay scales for men and women, the right of females to serve on juries, and other specific rights. The feminists, led by Paul's National Woman's Party, argued for immediate legal equality between the sexes in all areas of American society.

The biggest difference between the reformers and the feminists concerned so-called "protective legislation." These laws limited the hours women could work, prohibited them from working at night, set maximum weights they could lift, and banned them from dangerous jobs like mining. In 1908, the U.S. Supreme Court had upheld these laws as necessary to protect the health and future motherhood of women.

The reformers feared that the Equal Rights Amendment would make protective legislation unconstitutional since such laws appeared to discriminate against men. Alice Paul and the feminists, however, favored doing away with these laws. They argued that women should be treated as individuals and that protective laws often resulted in excluding them from good-paying jobs. This division between the reformers and feminists stopped action by Congress on the Equal Rights Amendment for decades.

After the United States entered World War II, millions of women flooded into jobs to replace men in industry, the professions, and government. Protective legislation was suspended. Equal pay for males and females doing the same job became an issue. The National War

Labor Board, in charge of regulating labor during the war, issued rules to equalize pay. But differences remained.

By 1945, 20 million women worked in the American labor force. After the war, massive layoffs affected many women as veterans returned to the job market. Many women workers wanted to remain in the jobs they had proven they could do rather than go back to low-paying "women's work" in offices, stores, and restaurants.

The Women's Liberation Movement

During the war, supporters of the Equal Rights Amendment changed its wording to conform to other civil rights amendments: "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex." Although both the Democratic and Republican parties supported ERA, Congress failed to approve it in several tries after the war.

In 1963, Betty Friedan inspired a "women's liberation" movement with her book, *The Feminine Mystique*. Friedan wrote that the traditional woman's role as a homemaker held her back from achieving her full potential. In effect, women were prisoners in their own homes, she argued. Friedan and other "new feminists" formed the National Organization for Women (NOW) in 1966 to push for equal pay, abortion rights, and the Equal Rights Amendment.

Despite continued inaction on ERA by Congress, women made progress toward equality. In 1963, Congress passed the Equal Pay Act. Alice Paul then led a successful lobbying effort to include a ban on sex discrimination in the Civil Rights Act of 1964. In 1972, more federal legislation prohibited practices that limited the admission of women to colleges and their participation in school sports programs.

The Defeat of ERA

In 1972, the "new feminists" along with 87-year-old Alice Paul finally got Congress to approve the Equal Rights Amendment by a margin far exceeding the required two-thirds majority. ERA then had to be ratified by three-fourths of the states (38). Confident of victory, those lobbying the state legislatures for ratification were unprepared for the "anti-feminist" backlash that followed.

After half the states quickly ratified the amendment, the pro-ERA forces hit a solid wall of opposition led by Phyllis Schlafly, a lawyer and leader of conservative causes. Schlafly appealed to political and religious conservatives who resented feminist criticisms of the traditional homemaker role of women. ERA, said Schlafly, would undermine marriage and the family while erasing male and female differences. "We don't want to be men," she declared.

Schlafly defended laws that guarded alimony and protected women in the workplace, which she called "our privileges." She also took advantage of the uncertainty of "equal rights" in ERA. According to Schlafly, ERA would require:

- drafting mothers into the military
- eliminating rape as a crime
- funding abortions with taxpayer money
- establishing unisex public restrooms
- integrating women into men's sports teams

In addition, she predicted that ERA would legalize homosexuality, homosexual marriage, and the adoption of children by homosexual couples. Schlafly finally argued that federal and state laws had already prohibited sex discrimination, and so ERA was unnecessary.

Schlafly and her STOP-ERA ("Stop Taking Our Privileges") movement almost single-handedly defeated the Equal Rights Amendment even after Congress extended the period of ratification. While polls indicated that two-thirds of Americans approved of the amendment, slightly less than three-fourths of the states ratified it. In the end, Schlafly and her supporters successfully clouded the difference between equal legal rights for women and treating males and females the same in all areas of American life.

Is ERA Needed Today?

During and after the ERA ratification campaign, Congress and the states continued to pass anti-sex discrimination laws. Legislation also improved women's rights in the areas of employment, education, credit, housing, and pensions.

The U.S. Supreme Court began to apply the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment to sex discrimination cases. In 1976, the Supreme Court ruled that under the 14th Amendment men and women could be treated differently by the law only if it served an "important governmental objective." The Supreme Court later used this standard to uphold draft registration for males but not females.

(Continued on next page)

By 1980, a substantial majority of women had permanently joined the labor force. Women entered college in large numbers. They also moved into many non-traditional jobs such as police officers, doctors, and business executives.

Nevertheless, despite their advances, women continue to lag behind men in earnings, and large numbers remain in low-paying jobs such as retail clerks and restaurant waitresses. Women also remain underrepresented in management and top executive positions. NOW claims that females still suffer from unequal treatment in employment, education, insurance policies, health care, Social Security benefits, and other areas.

NOW and others argue that the piecemeal federal and state civil rights laws for women have loopholes, sometimes are ignored, and can be changed or repealed. Many of these laws require that the woman must assume the burden of proof in sex discrimination cases. The advocates for women's rights say that we should adopt a constitutional amendment that would completely abolish all legal inequalities between men and women once and for all, as envisioned by Alice Paul in 1923.

Have Women Achieved Equality?

Despite the defeat of ERA in 1982, Congress and the states continued to pass laws against sex discrimination and for the equal treatment of women. Have women achieved equality with men in the United States today?

The average earnings of male and female workers have gotten closer over the years. Women's advocates argue that a "wage gap" still persists. When the Equal Pay Act was passed in 1963, women earned an average of 59 cents for every dollar earned by men. Today, women earn 76 cents per dollar. A 1998 White House Council of Economics Advisors report stated: "Although the gap between women and men's wages has narrowed substantially since the signing of the Equal Pay Act in 1963, there still exists a significant wage gap that cannot be explained by differences between male and female workers in labor market experience and in the characteristics of jobs they hold."

Critics argue that the wage gap is largely an illusion. It "is not evidence that women are paid less than men for the same job," states Anita U. Hattiangadi of the Employment Policy Institute. Instead, she continues, "It is simply the ratio of men's to women's average annual earnings. It does not account for many relevant economic factors that affect wage determination, such as

Anti-Equal Rights Amendment protesters gathered in front of White House. Opposition to the amendment led to its defeat. (Library of Congress)

experience and tenure, years and type of education, hours of work, and industry and occupation . . . ." In fact, argues Hattiangadi, when comparing the median annual earnings of men and women with the same occupation and educational major, the gap disappears.

Women have perhaps achieved the greatest equality in education. Slightly more females than males now graduate from high school. Men 25 and older still surpass women in holding a college degree. Since 1982, however, more women than men have earned a bachelor's degree. Thus, more young women possess degrees now than young men. Also, since 1979, the majority of all college students have been women.

Title IX of the 1972 Education Amendments Act barred sex discrimination in schools that received federal funds. This law has greatly affected school and college sports programs. In 1972, about 300,000 high school girls took part in athletics. Today nearly 3 million participate in school sports. At the college level, the number of female college athletes has increased 80 percent since 1980. Nevertheless, studies indicate that many colleges are still not in compliance with Title IX. The National Collegiate Athletic Association recently reported that male athletes receive $133 million more in scholarships than female athletes.

Probably the most profound changes in the equality of men and women in the United States have occurred within the family. Before 1800, most husbands and wives worked and reared their children together on farms or in family businesses. The Industrial Revolution changed the center of work for millions of Americans from the home to the factory and office. As a result, men generally became the breadwinners while

women (except black and immigrant women) stayed home to care for the family. After 1900, however, child labor laws, two major wars, and an increase in the cost of living motivated large numbers of women to return to the workforce. Today, most married couples are joint breadwinners, as they were before 1800.

More women working outside the home has produced more equality between husbands and wives within the home. Today, wives are more likely to have a larger voice in family decisions. Also, husbands are more likely to accept the sharing of household chores and childcare. Yet, the working wife is still the one who most often does such things as arranging transportation for the children and staying at home to care for a sick child.

Most Americans agree that two incomes are necessary nowadays to maintain a decent standard of living. Thus, the growing equality of husbands and wives within the family has come at the price of both having to work outside the home.

For Discussion and Writing

1. Why do you think the writers of the Constitution required amendments to be passed by a two-thirds majority in Congress and ratified by three-fourths of the states? Do you agree? Why?
2. Do you think women are unsuited for any of the following? Explain your position on each one.

   firefighter
   combat soldier
   miner
   college football player
   president of the United States

3. How have the roles of husbands and wives changed in the United States since 1900? Do you think this change is a good or bad thing? Why?

For Further Reading

Chafe, William H. *The Paradox of Change, American Women in the 20th Century*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Hoff-Wilson, Joan, ed. *Rights of Passage, The Past and Future of the ERA*. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1986.

"Women by the Numbers from the U.S. Census Bureau." Fact Monster from Information Please. 2003. URL: www.factmonster.com/spot/womencensus1.html

A C T I V I T Y

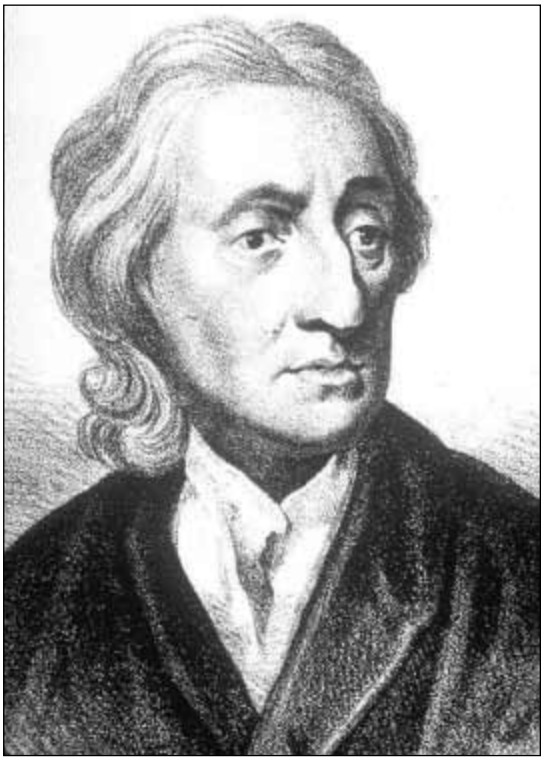
Are Girls and Boys Treated Equally in Schools?

Education has been a priority for those seeking equal gender treatment. State and federal laws mandate equal access to education and treatment of female students in schools. What has been your experience? Conduct the following activity to discuss the issue.

1. Form small groups consisting of roughly the same numbers of male and female students. Select a discussion leader who will moderate the discussion and report the group's conclusions.
2. Conduct a discussion using the questions below. Use your whole education experience when thinking about a given question, not just your experience in a particular school or class. Be prepared to discuss your findings with the class.
   a. Do male and female students have equal opportunity to select courses or extracurricular activities? Why or why not?
   b. Do female and male athletes have equal opportunities to participate in sports and are facilities and equipment adequate for both? Why or not?
   c. Do male and female students have equal opportunities to participate and get called on in class? Why or why not?
   d. Are female and male students treated equally in terms of grading or opportunities for academic honors? Why or Why not?
   e. Are female and male students subject to the same amount of discipline and treated equally when they are disciplined? Why or why not?
   f. Are there any other ways in which one gender is discriminated against or treated unfairly? Explain
3. Conduct a discussion with the entire class by asking each group to report on its responses to the above questions.
4. After the discussion, debrief the activity by asking:
   a. Were there any significant differences in the responses of male or female students to the items?
   b. Based on your experiences, do you think gender equity has been achieved in education?

Hobbes, Locke, Montesquieu, and Rousseau on Government

Starting in the 1600s, European philosophers began debating the question of who should govern a nation. As the absolute rule of kings weakened, Enlightenment philosophers argued for different forms of democracy.



The English philosopher John Locke believed that people were endowed with the natural rights of "life, liberty, and property." (Brooklyn College, History Dept.)

In 1649, a civil war broke out over who would rule England—Parliament or King Charles I. The war ended with the beheading of the king. Shortly after Charles was executed, an English philosopher, Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), wrote *The Leviathan*, a defense of the absolute power of kings. The title of the book referred to a leviathan, a mythological, whale-like sea monster that devoured whole ships. Hobbes likened the leviathan to government, a powerful state created to impose order.

Hobbes began *The Leviathan* by describing the "state of nature" where all individuals were naturally equal. Every person was free to do what he or she needed to do to survive. As a result, everyone suffered from "continued fear and danger of violent death; and the life of man [was] solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short."

In the state of nature, there were no laws or anyone to enforce them. The only way out of this situation, Hobbes said, was for individuals to create some supreme power to impose peace on everyone.

Hobbes borrowed a concept from English contract law: an implied agreement. Hobbes asserted that the people agreed among themselves to "lay down" their natural rights of equality and freedom and give absolute power to a sovereign. The sovereign, created by the people, might be a person or a group. The sovereign would make and enforce the laws to secure a peaceful society, making life, liberty, and property possible. Hobbes called this agreement the "social contract."

Hobbes believed that a government headed by a king was the best form that the sovereign could take. Placing all power in the hands of a king would mean more resolute and consistent exercise of political authority, Hobbes argued. Hobbes also maintained that the social contract was an agreement only among the people and not between them and their king. Once the people had given absolute power to the king, they had no right to revolt against him.

Hobbes warned against the church meddling with the king's government. He feared religion could become a source of civil war. Thus, he advised that the church become a department of the king's government, which would closely control all religious affairs. In any conflict between divine and royal law, Hobbes wrote, the individual should obey the king or choose death.

But the days of absolute kings were numbered. A new age with fresh ideas was emerging—the European Enlightenment.

Enlightenment thinkers wanted to improve human conditions on earth rather than concern themselves with religion and the afterlife. These thinkers valued reason, science, religious tolerance, and what they called "natural rights"—life, liberty, and property.

Enlightenment philosophers John Locke, Charles Montesquieu, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau all developed theories of government in which some or even all the people would govern. These thinkers had a profound effect on the American and French revolutions and the democratic governments that they produced.

Locke: The Reluctant Democrat

John Locke (1632–1704) was born shortly before the English Civil War. Locke studied science and medicine at Oxford University and became a professor there. He sided with the Protestant Parliament against the Roman Catholic King James II in the Glorious Revolution of

1688–89. This event reduced the power of the king and made Parliament the major authority in English government.

In 1690, Locke published his *Two Treatises of Government*. He generally agreed with Hobbes about the brutality of the state of nature, which required a social contract to assure peace. But he disagreed with Hobbes on two major points.

First, Locke argued that natural rights such as life, liberty, and property existed in the state of nature and could never be taken away or even voluntarily given up by individuals. These rights were "inalienable" (impossible to surrender). Locke also disagreed with Hobbes about the social contract. For him, it was not just an agreement among the people, but between them and the sovereign (preferably a king).

According to Locke, the natural rights of individuals limited the power of the king. The king did not hold absolute power, as Hobbes had said, but acted only to enforce and protect the natural rights of the people. If a sovereign violated these rights, the social contract was broken, and the people had the right to revolt and establish a new government. Less than 100 years after Locke wrote his *Two Treatises of Government*, Thomas Jefferson used his theory in writing the Declaration of Independence.

Although Locke spoke out for freedom of thought, speech, and religion, he believed property to be the most important natural right. He declared that owners may do whatever they want with their property as long as they do not invade the rights of others. Government, he said, was mainly necessary to promote the "public good," that is to protect property and encourage commerce and little else. "Govern lightly," Locke said.

Locke favored a representative government such as the English Parliament, which had a hereditary House of Lords and an elected House of Commons. But he wanted representatives to be only men of property and business. Consequently, only adult male property owners should have the right to vote. Locke was reluctant to allow the propertyless masses of people to participate in government because he believed that they were unfit.

The supreme authority of government, Locke said, should reside in the law-making legislature, like England's Parliament. The executive (prime minister) and courts would be creations of the legislature and under its authority.

Montesquieu: The Balanced Democrat

When Charles Montesquieu (1689–1755) was born, France was ruled by an absolute king, Louis XIV. Montesquieu was born into a noble family and educated in the law. He traveled extensively throughout Europe, including England, where he studied the Parliament. In 1722, he wrote a book, ridiculing the reign of Louis XIV and the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church.

Montesquieu published his greatest work, *The Spirit of the Laws*, in 1748. Unlike Hobbes and Locke, Montesquieu believed that in the state of nature individuals were so fearful that they avoided violence and war. The need for food, Montesquieu said, caused the timid humans to associate with others and seek to live in a society. "As soon as man enters into a state of society," Montesquieu wrote, "he loses the sense of his weakness, equality ceases, and then commences the state of war."

Montesquieu did not describe a social contract as such. But he said that the state of war among individuals and nations led to human laws and government.

Montesquieu wrote that the main purpose of government is to maintain law and order, political liberty, and the property of the individual. Montesquieu opposed the absolute monarchy of his home country and favored the English system as the best model of government.

Montesquieu somewhat misinterpreted how political power was actually exercised in England. When he wrote *The Spirit of the Laws*, power was concentrated pretty much in Parliament, the national legislature. Montesquieu thought he saw a separation and balancing of the powers of government in England.

Montesquieu viewed the English king as exercising executive power balanced by the law-making Parliament, which was itself divided into the House of Lords and the House of Commons, each checking the other. Then, the executive and legislative branches were still further balanced by an independent court system.

Montesquieu concluded that the best form of government was one in which the legislative, executive, and judicial powers were separate and kept each other in check to prevent any branch from becoming too powerful. He believed that uniting these powers, as in the monarchy of Louis XIV, would lead to despotism. While Montesquieu's separation of powers theory did

(Continued on next page)

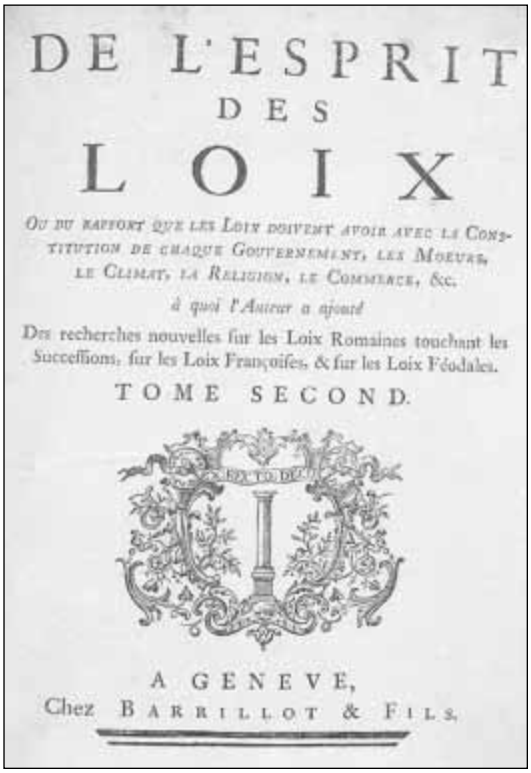
not accurately describe the government of England, Americans later adopted it as the foundation of the U.S. Constitution.

Rousseau: The Extreme Democrat

Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) was born in Geneva, Switzerland, where all adult male citizens could vote for a representative government. Rousseau traveled in France and Italy, educating himself.

In 1751, he won an essay contest. He wrote that man was naturally good and was corrupted by society. He quickly became a celebrity in the French salons where artists, scientists, and writers gathered to discuss the latest ideas.

A few years later he published another essay in which he described savages in a state of nature as free, equal, peaceful, and happy. When people began to claim ownership of property, Rousseau argued, inequality, murder, and war resulted.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DES
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à quoi l'Auteur a ajouté
Des recherches nouvelles sur les Loix Romaines touchant les Succeſſions, ſur les Loix Françoiſes, & ſur les Loix Féodales.
TOME SECOND.
A GENEVE,
Chez BARRILLOT & FILS.

French writer Charles Montesquieu's greatest work was The Spirit of the Laws. He believed that the best government had separate legislative, executive, and judicial branches that could check and balance each other. (University of Kansas Libraries)

According to Rousseau, the powerful rich stole the land belonging to everyone and fooled the common people into accepting them as rulers. Rousseau concluded that the social contract was not a willing agreement, as Hobbes, Locke, and Montesquieu had believed, but a fraud against the people committed by the rich.

In 1762, Rousseau published his most important work on political theory, *The Social Contract*. His opening line is still striking today: "Man is born free, and everywhere he is in chains." Rousseau agreed with Locke that the individual should never be forced to give up his or her natural rights to a king.

The problem in the state of nature, Rousseau said, was to find a way to protect everyone's life, liberty, and property while each person remained free. Rousseau's solution was for people to enter into a social contract. They would give up all their rights, not to a king, but to "the whole community," all the people. He called all the people the "sovereign," a term used by Hobbes to mainly refer to a king. The people then exercised their "general will" to make laws for the "public good."

Rousseau argued that the general will of the people could not be decided by elected representatives. He believed in a direct democracy in which everyone voted to express the general will and to make the laws of the land. Rousseau had in mind a democracy on a small scale, a city-state like his native Geneva.

In Rousseau's democracy, anyone who disobeyed the general will of the people "will be forced to be free." He believed that citizens must obey the laws or be forced to do so as long as they remained a resident of the state. This is a "civil state," Rousseau says, where security, justice, liberty, and property are protected and enjoyed by all.

All political power, according to Rousseau, must reside with the people, exercising their general will. There can be no separation of powers, as Montesquieu proposed. The people, meeting together, will deliberate individually on laws and then by majority vote find the general will. Rousseau's general will was later embodied in the words "We the people . . ." at the beginning of the U.S. Constitution.

Rousseau was rather vague on the mechanics of how his democracy would work. There would be a government of sorts, entrusted with administering the general will. But it would be composed of "mere officials" who got their orders from the people.

Rousseau believed that religion divided and weakened the state. "It is impossible to live in peace with people you think are damned," he said. He favored a "civil religion" that accepted God, but concentrated on the sacredness of the social contract.

Rousseau realized that democracy as he envisioned it would be hard to maintain. He warned, "As soon as any man says of the affairs of the State, 'What does it matter to me?' the State may be given up for lost."

Swiss philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau thought that the best form of government was a direct democracy. (North American Association for the Study of Rousseau)

For Discussion and Writing

1. Of the four philosophers discussed in this article, which two do you think differed the most? Why?
2. Which of the democratic forms government proposed by Locke, Montesquieu, and Rousseau do you think is the best? Why?
3. Rousseau wrote in *The Social Contract*, "As soon as any man says of the affairs of the State 'What does it matter to me?' the State may be given up for lost." What do you think he meant? How do you think his words relate to American democracy today?

For Further Reading

Conroy, Peter V. *Jean-Jacques Rousseau*. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1998.

Levine, Andrew. *Engaging Political Philosophy from Hobbes to Rawls*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2002.

A C T I V I T Y

The Philosophers Take a Stand

1. Divide the class into four groups, each taking on the role of Hobbes, Locke, Montesquieu, or Rousseau.
2. The members of each of the role group will need to research why their philosopher would agree or disagree with the debate topics listed below. The article contains some clues, but students should find out more about their philosophers' views by using the school library and Internet.
3. After research has been completed, each role group will state its philosopher's position on topic A. The groups should then debate the topic from the point of view of the philosopher they are role playing. Follow the same procedure for the rest of the topics.
4. After all the debates are finished, class members should discuss which one of the four philosophers they agree with the most and why.

Debate Topics

A. The best form of government is a representative democracy.

B. Only the president should have the power to declare war.

C. A good way to make laws is for all the people to directly vote on them.

D. Religion should be a part of the government.

E. The government should have the authority to confiscate a person's property for the public good.

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PostScript

RESOURCES AND MATERIALS FOR CIVIC EDUCATION

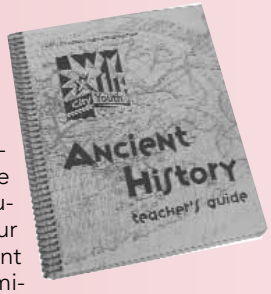
NEW from CRF

CityYouth: Ancient History

Travel with your students on an exciting, standards-based journey to ancient Egypt, China, Greece, and Rome.

Grades 6–9

CRF's new *CityYouth: Ancient History* provides teachers with 13 social studies lessons and related lesson ideas for core teachers of language arts, mathematics, and science. It integrates civic participation and service learning into the regular curriculum. Its four units focus on ancient history and can culminate in a service project.



CityYouth: Ancient History is divided into four units.

Unit 1: Ancient Egypt explores the social and political order of the ancient Egyptian city of Thebes; shows how the Nile helped shape ancient Egyptian civilization; traces the political history of ancient Egypt through the three kingdoms; and outlines the relationship between religion and Egypt's social and political order.

Unit 2: Ancient China explores the geography of China and the development of ancient Chinese civilization; introduces the social, legal, and political impact of Qin Dynasty Emperor Shi Huangdi; examines the ancient philosophies of Confucianism and Daoism; and looks at developments in the Han Dynasty, including the opening of the Silk Road.

Unit 3: Ancient Greece looks at the rise of Greek city-states and Athenian democracy under Pericles; compares two contrasting Greek city-states: democratic Athens and militaristic Sparta; and explores ideas about what makes a good society from three of the Western world's greatest philosophers—Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle.

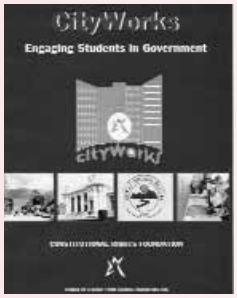
Unit 4: Ancient Rome traces the history of Rome from its founding myths through the Roman Republic; examines the political and social institutions of the republic; explores the leadership of Augustus when Rome made its transition from republic to empire; and discusses religious toleration and persecution in the Roman Empire.

CityYouth: Ancient History
#61401CBR Student/teacher materials 155 pp. $24.95

CityWorks

Engaging Students in Government

Grades 9–12



CityWorks is a standards-based, local government curriculum designed to fit into any civics or government class. An independent, multi-year, research-based study released in 2002 concluded that classes using ***CityWorks improved* student knowledge** of both regular and local government ***and* helped prepare students for effective citizenship** by increasing student civic competencies as compared to students in traditional government courses.

Students become citizens of the fictional city of Central Heights to learn about issues of state and local government and practice critical-thinking skills. Along the way they take on the role of local political leaders and active citizens to address political and social issues facing the community.

The curriculum has two elements:

- **Six interactive lesson modules** centering on specific local government content, such as the executive, legislative, and judicial functions of local government and on realistic public policy issues, such as the economy and crime and safety.
- **CityWorks project activities** follow each lesson. These activities and assignments help students explore problems, institutions, and public policy issues in their own community. Students are guided through a civics-based **service-learning** project that addresses a local community problem they have studied.

CityWorks curriculum materials consist of three components:

- **The CityWorks Teacher's Guide** includes everything you need—instructions for lessons, reproducible masters for all lesson handouts (including the *Bugle*), instructions for the CityWorks project activities, and reproducible masters of the Student Handbook.
- **The *Central Heights Bugle***, six issues of a simulated newspaper in class sets of 35. Each edition is linked to one of the lessons in the teacher's guide and provides students with readings and information for the lesson.
- **A Student Handbook** containing detailed instructions for completing the CityWorks project activities and serving as a portfolio for students to record much of their work.

CityWorks

#35351CBR	**Teacher's Guide**	**$39.95**
#35355CBR	**Student Handbook (Set of 35)**	**$64.95**
#35360CBR	**Central Heights Bugle Class Set (6 issues, 35 ea.)**	**$115.95**

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2: The Federalist Papers
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4: How the Women's Rights Movement Began
5: Black Soldiers in Union Blue
6: Rockefeller and the Standard Oil Monopoly

Also included are **Hands-On History Projects,** giving students an opportunity to pursue a U.S. history topic in depth. Project History includes four Hands-On History Projects:

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- **American History Museum Exhibit.** Students create an exhibit using visuals and narrative descriptions.
- **Project History Book.** Students create an alphabetically arranged "encyclopedia" defining, illustrating, and describing the significance of words or phrases.

Web Links: The CRF website (**www.crf-usa.org**) supports each lesson with online links to focused readings and other resources.

#32030CBR Project History, 138 pp. $21.95

About Constitutional Rights Foundation

Constitutional Rights Foundation is a non-profit, non-partisan educational organization committed to helping our nation's young people to become active citizens and to understand the rule of law, the legal process, and their constitutional heritage.

Established in 1962, CRF is guided by a dedicated board of directors drawn from the worlds of law, business, government, education, and the media.

CRF's program areas include the California State Mock Trial, History Day in California, youth internship programs, youth leadership and civic participation programs, youth conferences, teacher professional development, and publications and curriculum materials.

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Funding Available for Service-Learning Projects

CRF's Maurice R. Robinson Mini-Grants Program gives grants of up to $600 as seed money to teacher-student teams and community organizations for service-learning projects. A list of 2004–05 awardees and the guidelines and application for this year's competition are available on CRF's web site at **www.crf-usa.org**.

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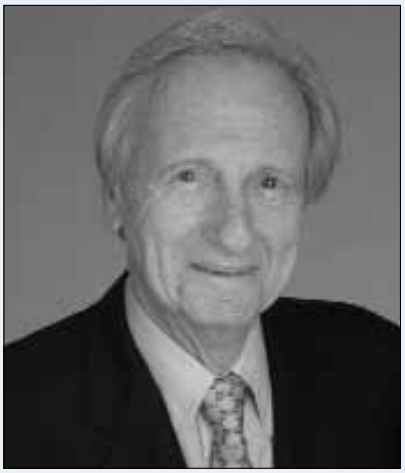

Constitutional Rights Foundation is sad to mark the passing of its long-time board member Robert F. Rosentiel. In 2003, CRF honored Bob with its Lloyd M. Smith award for his service and commitment.

Bob graduated from UCLA and served in World War II from 1941–1945, spending most of that time overseas. When he returned home, he pursued his career as a certified public accountant. He retired from Touche Ross, one of the predecessor firms of Deloitte & Touche, where his specialty was healthcare finance.

Bob generously donated his time, money, efforts to many non-profits over the years. He was the treasurer and member of the Board of Directors of the Los Angeles Visiting Nurses Association and of the Museum of African American Art, among other civic organizations. He also served on the boards of Blue Shield of California and the Coldwater Canyon Homeowners Association.

He joined the CRF Board of Directors in 1974 and served as a vital influence on the Finance, Investment, and Planned Giving committees. For nearly three decades, he applied his financial expertise and unwavering focus to the challenge of keeping CRF fiscally sound. In addition to his financial responsibilities, he taught Business in the Classroom, a CRF program designed to introduce high school students to the ethics, methods, and policies of commerce.

Bob is survived by two grown children, Paul and Anne, and four grandchildren.

Bob will be remembered as a strong believer in defending the rights of everyone and as an advocate for a just society. This generous man will be deeply missed.

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