

305,422 B348 Fe,3

© Valerie Bryson 2016

All rights reserved. No reproduction, copy or transmission of this publication may be made without written permission.

No portion of this publication may be reproduced, copied or transmitted save with written permission or in accordance with the provisions of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988, or under the terms of any licence permitting limited copying issued by the Copyright Licensing Agency, Saffron House, 6–10 Kirby Street, London EC1N 8TS.

Any person who does any unauthorized act in relation to this publication may be liable to criminal prosecution and civil claims for damages.

The author has asserted her right to be identified as the author of this work in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

First published 2016 by PALGRAVE

Palgrave in the UK is an imprint of Macmillan Publishers Limited, registered in England, company number 785998, of 4 Crinan Street, London, N1 9XW.

Palgrave Macmillan in the US is a division of St Martin's Press LLC, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

Palgrave is a global imprint of the above companies and is represented throughout the world.

Palgrave® and Macmillan® are registered trademarks in the United States, the United Kingdom, Europe and other countries.

ISBN 978-1-137-43904-8 ISBN 978-1-137-59321-4 (eBook) DOI 10.1007/978-1-137-59321-4

This book is printed on paper suitable for recycling and made from fully managed and sustained forest sources. Logging, pulping and manufacturing processes are expected to conform to the environmental regulations of the country of origin.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

Jawaharlal Nehru University Accession No. 27/8/9

Source Solyam Books Pyt. Lte

Bill No. & Date. 1993 / 01-02-24

Centre/School CPS/SSS

Accessioned by......

Catalogued by.....

305.4201

3848 Fe,3

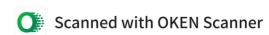
271819



CONTENTS

A	cknowledgements	7
S	ome notes on terminology	X
I	ntroduction A (partial) history of feminist political theory Different kinds of feminism Feminist political theory, past and present]
1	Early Feminist Thought Seventeenth-century feminism in Continental Europe and Britain Early British feminism and the ideas of Mary Astell The Enlightenment and early liberal feminism Mary Wollstonecraft's A Vindication of the Rights of Woman The utopian socialists and feminism Wheeler and Thompson's Appeal on Behalf of Women	12 12 22 23
2	Liberalism and Beyond: Mainstream Feminism in the Mid-Nineteenth Century Feminism in the United States: Maria Stewart and Elizabeth Cady Stanton Evangelical Christianity and the temperance and anti-slavery movements The Seneca Falls Convention The analysis of sexual and personal oppression Education, religion and The Woman's Bible Class, race and racism Stanton's feminism	30 31 32 34 36 38 39 42
	Feminism in Britain and Mill's <i>The Subjection of Women</i> The spread of feminist ideas John Stuart Mill's <i>The Subjection of Women</i>	43 44 46
3	The Contribution of Marx and Engels Classic Marxist theory Engels' The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State Feminist criticisms of Engels Marxism as a (problematic) feminist resource Production and reproduction	57 57 59 62 64 64 66
	Ideology and alienation The limitations of political and legal reform	68

4	The Vote and After: Mainstream reminism in the United	
	States and Britain from the Late Nineteenth Century to	
	the Second World War	
	The situation of women in the late nineteenth century	70
	The suffrage campaign	70
	Equality or difference?	73
	Anti-democratic and racist strands in the suffrage campaign	73
	Socialism, black feminism and the suffrage campaign	75
	Christabel Pankhurst	76
	After the vote: the re-emergence of contradictions	78 92
	Equal rights v. welfare feminism in the United States	82 84
	Equal rights v. welfare feminism in Britain	86
	Birth control	90
	Beyond equality v. welfare	91
5	Left-Wing Feminism in Britain and the United States from	
0	the Late Nineteenth Century to the Second World War	92
	Britain	92
	Sylvia Pankhurst	94
	The United States	95
	Charlotte Perkins Gilman	96
	Emma Goldman's anarchist feminism	99
	American communism and women, white and black	101
6	Marxist Feminism in Germany and Russia	104
Ü	Marxist feminism in Germany	104
	Bebel's Woman Under Socialism	104 105
	Clara Zetkin	110
	Marxist feminism in Russia	111
	Early Russian feminism	112
	Orthodox Marxist feminism in Russia	114
	The ideas of Alexandra Kollontai	121
7	Feminism after the Second World War	121
•	The situation of western women in the mid-twentieth century	123
	Communism, feminism and black feminism	124
	Simone de Beauvoir and <i>The Second Sex</i>	125
	Existentialism applied to women	127
	Feminist responses to The Second Sex	131
	De Beauvoir's life and influence	-0
8	Liberalism and Beyond: Feminism and Equal Rights from	133
	the 1960s to the 1990s	13 ⁴ 136
	Betty Friedan and the politics of NOW	120
	Subsequent developments	



	CONTENTS	Vii
	From 'backlash' to 'power feminism'	137
	Susan Okin and a feminist theory of justice	139
	Equal rights feminism: critical analysis and debate	142 142
	Equality The state conitalism and man	146
	The state, capitalism and men	148
	The public/private distinction	149
	Individualism and individual rights	150
	Reason, knowledge and ethical thought Feminism, equal rights and liberalism by the end of the twentieth century	153
9	Radical Feminism and the Concept of Patriarchy	155
7	The origins of radical feminism	156
	Kate Millett and the theory of patriarchy	157
	Criticisms of the concept of patriarchy	159
	Politics and personal life	159
	A merely descriptive approach?	160
	An over-generalised and a-historical account?	162
	Women good, men bad: an essentialist view of sex difference?	164
	The concept of patriarchy by the end of the twentieth century	166
10	Radical Feminism: Patriarchy in Private and Public Life	167
	Patriarchy and the family	167
	Psychoanalytic theory: parenting and the acquisition of adult sexual	
	identity	168
	Domestic labour	169
	Domestic violence and emotional exploitation	170
	Patriarchy, sexuality and sexual violence	171
	The attack on heterosexuality	172
	Sexual violence and pornography	175
	Patriarchy and reproduction	178
	Reproductive technology	178
	Mothering and eco-feminism	181
	Patriarchy and the state	183
	Patriarchy and the economic system	184
	Patriarchy, 'man-made language' and knowledge	185
	Conclusions: the impact of radical feminism	187
1	1 Marxist and Socialist Feminism from the 1960s to the 1990s	189
	The political and ideological context	189
	The domestic labour debate	191
	Women and the labour market	193
	Two systems or one? 'Dual systems' v. 'capitalist patriarchy'	195
	The material basis revisited Alienation	197 201
	1111111111111	7.1.1

viii CONTENTS

Feminist standpoint theory	203
Ideology, the family and 'structures of oppression'	205
The 'cultural turn'	207
Socialist faminist stratogies	209
Socialist and Marxist feminism by the end of the twentieth century	212
12 Theoretical Developments: Postmodern Feminisms	
and Royand	213
Postmodernism: knowledge, language, power and identity	213
'French feminism'	215
Judith Butler	217
Gender, sex and performativity	217
The 'doer' behind the 'deed'	219
Queer theory	220
Feminist applications of postmodern theory	222
	222
Beyond equality v. difference debates The 'doing' and undoing of gender: gender roles, the state and	000
pornography	223
Faminist criticisms of postmodernism	226
Postmodern feminism and earlier feminist thought	226
Empty gestures?	228
to feminist politics?	229
Postmodernism and feminism: into the twenty-inst century	230
13 Theoretical Developments: Postcolonial Feminism, Black	233
Feminism and Intersectionality	233
Postcolonial feminism	233
Western feminist responses	237
Die de feminiem	239
Between gender and race: the marginalisation of black women	240
Black women: from margin to centre	243
Intersectionality	243
Rlack feminism: critical debates	
Twenty-first-century developments in black feminist thought	245
Intersectionality	247
Developments and debates	248
Conclusions	252
14 Western Feminist Theory in the Twenty-First Century:	053
Developments in Liberal and Socialist Thought	253
Liberalism and feminism: theoretical developments	253
Care and the human condition	254
Rights and capabilities	255
The limits of toleration and the nature of 'choice'	258
Developments in socialist and Marxist feminist thought	262

CONTENTS	ix
Critiques of global capitalism	262
Care and capitalism	264
15 Western Feminism in the Twenty-First Century:	
Continuities, Challenges and Change	268
The context of twenty-first-century feminism	268
Counting the waves	271
The third wave: everyone welcome, come as you please!	271
The fourth wave: getting angry again	278
Feminists in cyberspace	282
Cyberfeminism	283
Feminism goes online	285
Cybersexism and other problems	287
Transgender/transsexual issues	288
Terminology and history	289
Feminist responses	290
Unpacking the debate	292
Implications for feminist politics	295
Conclusions: Feminist Political Theory Today	298
Bibliography	302
oibiiogrupny Indov	346
WITHY	