Women and Affirmative Action

- In 1967, President Lyndon Johnson expanded on Kennedy’s 1961 affirmative action order to include women. According to the National Women’s Law Center, affirmative action requirements by the federal government worked: “Female employment rose 15.2% at federal contractors, and only 2.2% elsewhere. The same study showed that federal contractors employed women at higher levels and in better paying jobs than other firms.”
- In the first 20 years of Affirmative Action, women benefitted more than any other group. Columbia University law professor Kimberlé Crenshaw studied the effects of these policies and concluded, “The primary beneficiaries of affirmative action have been Euro-American women.”

The Equal Rights Amendment

- Almost 50 years after she proposed it, a version of Alice Paul’s Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) was ratified by Congress in 1972 and sent to the states for ratification. It read, “Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.” The arguments for and against the amendment in the 1970s were somewhat similar to those in the 1920s. In general, professional women supported the amendment while working class women did not.
- Opposition was led by conservative activist Phyllis Schlafly, who predicted that the ERA would mean the end of protective laws for women: for example, divorced women would no longer be able to count on alimony payments, or being favored as the default custodial parent. Schlafly argued especially persuasively that the ERA would lead to women being drafted into the military. Ultimately, the amendment was approved by only 35 of the 38 states required for ratification, and failed.
Equal Jury Service

- A 1974 Supreme Court case recalls the 1963 Presidential Commission’s recommendation for equal jury service, as well as the disagreement about whether all discriminatory laws are bad.
- A Louisiana law excused women from being called for jury service unless they opted in. This law was meant to protect women from having to leave their children in order to serve on juries. It was discriminatory in that it treated men and women differently, but for what many believed was to benefit, rather than disadvantage, women. The Court struck down this law in Taylor v. Louisiana (1974). Interestingly, the case was not argued on the grounds that women had a right to be called to serve on juries. Rather, it was argued that defendants had a Sixth Amendment right to a trial by jury made up of a cross-section of the community, which necessarily included women.

Voting and Education

- In 1972 Congress passed Title IX of the Education Amendments, banning sex discrimination in higher education. In 1981, women began earning more bachelor’s degrees than men. In 1987 women began earning more master’s degrees. By 2013, the Department of Education estimated that 61.6% of associate’s degrees, 56.7% of bachelor’s degrees, 59.9% of all master’s degrees, and 51.6% of doctorates were earned by women. The American Association of University Women reported that between 1970 and 2001, the percentage of doctors who are women tripled, going from 7.6 percent to 25.2 percent. In 2017, more women than men were enrolled in medical school.
- A University of Florida analysis of Census Bureau statistics showed that, from 1984-2016, the higher one’s educational attainment, the more likely one was to vote. Close to 90% of people with graduate degrees turned out to vote; that rate was less than 50% of people with a high school diploma or less.
- According to the Center for American Women in Politics, women have voted in greater numbers than men in elections since the 1980’s. The Center reported this trend was true across all races with the exception of Asians/Pacific Islanders.
Economic Equality and the Wage-Gap

- Women make up about 47% of the workforce today. Some believe there is a wage gap in the labor force and that women are paid $.75 for every dollar earned by men. This statistic contains a bit of truth but is largely a misrepresentation. It is true that if one adds up the wages earned by all women and divides by the number of working women, and then does the same for men, the result is that women overall earn about 75% of what men do. But this disparity is in large part due to the educational, family, and career choices made by individuals.

- Free to choose their own educational paths, women have not chosen fields like engineering, computer science, and other lucrative STEM careers at the same rates as men, but have preferred to enter the social sciences, education, or other fields which tend to pay less. Men also typically work full-time until retirement, whereas women more often choose to take time off to raise children, and work part-time more often than men.

- Studies that have looked at women and men who followed the same educational and career paths have found that men’s and women’s pay differs by only 2%, with women earning 98% of what men do.

- The wage gap may continue to shrink as women now make up the majority of students preparing for well-paying careers in law, medicine, pharmacy, and accounting. It remains to be seen whether women will attain partnerships and leadership positions, which can take decades of work to attain, in these areas at rates near or equal to men.

Women and Public Office

- Before and since gaining the vote, women have played an active role in American public life.

- As far as roles in government go, men still vastly outnumber women: As of 2019, women held six or 26%, of cabinet-level positions, and comprised 23.6% in U.S. Congress, 27.6% in statewide elective offices, 28.6% in state legislatures. More than 1800 women served on state legislatures, and nine states had female governors. Three women sat on the U.S. Supreme Court.

- Both parties have run female candidates for Vice President, and in 2016 former First Lady, U.S. Senator, and Secretary of State Hillary Clinton became the first female presidential candidate from a major party.
Women and the Family

- In the 1950s, 95% of women married, three-fourths of them by age 24. In 2019, about half of U.S. women are married, and the median age at first marriage is 27. Married women are less likely than single women to live in poverty.

- In the 1950s, virtually all (more than 90%) of children lived with their biological, married parents. Today, fewer than half do. One-third of children live with a parent (usually their mother) and the parent’s live-in boy/girlfriend. Eighteen percent of children in the U.S. live with a single parent, and 81% of single custodial parents are women.

- More than 27% of single parents and their children live in poverty, versus 16% of cohabitating parents, and 9.8% of married parents. Further, compared to children who live with their married biological parents, children who live in single-parent, cohabitating, or step-parent families are more likely to experience family instability, sexual abuse, and mental health problems.

- As explained in a Princeton study, “The Evolving Role of Marriage: 1950–2010” one team of social scientists links these statistics to equality of opportunity for young people. “Parents who are able to adopt a high-investment strategy are those most likely to get married and stay married, using marriage as a commitment device to support joint investments in their children. If our analysis is correct, equality of opportunity will be a major challenge in the 21st century.”

Abortion

- The National Organization for Women lobbied for the repeal of laws outlawing abortion. Citing the right to privacy that it had recognized in Griswold v. Connecticut (1965), the Supreme Court held in Roe v. Wade (1973) that states could not restrict abortion during the first trimester. There were, however, increasing levels of government interest in protecting the unborn baby during the second and third trimesters. This decision overturned or affected laws in 46 states.

- The ruling in Roe v. Wade remains one of the most divisive Supreme Court rulings in U.S. history. It is supported by groups including the National Organization for Women and opposed by groups such as Feminists for Life.
Background Essay: Women in the Political World Today

1. The National Women’s Party advocated an equal rights amendment to the Constitution.

2. The Commission had the goal of making recommendations for “services which will enable women to continue their role as wives and mothers while making a maximum contribution to the world around them.”

3. See answers in the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Natural and inalienable rights</th>
<th>Rights granted by civil society</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Equality of jury service</td>
<td>Tax deductions for child care for working parents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reform of property and family laws that disadvantaged women</td>
<td>Expansion of widow’s benefits under Social Security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State laws guaranteeing equal pay for equal work</td>
<td>Expanded adult education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Taxpayer-funded maternity leave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Taxpayer-funded universal day-care</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Accept reasoned answers. In addition to the importance of homemaking and raising children, women could look forward to a long period when they could be involved in pursuits outside the home.

5. Friedan is the author of The Feminine Mystique, which attracted many white, middle class women to Second Wave Feminism.

6. Accept reasoned answers.

7. All people were able to freely express their views through speaking, writing, and assembling freely with like-minded individuals.

8. Accept reasoned answers.
Sources:

Voter Statistics


Education Data:


Affirmation Action Data


Economic Equality and the Wage Gap


15. Institute for Humane Studies: “Do Women Earn Less than Men? [https://www.youtube.com/watch?list=PL-erRSWG3IoBWkCd1ZSmULQSNBD3_R84W&v=EwogDPh-Sow](https://www.youtube.com/watch?list=PL-erRSWG3IoBWkCd1ZSmULQSNBD3_R84W&v=EwogDPh-Sow)


The Family


Facilitation Notes for Using the Curriculum

Votes for Women: The Story of the Nineteenth Amendment provides classroom resources and activities to help students explore the history of women’s suffrage in the United States through background narratives and primary sources. It includes scaffolding to assist students in analysis of historical events and application to current controversies.

A unique feature of the curriculum is Appendix G: Pathway for Change, a graphic organizer to encourage students to consider the driving question:

How does one carry out long-term change in order to better align institutions with principles of liberty, justice, and equality within a constitutional order?

The final lesson also provides several options to equip students in carrying out their own project-based application of social change to address a community challenge. Having analyzed the history of women’s suffrage as an example of what can be achieved when people exercise such virtues as courage, perseverance, initiative, collaboration, civil discourse and direct action, students are encouraged to study their own community to apply those same character strengths to solve a local problem or to teach others about this important chapter in the American drama.

The book’s front matter includes, in addition to the standard table of contents and book credits, a Principles and Virtues Glossary. Students will become familiar with the interplay between such governing principles as equality, liberty, justice, and separation of powers on the one hand, and essential civic virtues such as civil discourse, humility, integrity, and responsibility, on the other. Through reflection activities in each lesson, students will develop the habit of thinking about self-government through the lens of these crucial principles and virtues.

Within each lesson are activities which employ each of the Appendices found in the back of the book:

**APPENDICES**

- **Appendix A: Amending the Constitution**: In Appendix A, students will analyze Article V of the U.S. Constitution, reflecting on applications of the constitutional amendment process for each lesson in Votes for Women: The Story of the Nineteenth Amendment.

- **Appendix B: Timeline and Quotes**: Appendix B is a timeline of major events in the struggle for women’s suffrage, along with contemporaneous quotes for each lesson.

- **Appendix C: Timeline Cards**: Appendix C includes the same timeline events found in Appendix B, but they are designed for the teacher to make individual cards for each event so that students may build a class timeline on the classroom or corridor wall. Prior to the lesson the teacher will need to prepare and plan the layout of the timeline cards. We recommend that teachers make each lesson’s timeline cards on a different color of paper, because that can help class members find
details in the appropriate lesson for review and study. Using cardstock and laminating the cards are further recommendations. Further, it will be necessary to plan for the use of wall space in the classroom or corridor. For example, will students find it most helpful to build a Lesson Timeline in which each lesson’s events are displayed separately from those of the other lessons (which is how they are arranged in Appendix C: Timeline Cards)? Or, should students leave space around the room to build an overall Women’s Suffrage Timeline in which the events from various lessons are intermingled chronologically?

- **Appendix D: For Further Study:** Appendix D provides a bibliography for further study, listed by lesson.
- **Appendix E: Declaration of Independence**
- **Appendix F: United States Constitution**
- **Appendix G: A Pathway for Change:** Appendix G is a graphic organizer designed to be used throughout the study, as students grapple with the **driving question**:

  How does one carry out long-term change in order to better align institutions with principles of liberty, justice, and equality within a constitutional order?

One of our hopes for the use of this curriculum is that the student will grasp the costs and benefits of change within a constitutional order. One increasingly common characteristic of modern life is the expectation of immediate results. People use online apps for immediate answers, rapid food delivery, prompt appointments, extemporaneous conversation and instant outrage. Good and speedy ways exist to solve some of our problems, but others require long-term commitment and a willingness to appreciate what Elizabeth Cady Stanton called “winter wheat”: “We are sowing winter wheat, which the coming spring will see sprout, and other hands than ours will reap and enjoy.”

Radical and rapid change is not necessarily bad, but the slow process of constitutional change allows for many people’s thinking and attitudes to adjust, contributing to stability for the resulting improvements. The pattern is illustrated in the slow steps toward justice and equality in several movements: abolition of slavery, civil rights, prison reform, and the rights of the accused, to name a few. The challenges of course, are patience, determination, resilience, and continued belief that the system will eventually allow for success. Under the rule of law, and given these virtues, the arc of the moral universe can “bend toward justice.” (Theodore Parker, 1853)

We invite both teachers and students to explore *Votes for Women: The Story of the Nineteenth Amendment*. Through this heroic story of perseverance and overcoming injustice, all can enhance their civic understanding, skills, and dispositions to better understand the past and courageously address today’s challenges.
Principles and Virtues Glossary

Founding Principles

Introduction

The United States was established on a set of principles and ideals that have guided and shaped the public life of the country since the Founding. The American people continue to strive to realize more fully these principles and ideals. Drawn from an examination of human nature and the purposes of government, these principles and virtues form the framework of the American republican government of ordered liberty. Together with essential civic virtues, they help form the conscience of the nation against which Americans judge the justice of their laws. These civic virtues bind a self-governing people together in communities that facilitate a healthy civil society. As Americans we believe it is essential to understand and implement these fundamental or founding principles and civic virtues.

The American System of Government

In modern times, the terms “democracy” and “republic” are commonly used interchangeably, especially in reference to the expansion of citizenship and rights to previously disfranchised groups. However, the distinction between a democracy and a republic is significant.

**Democracy:** A form of government in which ultimate authority is based on the will of the majority. In a pure democracy (from the Greek *demos*, meaning “people”) the citizens participate in government directly, rather than by electing representatives. One of the challenges in a direct democracy is that there is no protection for the inalienable rights of minorities, leading to the possibility of tyranny by the majority. Moreover, direct democracy is susceptible to changing passions that can lead to mob rule, as well as demagoguery that can lead to tyranny. The form of government established in the U.S. Constitution is sometimes called a representative or indirect democracy.

**Republic:** A form of government in which the people are sovereign (ultimate source of power) and give their consent to representatives to make laws. The term, republic, comes from the Latin *res publicae*, meaning “thing of the people.” In a republic, the will of the people is filtered through several steps, making it less likely that a majority faction can endanger the rights of particular individuals or groups. In *Federalist #10*, Madison explained why a republic, or system of representation, is the form of government best suited to protecting the rights of all. Madison noted that the Constitution’s structure and limitations on power created a republic that would “refine and enlarge the public views, by passing them through the medium of a chosen body of citizens, whose wisdom may best discern the true interest of their country, and whose patriotism and love of justice will be least likely to sacrifice it to temporary or partial considerations.”
Principles of Government

This list of principles and virtues is not meant to be comprehensive but instead to be a starting place for the investigation of the American experiment in self-government.

**Checks and Balances:** Constitutional powers are distributed among the branches of government allowing each to limit the application of power of the other branches and to prevent expansion of power of any branch.

**Consent of the Governed/Popular Sovereignty:** The power of government comes from the people.

**Due Process:** The government must interact with all people according to the duly-enacted laws and apply these rules equally with respect to all people.

**Equality:** All individuals have the same status regarding their claim as human beings to natural rights and treatment under the law.

**Federalism:** The people delegate certain powers to the national government, while the states retain other powers; and the people, who authorize both the states and national government, retain all freedoms not delegated to the governing bodies.

**Freedom of contract:** Freedom of individuals and corporations to make legally binding mutual agreements without arbitrary or unreasonable legal restrictions

**Freedom of religion:** The right to choose one’s religion or form of worship, if any, without interference; freedom of conscience

**Freedom of speech, press, and assembly:** The legal right to express one’s opinions freely, orally or in writing, and the right to gather with others in groups of one’s choice without arbitrary or unreasonable restrictions.

**Liberty:** Except where authorized by citizens through the Constitution, government does not have the authority to limit freedom.

**Limited Government:** Citizens are best able to pursue happiness when government is confined to those powers which protect their life, liberty, and property.

**Majority Rule/Minority Rights:** Laws may be made with the consent of the majority, subject to the limitation that those laws do not infringe on the inalienable rights of the minority.

**Natural/Inalienable Rights:** Rights which belong to us by nature and can only be justly abridged through due process. Examples are life, liberty, property, and the pursuit of happiness.

**Private Property:** The natural rights of all individuals to create, obtain, and control their possessions, beliefs, faculties, and opinions, as well as the fruits of their labor.

**Rule of Law:** Government and citizens all abide by the same laws regardless of political power. Those laws are justly applied, consistent with an ethos of liberty, and stable.

**Separation of Powers:** A system of distinct powers built into the Constitution, to prevent an accumulation of power in one branch.
Virtues and Vices

**Virtue** is conduct that reflects universal principles of moral and ethical excellence essential to living a worthwhile life and to effective self-government. For many thinkers throughout the ages, attributes of character such as justice, responsibility, perseverance, respect, and others were thought to flow from an understanding of the rights and obligations of human beings. Virtue is compatible with, but does not require, religious belief. One’s thoughts and words alone do not make a person virtuous. According to Aristotle, virtue must be based on a just objective, it requires action, and it must become a habit.

**Private Virtue:** The idea that, in order to sustain liberty, individuals must be knowledgeable and must conduct themselves according to principles of moral and ethical excellence, consistent with their rights and obligations.

**Civic Virtue:** A set of actions and habits necessary for the safe, effective, and mutually beneficial participation in a society.

**Vice:** Immoral or wicked behavior.

**Virtues**

**Civil Discourse:** Reasoned and respectful sharing of ideas between individuals is the primary way people influence change in society/government, and is essential to maintain self-government.

**Contribution:** To discover one’s passions and talents, and use them to create what is beautiful and needed. To work hard to take care of oneself, one’s family, and one’s community.

**Courage:** The ability to take constructive action in the face of fear or danger. To stand firm as a person of character and do what is right, especially when it is unpopular or puts one at risk.

**Honor:** Demonstrating good character, integrity, and thinking and acting honestly.

**Humility:** To remember that one’s ignorance is far greater than one’s knowledge. To give praise to those who earn it.

**Integrity:** To tell the truth, expose untruths, and keep one’s promises.

**Initiative:** Exercising the power, energy, or ability to lead, organize, or accomplish something.

**Justice:** Upholding of what is fair, just, and right. To stand for equally applied rules that respect the rights and dignity of all, and make sure everyone obeys them.

**Moderation:** The avoidance of excesses or extremes.

**Perseverance:** To continue in a task or course of action or hold to a belief or commitment, in spite of obstacles or difficulty; choosing to take the right path rather than the easy path, and to stay the course.
Respect: Honor or admiration of someone or something. To protect one’s mind and body as precious aspects of identity. To extend that protection to all other individuals.

Responsibility: Acting on good judgment about what is right or wrong, or deserving the trust of others. To strive to know and do what is best, not what is most popular. To be trustworthy for making decisions in the best long-term interests of the people and tasks of which they are in charge. Individuals must take care of themselves and their families, and be vigilant to preserve their liberty and the liberty of others.

Resourcefulness: Taking constructive action in difficult situations quickly and imaginatively.

Self-Governance: To be self-controlled, avoiding extremes, and to reject unwise influence or control by others.

Vigilance: Being alert and attentive, taking action to remedy possible injustices or evils.

Vices

Ambition: To be driven by self-interest while pursuing power and fame for oneself rather than serving the republic or the good of others.

Avarice: To allow the love of wealth to lead one to do wrong in acquiring it.

Deception: To lie to oneself and/or others, thinking and behaving as though something is right when it is wrong and unjust.

Demagoguery: To lead others astray because one controls or manipulates their emotions through moving words or a deceptive vision.

Hubris: To have excessive pride, vanity, and arrogance that usually leads to a tragic fall.

Injustice: To harm others by applying unequal rules and damaging another’s inalienable rights and dignity.

Political Intolerance: Disrespect for the different political views of others, leading one to violate their inalienable rights.
# Principles and Virtues Graphic Organizer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Principle</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Absent</th>
<th>Examples/Explanation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Checks and balances</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Due process</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equality</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federalism</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freedom of contract</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freedom of religion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freedom of speech, press, and assembly</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inalienable rights</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberty</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limited government</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Majority Rule/Minority Rights</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private property</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Representative/Republican Government</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rule of law</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separation of powers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virtue</td>
<td>Present</td>
<td>Absent</td>
<td>Examples/Explanation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil discourse</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contribution</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courage</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humility</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Integrity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Initiative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justice</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perseverance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respect</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responsibility</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resourcefulness</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-governance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vigilance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>