

# Contents

<i>Foreword by Elizabeth Meehan</i>	xi
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xiii
<b>Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
 <b>PART I THE PRECURSORS</b>	
<b>1. Early feminist thought</b>	<b>11</b>
Mary Astell and the seventeenth-century debate	11
The Enlightenment and early liberal feminism	17
Mary Wollstonecraft's <i>Vindication of the Rights of Woman</i>	22
The utopian socialists and feminism	27
William Thompson's <i>Appeal on Behalf of Women</i>	32
<b>2. Liberalism and beyond: mainstream feminism in the nineteenth century</b>	<b>36</b>
Elizabeth Cady Stanton and feminism in America	38
The Seneca Falls Convention	39
The analysis of sexual oppression	42
Religion and the <i>Woman's Bible</i>	45
Class, race and feminism	46
The difference/equality debate	48
John Stuart Mill and feminism in Britain	50
The spread of feminist ideas	51
J. S. Mill's <i>Subjection of Women</i>	54
Critiques of Mill's liberalism	58

<b>3. The contribution of Marx and Engels</b>	<b>67</b>
Classic Marxist theory	68
Engels' <i>The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State</i>	69
Modern criticisms of Engels	73
The relevance of Marxist concepts	76
<b>4. Mainstream feminism: the vote and after, 1880s-1939</b>	<b>84</b>
The situation of women in the late nineteenth century	84
The suffrage campaign	87
Equality or difference?	88
Anti-democratic strands in the suffrage campaigns	89
Socialists and the suffrage campaign	91
Christabel Pankhurst	92
After the vote: the re-emergence of contradictions	98
Equal rights v. welfare feminism in America	100
Equal rights v. welfare feminism in Britain	103
Eleanor Rathbone and the family allowance campaign	104
Birth control	106
<b>5. Socialist feminism in Britain and America</b>	<b>109</b>
Women and feminism in socialist organisations	109
Charlotte Perkins Gilman	112
Emma Goldman's anarchist feminism	115
Mary Inman and American communism	117
<b>6. Marxist feminism in Germany</b>	<b>120</b>
Bebel's contribution	121
Clara Zetkin	122
Hostility to bourgeois feminism	123
Lily Braun and the revisionist debate	126
Modification of Zetkin's position	128
<b>7. Marxist feminism in Russia</b>	<b>131</b>
Early Russian feminism	132
The ideas of Alexandra Kollantai	134
Practical achievements	135
Sexual morality and communism	137
The family, childcare and motherhood	140

**PART II MODERN FEMINIST THOUGHT**

<b>8. The background to modern feminism</b>	<b>147</b>
Women after the Second World War	147
Simone de Beauvoir and <i>The Second Sex</i>	150
Existentialism applied to women	151
A negative view of women?	153
Sex and class	155
Her life and influence	157
<b>9. Modern liberal feminism and its critics</b>	<b>159</b>
Betty Friedan and the politics of NOW	160
Criticisms of liberal feminism	164
The state	165
Equality	167
Human nature	168
Reason	171
The public/private distinction	175
Richards, Okin and a feminist theory of justice	177
<b>10. Modern radical feminism: the theory of patriarchy</b>	<b>181</b>
The origins of radical feminism	182
Kate Millett and the theory of patriarchy	184
Criticisms of the theory of patriarchy	186
<b>11. Modern radical feminism: public and private patriarchy</b>	<b>194</b>
Patriarchy and the state	194
Patriarchy and the economic system	196
Patriarchy and the family	198
Domestic labour	198
Sexual exploitation	200
Parenting and the acquisition of adult sexual identity	201
Pro-family arguments	202
Patriarchy and reproduction	204
Reproductive technology	204
Mothering, sexual difference and eco-feminism	208
Patriarchy, sexuality and violence	211
The attack on heterosexuality	213

Sexual violence, pornography and patriarchal control	217
<b>12. Modern radical feminism: knowledge, language and patriarchy</b>	<b>222</b>
'Man-made language' and feminist challenges	222
Post-modernism and feminist thought	225
<b>13. Modern Marxist and socialist feminism</b>	<b>232</b>
Marxist theory and feminism	234
The domestic labour debate	237
Women and the labour market	240
Two systems or one? 'Dual systems' v. 'capitalist patriarchy'	243
The family, ideology and Mitchell's 'structures of oppression'	248
Alienation and social reproduction	250
Modern Marxism, post-modernism and race	253
Socialist feminist strategies	256
<b>14. Conclusion: feminist theory in the 1990s</b>	<b>261</b>
<i>Bibliography</i>	268
<i>Index</i>	291