wage earners. Furthermore, discussions of the family wage failed to acknowledge the economic needs of single mothers and wives of unemployed male workers. Since the construction of the family wage was designed to support so-called respectable households (as defined by white, middle-class values), recent immigrant families and African American families rarely received a family wage.

An extension of the ideology undergirding the family wage can be found in the development of protective legislation that prohibited women's employment in a number of economic sectors. Protective legislation also limited the number of hours women could work and further constrained their ability to participate on a par with men in the paid labor market. Union organizers and social reformers recognized the difficulty in their efforts to regulate the hours and health and safety for all workers and therefore began to advocate for improved working conditions for women and children. While many of these efforts were eventually broadened to include all workers, the ideology that women, like children, need special protection in the workplace continued to shape women's labor force participation long after the original legislation was passed.

The family wage also shaped family policy and welfare legislation. For example, until the later part of the twentieth century, social security programs viewed women primarily as dependent on male wage earners rather than as wage earners in their own right. This gender ideology also infuses contemporary welfare policy that is designed to support marriage as a solution to poverty for single mothers and their children. The emphasis on the two-parent, male-and-female household form as manifest in the family wage ideology reproduced the gender division of labor inside and outside the home.

— Nancy A. Naples

See also Gender; Industrial Society

FURTHER READINGS AND REFERENCES

Abramovitz, M. 1988. *Regulating the Lives of Women.* Boston, MA: South End.

Amott, Teresa L. and Julie A. Matthaei. 1996. *Race, Gender, and Work: A Multicultural Economic History of Women in the United States.* Boston, MA: South End.

Bradley, Harriet. 1989. *Men's Work, Women's Work: A Sociological History of the Sexual Division of Labour in Employment.* Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Kessler-Harris, Alice. 1990. *A Woman's Wage: Historical Meanings and Social Consequences.* Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky.

May, Martha. 1982. "The Historical Problem of the Family Wage: The Ford Motor Company and the Five Dollar Day." *Feminist Studies* 8(2):399–424.

FEMINISM

In Western societies, feminism remains a predominantly modern set of ideas and practices both derived from and opposed to the Enlightenment. Born of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century liberalism as well as nineteenth-century radicalism, *feminism* comprises counterhegemonic ideas about gender as well as practices aimed at undermining its hierarchical role in human affairs (cf. Grant 1993). By and large, feminism revolves around Simone de Beauvoir's ([1949] 1961) idea that women are made, not born. Rosi Braidotti (1993) has further modernized that idea by emphasizing the "distance between Woman and real women" (p. 8), that is, the gap between the idea of "woman" and the actualities of women's experiences and lives. Luce Irigaray (1985) has also further modernized Beauvoir's observation: "Becoming a woman really does not seem to be an easy business" (p. 66). Such becoming entails learning ideas and practices not necessarily conducive to a woman's well-being. Thus, feminism commonly involves disidentification with some of the core values and standard practices in society (Braidotti 1993:2).

Joan Wallach Scott (1996) characterizes feminism as "a site where differences conflict and coalesce, where common interests are articulated and contested, where identities achieve temporary stability—where politics and history are made" (p. 13). Thereby, she implies the ideas and practices anchoring virtually all varieties of feminism. First, feminism grapples with the commonalities and differences among women as well as between women and men. Second, it raises questions about and takes positions on consciousness, values, and desires among girls and women. Third, it addresses issues of power, domination, and hierarchy in connection with girls' and women's identities, opportunities, and outcomes, both as individuals and as members of groups respectively subordinated to boys and men. Finally, feminism is always interwoven with politics and history. Its most widely known practices are public and political, and its challenges to historical patterns are part and parcel of its public identity.

Like feminist theory anchored in academe, feminism consistently involves "the challenge of social change" (Phelan 1994:31). As such, feminism has spawned social movements spanning the globe from the mid-nineteenth century onward. In the United States, for instance, a women's movement began in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848. That *first wave* of North American feminism ended with the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which formalized women's right to vote. With the publication of Beauvoir's *The Second Sex,* in 1949, and Betty Freidan's *The Feminine Mystique,* in 1963, the theoretical and rhetorical grounds were laid for the *second wave* of modern Western feminism. The women's movement,

which had largely languished between 1920 and 1960, was revitalized during the 1960s. In the United States, the establishment of the National Organization for Women (NOW), which Freidan helped to found, was pivotal in that revitalization.

By now, with the passage in most Western societies of substantial legislation further formalizing women's rights, a *third wave* of feminism has emerged. Originating most discernibly in the early 1980s, this last feminist wave of the twentieth century has as its hallmark an emphasis on diversity. Feminists of color as well as young white feminists, who were also active in the first and second waves, have spearheaded this third wave. In the process, they have laid the foundations for more multicultural—indeed global—feminisms during the twenty-first century.

Regardless of which wave of feminism is under consideration, feminism consistently manifests itself as a multitextured set of ideas and practices. Commonly observable in liberal, radical, cultural, and postmodernist varieties, feminism comprises multiple strands of thought and multiple strategies for achieving social change and cultural transformation.

— Mary F. Rogers

See also Liberal Feminism; Postmodernist Feminism; Radical Feminism

FURTHER READINGS AND REFERENCES

Beauvoir, Simone de. [1949] 1961. *The Second Sex.* Edited and translated and by H. M Parshley. New York: Bantam.

Braidotti, Rosi. 1993. "Embodiment, Sexual Difference, and the Nomadic Subject." *Hypatia: A Journal of Women and Philosophy* 8(Winter):1–13.

Grant, Judith. 1993. *Fundamental Feminism: Contesting the Core Concepts of Feminist Theory.* New York: Routledge.

Irigaray, Luce. 1985. *Speculum of the Other Woman.* Translated by Gillian C. Gill. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Phelan, Shane. 1994. *Getting Specific: Postmodern Lesbian Politics.* Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Scott, Joan Wallach. 1996. "Introduction." Pp. 1–13 in *Feminism and History,* edited by Joan Wallach Scott. New York: Oxford University Press.

FEMINIST CULTURAL STUDIES

Feminist cultural studies refers to a set of intellectual engagements that aim to call attention to women's cultural experiences, to justify further exploration of women's experiences of cultural formations, and to use women's experiences to formulate new theories of culture. It is a broad field of study that is situated at the intersection of women's studies and cultural studies, both of which are projects that are intimately tied to the possibility of political change. Since its emergence in the late 1970s, feminist cultural studies has been successful not only in expanding the study of women but also, and perhaps more important, in establishing gender as a key mode of analysis within cultural studies projects more broadly. The force of feminist cultural studies has not simply formulated a field within a field, it has changed the shape of the field altogether.

At the heart of feminist cultural studies analyses rest these questions: What forces have served to reproduce present social and cultural systems? What forces are responsible for the reproduction of the oppression of women? What action should be taken to combat patriarchy and the reproduction of women's oppression? To answer these questions, feminist scholars in cultural studies turn their attention to the everyday lives of women. This method follows the work of early cultural studies scholars, for whom it was necessary to pay attention to the everyday lives of workers in order to understand how they experienced, coped with, and challenged structures of inequity and oppression. Among the objects of study commonly examined by feminist cultural studies are diverse topics such as advertising, art, shopping malls, film, fashion, romance, reproduction, literature, race, television, magazines, youth subcultures, soap operas, pornography, housewifery, colonialism, postcolonialism, materialism and class, and postfeminism. Potentially the whole spectrum of cultural objects, practices, and texts constituting a society provide the materials of cultural studies, and so the materials of feminist cultural studies are nearly as broad.

CULTURAL STUDIES

Often described as anti- or adisciplinary, cultural studies is best explained as a loosely connected set of questions that are approached with loosely connected methods of analysis. Definitions of cultural studies place less emphasis upon which objects should be studied and more emphasis upon how intellectuals consciously negotiate and attend to the way that culture informs, constructs, constrains, and enables our experiences of the world, each other, and ourselves. As it emerged at the University of Birmingham's Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS), in the mid-1960s, cultural studies took as its formative texts the work of Raymond Williams (*The Long Revolution,* 1961), E. P. Thompson (*The Making of the English Working Class,* 1964), and Richard Hoggart, the center's first director (*The Uses of Literacy,* 1957).

What drew together these cultural theorists was their clear focus on revisiting the cultural categories established by historical materialism in the form of New Left political commitments. Through work that insisted upon the social