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**GENDER AND WOMEN'S ISSUES UNDER THE  
AMERICAN ADMINISTRATIONS OVER THE  
PERIOD 1970-2015**

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PERIOD 1970-2015.**

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# GENDER AND WOMEN'S ISSUES UNDER THE AMERICAN ADMINISTRATIONS OVER THE PERIOD 1970-2015

## Abstract

Studying gender and women's issues under the American Administrations over the period 1970-2015 is very important, so this thesis examines the impact of changing ruling Party on women's issues specifically gender and women's representation inside politics, women's attainment in education, women inside workforce, and violence against women. There are many interpretations and reports on gender cases in the U.S, and these reports participated in presenting women's issues in the political arena. This thesis will shape a collective perspective behind retreating women's rights and it will go in details about women's issues to shed a light over the roots of women's problem in the contemporary history of the United States of America. During the last four decades, surveys about women, and studies have been studying different issues about women, but researchers still search explanation about the reasons behind gender and women's representation in politics. This thesis will study the performances of every American Administration to explain how and why women's issues fragmented in every term of presidency, and why the legislative process was fragmenting the cases of women over a long period of time without a comprehensive understanding of women's rights and women's representation in politics. This thesis find out that women are underrepresented due to the change in political parties' agendas that happened over the period (1970-2015).

## Resumen

Estudiar el género y las cuestiones de las mujeres bajo las Administraciones estadounidenses durante el período 1970-2015 es muy importante, por lo que esta tesis examina el impacto que supone el cambio del partido gobernante en los asuntos de las mujeres específicamente el género y la representación de las mujeres dentro de la política, el logro de las mujeres en la educación, las mujeres dentro de la fuerza de trabajo y la violencia contra las mujeres. Hay muchas interpretaciones e informes sobre casos de género en los EE. UU, y estos informes contribuyeron en la presentación de los problemas de las mujeres en la arena política. Esta tesis muestra una perspectiva colectiva detrás de la retirada de los derechos de las mujeres y ofrece detalles sobre los temas de las mujeres para arrojar luz sobre las raíces del problema de las mujeres en la historia contemporánea de los Estados Unidos de América. Durante las últimas cuatro décadas, estudios y encuestas sobre mujeres han estado trabajado diferentes temas sobre las mujeres, pero los investigadores aún buscan explicaciones sobre las razones que hay detrás del género y la representación de las mujeres en la política. Esta tesis estudiará los desempeños de cada administración estadounidense para explicar cómo y por qué las cuestiones de las mujeres se fragmentaron en cada período presidencial, y por qué el proceso legislativo estaba fragmentando los casos de mujeres durante un largo período de tiempo, sin una comprensión integral de los derechos de las mujeres y la representación de las mujeres en la política. Esta tesis demuestra que las mujeres están infra representadas debido al cambio en las agendas de los partidos gobernantes durante el período 1970-2015.

## Resum

Estudiar el gènere i les qüestions de les dones sota les Administracions nord-americanes durant el període 1970-2015 és molt important, de manera que aquesta tesi examina l'impacte que suposa el canvi del partit governant en els assumptes de les dones específicament el gènere i la representació de les dones dins de la política, l'assoliment de les dones en l'educació, les dones dins de la força de treball i la violència contra les dones. Hi ha moltes interpretacions i informes sobre casos de gènere en els EUA, i aquests informes van contribuir a la presentació dels problemes de les dones en l'arena política. Aquesta tesi mostra una perspectiva col·lectiva darrere de la retirada dels drets de les dones i ofereix detalls sobre els temes de les dones per donar llum sobre les arrels del problema de les dones en la història contemporània dels Estats Units d'Amèrica. Durant les últimes quatre dècades, estudis i enquestes sobre dones han treballat diferents temes sobre les dones, però els investigadors encara busquen explicacions sobre les raons que hi ha darrere del gènere i la representació de les dones en la política. Aquesta tesi estudiarà els acompliments de cada administració nord-americana per explicar com i per què les qüestions de les dones es van fragmentar en cada període presidencial, i per què el procés legislatiu estava fragmentant els casos de dones durant un llarg període de temps, sense una comprensió integral dels drets de les dones i la representació de les dones en la política. Aquesta tesi demostra que les dones estan infra representades a causa del canvi en les agendas dels partits governants durant el període 1970-2015.

# GENDER AND WOMEN'S ISSUES UNDER THE AMERICAN ADMINISTRATIONS OVER THE PERIOD 1970-2015

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## LIST OF ACRONYMS

AAPI	Asian American and Pacific Islander Women
ACOR	American Center of Oriental Research
ALA	American Legion Auxiliary's Girls' Nation
ANES	American National Election Studies
CAWP	Center for American Woman and Politics.
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women
CWG	White House Council on Women and Girls
DNC	Democratic National Convention
DGCDAR	Direct Ground Combat Definition and Assignment Rule
DOJ	the Department of Justice
EEOC	The U.S Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
EPA	Equal Pay Act
ERA	Equal Rights Amendment
FVPSA	Family Violence Prevention and Service Acts.
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GOP	Grand Old Party (Republicans)
HHW	Hard Hatted Women
IWPR	The Institute of Women Policy Research
NAFTA	North America Free Trade Agreement
NDVH	National Domestic Violence Hotlines
NOW	National organization for women

NWP	National Woman's Party
OECD/CERI	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development/Center for Educational Research and Innovation
OFCCP	The Department of labor's Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs
OPM	the Office of Personnel Management
STEM	Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math
VAWA	Violence against Women Act
VOCA	Victims of Crimes Act

## **1. INTRODUCTION.**

Women's rights in the United States have been evolved since 1970 and important progress has been done to improve the status of women in many fields such as education and family care, and increased the opportunity to raise women's income as well as empowered them in the workforce and in the political environment of which reflected good progress on their community and their family. In the history, women's rights organizations encouraged the abolitionist movement in America and it led to hold conferences about rights pertain to family and human being and the global anti-slavery conference in London in 1840 is the best example for that.

The nineteenth century is considered a historical evidence on the inequality between women and men, so religion and traditions played a great role in delaying women's rights such as the right to vote and to occupy elected offices because the slowness progress in entering educational institutions to be qualified employees. As for the progress in the workforce and law, the constitutional 19<sup>th</sup> Amendment is considered the keystone of women's rights that paved the road for women to have their rights inside work, and it does empower them to compete with men in all fields of work. It transferred women from working in farms to enter cities and help them come close to school, colleges, and factories.

After the World War II, women went into the work to substitute the lack of numbers of men who went to take fighting functions abroad in other continents, and after taking their positions instead of soldiers, women discovered how severe they had been living before taking these positions, because their family started to receive a good income. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 banned sex discrimination in inside work. Because employers concerned about the new law that protected women and they started to think about establishing organizations to defend their situations. However, many organizations have been established since the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (refer to *Document 1* Appendix A).

After 1970, women contributed to building up their case inside Congress (the Senate and House of Representatives) to accomplish their goals in order to have more freedom in the reproductive right and protect the minimum wage as well as prevent the discrimination against pregnant women in labor force. Divorced women also defended their children and their pension rights due to the fund introduced by the federal

government for children. Giving time to women to take care their children is very important, and it was put on the agenda of different women's organizations. In spite of all these laws and Amendments enacted, it remained different problems in front of women that they couldn't overcome such as minimum wage because woman gains just 77 percent of what male gains. Another challenge faced women workers was to regulate the requirements of their families and their work. For that reasons women preferred to have their first child after the age of forty, and some of them preferred child reproduction. In spite of the all these problems, women still need efforts to seek their rights in order to improve their situations inside work, and inside the educational system. At the end, they will have equal rights as men, which enable them to practice their life freely and share duties with men within the American community.

The primary focus of this study is to investigate the contemporary history of women's issues, and to do so, this study will examine the unequal status of women with men in the U.S. by studying gender in the political system, education, workforce and leadership position and violence against women, we will clarify the creativity against rationality, the role of women at the end of 20<sup>th</sup> Century, and it will give the moonlight of the justice to pave the road for gender equality. Absolutely, Education, workforce, women's protection and women's representation in politics are the main domains of this thesis. And because of gender refers to the social duties of men and women, this study investigates the significant change in the integration of women in American society under the power of ruling winner Party during the contemporary history , in which, shaped the way of the domestic policy towards gender and women's issues in the American society over the period (1970-2015) .

A broad overview of the previous studies during the period of the study revealed that women were alienated from participation in the political system because they were under the patriarchal economical power with a social different culture and this power looked at them as a traditional and psychological different stereotype. Wherever patriarchy controls, women face slow progress in their sensitive issues; they are marginalized and defined by what they lack of and what men have. The U.S society has multicultural differences in race and religion. However, these differences enabled women to play a crucial role in doing progress regards their issues. Women activists

lately could find the common advantages and disadvantages of the ruling Party that were controlled by men since a long period of time.

An inclination was installed to support women in their small community (family) to reach a high level in the scientific and arts fields. Reaching to the scientific fields and engaging women within high professions, enabled them of understanding American laws and constitutional interpretations to benefit from the intentions of founding fathers when they established the constitution.<sup>1</sup> The determination of women made them accomplish great progress in education and their talents made them independents in work after getting a high professional degree in education. Women also struggled by law to win various cases but some factors suspended their progress and put some obstacles before them. They discovered that domestic policy has a great influence on their issues, so they realized that reliability and confidence is the best principle to accomplish their goals. Women faced inside work the preemptive traditional idea about them, which in turn, caused an imbalanced relationship between their work and their family. Exploiting programs was an important issue in every term of the presidency over the period (1970-2015). Women's protection by law is very important to avoid the consequences of the violence such as sexual harassment and rape as well as avoiding health problems resulted from the domestic violence. American Administrations handled women's issues upon different domestic policies and the satisfaction of women over policies done by the government over the period (1970-2015) varies from one Administration to another. The impact of changing American Administration on women's issues is the core idea of this thesis and it is contemplated to be identified and clarified. However, the thesis includes 8 interviews with American centers directors and American citizens from different states , also it includes 50 questionnaires : 20 questionnaires were distributed to American professors and students at the New York City University , 10 questionnaires were distributed to Americans who live in Jordan and 20 questionnaires were distributed to Americans who live in Palma de Mallorca-Spain. In addition to that , maps ,tables ,graphs, figures and diagrams were prepared by the author of this thesis.

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<sup>1</sup> National Constitution Center is interested in explaining American constitution for readers to understand its terms , available at: [www.constitutioncenter.org](http://www.constitutioncenter.org)

## **2. SIGNIFICANCE AND THE PROBLEM OF THE RESEARCH.**

It is contemplated that the thesis will present a theoretical contribution to constructive information related to gender equity in the U.S with a particular emphasis on woman status during the late contemporary history of the U.S. The significance of this study is to enhance a great deal of data to study the intersection of social science related to gender, and data about changes happened in gender equality and inequality at the same time in the United States over the historical period (1970–2015), and the ways in which those changes impacted on women’s experience in American community.

Significant understanding of gender and the social values in the U.S in the recent period is very important to achieve progress in thesis’s field of study. And by interacting with the actual American centers in the world and taking the visions of other countries, it will be possible to have perspectives on women’s issues and on the ways in which these gendered changes participated in the policy of U.S’s Administrations. Collecting statistics and doing interviews with American institutions either inside the U.S or abroad, will also give useful data. It is intended in this thesis to mix the contemporary history with the social problems, and at the same time studying the role of politics in shaping women’s rights. So this thesis, in addition to that, it does provide historical information and a collective statistics data with concrete results about gender and women’s issues.

Creativity and self-reliance are related to women and men equally. Gender ought to be subjected to one equation in their humanity to prove that human female is equal to human male; gender inequality is the most important issue facing women in the United States. The contemporary history of gender in the United States is still controversial among many researchers and academic elites. Actually, in many women's issues, American policy process towards woman’s rights does divide woman’s issues rather than solve them. In addition to that, this thesis will contribute to developing the social and historical study in the whole world and not just in the United States of America case.

### 3. LITERATURE REVIEW.

The thesis' task will be a concrete analysis depending on the available data and on the report of the literature review on the topic of my doctoral thesis. This work will be intended for structuring and building up a theoretical and hypothetical process in the body text of the thesis. The analysis will be from different resources and extracted (American magazines, bulletins, American newsletters, American policy statements, and responses to interviews and questionnaire). Document analysis with interviews it does provide the right data about historical period of study. Social data also reveals the ambiguities around the meanings of gender and women's issues. In addition, participation in the international conferences may give a good perception about the objective of the thesis. The topic for this study brings up many important researchers' visions in the review of the literature. However, the perception of the thesis is based on hypothesis, which in turn, connected with the political system and its impact on the type of solutions for women's problems in the United States from 1970–2015.

The separation of women's issues led to prolonging women's struggle to have their package rights. For example, Krannich (1980) shows the aspects of the abortion problem and recommends future predictions abortion at the family level. But the legislator took a long time in some cases to wrap up the issue. Although every issue belongs to women's rights has been an important issue, it had not always been solved in a short period of time. On the contrary, it has been transferred between presidential Administrations without a concrete solution.

Studying the collective crimes against women in the contemporary history of the United States paved the road to regaining awareness and doing intellectual work towards women's rights. The change in the American society in the future and the only result can appear in the violence. The change cannot be avoided because of the increase of population and the industry with technological developments and this was indicated in a book "*Crime in America*" for Ramsey Clark (1970) and this kind of work is considered a pavement and good predictions about the future of American society.

Krannich (1980) adverted the both, policy makers and American community of the new problems to come without arguing about the solution in a manner that could serve

women's issues and not let policymakers decides what to do without recommendations, but Clark (1970) advises both American community and policymakers to face the change and to find a pragmatic solution. Nonetheless, it doesn't mean that Krannich (1980) is not participating in promoting consciousness among American families about the disadvantages and advantages of the abortion issue in a different period of time, but such kind of studies would cause the American woman rights movements to be encouraged to support women. Obviously, there were hesitation and fear of being indulged in the abortion issue. In this case, every study has its importance, but to find a comprehensive solution for women's issues it could be investigating a collective women's issues rather than in a private case of study.

Generally, we need to discuss many intersectional studies related to women's issues to discover the common points among gender in education, women workforce, ethnicity among subgroups and women representation in the political system in order to know all kind of gender aspects as a collective subject without separating subjects inside American community. By these intersectional studies, we can understand the American thinking and their political responses towards women's issues to answer the question: is the personal still political? (Collins, 2006) in order to have women's rights within the law.

Fragmenting American women's rights over the period (1970-2015) could mislead their right from the correct direction, and it can be derived from the variety of states' laws. every state has its laws, and there are different types of laws that can vary across states region, such as family laws, gun control laws, as well as marriage laws. The reason behind that is each state has its geographical and natural resources, in addition to that demographic situation played a big role in defining the law inside states, and for states' trade and commerce clauses. Sentencing Reform Act of 1984, that signed by President Ronald Reagan intended to achieve determination on justice , which led to establishing the "Sentencing Commission"<sup>2</sup> to implement the sentencing guidelines aiming to reduce the disparity applications of these sentences among states (Stith & Caranes 1998 ). But Philip K. Howard (1994, 2011) stated in his book "*the death of common sense*" that the

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<sup>2</sup> United States Sentencing Commission, Guidelines Manual, §3E1.1 (Nov. 2015) at Federal Sentencing Guidelines Archives : [http://www.ussc.gov/guidelines/2015-guidelines-manual/archive\[access 17 September 2016\]](http://www.ussc.gov/guidelines/2015-guidelines-manual/archive[access 17 September 2016])

“ law is supposed to be a framework, not an automated program for public choices”.<sup>3</sup> Definitely, human can solve their problems based on President John Kennedy statement which says “our problems are man-made”<sup>4</sup>

In this case, mentioned “guidelines”<sup>5</sup> will strict women's cases in the court. For example, if a child is moved from Texas to Florida while he is waiting for the custody, in this case, it is considered a kidnapping case by his mother because one parent will be deprived of the child under the Parental Kidnapping Prevention Act. Fragmentations of women's issues also appear when Federal Law Acts interferes in states’ law without taking consideration into the circumstances and the conditions of each state especially whenever it comes to talk about geographic and demographic situations(Head and Carolina, 2006).

The new theory of “postmodernism”<sup>6</sup> participated in the vast gender gap in the United States. It created a skeptical situation against women’s issues and feminist’s movement. The rationality against creativity that appeared in women writers novels, and in the modern movements of feminism and arts were affected by the theory based on realism and science(Hossain and Karim, 2013). Indirectly, this kind of themes might be preventing large struggle of women history to be continued in the future to accomplish women’s demands towards their rights(Butler, 1995).

Generally speaking, feminism again wants to be closer to the liberty by relating women’s subject with their object, and at the same time, it intends to speak about the nature of women so they can extract laws to achieve their rights as long as men have their own rights. Here again, we should differentiate between private rights and public right for example ,giving women their right in different issues such as abortion, medic care, protection against violence and political rights may enable them to have their rights as men, that in turn, will be a fruitful object for both women and men within the family, community, and states.

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<sup>3</sup> Quoted from Philip K .Howard (1994,2011) book “ *the death of common sense*”, Library of Congress : New York,Random House Trade Paperback Edition, pp220.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted from Philip K .Howard (1994,2011) “ *the death of common sense*”,p194.

<sup>5</sup> <http://www.ussc.gov/guidelines/2015-guidelines-manual/archive>,[access 17 September 2016]

<sup>6</sup> “Postmodernism” is a work of intellectuals appeared in Latin-American literary in 1930 but in 1970s renovated again and it deals with the social issues upon real insights ,see (Hossain and Karim, 2013).

Gender generally does not have the real meaning perceived by anti-women movement in the American community. The meaning of Gender conception is to shape women's demands to suit their situation rather than to compete with men over common issues. The proof of that in the question that asks, what men may do also if they don't have their own suitable rights? Should we follow their approach to equality? The problem is the community created a "highly fragmented endeavor" (Bendl and Schmidt, 2013).

In order to analyze what happened during the previous periods, it may be noticed that the time factor is very important behind what happened, continuation of the Democratic Party, led by Wilson in the presidency from 1913 to 1921, delayed the approval of women's right to vote, it has also led to the fragmentation of women's issues. Refusing to accept women's right to vote by Democrats in those two terms means that, in the past, present, and future Parties are always having their agenda, and it's not necessary to be compatible with the people's contemplations.

This vision would give us an understanding what woman should do at present, and in the future. Nowadays, woman independence is required, and fragmentation of women's issues not only during the transition of power between parties but also in their affiliation to both Parties (Democrats and Republicans) which is a controversial issue. Women who do not have affiliation are the most important figures in the political game, and in this case, it is not a partisan competition, actually, it is woman independence. By the way, after the Suffrage Amendment Right which is known as 19<sup>th</sup> Amendment had not been passed under Wilson's Administrations, Alice Paul said "you do not have to be the biggest Party, you have to be simply an independent Party that will stand for one object and that cannot be diverted from that object"<sup>7</sup>

To avoid fragmenting women's issues because of the transition power between Parties, and to avoid wasting time in struggling, women need to indulge themselves in the local labor associations, and to follow their independence, so they have to depend on two factors: first one, controlling woman identification with the Parties agenda, because the winner always depends on woman identification with its policy at the final stages of presidential election. So if women control the mentioned factor, woman goals could be

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<sup>7</sup> Cited in Louise A. Tilly and Patricia Gurin book .1990. "*Women ,Politics,and Cghange*" library of the Congress : New York, Russel Sage Foundation, P156

achieved during the attraction agenda of both parties. Second, we need to balance and equalize the number of women in Parties, as candidates and voters at the same time. It means we need more propaganda to convince women not to go for the sake of different agendas which causes a great loss of women's rights. In this fragmented dilemma of women's rights, I would like to say that women should benefit from the interpretations and surveys done during all terms of presidency consecutively to reshape the new American women goals and take the first step to gain the public opinion. Soule et al(2015) tried to treat the highest level of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) case depending on the public opinion to introduce the bill successfully in the first stage, so women need to interpret the roots of the public opinion and reshape American public opinion to reach the first stage mentioned by the study .If women could reshape the public opinion they will be able to shape the stages of the policy process to get women's bill signed.

The amount of authority that has been given to men and women, and the amount of the financial duties direct us to investigate the amount of help and dollars given to women and men to measure their control in the executive positions ,thus, we need to know the factors that played a big role in gender based on the authority given to women and men. Factors, such as education level, achieving a high degree, the characteristics of the persons, and work experience with employers could inform us about the effectiveness of authority which based on gender(Tower, 2011).It means that the stereotype of women also has its vision in the mind of employers, especially when it comes to talking about organizations with high positions level. This kind of premature decision about the authority without having knowledge about women's ability to do the same duties that men do is considered as an injustice criteria. In private organizations, they decide prematurely not to employ women to avoid taking chances and wasting time to experience them, but on the opposite, they will do what their previous successful economic system has already done to achieve new revenues and they will not care about women's problems. Distinctly, if we reach the equality between women and men in the economic situation, gender gap differences will be reduced and power will be distributed between them so Alkadry (2011) gives a comprehensive and a collective connection between the authority and gender stereotype, which, guide us to study the roots of gender in the United States without diverging from cause that created some women's singular problems in the American community.

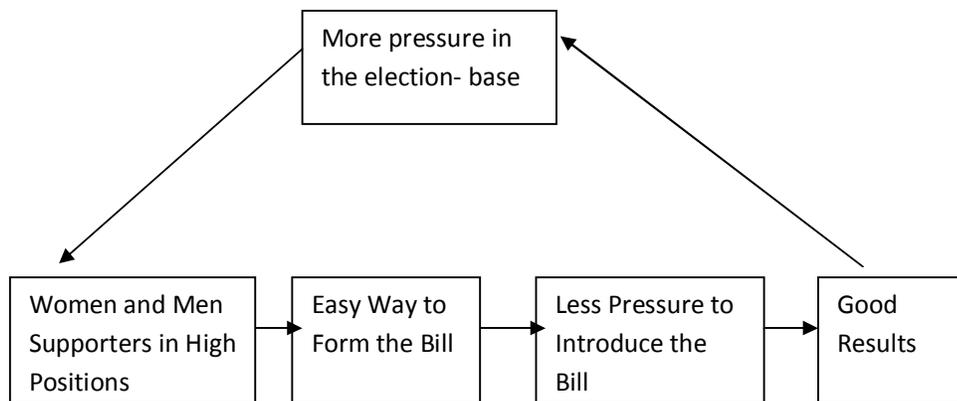
Employers in any field regardless the type of the jobs, always demand continuous availability from the employees, so the job is not related to women's choice, but to the choice of employers. Definitely, they will employ people at a minimum level of risk. In addition to that, they would give women the stereotyped-jobs. By that criterion, they prohibited women from moving for high ranking positions during their service to be equalized with men. The movement of women and men among professions is connected to the psychological characters for good jobs' requirements (Reskin 1984). Although the woman in the United States took over some high-level positions, women's history in taking over positions takes the same direction chronically. The comparison between women's stereotype and job evolving based on the type of gender in the United States is considered a part of good participation in finding a collective solution for an effective package of women's rights in order to galvanize comprehensive solutions within the law and Constitutional Amendments.

Building upon the research study "*The Stages of the Policy Process and the Equal Rights Amendment, 1972–1982*" prepared by Soule, Sarah A., and Brayden G. King (2006) explained the intersection of social movements and legislative setting and how activists could attract the legislators to their cause. In addition to the main object of this thesis, it will explain the great role that was played by the affiliations of social movements and public opinion on women's rights bills over terms of presidency regardless of the stages of the policy process, and to improve the theory and the hypothesis of this research we should understand the affiliation of the public opinion that participated in the fragmentation of women's rights bills.

By and large, if we want to explain well this kind of fragmentation, we should go deep in the affiliation process individually and collectively to come up with new recommendations towards women's issue. Also, we need to focus on the competitiveness among surveys' interpretations that made divergence between political tendencies and the solutions of women's right during four decades. The main idea of this thesis is to show that the collective studies could lead to a collective decision in the field of women's right in every term of presidency. All previous American Administrations concentrating their efforts on women's incumbent number in the Political System without paying attention to the keystone of the solutions for women's issues. The above mention study about ERA focused on the public opinion and how to

encourage the agenda of women’s associations to seek more pressure on the decision makers to ratify laws and Amendments and Acts to pass the first step of presenting women’s issue in the Congress. In my opinion, it is not a matter of pressure on the high level of politics, it is a mechanism and a formation of women’s issue on all levels within efforts and pressure after the election to pass their bill. The following diagram suggests a plan by which women continue to go ahead on the track of politics to achieve their goals. Actually, if women have the full pressure before the elections, they will need

Diagram1: Election Base and Supports in High Positions.



*Source: prepared by the researcher.*

As we see in the simple diagram above the pressure of the public opinion comes in the initial stage of the elections and the role of women’s associations comes to shape election-base with a high responsibility and with a high awareness of the misleading political process whenever it comes to talk about women who don’t have Party and they lean at the end to one without concrete plan.

Domestic management policy, Geographic distribution of the population, social factor, cultural factor, and immigration to America (because it is a country of natural resources) fragmented women's rights, and surely the main factor was presidential politics which was distributed between partisanship. Hence, the absence of the third Party makes America unable to change what the two Parties (Democrats and Republicans) failed to

do, with this in mind, it is important to study the history of women's rights in America passing through the partisan of politics controlling US's presidential Administrations. However, discontinued programs for women might be stopping by successive presidential term and it might contribute to unsustainable development towards women's issues, that delays finding solutions.

### 3.1. Historical Background.

During many terms of presidency women's struggled in order to achieve their goals. They established a new suffrage group in 1913 and the Congressional Union. This kind of efforts produced the Woman's Party in 1916 and in a short period of time, women were insisting to achieve progress and they established the National Woman's Party and by that, they attracted many social organizations to pave the road to go for the political means to have their rights.<sup>8</sup> Going for the political means in that period, directed them towards their rights not just to vote, but to continue seeking a comprehensive right without fragmenting women's issues in every term of presidency. In the very beginning of that struggle, good characters of the woman were very important. The determination of Alice Paul and Lucy Burns confirmed that women could have their participation in the political field during a long struggle to have their vote's right and finally, they gained that right. The insistence to go on demonstration having of 5,000 persons before Woodrow Wilson's inauguration as a president in 1913 is a great example of that struggle. Women persisted to follow their rights and demonstrated again in Wilson's second term of presidency besides the Pentagon, and the government arrested great numbers of them under the allegation of blocking the traffic, surely political intentions hidden by the government was a cause of that (Ferree and Cott, 1989).

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<sup>8</sup> Historical vision about NWP available at :<http://nationalwomansparty.org/learn/national-womans-party/>

Table 1: Historical Background of Women’s Rights in the United States

<b>Historical Background of Women’s Rights in the United States</b>	
1769	limited properties rights
1848	Held the Convention for women
1868	Getting started to support Equal Pay Rights and The Labor Union
1869	Two women’s organizations appeared, first National Women’s Suffrage Association and American Woman Suffrage Association, also Wyoming state Gives Women the Right to Vote
1872	Equal Pay for Equal Work law was enacted but it was not generalized for all females in all sectors. Also in that year the First woman Victoria Chalfin Woodhull within Equal Rights Party tried to run for President in the U.S, as well as Susan B. Anthony, arrested and prevented to vote
1874	Supreme Court didn’t guarantee to let women to vote
1896	first organizations for Colored Women
1903	Initiated trade league for women within the Union
1920	The 19th Amendment was ratified and new voting league for Women had been set up
1923	Equal Rights Amendment was introduced (ERA)
1961	Status of Women had its first commission under the direction of Eleanor Roosevelt
1963	Enacted Equal Pay Act (refer to Appendix A)
1964	Civil Rights Act -Title VII signed (refer to Appendix A)
1965	The emergence of Contraceptives in the Supreme Court to judge over it.
1967	The civil rights law led to expanding protection for women
1972	Title IX related to education Amendments issued (refer to Appendix A)
1973	Supreme Court judged in some cases of Abortion Right and also preventing women from participating in military job
1978	Discrimination Against Pregnant Women inside work prohibited
2009	Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act became Law and White House Council on women and girls was established.

Source: Limited, W.H. et al., 1963. *Women’s Rights Timeline*. Leonore Annenberg Institute for Civics. Available at: [www.annenburgclassroom.org](http://www.annenburgclassroom.org).

After these political circumstances in which women struggle to have their rights, and in order to investigate the contemporary history of women's issues in the United States, we may need to provide a historical perspective about women's issues development during women's contemporary and far history women since the establishment of America. So women struggled a long time to accomplish some of their goals, even if they have the law they suffered from its implementation and Table 1 above may give the reader a big understanding about the long journey of women between confederation and federation and also between constitution and its interpretations, and finally between processes of introducing proposals and passing it(also please see *Document 16*, Appendix A).

In my thesis, I will focus on the period 1970-2015 in which the second wave of feminism after 1970 was a turning point for women to think seriously about their fairness of the change that they may have in the future.They tried to change the perception of women's stereotype that was available spreading out in the American community. Also, this type of perception was popular against women of color because of poverty which sure affected the feminist movement in that period, meantime, black women were oppressed more than white women.<sup>9</sup> Studying history of different gendering stories and feminist's movements would enhance us to evaluate the progress that Americans have done towards women's participations in all aspects of life far away from the traditional vision and women's stereotype that was taken in advance in the mind of policymakers when they have been dealing with women's issue during the history.

To shed a light on the history of the Equal Rights Amendment, we should start from the 19<sup>th</sup> century of women's rights struggles. before that time, the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment defines citizens of the United States and guaranteed protection of the laws but this guarantee was in the field of the electorate(Francis and Force, 2016). Therefore, the 15<sup>th</sup> Amendment guaranteed the right of citizens to vote but also this was not applicable to the Civil War. For example, in 1872 Susan B.Anthony was prevented to vote after these Amendments, and she was arrested, and many right movements started to demand the right of women to vote until they had the 19<sup>th</sup> Amendment that focused on woman's voting right in 1919 and declared "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall

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<sup>9</sup> This is an explanations about American history of the gender by Gosse 2005. "*Rethinking of the left : An Interpretative History*", Palgrave Macmillan ,A division of Nature American Inc.

not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex."<sup>10</sup> From 1923 until 1972 women struggled to introduce the Equal Right Amendment (ERA) to have the rights as citizens rather than to vote, so by the second wave of feminism, the ERA was sent to states for ratification through the 27<sup>th</sup> Amendment and they put seven-years deadlines on the ratification process. 35 states ratified the ERA and the deadline of ratification approached in 1979, but women exerted their pressure to extend it to 1982. It was introduced in 2007, 2008 without any mentioned progress. An ERA passed throughout many presidential terms but still until now not having less than a two-thirds in each house of Congress and ratification by 38 states. In 1923 Alice Paul predicted the time of this ratification process and that was because of the great role played by its opponents inside states to decide women's future right (Roberta W. Francis, the National Council of Women Organizations, NCWO), And (Soule *et al.*, 2015).

A great progress happened in the *National Women Conference* of 1977 when the new state agreed to ratify ERA. The United States Community was surprised when "more than 14,000 women gathered to discuss the problems facing them, and formulate a plan of action to deliver to President Carter"<sup>11</sup>. At the end, the contemplated women disappointed by the decision!

In 1970, "Congresswoman Griffiths"<sup>12</sup> introduced the Bill ERA and got all signature and there were 218 out of 435 but The House and Senate failed to work out their differences in conference committee before Congress postponed it for the next year. Griffiths insisted to do the procedures again in the next year and she struggled for pushing it into the Congress (refer to *Document 18*, Appendix A).

The conference of 1977 was attended by thousands of women from all over the United States of America. It was contemplated to sign the ERA (the Equal Rights Amendment). Women's organizations also encouraged their followers to attend the conference, Betty Friedan, and other important activists were in the event. The goals of the conference were to search for equal opportunity, women's protection from domestic violence, and reduce measures against migrants women (refer to *Document 17*, Appendix A).

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<sup>10</sup> Appendix A.

<sup>11</sup> *CNN Aug 17, 2015* by Rayan Bergeron "The Seventies': Feminism Makes Waves."

<sup>12</sup> Martha W. Griffiths was from Detroit State, she served 20 years in the U.S. House of Representative and she was a very important figure in introducing women's rights reform. [http://history.house.gov/People/Listing/G/GRIFFITHS,-Martha-Wright-\(G000471\)/](http://history.house.gov/People/Listing/G/GRIFFITHS,-Martha-Wright-(G000471)/) [Access Mar ,2017].

By providing the knowledge about women's rights during the history, we will discover how women's issue was fragmented between terms and local states affiliation, that leads us to answer a question that says: who control those decisions, parties affiliated people or business affiliated people? And does fluctuation of women's affiliation to both Democrats and Republicans participated in the hindrance and lateness of their ERA?!. These questions if we could answer them, we would be able to connect the reasons behind the fragmentation of women's issues with the interdependence between using of time to maneuver in-laws and practical intention to pass women's rights bills.

Women rights in the U.S were lost between fragmented issues during the terms of every presidential plan and they found themselves away from tailoring their comprehensive demands, at least, to orient the policymakers about all aspects of women's issues. In addition, political terms imposed some conditions against women and made them reunited apart from men. Compatibility between the demand and the same sex is considered a very good conception to accomplish equal common rights for women and men. We cannot deal with two groups in the same class of life separately. At the end, we ought to highlight the common idea in our class of life. By the way, the Supreme Court is the only authority that can interpret the constitution regarding any issue and surely it is an advantage to suit the case with the original idea of the constitution and with situational compatibility and circumstances of the case. On the other hand, this idea is limited by Politicians' approach who are working during the term of power whenever it comes to talk about women's necessities. As a result of that women need, their issues to have a priority in the politics. Reconsidering the convergence between women's organizations is very important to reduce the divergence gap between women movements in the United States and this may be achieved by unifying all women's efforts far away from Parties. Beside that women can raise awareness inside women associations to reduce the misunderstanding between both women and, in order to explain that, their movement is not a competition but it is a suitable right.

Historically, United States witnessed a very strong migration movements and this movement played a big role in gender aspects. Women coming from outside states would be in a weak situation to compete in a new community, they need to know it. So many violence cases happened during the migrant process. In addition, immigrant

women should compete with original American need a long period of time in order to attain education and seek jobs.<sup>13</sup>

Generally, in this investigation I will search how the woman was related to culture in the vision of men in the United States to know why “her degraded position among men became a custom, then an institution, then a tradition”<sup>14</sup> (Holmes, 1996). It is worth mentioning and referring to advantages and disadvantages that have passed through the history of America. In respect to women's affairs, studying History may re-evaluate the political stages experienced by women, and thus enable us to participate to find some solutions for the American social issues and the humanity.

### 3.2. Empirical Data.

The data in the above literature review provided good theoretical empirical findings of the aspects of women's issues based on gender production in the United States especially in the domains of women's representation in politics, women's attainment in education, women inside American workforce and protection for women against violence.

The first domain of this research is women political representation and to analyze the collected data, this study will do many steps gradually. First, In order to analyze the impact of the political Parties' agendas on women's representation in the United States Parliament over the period 1970-2015, we need to shed a light on the American Political System to know the volume of women's participation in the Congress in each term of Presidency during the period of the study. Without understanding the development of the American political system during the contemporary history, the reader will not be able to understand the process of a law passed by the U.S's Political System. By shedding a light on this system we can enhance ourselves with an idea about the making decision place in America and women representation inside U.S. By and large, the constitution of the U.S is the keystone of American Political System that its terms have not been changing too much since its establishment by founding fathers in 1789

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<sup>13</sup> Pierrette H.2003 published “*gender and its immigration*” p36

<sup>14</sup> Holmes 1996,pp334

after the Declaration of Independence which was in 1776. As long as America was under the hereditary British system, founding fathers wanted the American political system to be distinguished by separating powers between the branches of the federal governance system. So they created three authorities: executive, legislature, and judiciary to prevent the tyranny of powers from infringing American population's rights.

The United States has a variety of different races because it was under British mandatory and the immigrants came from all parts of the world. This composition of American population led to establishing a constitution that provides all rights for all the components of the American people, regardless of religion, race, and color. It was established to represent all citizens in the House of Representative and in the Senates upon the number of population that every state has.

Originally, the legislative power was the highest power, but now because of the transition between many American Administrations during the history, presidency came in the highest position in parallel with the Supreme Court. From the American Independence in 1776 to 2015 only 27 Amendments happened in the constitution of the United States due to the separated power.

According to the American constitution, the powers are three: Executive power (Presidency and Government), Legislation power ( House of Representatives and Senates), and Judiciary power (Supreme Court and Federal Circuits). By the way, every power has its own decision on any case presented to them, but the only power or branch that can interpret the terms of the constitution is the Supreme Court taking into its considerations two principles the "Originalism" and the flexibility of constitutional interpretation depending on the case presented.<sup>15</sup> (See diagram 1 Annex C) shows the process of the elections in the United States.

Knowledge about the election process, procedures of the political system, and campaign debates enable both women and men follow the right and orient them to have a responsibility in high ranking positions, also it may let the community define women by

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<sup>15</sup> Roger Darlington .2016. " *A short Guide to the American Political System*" available at <http://www.rogerdarlington.me.uk/Americanpoliticalsystem.html>.

what they have and not as the traditional idea which defines them by what they lack. However, promoting the ability of women may contribute in equalizing women with their peer's men inside work, education, and parliament.

Because of the traditional idea about women, it was noticed that women in their campaign debates use different rhetorical approach. Women's debate can be adopted assertiveness over the issues related to bills and income. On the other side, men do have more effective personality over the strict issues such as taxes. It is used to hear the voice of men rather than the voice of women. Appointing men in high positions in the U.S enabled them to have a very strong personality so they can go directly on their plan and on their subject with good communication skills that were not taken during the absence of women in the competitive positions. Men have the ability to interrupt during electoral debates because they have the experience within their presidential terms service. Equally important, women have the same characters if they are appointed in the same positions in the government and if they receive the chance to improve themselves. The absence of women in the political campaign participated in the alienation of women from raising their voice within the political rhetoric speech. Consequently; their voice could not reach the American audience. This political hindrance delayed women's voice and led to idle women's issues. By the way, this contributed in the fragmentation and in the separation of women's issues, which in turn, deprived women of having administration skills, so females and males have the same access to the campaign debates if women already appointed as men in the government (Banwart and McKinney, 2005).

Exclusively, if women achieved progress in all women's issues like professional education, health, security, and work we would see women have a high level of communication skills, which for sure, enable them to be in leadership positions, in the local American institutions, and in the public federal system. "Power control theory"<sup>16</sup> of American traditional culture gives the men the ability to go in risk to provide the family with life's requirements (Kobayashi, Sharp and Grasmick, 2008). The male domination over all aspects of American production of policy and the belief that women cannot go out in a risk was an obstacle in the way of women to achieve their purposes.

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<sup>16</sup> Kobayashi, E., Sharp, S.F. & Grasmick, H.G., 2008. Gender and deviance: A comparison of college students in Japan and the United States. *Deviant Behavior*, 29(5), p.414

To avoid the alleged stereotype of women, progress in women's social issues is required to prove the ability of women in all fields in the American community.

The second domain of this research is women's attainment in education. It was noticed that in the contemporary history of the United States decision makers put a strategy to let women access the educational system but there was a lack of continuity in that strategy. Retreating women to go to the traditional job as a teacher or small works fields is an evidence in the new century, because women traditional jobs are undermined by American culture especially that job related to child care and family education job. For example, in 2007, U.S Department of labor gave a grant for Hard Hatted Women (HHW) Organization, to enable women to work in an advanced high paid job to increase their number in "nontraditional" job.<sup>17</sup> Continuity in this field is an important factor rather than initiating program without evaluation. In this context, the United States need to pinpoint the places and methods of the discrimination on the basis of sex inside the educational system, and this can be achieved by recognizing that there are practices of inequality in access to the educational centers, and it is necessary to distribute teachers and students on the learning environment in a fair process, also identify the discrimination on the basis of sex against ethnic groups who spread out on the land of the United States. For sure, any program must be evaluated and monitored to know to what extent may affect both women and men, it is necessary to reconsider the weak points that have emerged in the previous rehabilitation programs to compensate them in the new programs. In addition, the effective educational strategy is the most important ways to address the equality between women and men. Pushing for more efforts to improve the educational curriculum also limits inequality between women and men may lead to the development of justice among those who involved in the educational process. Therefore , developing of assessment system that enable planners to know and identify the results of any educational program ,could reduce the gap between women and men in workforce correlated to their education and it may be recognizing the political factor and social factor who are playing a big role in directing the educational system(Greaney and Kellaghan, 2008).

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<sup>17</sup> Centre for energy workforce development, Hard Hatted Women , "A Toolkit for Recruiting and Retaining Women in NonTraditional Positions" available at <http://www.cewd.org/toolkits/CEWDHHwtoolkit.pdf>

The third domain of the literature review was women inside workforce. First, the empirical and qualitative data provides that the culture in the U.S is going to the interest of male by controlling the environment economically. And it is necessary for him to lead women in order to build the family structure(Xiao and McCright, 2012).Since male is controlling the environment , he would also control its resources and prevent women from exploiting those resources. The characters of women provide them protect those resources because they want to protect their children from any bad condition caused by the environment, so they accuse women by not having the risk and doing projects to gain their income, and eventually, women became without complete authority.

Women need to balance the relationship between work and their responsibility to their family. So women retreated from doing full-time jobs. In addition, this obstacle prevented women to compete their peer's men for high ranking positions. However, children receive a great impact because of the imbalanced relation between work and family(Teasdale, 2013). As a result of that women couldn't gain money to send their children to attend the school and colleges.

Beale (1970) mentioned that sometimes giving work is based on human color, for example, after 1970, black women were gaining less income compared with white females. Also, the kind of work in factories was given to women based on gender. As for representation in the Congress and the government, there were a small number of women inside the Congress and some appointed women were appointed because they don't have children and family's responsibilities.

The fourth domain of the study is domestic violence against women in the United States which is considered one of the biggest problems in the United States that threaten American community. Violence by ex-husband and partner one of these issues that caused fear to women to achieve progress in work especially in high positions.Stalking problem is not controlled in the United States and sometimes it is difficult to be judged in many cases. Bullying at colleges and sexual harassment still an obstacle in front of women education as well as rape cases inside campuses without reporting it to avoid stalking.There is a lack of information about women trafficking because most of the cases are done behind scenes and across the border within the poor community and the migration movements.

The qualitative data and the empirical findings tell that in order to avoid the consequences of violence against women, United States enacted many acts such as the following:

- a. Family Violence Prevention and Service Acts in 1984(FVPSA).
- b. The Violence Against Women Act VAWA in 1994.
- c. Victims of Crimes Act (VOCA).
- d. National Domestic Violence Hotlines (NDVH).

### 3.3. Limitations of the Literature Review.

Previous qualitative studies have depicted women cases but it didn't give combined information about different domains of women's issues such as gender in the political system, education, women employment and violence against women in the United States. Qualitative data should evaluate the performance of every president towards women's issues during his term of presidency. In this current study, those domains will be addressed by both literature review and qualitative data. But this research will have limitations in visiting American institutions and getting new information about the recent studies related to the topic especially after 2005, so I will use an in-depth research study to provide an understanding of the important aspects of a new or persistently problematic research area. These limitations mentioned above may come when some of the geographical factors and social factors are introduced in the way of the researcher. Depicting the problem and analyzing it in a conceptual framework is the best way to reach the reality. Methodological strategy with good methods such as interviews and questionnaire may enhance our vision about the problem. So in this study, I will make a combination of questionnaire and interviews with present and past woman's issues to provide rich data about the impact of domestic policy on woman's issues in the United States.

The objective of the current study is to find out the impact of presidential policy on Women's issues in the United States over the period 1970-2015 by evaluating the performance of the US presidential Administrations towards women in the mentioned period in four domains: political representation, education, workforce and protection for women against violence and studying gender aspects of each domain. By achieving the

objective of the research depending on good methods and collecting data, it would provide to have real answers by interviews and questionnaire as well as qualitative data using three methods can enable the researcher to prove the hypothesis of the research by the new intersectional information.

The research implications depending on the above findings and the literature review make the researcher go step by step to investigate the problem of the research and answer its main question which is: To what extent the domestic policy of American Administrations impacts women's political representation, women's attainment in education, women in the workforce and protection for women against violence in the United States over the period 1970-2015?

From the main question it may be included a number of questions:

1. How has U.S policy conceptualized gender cases for women and her educational plan post-1970?
2. In what manner did Policy on this issue emerge especially in the workforce?
3. Is Independent woman perceived to have taken a participation in the American political system leadership? If so, in what respects?
4. In what manner did policy protect women in different terms of the presidency?
5. How have these policies impacted on the progress of gender equity in the health system and protecting women from violence?

#### **4. OBJECTIVE.**

The main objective of this thesis is to analyze the impact of changing American Administrations' policy on gender and Women's issues in the United States over the period (1970-2015) by evaluating the performance of the US presidential Administrations towards women's issues and evaluating women's role in:

1. Women's representation inside the political system.
2. Women's attainment in education.
3. Women's employment inside the American workforce.
4. Violence against women.

## **5. METHODOLOGY.**

### 5.1. Required Elements.

To have real information for this research over the period (1970-2015) it is required a collective data by different methods, the research used questionnaire and interviews directed to Americans citizens and institutions using electronic E-mails questionnaire and interviews as well as in-person interviews. It was necessary for this research to identify the historical events to combine it with the social science about gender and women's issues, so differentiating between the social study and historical study in this research is very important. Combining data from different methods: documentations' statistics review, qualitative method, questionnaire and interviews. These methods provide core ideas to the cross-analysis of data .

### 5.2. Researcher Impartiality.

The researcher has addressed the impartiality principles in advance before collecting data and analyzing it and goals were mentioned in the plan of the research , so the researcher avoided biases for Parties regarding the impact of the two political Parties Democrats and Republicans in order to confirm the objective and answer the main question by determined effective scientific methods.

### 5.3. Methods.

#### 5.3.1. Qualitative Data.

Qualitative data with indicated numbers and transcription data had been collected to evaluate women's status taking into considerations all resources done by scholars and books related to the government departments and the legislative branch such as Congress to confirm the same numbers and depictions with women's civic organizations.

### 5.3.2. Interview.

The researcher developed asked questions based on the previous studies about the impact of changing domestic policy on women's issues based on gender aspects and production over the period (1970-2015). All questions were directed to American citizens with different ages and these kinds of questions were very easy to facilitate the process of the interview without searching about any determined answer in order to achieve the impartiality principle in the research. The interview's questions were 10 (see Appendix B ) and they were derived from the domains of the study with focusing on women's political representations because if women represented in the political system departments and legislative branch they would already represent inside education, workforce and defended against domestic violence.

The thesis has 8 interviews with Americans strategic directors centers and with American students and they were done in Jordan ,Palma De Mallorca –Spain and they were sent by E-mail to the United States .

The transcript of records of the interviews was kept with the researcher upon the permission of the interviewed person under good security process until they were issued in the actual research.

### 5.3.3. Questionnaire.

The researcher intended to ask the same questions in the interview to make it clear to readers that the information passed by the cross analytical process after categorizing them related to the domains of the study. The thesis includes 50 questionnaires distributed to American citizens.

### 5.3.4. Data Analysis of the Interviews and Questionnaire.

After the transcription of the collected data, the researcher pinpointed the intersectional data to confirm the themes of the research in the final stage to confirm the goal of thesis and the process of analyzing data of the interviews and questionnaire started with

writing and categorizing the data to provide it in the research. Answers and sentences used in both methods would give the researcher ability to generate big idea about the topic to have a real meaning for all domains of study to arrange them in the final stage of methodology and then put them under final revisions.

#### 5.3.5. Ethical Considerations.

Documentation and preservation of copyright are the important things in this research. Confidentiality and use of information legitimately are considered in this research. And the material of institutions and library and the documentation of centers were used appropriately. Definitely, permissions and coordination have been done to take any information from its original resources.

## **6. HYPOTHESIS OF THE RESEARCH.**

The hypothesis of this research is “Given that gender and women’s issues were supported by American Administrations’ domestic policy over the period 1970-2015, but this case has limitations because, in some circumstances, women’s rights have been impacted by the transition of power between American Administrations in the history because of the change in the domestic policy” So this research will test this hypothesis to investigate the main objectives of the research to identify which Political Party worked better in term of gender and women’s issues as well as evaluate the women’s role under these Administrations .

To avoid linking domestic policy towards gender and women’s issues with the political system of the states, this research studies the performance of American Administrations over the period (1970-2015) to provide data and results about the impact of changing agendas of different Administrations on women’s rights based on gender as a result of the transition power between Democratic Party and Republican Party , so to test the hypothesis the research will study women’s representation during the contemporary history of the United States over the period of study to prove the following:

- A. The impacts of changing American Administrations’ domestic policy on Women’s representation inside the political system.
- B. The impacts of the domestic policy on Women’s attainment in education.
- C. The impacts of the domestic policy on Women’s employment inside the American workforce.
- D. The impacts of the domestic policy on Women’s protection against violence.

Actually, to provide all information about all fields of study, the researcher will adopt different scientific methods to prove the hypothesis. Distributing questionnaire and doing interviews with American are considered a supportive data in the historical study, as well as qualitative data, are very important in this research .All four methods will be combined to reach effective cross analysis and core ideas to be proved in the discussion of the research.

## **7. CHAPTER 1: CHANGING AMERICAN ADMINISTRATIONS AND ITS EFFECTS ON WOMEN'S ISSUES (1970-2015).**

In this chapter I will analyze how presidents handled women's issues during their term of presidency; I will take into my consideration presidents' remarks about women since they inaugurated their office on 20<sup>th</sup> of November of year's election in order to have knowledge about the effectiveness of these remarks on the presidents' domestic policy towards women. This investigation will use impartiality in its analytical methods to show the reader how we can make progress in women solving issues. All previous studies dealt with statistical as an individual method to certain that progress. In my point of view, I would like to introduce all women's issues as a very significant package rather than an individual case. Certainly, women can improve their role in building the nation and their role in constructing the base of the men's work to accomplish a collective progress in the field of gender equality.

According to the remarks that are available in our hand, we can say that the remarks of the United States presidents are including two factors of Parties Agendas, first, the traditional determination on grabbing the old principles of each Party. Second, the Parties' policy to defend against the new consequences and the real responsibility to find a solution for women's issues. Moreover, some of these remarks tell the truth about the situation of women in the United States, and some of them are considered a lecture in a ceremony days. In the past rarely we have even remarks about sensitive women's issue such as abortion and jobs, but nowadays these remarks become a tradition in the primary elections and in the conferences pertains to women's issues.

In case of studying problems that are facing women, maybe we will find another interpretation of the constitution to reduce the gap differences in the Parties' vision towards women. Previous studies mentioned the gap differences between women and men based on gender without focusing on the gap differences of both parties in the field of understanding and interpreting the constitution and the phrases of founding fathers related to women's rights. Deliberately, this chapter will distinguish between personalities' remarks and deep-rooted traditional remarks to pinpoint the balance needs to keep up with modernity and global equal rights inside the United States and abroad. By the way, the following question needs to be answered: Is the Political System of the United States is traditionally constant or changeable? To understand what is being done

behind scenes in domestic politics in the United States, we need to shed a light on the functions and the structure of the political system in the United States. The constitution of the United States contains a small number of Amendments during almost two centuries and half, but the functions and the political personnel who interpreted it and explained it are very different in minds and attitudes, some of them religiously grabbed some terms in it, and some of them reduce the strong words inside it to achieve the self-independence ideas to pass it legally.

When I talk about the old traditional constant of the constitutional interpretations, really I mean also traditions come with the elections' campaigns and don't come by the deep-rooted values of religion or even by the loyalty of candidates to the constitution. People of the United States believe in their constitution but they look forward to benefiting from resilient terms inside it, directly, I would like to say that the political system is not representing every term in the constitution. Generally speaking, Political System in the United States is a method used to build upon the constitutions' terms by a modern functioning system.

Constantly, the Political Parties are using sometimes the terms of the constitution to improve the advancement of the Party rather than to improve the freedom and equality between Americans, and there is one explanation for that, it is to advance and win by touching on the heart of religious people or by exceeding the value of liberty to have a progress in the name of it. The competition between agendas will lead the Political System of the United States to be living within the clash of ideas without solving real women package problem, and finally, we will go back to the first point of the circle when new election campaigns come.

To explain the changing domestic policy towards women and made it very clear, it is necessary evaluate the domestic policy of every Political Party who participated in shaping American policy during the last four decades, and to do that evaluation ,gathering information about women's issues is very important such as President's remarks about women, President's programs on women and girls , projected and domestic policy towards women , identification and loyalty to every party ,accomplishment and work done in the contemporary history by decision makers correlated to women progress in different fields. During the long history of the changing political agenda, women suffer from women's programs discontinuity between parties

which touches the American way of life. In addition to that, every party (Democrats & Republicans) tried to build new social construction without filling the previous gaps as well as storing previous programs in their drawers after the President's inauguration of the office, by the way, debriefing about women's situation at the end of every term of presidency should be introduced in order to avoid discontinued programs.

By and large, scholars contributed in shaping that debriefing to enhance women and politics builders about the importance of the collectivity and comprehensiveness of the work done by women strugglers and policymakers to ensure women's program continuity in the future of the United States community.

#### 7.1. American Administrations and Democratic Party Policies towards Women's Issues.

In many occasion, Democrats speak clearly about the right of women in the United States in their election campaign and after. Many women have their jobs in high-level positions, in work, education, science, and politics. In their speeches (see Annex A) Democratic Presidents' remarks about women focused on women's issue in different fields, but actually, we should investigate whether it is a real democracy or just a campaign agenda to reach the presidency and to defeat the traditional policy of GOP Party. This question could be answered within the laws that have been enacted during every term of presidency and it could be proved by positions that women have taken in the private workforce and in the public jobs.

Generally speaking, President Jimmy Carter was the one who called for human rights, and in many occasions he focused on women's rights then he connected the absence of women's rights to the deviation of interpretations of religious books as well as he appointed 40 women in different general courts, 11 women in appeals level courts, and 21 women at the districts courts while in the past just one woman was appointed with 27 men as judges at federal court and at district level they were just 5 women (Clark, Matthews and Kennedy, 2002). He invited men and women to remove the idea that women are inferior based on the patriarchal vision. In addition to that, he negated to choose verses from the Bible to undermine women's role before God and before their

husbands. He also affirmed that the society should support women to benefit from their participation in the community. Beyond that, he considered the discrimination against women as affection on the whole world. Jimmy Carter was encouraging women to be in the military because they have the skills to do that and he defended them before their peers men in his term and finally, he focused in his book “*Call to Action: Women, Religion, Violence, and Power*” on the discrimination against women.<sup>18</sup> Jimmy Carter supported women in all fields such as military and education, Kerber( 1993,p116) wrote “ *A constitutional right to be treated like ladies*” , in which and this article mentioned President Jimmy Carter supporting women to be in the Army because they have many skills.

His remarks from the first glance seemed completely providing encouragement for women especially when directly talked about military women’s subscription and women in the whole world, but to investigate his vision we should investigate the agenda of his Party. Whenever we found a statement for the United States , it would be correlated with the Parties’ identification. Alternatively, the statements of American Presidents represented the clash between American domestic politics on the expected voters’ issues regardless gender and the sex basement. Jimmy Carter statements, in this case, wanted to enhance the role of women in the states. Consequently, should women apply for adopting every Parties’ policy! Or should they adopt another theoretical case to analyze the future problem of women! without doubt, if we look at the progress in Nixon’s term we will find much progress compared with Carter’s term towards women’s issues , it means the transitional term really impacted that improvement of women’s rights.

*The Economist* published in 2014 an article under the title “*Presidential Decree*” by K.Y.W, Apr 28 that explains President Carter’s belief about women and the way they are treated by. He considered the way of treating women as a “worse than any war we’ve had in history”. He also came up with an idea to treat women and girls as he said by “ our own spheres of influences to meet the challenges” in which he doesn’t depend

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<sup>18</sup> Jimmy Carter .2014. “*Call to Action: Women, Religion, Violence, and Power*” Simon and Schuster Paperbacks Inc ,2015, New York. Available online at <http://books.simonandschuster.com/A-Call-to-Action/Jimmy-Carter/9781476773964>, [access 22 September 2016]

on statistics to accomplish women's rights, on the contrary, he wanted a comprehensive community consists of spiritual aspects and scientific domains.<sup>19</sup>

So every president has his different domestic policy towards women's issues, for instance, President Clinton appointed Janet Reno as Attorney-general because she doesn't have children, politicians' vision is the same about women's authority. They are giving the chance for women who already supported by a powerful male.

Women adopted many means to combat in order to improve their situation in politics under President Bill Clinton's Administration. They started with numerous groups of women within NGOs to obtain funds to help women's gaining political job and practicing pressure on politicians to accept their claims. President Clinton in 1992, his political campaign was an important example of the success of women to support the goals of women's groups. The increase of women's number in the House of Representatives, in the Senate, and in the various constituencies of all states was a positive result towards progress in women's representation in politics. Women's activists introduced support for women candidates that led to more women in the Congress.

Women's goals exceed their goal to be only as candidates for political positions and they want to share with men all kinds of responsibilities as well as all obligations of power and family. Women reject an old unequal deal that gives the men the right work and women to stay at home. Women claim a new social contract to share power, work, and family.

Qualitative and quantitative analysis studies about women's presence as legislators and about their democratic political representation have doubled during President Clinton's Administration. Not only percentages of women in the Congress was the goal of these studies, but also gender differences in all social fields. Generally, women started to be aware that the problem is coming from different causes in the American community.

On the other hand, during his speech at DNC, Aug. 29, 1996, President William J. Clinton focused on abortion and he described it as "rare" act."<sup>20</sup> (See Annex A).But

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<sup>19</sup> *The Economist* published in 2014 an article called *Presidential Decree* by K.Y.W, Apr 28 [access 16/03/2017]

here we should mention that President Clinton opened new jobs for women when he signed North America Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1994(Bailey, 1992).

President Obama put in his mind the idea of equality between women and men because woman gains just “77 cents” of each dollar that man gains.<sup>21</sup> On September 21, 2011, President Obama’s also tried to promote women’s skills and he addressed women’s issues to the United Nations General Assembly, and he wanted to direct his Administration to have a comprehensive role to support gender equality in order to help women in the whole world as well as he encouraged women to attain (STEM) education in Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math and he ran for the presidency to prevent denying women’s educations “dreams”.<sup>22</sup>

President Obama focused on the equal pay for equal work which is the most sensitive issue in the domestic policy of the United States, and he supported the roadmap for equality, so whenever it comes to talking about equal pay for all, for sure this issue is considered for him women’s pure issue.<sup>23</sup> And to support women to have job opportunity President Obama discussed the “lower wage” that women have in his address in front of the women’s Union.<sup>24</sup>(See Annex A)

In Obama’s term, the White House Council on Women and Girls has been established and many indications refer to the advancement of his policy towards women’s issues, but even he did so, women still suffering from poverty, lack of the healthcare and the maximum rate of violence. From 2009 to 2015 some progress have been achieved in fields like education, women workforce, health, justice, and violence against women. Presidents Obama said on international women’s day he wanted to accomplish women’s

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<sup>20</sup> Available at [http://www.notablequotes.com/c/clinton\\_bill.html#Tq6eFSdjwrCfv5C8.99](http://www.notablequotes.com/c/clinton_bill.html#Tq6eFSdjwrCfv5C8.99)

<sup>21</sup>The White house report : *Equal Task Workforce Accomplishments : Fighting for Fair Pay in the Workplace, April 2012, p1*

<sup>22</sup> Quoted from Obamas Administrations Record for Women and Girls,p1, available [www.whitehouse.gov/women](http://www.whitehouse.gov/women) [access 22 september 2016]

<sup>23</sup> Quoted from Velerie Jarret. 2012. The White House Council on Women and Girls April, 2012 (September ,2015),p3.

<sup>24</sup> *The white house : Office of the Press Secretary jan 28,2014* “ President Obama’s State of the Union Address”.

“full range of rights” and he directed his secretary of state John Kerry to empower women and young girls with effective projects.(See Annex A).<sup>25</sup>

Exclusively, in 2009 president Obama created the White House Council on Women and Girls to make sure that federal government policy towards women is going in the right direction, so three branches concerning women’s issues that can cooperate to combine the aim of policy towards all issues to find a future solution and these branches are the Department of Commerce, the Office of Management and Budget, and the Economic and Statistic Administration .Mentioned branches intended to support also the White House Council on Women and Girls. It was a big step from President Obama, but the continuity will be on the new Administration’s shoulders.<sup>26</sup> President Obama his aim was to make America a “destiny” (Fact Sheet, 2016) for every citizen.<sup>27</sup>:

Peculiarly, in spite of all mentioned attentions by some previous Administrations, but there is still a clear gap between women and men in several areas such as education, health, workforce and economic situations. The indications of women’s life expectancy indicate that women live more than men despite receiving less medical care during many stages of their lives. Another part of Obama’s progress towards women was not forgettable when he signed the Affordable Care Act in 2010 that covers different women’s issues such as the expansion of women coverage, reducing the costs for the healthcare ,and different health programs and choices to reach an equality in health rights for all citizens(Representatives, 2010).<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>25</sup>White House ,Office of the Press Secretary ,March 08 ,2016 Available at <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2016/03/08/statement-president-international-womens-day-8-March-2016> [access 12 /04/2016]

<sup>26</sup> A big data was issued in 2013 and 2014 by the White House Council on Women and Girls in cooperating with the Department of Commerce , President office of Management and Budget.

<sup>27</sup> *The white house :office of the press secretary,Jun 9 ,2016.* “ Fact Sheet :Obama Administration’s Record and the LGBT community “ available at <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2016/06/09/fact-sheet-obama-administrations-record-and-lgbt-community> [access Mar 23,2017]

<sup>28</sup> In May 1, 2010 U.S legislative counsel amended the Completion of Patient Protection and the Affordable Care Act to cover many health care issues and it was issued in June 09,2010,pp1-974

## 7.2. Republican Party Policies towards Women's Issues.

During the terms of Republicans focusing on principles got started, and it emerged new era towards women and new "majoritarian strategy"<sup>29</sup> had been adopted. Kamala Lopez in *The Guardian Sept 7, 2016*, about the ERA demonstrations in 1976( refer to *Document 17 Appendix A*) ,and wondered that women's rights are available in the original constitution and she talked about how the government avoids solving all difficult and complicated women's issues and it was "placed squarely on women's shoulders to figure out and bear"<sup>30</sup>.

Sascha Cohen wrote in *Daily News on March 2017 "Women in Strike, the Sequel: Learning From Struggles of Sisters Past"* that in 1970, "Betty Friedan" led the manifestations of the second wave of women's rights ,and when they started those demonstrations it caused a heavy traffic ,women at that time, were thousands in the street who illustrated a very good stance for tracking the women's rights (See document 15 Appendix A).

According to Sascha Cohen, learning from the history lessons brings women to come close to their goals. The philosophy of patriarchal right and new factors let the government supply itself with financial support. The patriarchal part is understood, but the right of the government to fund itself was not understandable. Since 1980, Cutting taxes during Reagan's Administration without any improvement in Bush's term brought larger debt to the United States, it reached \$ 3.5 trillion, and the strange thing that Democrats supported the budget of Gulf War. And since 1997 the Republican didn't solve the immigration problem and the social security problem including also the Medicare issue. In addition to that, it seemed that the shortage of economic policy led to 2007 economic crises that included also the baby-boom generation that took a great proportion of the government budget to cover deserved pensions.

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<sup>29</sup>Quoted from Tanya Melich (1996,1998) book "*The Republican War Against Women*".(Bantam Book: Library of Congress Catalog, Card Number 95-43111). Please see the subtitle of the book "*The Conflict of Principles and Expediency*".p15

<sup>30</sup>*TheGuardian Sept 7, 2016*. "surely it's time American Women's equality was added to the constitutions" [Mar 21,2017]

Surely, economy affected women's issues because of the wrong economic policies that depend on the short-pragmatic program adopted by Republicans' Administrations. So in Republicans' terms it has been noticed that religious people and donors played a big role in dominating the policy of the Republican Party, by the way, we will make it clear that the many continuous terms caught by one Party delayed somehow the progress in women's affairs and the following example proved that when the congress member Ernest Istook, Jr. of Oklahoma introduced an Amendment says "the people's right to pray and to recognize their religious beliefs, heritage or tradition on public property, including public schools, shall not be infringed"<sup>31</sup>, and that was in the election of 1976. Republicans Party (GOP) accomplished many goals that might be beneficial to a few private interests groups.

President Nixon doesn't want women to be in the government and he described them as "erratic" as well as "emotional" (Glazebrook, 2009,p12) and this kind of description explained the traditional idea about women and the dominance of male authority .

Nixon's hesitation to mention women's issue strongly reflected his intentions towards women. The first difficult mission was to deal with some women delegations and associations; the American Legion Auxiliary's Girls' Nation was a mirror for the Nixon's vision about women because he described them as a "young ladies"<sup>32</sup>. He created new strategy towards women by focusing on the equal opportunity in the work field for black women and Native Americans and he supported the ERA (Equal Rights Amendment) just to deal with limited problems related to black women and Native Americans.

By stretched vision towards women in his term, Nixon wanted to solve problems temporarily in some cases based on the type of gender, but when he felt that women wanted to widen their availability in various jobs he refused and vetoed the child care bill and completely refused the abortion. Definitely, he was focusing on the minority rights rather than the specific women's issue.

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<sup>31</sup> This is how Republicans were so committed to their old traditions, Tanya Melich (1996,1998) "The Republican War Against Women".(Bantam Book: Library of Congress Catalog, Card Number 95-43111).p p1-452.

<sup>32</sup> Dean J. Kotlowski (2001). "*Nixon's Civil Rights: Politics, Principles, and Policy*" (President and Follows of Harvard College: library of Congress) p 221.

Nixon put on his mind the feminists' demands, but he inside himself was feeling that there is a difference between women and men based on gender type, on the contrary, his wife Pat Nixon supported women's right in spite of Nixon's traditional vision towards women. So he convinced and he focused on qualified women and compared women with men. In addition, the Nixon's personnel Administration was having a women phobia which as they thought could come by equalizing them with men, in his term women's right delayed because of his bureaucratic professionals' team. Henry A. Kissinger was a big example of "sex symbol of the Nixon Administrations" because he was complaining sitting beside women in the white house.<sup>33</sup>

In Oct 1971, a conversation between President Nixon and the Attorney General John Mitchel explains the lack of confidence by Nixon's Administration in a woman to be in the Supreme Court,so when the Attorney General John Mitchel told him that he talked to the chief of justice to a employ a woman, president Nixon replied he also anxious to have woman in his government(Buzan, 2015,p25)

As the NOW put some pressure on the presidents, they would go for narrow issue of women such as sexual harassments, even in the term of President John F. Kennedy and President Lyndon B. Johnson. The reality of absorbing the pressure of women associations is to win the next election. Nevertheless, they didn't have one single woman appointed in their cabinet. On the other hand, Nixon appointed less number of women in different jobs that the previous president did. He appointed just nine women compared with Johnson who appointed twenty-seven women. It is clear that Nixon faced the new stage of the Civil Rights Acts of 1964. Nixon during his term entered into a policy conflict between his bureaucratic personnel and the feminist member of Republican Party and women organizations. So this produced very slow procedures and it was confined to the domestic issues of women. As a result, Nixon tried to avoid feminists' pressure and appointed a commission to concern women's issues in the future and to face the Republican feminist women at that time. Definitely, it was an indirect way without intention from Nixon to draw a road-map for the ERA during his term because the commission was intended to be concerned the privileges of women rather than interdependent comprehensive equal rights. The results and reports of any commission about women always issue as the election comes close to benefit from the

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<sup>33</sup> WWD Fashion News "Henry Kessenger in the Swinging Seventies" [Access 26.September 2016]

reports, it was a fiction, in many terms of the presidency in the United States, practicing doing reports about women to use it as a beneficiary product of Parties' plans.

When he was a senator, President Nixon supported the ERA because he wanted to prove his loyalty to his Party because he didn't want to let the election campus controlled by Democrat Senator Carl Hayden of Arizona who passed the ERA to Congress between 1950 and 1953. The gap differences of treating ERA before and after presidential term represented the rejection of the ERA itself by the Parties' affiliated persons, even in the states who didn't ratify the ERA. His support to ERA was a representation of a resilient stance pushed by intentioned agenda behind scenes which appeared in the alternative Nixon's ERA Affirmative Action and the strange thing that the latter just included the encouragement of women to find a job and to support women to work in part-time jobs. This kind of ERA' deviation process adopted by new faces in new presidential terms created a new slowness process in achieving women rights in a short time.

Generally, women human rights must be equal to men's human rights, surely without equalizing the opportunity between women and men, no one can say there is a real equality in one community. As I mentioned before, the interdependency between several rights in several fields is very important. After creating the Affirmative Action, many companies failed to appoint women because they believe that women's stereotype could hinder them from practicing a job that men do, so the fragmentation of women's issues was taking place since a long time and it should be studied in domestic policy inside the United States.

As far, it is noticed the concentration of domestic policy on revising previous orders rather than creating new practical order concerning women issues and this clearly appeared during many terms of American presidencies. During practicing non-passion Affirmative Action, many occupations of women were not subjected to certain schedule belongs to women jobs; it was randomly practiced by many companies and sectors in the United States. President' old guard staff helped him to use women as promotional agenda to the future election, so he appointed Rita E. Hauser to the United Nations but then she demanded from him after taking the position to support women's rights. Surely this is an example of the circumstances that Nixon forcibly passed in, for the reason of

election and to improve Party's progress before the American international community vision. (Melich, 1996&1998).

President Nixon returned to focus on the family more than women's Jobs in general; he refused the child care program and the abortion bill. He tried to improve the standard living of families and he hesitated to extend women's participation to work in all kind of jobs because he was supporting the small cell of the community which is the family. This was happening to narrow women's rights in a small field to push back the time against women's issues.

By this qualitative data about Nixon's terms of presidency we noticed how the Party's agenda played a great role in achieving any progress regarding women's issues, it has been noticed that Nixon was forced in some manners to issue the women's commission and misled women by the affirmative action under the pressure of election propaganda and women's organizations and the heritage of Civil Right Movement from the previous term.

On Jan 9, 1975, President Gerald Ford signed an executive order for establishing a National Commission for Observation of International Women's year 1975.<sup>34</sup> President Gerald R. Ford took the office after Nixon's impeachment, he didn't have much time to implement women's program because he just filled position that Nixon's left, there were a lot of issues regarding foreign policy and domestic policy he should deal with, and it was caused by the vacuum resulted by the crises between Democrats and Republicans during president Nixon impeachment.

Ronald Reagan on his statement at a White House Reception for Women Appointees of the Reagan Administration, February 10, 1982, was "proud" of having women employees in his Administration.<sup>35</sup> But Also, President Reagan said to 1200 women professional group that he did a "great interest" to women.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> *Presidential library : National Archives* Jan 9,1975, available at <https://www.archives.gov/presidential-libraries/research/civil-rights-commemoration.html>

<sup>35</sup> The President spoke at 12:39 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. available at <http://www.reagan.utexas.edu/archives/speeches/1982/21082b.htm> [Access 26, September 2016]

<sup>36</sup> Ronald Reagan: "Remarks at the Annual Convention of the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs ," August 3, 1983. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=41670>.

Reagan in his statements meant that women has a different characteristics because he believes that women's stereotype and as he mentioned they couldn't carry clubs and they don't have the physical ability as he mentioned in his joke in front of all these numbers of women, which give us indications that he didn't have "a high priority" for women's issues.<sup>37</sup>

Walter F. Mondale under the President Reagan Administration In 1984, to reduce gender gap, he chose "Geraldine Ferraro, the first woman ever to appear on a presidential ticket, as his running mate"<sup>38</sup>. Some of President Reagan's staff were against women being in the government, for example, James G.Watt who was The United States Secretary of Interior under the Presidents Reagan's Administration intended to mention the group of women as a "mix" of women colors and a "cripple"(Center of the American West 2004).<sup>39</sup>

President George H. W. Bush from his speech, the patriarchal theme is the main feature of his policy, and that didn't match the improvement of women's issues and overcoming the traditional and cultural idea about women in America and this was implied in his statements whenever he speaks out about women , so he combined the Bible with the "professional women" .<sup>40</sup>

If we investigate men's control in the center of American democratic society, we will find that men control all important positions in the country's political, economic, juridical and social institutions. Men always decide on behalf of women on the problems facing women in general, because they simply represent the law with a different view on any case happens.

If we took a glance on social guarantees such as the right to the pension and health insurance and unemployment compensation for work, they are unfair to American women and women anytime may lose their jobs if they are absent from work for illness or caring children. In addition to that, the private institutions and organizations provide care for women in the United States in some cases instead of the government.

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<sup>37</sup> *This evaluation mentioned in the book of William E Pemberton 1998, chapter 7, ,that book published by Routledge Talor & Francis group , London and New York. p140*

<sup>38</sup> *Washington Post Mar 3 ,1985 by Bill Peterson under the title " Reagan Did Understand Women".*

<sup>39</sup> James G.Watt speech in Chamber of Commerce Sept 21,1983 *This Day in Quotes* ,Available at <http://www.thisdayinquotes.com/2009/09/woman-two-jews-and-cripple.html>

<sup>40</sup> Ben J.Wattenberg (1995) "*Values Matter Most :How Republicans ,or Democrats, or Third Party can Win and Renew the American Way of Life*" P 36.

Despite the role women's liberation movements over twenty years to get a law to give women maternity leave, women are not able by law to care for a child or sick family members. President Bush has put at the head of the federal committee's number of officials who are not interested in women's liberation movements.

George W. Bush pledged to support the choice of life Amendment and he was against abortion and he promised to support an Amendment to prevent illegal abortion without rape cases which threatening women's health and he promised not to push the Supreme Court to do that. Completely, he was with the choice of life regards the issue of abortion.<sup>41</sup> George W. Bush pledged in his speech mentioned some women's names appointed by the government like "Paula Dobriansky" in the Department of State and "Dorothy" the delegate to UN to work in the Commission on the status of women.<sup>42</sup>

In George W. Bush's 2<sup>nd</sup> Administration, Condoleezza Rice and Margaret Spellings were appointed in Cabinet, and other women have been appointed like Wolff and Perino, the problem was how to balance between work and family. Karen Hughes said she suffered from the work schedule and she called Bush and informed him that she couldn't be on time scheduled to work. President directly reacted telling Card: "Don't run off all my working mothers!" Although Card made accommodations, Hughes left the White House after a year and a half, saying the job was too hard on her "homesick" Texas family.<sup>43</sup> George W. Bush, he talked about the women's empowerment but from inside there are groups of values and Party's agenda he has to follow but he also said that "70 percent" of women benefit from the "small loans" the government distributes "\$155 million" every year.<sup>44</sup>

Barbara Finlay (2006) in her book. "*George W. Bush and War on Women: turning back the clock of progress,*" wrote that George W. Bush plan towards women's issues was with the religious traditional idea. He was against abortions and he caused a difficult

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<sup>41</sup> Associated press Jun 14,1999.[Access 26,September ,2016].

<sup>42</sup> George W. Bush: "Remarks on Efforts To Globally Promote Women's Human Rights, March 12, 2004. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*. Available at <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=64747>. [Access Mar 20,2017]

<sup>43</sup> *Washington Post* .Sept 12,2016. By Juliet Eilperin "White House Women Want to be in the room when it happens"[March 17,2017].

<sup>44</sup> George W. Bush: "Remarks on Efforts To Globally Promote Women's Human Rights, March 12, 2004. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*. Available at <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=64747>. [Access Mar 20,2017]

situation for women when he adopted military action against Iraq and Afghanistan and try to close offices related to women in the cabinet and quickly and unexpectedly, he neglected women's organization's role.

To conclude up the most important beneficial thing for women during Nixon's term, the domestic policy must give women the path to move quickly towards their right by enact legislations regard their issue without slowing the process of implementing any Act to assure the competition with men in the future. One lesson can be learned from Nixon's term is that women couldn't have any progress without their strong advocacy and pressure whenever it is needed during implying Parties' instructions. The consciousness of women, in this case, is to extract the historical clue of women's rights in all terms to collect their sporadic rights during the history.

The relation between gender and emotion was a case of many studies in the U.S. investigators in this field estimated the differences between women and men work upon their experience of life ,starting from family ,community and then nation, thus President Nixon when he inaugurated the office stated that women are "erotic" so this culture created a theory to differentiate between gender and emotion, self-needs and understanding others and consequently, contributed in the convergence of women and men goals in the same home and at the same community (Simon and Nath, 2004)

Third Party found many difficulties to survive during Republicans term because the leader of the third party must have a good budget to participate in the election especially whenever it comes to talk about the competition between his party and the donors of the main Parties. Many problems happened because of the one-sided program was taken by Republicans such as education, violence and crimes, transportation, housing, healthcare, and research. The election of 1996 proved that women can do something in the results of the election, but they will not affect the agenda of both Parties to have long-term prosperity, unless they have a good center directed by a combined goals for all Americans to manage women's issues in general, to improve American families' economic situations and their environment's infrastructures.

In 2016, 38 percents of women identified as Republican and 54 percents are identified as Democrats.<sup>45</sup> So if we want to avoid the ignorance of women issues by Parties, we should build a strong center including in it these percentages of independent men and women, the pure democrats, and the moderate Republicans (women and men supported women issues in Republican Party) ought to start with a strong coalition to accomplish the equality between Americans regardless of their gender type. Republicans don't consider that the abortion, for example, is an important issue, all election they will promote problem of jobs and education, because they know that women are seeking better lives and if they have it they will be going for the "pro-choice or pro-life" (see Annex A for George W. Bush remarks about that) in term of abortion.

In another explanation, the decisive women's issues are not present in the body structure of the presidential term. Just after the election a few percentage of money will go for women and for the child care. Reduction in the wage gap between women and men was not just because of the equality of rights between sexes, but also because of the retreating of men's from their work fields, especially when we compared 1955 with 1970 and that gap reduced to reach "71.4 percent as a ratio of women earnings in 1995"<sup>46</sup>. It means it was not because of the Parties progress or Parties' achievement.

There was a backlash against women's movements by the politics of powerful Party whatever it was. Definitely, without political action, women cannot achieve their rights to have a long-term pragmatic program to solve their issues. When they lost the white house two terms, Republicans started to think about women's issues. By this experience with Republicans we can realize that the history will not keep all Parties' traditions as they are, and the role of women will be improved if they have the liberty to practice pressure within their organizations connections and enter a new coalition center to lay off the old conservative strategy to put their issues at least as political aim in the public opinion to extract decisions, and this may be achieved by attracting all Parties' old traditions and using leaned people from the third Party to introduce their issues as a package of freedom to avoid the gap between Agendas and women's issues ( Tanya Melich, 1996&1998).

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<sup>45</sup> PEW research center ,13 September ,2016.

<sup>46</sup> The Institute of Women Policy Research (IWPR) : fact sheet 2015. "*The Gender Wage Gap :Real Earnings 1955-1014*, Full-Time Workers ,Table 2

The remarks of George W. Bush against women when he called the abortion as a birth control and refused tax money for abortion, but no Pro-Life Amendment either. He was against abortion but in cases violence and crimes such as rape or incest, or to rescue the life of mothers, he supported laws that inform when abortion requested by minors parents when minors want an abortion. He was also against abortion in the late period of pregnancy without funding them. It means he had persistence not to enact a law for abortion.<sup>47</sup>

Social issues have been affected also by the transitional competition powers between Democrats and Republicans, the American life needs a package of values to keep what founding fathers intended to do in the very beginning of building American established rules. The mechanism of the values was substituted by another one, the economy some Administrations of presidency was above the most American considerations, the priority subjects were job opportunities in general; the GDP per capita; the fiscal cliff policy; the previous recession; the misleading economic commissions inside the Congress; and the interests of the private groups who control the most corporations in the United States.

Progressing in the economy is very important, but losing the American values is the issue that couldn't be solved if it extended for generations. School shooting, drugs, Organized smuggling products, and heading towards separated families with a low income without education, would produce a decline in the future nation. Competitions between Parties had affected the status of women in the community. It reduced the values of the family and deconstructed the keystone of American social community by focusing just on the economic issues as a race goal between Parties.

Generally, we need awareness-groups to create a new vision about women's issues to transfer this awareness from theory base to practical base to gain the results and solutions. The competition between Parties separated women's movements to cut the collective aim (women in high positions) into different classes and attitudes, they pushed forward to be outside the collective group such as white middle class and women and black middle class. At the end, they separated the supporters for women's

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<sup>47</sup>Source: The Economist, "Issues 2000" special Sep 30, 2000 also see Appendix A, George W. Bush Remarks about abortions available at [http://www.ontheissues.org/George\\_W\\_\\_Bush\\_Abortion.htm](http://www.ontheissues.org/George_W__Bush_Abortion.htm) [September 26 ,2016]

issue. As a result, neither women's effect impacted the elections nor connections between women groups has been built up.

Even in the army, the president can increase the military forces if it is needed but Pentagon ought to discuss the issue with Congress to decide about sending forces according to the National Authorization Act 2006, It means that the participation of women in the military troops is controlled by the Congress. Meantime, conservatives complement women outside the field of good professions in order not to let them appeared well qualified.

### 7.3. Factors behind Retreating Women in Getting Representations in High Positions over the period (1970-2015).

#### 7.3.1. Election Campaign Factor.

The gender gap in politics has been since the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century. American Administrations started to consider women's voters as an important factor because after 1980 number of women voters exceeded the number of men and nowadays women are the majority compared with men. For example, President Reagan received the votes of 46% of women and 56 percent of men, and after 1980 the attention to women's vote started to be in the campaign of men candidates (Burrell, 2016). Such participation gave women a great role to reduce the gender gap in the competition between women and men in election's campaign.

The excessive entrance to media and internet and the money collected by men enable them to dismiss the attention of Americans from women presidential election candidates. Media and its role rapidly undermine the women's capacity of doing their political jobs when they become officials in the political system especially after 1990 (Melich, 2005). The voting system is the pavement for women to accomplish women's goal and it is considered just as a part of the women's plan. Women need a political way for reaching legislation and solutions, but in the past small number of women couldn't pressure to implement the Voting Rights Acts (Lou, 2006). There must be civil organizations in the community, in order to help women aware their real rights and to enhance women by the information about women issues, and also encourage

women to compete in the political election, in addition, to work as a team towards women's issues.

There is another part of the community such as private sectors, where much of the discrimination against women happened especially in the workplace. It is necessary to train people to be aware of gender discriminations. So that women can reach higher positions as they have the skills to do that, bringing up new programs to let women enter the business world. We can achieve this by education. First, people ought to be learned about the history of women struggle for their rights, and people should keep what women achieved. Second, girls and women must be getting into the "STEM education", in addition to that helping young man understanding women's need in order to achieve equal right and equal pay.<sup>48</sup>

Big study (Mcdermott, 1997) has been done to improve that other factors are affecting the voting process in the United States such as the lack of information about the candidates from two Parties Democrats and Republicans. This study discovered that women can work better than men in the same political party. As long as the same Party that woman belongs to, has the same agenda it deserves to evaluate the lack of information about women candidates between two Parties and women candidates inside the same party, so this study depended on a previous research study of ANES (American National Election Studies ) from 1989-1994. By analyzing the information about the effectiveness of women and men as candidates and it found out that women's performance is better among people to vote for liberals but their performance with the conservative Party (GOP) was less than Democrats if the competition in the Republican Party was between two women or between women and men.

According to the illustrated Diagram 2, women candidates face difficulties inside the Conservative Party because of the lack of information about the acts of women's candidates which influenced by the Party' agendas and the same happened inside the Democratic Party but less than Republican Party. Surely, gender is playing a great role in shaping the final results of elections and by the way I recommend increasing the

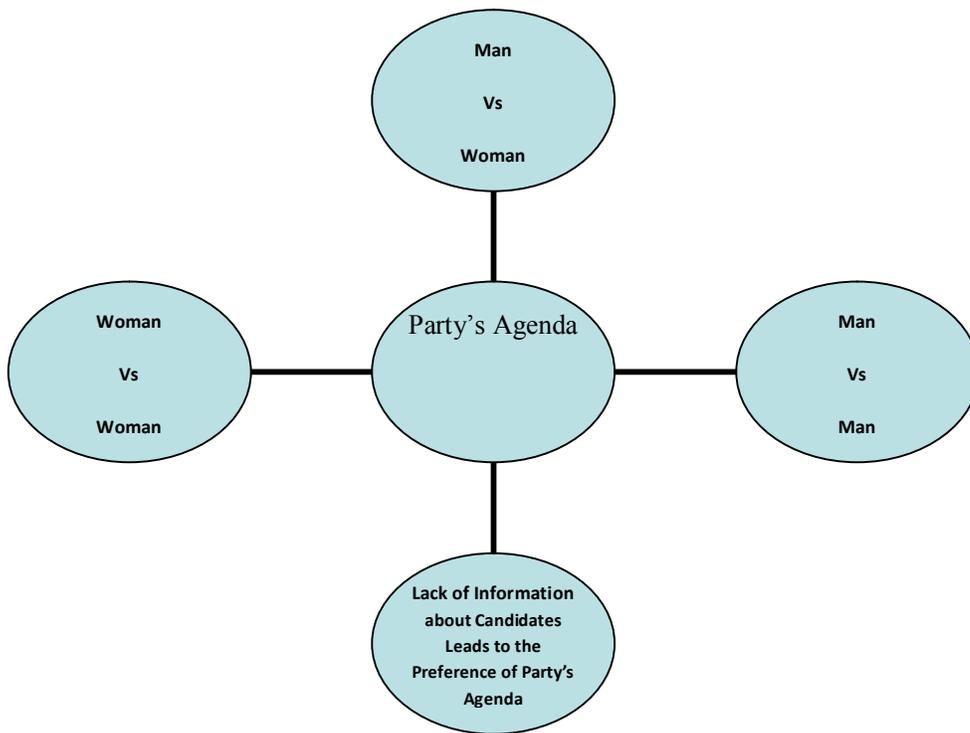
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<sup>48</sup> This terms emerged when women incorporated in Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math educational fields. Details found at : Law, P., 2015. STEM EDUCATION ACT OF 2015. , pp.6579–6582.

consciousness and awareness of women organization about this issue to educate woman about their important issues rather than about the Parties agenda and their identifications. The data that I will use in this thesis may contribute to encouraging women's awareness about American election result.

Curiously, the performance of voters depends on the agenda and on the ideology of the Party whoever was the candidate (female or male). However, let us take a look at Diagram 2.

Diagram 2: Shortage of Information about Women Candidates Influences the Voters' Behavior.



*Source: Prepared by the researcher.*

### 7.3.2. The Impact of American Cultural Identity.

In order to explain the structure of American community, it is necessary to shed a light on the cultural fear that Americans feel due to the immigrants came from outside the country. This structure created an environment of inequality upon gender and racial changes. In the sixties of the last century the United States was sitting on the top position in the industry, trade, and were regarded as an example and role models in the field of economy, but the enormous change has occurred in the second half of this century, Americans were afraid of the unknown future of their identity and inequality between citizens socially and economically.<sup>49</sup>

The diversity of American culture played a big role in shaping American community and it was known by United States Presidents and Franklin D. Roosevelt (*President of the United States*; 1933-1945) focused on the “civilization” and its roots in mutual relationship between humans to live in peace.<sup>50</sup>

America is considered one of the three largest countries in the world and it is inhabited by 316,128,839 persons.<sup>51</sup> We can see in America different races, colors, and religions, with different languages, came with immigrants. Americans people prefer individualism to achieve their dream and women in the United States represent a great proportion of the population and they should be influenced by different cultural factors. After the original inhabitants, U.S received a lot of immigrants from all over the world.

Nowadays, this kind of American diversity plays a great impact on the domestic policy specifically on the federal level and local level, and in return, it does have gender cases inside the American community and inside the same race with different culture. The US is considered the first country that has different races that may create many problems in the term of gender product. So a big burden was on the shoulders of Politicians to

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<sup>49</sup> 2010 Democratic Candidate for the United States House of Representatives Kevin Powell 2011. “Immigration and Diversity in America” talked about American diversity in his article within the HUFFPOST New York Journal News.

<sup>50</sup> Issued on October 2, 2012 in Business Blogs Hub ,Available at <http://www.businessblogshub.com/2012/10/franklin-d-roosevelt-greatest-quotes/> [ 12/04/2016]

<sup>51</sup> Source : The Status of the women Full Report 2015 ,National Advisory Committee ,table B8.1 available at [www.statusofwomendata.org](http://www.statusofwomendata.org) ,p282

arrange that kind of diversity. To arrange differences, policymakers created and established a course of values to regulate those different cultures. These values sometimes disappeared whenever it comes to talk about political Parties' ideology and plans. However, Americans' identity ensures that they are entrepreneurial and they want to discover things individually, so doing adventure is very important in American community but adventures are related to men in American Culture vision, which enable them to gain better outside the life of their family, especially in work and leadership high positions. They start individually to achieve values appear in the constitution to have independent citizens. But the contradiction is already indulged inside the dreams because by their freedom and liberal theory they want to control each other (women and men), and a clash of spaces sometimes happens, men control political system and also control the place of women. Generally, this kind of culture led American to be in the front and to do better for their plans to achieve their goals even if they travel by power ideological way. Superiority is one of many themes that Americans believe and it creates the competition between members of the same groups and at the end they will control the place and the group then the nations.

There are differences in culture between groups in the American community, for instance, in Indians' culture they believe in the values of family more than in the individual theory, because they believe in the harmonizing their group without dominating the surroundings and this was another clash with American dreams that creates gender problems and new gender products upon race and sex. Consequently, America has gap difference between citizens based on race and ethnicity that also increased the burden on the shoulders of decision makers. Clash of idea inside American community that women belong to delayed women's issues solutions. For example, Indians don't like to move far away from their group, but Americans individually move to discover and control.

Another group I would like to mention here is the African Americans, and to bring up about how the different culture could affect the American life, I can say that there are two factors shaped the new mixed-culture in the United Stat, First, connectivity of African culture with its root in Africa, because they came from different groups from different kingdoms in Africa. Second, a breach of a harmonious relationship after leaving Africa happened to slaves and immigrants which participated also in

undermining the role of women to gain their life instead of men and that affected the stereotype of American culture and the effect of “creolization”<sup>52</sup>(Stewart, 2007) on American identity and culture was very clear. And one African American President after 3 hundred years took over his responsibility as a president of the United States in 2009 and it was a matter of thinking how many years it may take to let African women reach this position in the future of United States of America. Immigrants also played a great role in American Culture based on the term “melting –pot”<sup>53</sup> that was used in a play by Israel Zangwill (1907) and after that, especially in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century immigrants were indicated by scholars to be “ melted”<sup>54</sup> in that mentioned “melting-pot” of America.

By the way, they shaped American identity and it has become politically controversial. After that, the integration of immigrants inside American community started for example in, New York, Chicago and in Los Angeles. According to the latest information about immigrants to America, this country is “unfinished” country. In the process of culture, it was necessary to reconstruct groups’ community and immigrants after the civil war and the “reconstruction did help African Americans create institutions that helped them to survive to win freedom and equality.”<sup>55</sup>

Currently, a controversial debate wondering whether immigrants’ culture came from all over the world because “There remains one telling criticism of the story of American culture to be addressed: that it is no longer relevant. Self-evidently, we have strayed far from the traditions.”<sup>56</sup>

Integrating different identities in America led to make America a home of different culture and imposed over decision makers to create a strong plan of integration, and I can say that women’s issues were galvanized due to disability of domestic policy towards different racial groups who contribute to the social, economic and cultural values of American society throughout the history. The diversity of culture made

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<sup>52</sup> Stewart 2007 ,p 1

<sup>53</sup> It was indicated in a play by Israel Zangwill (1907) to describe American community after a huge migration at the early of 20<sup>th</sup> century .

<sup>54</sup> Anders breidlid, Fredrik, Qyvind T and Torbjorn Sirevag.1996.*American Culture :An Anthology 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition.*(Routledge:London and New York).

<sup>55</sup> Alan Brinkley.1997.“The Unfinished Nation.”(MacGraw Hill Companies US) P.420.

<sup>56</sup> Bruce P. Frohnen.2005. “*American Culture: A Story Ave Maria School of Law*”p 12

Americans and policymakers fear about their future, but researchers say that good plan to solve and integrate gender, races and immigration problems is the better job to build the future of America by equalizing all citizens regardless their sex and race.

Some scholars indicate that Americans understand the effectiveness of different culture over their country's future, despite their strong position in the world economy, for that, they search about their children's future to be more prosperous. For example, Los Angeles City, New York City and Chicago streets filled with gangs, with large personnel numbers, and statistics show that the great death toll caused by these gangs in previous years (Arciaga and Gonzalez, 2012). Let's take a clear example of the US reality, in 1960 and until 1970 the state of California was the most advanced in the field of education and communication, but today has become the latest in these areas compared with the rest of the US in the present days because it received a great number of immigrants.

Also due to immigration to America, some changes happened in the demographic parameters in Texas and California, and after they were containing predominantly white European origin, they became inhabited by immigrants from southern Asian areas. In addition to that, new inhabitants started to celebrate and flaunt their origins, and it appeared on the surface new cultural influence, so some US's analysts believe that the weaknesses in the management of the country and the lack of border control in front of immigrants could lead to the deterioration of the US community interdependence especially between states. So that, southern region has become inhabited by people who came as immigrants such as African American and Latin American, as well as Middle Eastern and central Asian people settled down in the Central area and at the eastern coast. By changing its demography, the US started to have weakness in the educational system based on gender and races because it has been depending on the external expertise that came from outside the country, consequently, some Americans analysts believe finding a course of solutions became an urgent need.

Women in the United States of America prefer not to have military action and this gives them less control in the highest military positions and in the world politics outside the U.S. so they have shown less desire to involve the country in war, Francis Fukuyama in *Foreign Affairs* "women and the evolution of world politics" wrote about wars U.S

passed through like Vietnam and Korea and Iraq war and how the government cut off taxes to spend over defense and to use dollars overseas , in those wars women were supported by men more than men because women don't like to destroy the environment as well as women try to solve conflicts peacefully or in other possible means.<sup>57</sup>

This is contrary to the fundamental principles of the old US Constitution, which provides the competition between individuals and the absorption of immigrants regardless their gender and races to build the American dream in a civilized modern model, but according to the analysts, American identity is “at stake” depending on the social theory that says, identities that establish security of the social community of the world face declination(Hall, 1996). In this sense, US President Barack Obama tried to formulate new immigration laws and other laws to control immigrants and the arms trade inside the US. Generally, the idea that Americans realize completely is that, the culture is a great concept, and the reason for the collapse of the former Soviet Union was caused by the mixing of cultures without taking into consideration good management, all cultural causes led to the secession of the former Yugoslavia and the other states of the Soviet Union, and this historical lesson pushed some analysts to say that different culture led to control some decisions in U.S. The main cause of doing reforms inside the law is to understand the identity of culture that promote the men as the traditional proctors of the community and also find a relation between local demands and global demands regarding women who are suffering from wars under different themes of patriarchal religions and cultures, as well as reduce the superiority of feminism to include all women within subgroups of gender and go to the local base to study others problem to expand the equality in all over the globe and this could promote the equality better than ancient idea of defending against cultural protection of men(Choudhry, 2014).

### 7.3.3. The Impact of Gender Demographical factor.

United States of America is the land of different resources where the migration is an actual phenomenon which participated in changing the demographic situation U.S including an increased number of females. The percentage of female number regards to the population reached 51% and if we take a look at women's demographic distribution

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<sup>57</sup> Francis Fukuyama in *Foreign Affaires* “women and the evolution of world politics” available at <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/1998-09-01/women-and-evolution-world-politics>.

by States(see Table 1 Annex B) which represents the 2013 statistics we can conclude that the number of women in the United States is exceeded the number of men but later on in my thesis we will see that women’s representation in all field of government and elected offices inside states and in federal workforce is undermined and fluctuated upon the women’s demographic distribution.

Let us compare the number of women inside all States, States that have more than 3 million for sure it deals with different kind of issues related to women such as migration, workforce and job opportunities. The distribution of great number of women in the coast of the United States ,give us indication that women prefer to live in that places which in turn, have different kind of laws, jobs opportunities and it means also that good programs related to women’s issues in these areas are needed with the coordination with the state who are in the middle .In addition to that, there is another factor for having great numbers in those states which are coming from different culture and values that support early marriage and live in the neighborhoods of racial subgroups as well as the importance of the coastal states that NAFTA did well for them in term of working field. Map 1 represents the concentration of women inside States.

Map1: Women’s concentration inside States.



Women Distribution Map of the United States prepared by the researcher

The availability of different racial groups has been also participating in gender gap which appears in all aspects of American demographic distribution. After the baby boom during the period 1946-1964 and when America entered the year of 1970 ,women starting to postpone having their first child and that was because of the cost required by schools that made women couldn't keep up with men to reach high education due to the alienation of women from the big proportion of workforce in the U.S .Delaying the first child can be noticed in the following table :

Table 2: Women Age to Have first Child.

<b>Year</b>	<b>Women Preference Age to have the first Child</b>
1964	At the twenties
1970	At the thirties

*Source: Department of Commerce Economic and statistics administrations, the President office of management and Budget " Indicators of Social and Economic Well-Being" of March 2011 in cooperation with White House Council on Women and Girls.*

This will give us indications that there were a gender gap differences during the history as a result of the big responsibility that women charged to raise their children apart from their fathers. By the way, that situation kept a kind of double responsibilities lies over the woman's shoulders. The women's supremacy percentage in living more than men at age 65 because the construction of the family was delayed since 1970 until 2009 as a reason of women's seeking a high degree in education to have a better job and when they get married their percentage to live high age is reduced( see table 3 ).

#### 7.3.4. Single Women and Lack of Independence!

Single women problem in the United States is considered a result of the lack of equal rights between citizens in the United States, starting from family, education, workforce, and political participation. For instance, 105 million is a number of unmarried people in the United States, 53% of them are women(U.S. Department of Commerce, 2012).This kept a kind of new vision that adopted by some women scholars and women writers.Rebecca Traister in 2016 who is a journalist wrote a book under the title "*All the Single Ladies: Unmarried Women and the Rise of an Independent Nation*" and mentioned that women historically searched about their independence in order not to be

tying to men to live an independent life. The way of life of women in America can be shaped by law and if the ERA bill passed to be an Amendment in the American constitution, it may easy avoid aggravating women’s problem if let women live independently, inside work, and family with a combined equal roles by women and men. Single women problem in the United States becomes more noticeable because of the low wage that women received in the workforce, since 1960 until 2002 the percent of single women with children increased from 8 percent to 24 percents(Gonzalez,2005,p1).It means that all proportion of the population will be affected and then it will impact women’s issues in the long term. Being single without good laws to have equality in the birth control, medical care, and education will create and reflect difficult results on women solving problems. It should be noticed that adopting excessive religion could lead to overestimated values to serve one candidate over another and the first candidate may have different domestic policy towards women’s issues, for example, during the Reagan and Bush the senior Administrations they revived religion as a value but they participated automatically in the success of George W .Bush in the elections.

Table 3: Women Supremacy of High Living Age and Adults Marriage Based on Gender.

<b>Year</b>	<b>Early Age female</b>	<b>65 Age Female</b>	<b>Early Age Male</b>	<b>65 Age Male</b>	<b>Adults marriage female</b>	<b>Adults marriage male</b>	<b>Adults never married female</b>	<b>Adults never married male</b>
1970	33%	11%	36%	9%	72%	84%	7%	9%
2009	23%	15%	25%	11%	62%	66%	15%	20%

*Source: White House Council on Women and Girls, March 2011*

The competition between women and men lasted a long period of time since 1970 till the year 1995 and after these women started to have their first child in different various ages. But before the globalization and the progress in STEM education and women improved in getting work, the number of the single women was more than the number of men due to the responsibility of women at home. This situation contributed to giving men more jobs and more opportunity.

All findings and resources mentioned in Table 3 suggest that women’s issues have been impacted by the discontinued programs which were between different roles that were played by Parties, Democrats, and Republicans. Consequently, the domestic policy is very important in the American social system. In table 3 above ,it is noticed that women in 1970 who lived an age of 65 years, reached 11% and this percentage increased in 2009 until reach to 15% because they got good professions and high degree and as a result, they delayed marriage age, specifically the percentage of marriage age in 1970 was 72% but in 2009 it was 62% and this happened because imbalanced relation between work and family .Distinctly, this is an indication how the inequality based on gender type affects the structure of the family that related definitely to the core problem of women in the United States. So the swapping of domestic policy by different Administrations has its impact on women.

Table 4: Percentage of Decline in American Majority Population.

<b>Year</b>	<b>Whites</b>	<b>Blacks</b>	<b>Asian</b>	<b>Hispanics</b>
1990	76%	12%	3%	9%
2010	68%	13%	5%	14%
2030	60%	13%	8%	18%
2050	53%	14%	10%	23%
Average of the majority decline (1990-2050)	64.25%	13%	6.5%	16%

*Source : Ben J. Wattenberg(1995) “Values Matter Most : How Republicans or Democrats or Third Party can Win and Renew the American Way of Life” New York ,the Free Press ,A Division of Simon & Schuster Inc.*

The percentage of populations between 1990 and 2050 estimated to be declined regarding the family structure including the women who can be affected by the domestic policies of the two grand Parties. As shown in Table 4 the majority, as well as the minority of the population, had declined, for instance, we have 76% in 1990, and it would be expected to be 53% in 2050 in the white families distribution through the American population. In the black families it is estimated to rise from 12% in 1990 to 14% in 2050, also in the Asian community it is estimated to rise from 3% in 1990 to

10% in 2050, and Hispanics families it was estimated to be rising from 9% in 1990 to 23% in 2050 (Wattenberg 1995).

Indirectly, this declination in the white distribution families will keep a matter of majority for the near future but it would affect women's responsibilities towards their family because of the negligence of family's values who are wasted in the terms of presidency and in transferring policies between Democrats and Republicans depending on the Parties' interests in handling economic ancestors' problems. Meanwhile, the population became more worried about the social issues in 1992 which give us indications that the economy is not the main factor to improve people's life. Ben J. Wattenberg(1995) indicated that American started again to support the social values ,for example, 59% of them support the religion factor in shaping the way of life ,85% went to support the success and work ,83% went to support family opportunity and 73% supported the value of friendship.

According to the percentage above we can notice that families in the community prefer to depend economically on one parent (black mothers) mostly in the black community to manage their life (see Table 2 Annex B). It is noticeable that social problems such as marriage and family responsibility should be studied as an important factor to find regulations for the interest of women. However, taking into considerations the family rights could reduce women's' problems within the American Administration domestic policy to let women have an independent economy by equalizing women and men in work and wages.

#### 7.4. American Administrations Handling Women's Issues (1970-2015).

After studying the presidential terms of Democrats and Republicans, we know the size of the progress that has been done through all presidential terms towards women's affairs and their rights. The change in Parties' agenda proved the decline and the regression of women's rights over four decades and the figures within the government offices prove that. But doing research about this issue may be useful in giving a complete idea of what happened during the periods of the presidency and it may re-evaluate the performance of every term.

We still have a small number of women in the Congress and women are still underrepresented in the political system of the United States. Many factors have

Table 5: Women’s Rights Handled by Republicans.

<b>Presidents –Term</b>	<b>Women’s issues Handled</b>
Richard Nixon (1969-1974)	Supported and established The <i>Women’s Rights Law Reporter</i> , and published a journal of legal scholarship Also during his term The Women’s Legal Defense Fund was founded and the most important thing happened was enacting educational Act Title IX as well as ERA ( Equal Right Amendment ) was on the table and pushed forwards. In addition to that, Supreme Court starts to accept cases of Abortion Right, and also in his term, there were limitations on women’s conscription in the military.
Gerald Ford (1974-1977)	Published the Sex Discrimination law and really he didn’t have time to apply a lot of women’s program.
Ronald Reagan (1981-1989)	In his terms, Sandra Day O’Connor was appointed at Supreme Court, and he Initiated the National Women’s Law Center to help women and girls
George H. W. Bush (1989-1993)	Gap difference in wage between women and men because in his term women lawyers earn 76% of what lawyers male earn Harriet Miers was appointed at the office of White House Counsel.
George W. Bush- (2001-2009)	He established George W. Bush Institutes in Texas to help public women organizations. At the same time, women widow suffered because of sending troops to Iraq in the Middle East.

Source : (Angela and Johnson, 2011) and *Leonore Annenberg Institute for Civics*. Available at:  
[www.annenburgclassroom.org](http://www.annenburgclassroom.org).

participated in retreating women achieve their goals, first, changing programs for women once the new party takes over the power as well as educational programs, second, the relationship between work and family, third self-reliance by women themselves because of the depression that women received over the history. However, the lack of gender equality in different states in the United States contributed to these

real results. The participation of women in politics in parallel with the participation in the civil societies and in the voting system is considered very important to achieve women's demands to exploit the institutional positions in the United States in the future because they will have a high level of representations in any elected government and its institutions and commissions. However, please see Women's rights handled by Republicans in Table 5 above p78.

Table 6: Women's Rights Handled by Democrats

<b>Presidents –Term</b>	<b>Women's issues Handled</b>
Jimmy Carter (1977-1981)	Women started to work at judiciary system in all states. In his term, he regulated the relationship between employers and single mothers who have children.
Bill Clinton (1993-2001)	He appointed Janet Reno as Attorney General and Ruth Bader Ginsburg was appointed in Supreme Court. Also, He appointed Roberta Cooper Ramo as a director of The American Bar Association, the Legal Aid office under the Women's Legal Defense Fund started to help families.
Barack Obama (2009-2015)	President Obama appointed many women in his Administrations and other branches, for example, Sonia Sotomayor, Ruth Bader Ginsburg, and Elena Kagan appointed at Supreme Court and Elena Kagan was appointed as the Solicitor General of the U.S. And he is the founder of White House Council on Women and Girls. Also, Christine Luchok Fallon was appointed as a Decisions' Reporter at the Supreme Court. In addition, he signed Lilly "Ledbetter Fair Pay Act".

*Source: White House Council on Women and Girls, (Angela and Johnson, 2011) and Leonore Annenberg Institute for Civics. Available at: [www.annenburgclassroom.org](http://www.annenburgclassroom.org).*

The US women's identity is important in finding a comprehensive solution to all issues they faced during the presidential periods, but if women belong to a political party, and don't have knowledge about the consequences, this will lead to the exploitation of women's votes in favor of the hierarchal Parties' agendas. And thus, it may lead to a decline in realizing the dream of women in America. Women have endured a long period of time due to the change of agendas, and some of the issues have moved between presidential Administrations consecutively, and this caused to delay the

rapprochement between Democrats and Republicans on women's rights. The decision to join any woman to any Party must be first, accompanied by a tremendous amount of information about the Party tendency toward solving women's issues, and not only that, but also a huge supply of information about the candidate who will lead the next phase is necessary. Second, It have been observed that each Party has a great proportion of women voters, and there is a large number of women can influence in the competence of the main Parties, so it is necessary to attract the Politicians towards women's issues through the institutions of civil society, women's organizations, women's political representatives within the Parliament, women in the Senate, and women in the Cabinet. In addition to that, they can exploit professionals who are within the committees of the Parliament and the Senate for their issues. Third, at the local level, women can direct the local offices which are under the control of women's organizations that support women towards the key issues: equal employment and equal pay and defeat the discrimination on the basis of gender type in the same society. Without cooperating with the local women's base and professional women in high position career, women cannot make their case at least in a short time. The following table explains the importance of women's identity:

Table 7: Women's Party ID at the Beginning of the Term.

<b>Presidential Term</b>	<b>Woman Party ID</b>	
	<b>Democrats</b>	<b>Republicans</b>
<b>R(1981-1988)</b>	0.43	0.21
<b>R(1989-1992)</b>	0.36	0.31
<b>D(1993-2000)</b>	0.38	0.28
<b>R(2001-2008)</b>	0.41	0.26
<b>D(2009-2014)</b>	0.41	0.25

*Source: Numbers from CAWP Center for American Woman and Politics, this table prepared by researcher. Letter **R** represents Republican Party, Letter **D** represents Democratic Party. available at :<http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/sites/default/files/resources/ggprtyid.pdf>*

We notice here in Table 9 that the percentage of women affiliated Parties' agenda is declining, it means that women are not satisfied with changing policy towards them

regardless the identification of the party whether it is Democratic or Republican. For example, in Reagan’s two terms of the presidency the affiliation percentage of women to the Democratic Party was 43 %, but during President Obama’s Administration declined to be 41%. On the other hand, the progress of women affiliation to the Republican Party was up and down and it was not so much noticeable. Women in the past Administrations were traveling between the traps of ideologies that led to slow progress in achieving their goals due to the change of these different ideologies.

Table 8: Women’s Satisfaction about the Way Presidents Have Handled Their Jobs.

<b>Women satisfaction about presidents</b>		
<b>Term</b>	<b>At starting term</b>	<b>At ending term</b>
<b>R(1981-1988)</b>	0.55	0.43
<b>R(1989-1992)</b>	0.61	0.30
<b>D(1993-2000)</b>	0.45	0.59
<b>R(2001-2008)</b>	0.46	0.25
<b>D(2009-2014)</b>	0.58	0.50

*Source: CAWP Center for American Woman and Politics ,Eagleton Institute of Politics ,Rutgers ,The State university of New Jersey fact sheet 2014 “The Gender Gap : Party Identification and Presidential Performance Ratings”, p1, Letter **R** represents Republican Party , Letter **D** represents Democratic Party available at [www.cawp.rutgers.edu](http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu), see <http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/sites/default/files/resources/ggprtyid.pdf>*

According to the table above we have two issues, firstly, The numbers in the table show that the performance of Presidents towards women’s issues during American presidencies is changing and aligned with the Parties’ goal, on the other hand, women as victims of the Party’s propaganda found themselves inside misleading process and lost their cases between the claim and agree over their issues that takes a long time to be passed through the slow political process within the American political system. However, there is one significant indication during 1993-2000 that was under the Democratic Party in which the satisfaction of women about president increased from 45% to 59% and this reminds us with a good progress in STEM education and work related to many trade treaties signed in that term before women’s issues were retreated after 1999 as a results of obstacles that women faced to be appointed in high ranking

positions. Definitely, this indication proves the objective of the research which guides us to know the impact of discontinued programs due to the changing of American Administrations over the period (1970-2015).

The ultimate term of President Obama could be a good indication about women's issues, but surely this research is intended to evaluate the whole periods from 1970 until 2015. However, Obama's Administration progress towards women's issues is considered an accumulative process came from the different performance that had been done by President Obama and his predecessors.

## 8. CHAPTER 2: WOMEN'S ATTAINMENT IN EDUCATION (1970-2015).

### 8.1. Women's Educational History.

In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, rich people in the United States were just able to send their children to be taught inside women's teacher home. Female were being sent to that educational session because it was secure. After that boys were going to attend schools inside towns, but girls were not able to attend. After the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and by the advent of Massachusetts colonists, the need of churches to have teachers paved the road for women to be teachers in girls classes belonged to churches and eventually, Georgia female college, Mount Holyoke Seminary, and Elmira Female College were established. In the western part of the United States coeducation system was needed to save the cost of separated schools so in the 20<sup>th</sup> century coeducation system was established. In 1918, education and its training were established. In 1960 women started to work teachers in schools without getting STEM education. In 1972, the United States enacted Title IX for education to protect children from gender discrimination based on the sex of the students or children and after that, women had exploited these programs to seek STEM education. So to support Title IX, the United States in 1974 enacted new program called Women's Educational Equity Act (WEEA), however, it was intended to help separated sex school to be more flexible in order to benefit from the program.<sup>58</sup> The aftermath of all mentioned program, women started to seek STEM professional education to compete with their peers men on high-ranking jobs inside the political system workforce in order to have better representation in the political system from the bottom local elected offices to the top jobs in Congress.

After reading and understanding the contemporary history of women education in the United States we can understand the goals of educational projects that the government established to help women seek high education. Certainly, The US Constitution established decentralization process in the educational system and it gives the responsibility to the states to create their programs but the federal system role is confined on monitoring and introduce help in the field of education, as a result a good policy is needed so in this field we need to know how has U.S policy conceptualized

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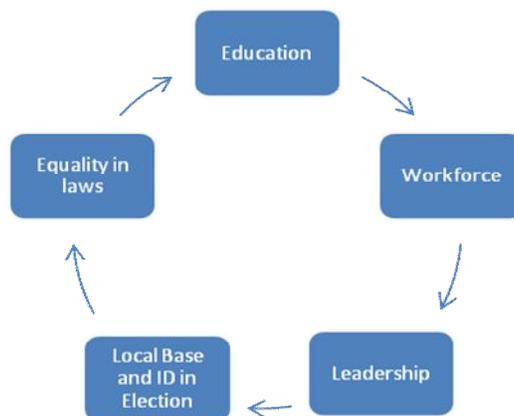
<sup>58</sup>Jennifer C. Madigan, .2009. Montgomery Centre for Research in Child & Adolescent Development, San Jose State University . May- flower , 1, pp.11–13

gender cases for woman and her educational plan post 1970 because education is one of the basic human rights for economic progress and development in various fields of scientific and social life. It is the right of every individual (male and female) as well as education supported by all states, regardless of gender, age, place of residence, so it represents the principle of equal rights that based on equal opportunities for all citizens. Otherwise, ignorance is an obstacle to the growth and prosperity of communities and women as the half of the society with her family; they are considered the basic nucleus of the community, so they should be educated to practice their essential role.

Maturity and cultural awareness, and keeping up with modern development by good educational system lead the individual to be more active in the community. In addition, women's education would participate in the society with added-value to socialize the family and to socialize also generation to come about their issues. However, there are many barriers against women's education among them for example; cultural identity and traditions that stopped against women and limited their role in marriage and procreation children. Nevertheless, children need professional women to learn from them and they will not learn good values from outside their family and if the ignorance is already available for a great proportion of women it may affect their family.

The following diagram shows that if women go through the education, they would pass conditional stages to reach high leadership positions and then build up their case as equal as men to accomplish one societal goal which is the whole society's progress.

Diagram 3. Transitive relation of Women's Progress.



And as the hypothesis of the thesis has given that discontinued Administrations Programs affect adversely the women's issues, a complete package plan is needed to solve a lot of domestic issues inside states, in addition, coordination between states is very important to have a unitary attitude to women's issues.

## 8.2. Women's Talents.

Because the education is the pavement of any progress, all U.S. Departments can benefit from historical lessons of changing policy plan for workers as a result of changing the governance during the contemporary history to reduce the gender gap differences in education. Precisely, the successors of the American Administrations may act continuously and cooperatively with each other upon the laws of equal rights after inaugurating the Presidents' office at the end of every election, and by that, they can do development related to the women's issues, for instance , the DOL (department of labor) and the DOJ (the Department of Justice) could implement the "Equal Pay Act"<sup>59</sup> to educate women about business in the market that would make women situation better off, to start with a good salary as President Obama called for encouraging talented persons <sup>60</sup>.

This statement indicated that women and men are equal to have equal pay for equal work without engendering work fields and education attainment. By including information from the United States government; it will enhance us to adopt the impartiality in evaluating the performance of Presidential Administrations during different terms of presidencies since 1970. Basically, to shed a light on Obama's policy plan towards women let us shed a light on the *White House Council on Women and Girls* that was established by President Obama to study the economic situation of women, health and equal rights with men, because women despite all these progress still suffer from poverty compared with men and their white colleagues, especially whenever it comes to talk about diseases, salaries, and violence. Peculiarly, those concentrations inside this kind of policy were to expand opportunities for women in general regarding

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<sup>59</sup> the U.S Opportunity Commission :Equal Pay Act issued June 10, 1963 and it is based on the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, (see documents' references)

<sup>60</sup> White house council ,April ,2012 report , "*Equal Pay Task force :accomplishments fighting for fair pay in the workplace*" p1

the current private women's problem without any long-term plan that at a minimum can pass through more three terms of presidency. By such a way of policy, we can recover our history by substituting new development related to the women's issues to keep up with all problems facing women at all ages and this does make the long-term plan work very well. Diagram 3 is putting the education as a condition for any women to practice high position in the United States. Hence, the education is the road to the high position also it is considered an enhancement of women's skills for practicing it in different fields. Good policy for equal rights for all citizens also enhances the community with good expertise and intelligent human being.

This study does not focus on one field related to the women issues. It focuses on the ladder of life that includes education, work, health and protection against violence to gain good representations in political positions. Cooperation from women themselves can participate in the accomplishment of all enacted laws pertain to their issues and that attracts the focus of two Parties on these issues before calling for a new election at the end of the presidential term. Unfortunately, during the process of election, women's issues were being attracted without being acted.

The historical period that women stayed under control of traditional culture and extreme stereotype vision was from 1979 to 1999 (please see Table 12, p104) and that impact of the "disciplinary culture"<sup>61</sup> on gender guide us to study the difference between formal relation and informal relation in women's life (Cain and Leahey, 2014) to investigate the importance of formal education such as schools, universities, institutions that include interactions of women inside the group of study and how these groups contribute to the advancement of solving women's issues in the U.S. After women get into the STEM fields women get started to reach some high positions. For instance, the relation between colleagues inside a collective system like a school is better than the relation between gained individual colleagues outside the school. Consequently, if women have access to the Science, they will start to benefit from education to set up their plan step of life success and they can compete with men to be at the same level of success and it would be very beneficial for completing the circle of progress in the community.

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<sup>61</sup> Cain & Leahey 2014 in Gender Work & Organization prepared a study to find the impact of cultural correlates of gender integration in Science to improve that women can achieve advancement if the integrated officially with educational groups in community.

Nowadays, women in the United States achieved high level of education in STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math) but they do not reach the high positions in work ,however, a good intended plan for them could create an actual future that can impose actual action for their case ,especially in workforce , economy ,health and their security rights. Notwithstanding, if women gain political positions, they can reduce the gap to have an equal cultural vision due to their ability, absolutely then, high positions cannot be manipulated by only numbers of bureaucratic people or by the old guards in American Administrations.

In reality, American women need a long-term practical program to accomplish their goals, that program should be included all field of study to make us able to let women achieve their goals in America, otherwise, women’s issues will be a part of transitional permanent problems between Presidencies. Determination by women enabled them to achieve professional degrees in education but they faced the work problems whenever the employers know that they have a family responsibility, so they used to give them a low level of work and avoid appointing them on the top of the hierarchal system.

Education is the efficient key to the progress of women in finding solutions to several issues within American society. Educational attainment in any community will “open the door to the future for women and their family”(Jackson & Dean, 2006, p26) which in turn participates in the advancement of the economy, work productivity by skills and exploiting human being talents. To empower women to reach the same level of men is essential, also in building the society. In addition to that, societies need to invest women’s skills and abilities in the development and the competitiveness of the globe.

Reducing the gap between women and men progress comes from adopting modern and advanced educational system with equality between women and men in all fields to discover the expected participation of women in the society. As long as societies are investing in many resources available in the country, human beings are the main resource of progress on earth.

### 8.3. Women Retreatment in Getting High Positions.

Depicting women attainment in education is very important to find the roots of the problem, and if we compare between the year 1979 and 2006, it would be noticed that a huge progress had been done during that period regardless of periods' length through those years. In 1979 women's attainment as a full professor in the STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math) was 5 percent of women's number, but in 1999 they reached 14 percent.

The factor behind women's retreatment in STEM education and going back for studying traditional education such as psychology proved that women couldn't find a suitable job as well as couldn't compete with men at the same fields.<sup>62</sup>In 2006 According to Gender Work & Organization 46% of women graduated in psychology ,33% of women in the United States are full professor of psychology, 11% of women specialized in engineering ,and only 5% of women are full professor in engineering(see Table 4 Annex B) ,despite all justifications ,this indicates to the imbalanced domestic plan and to the lack of women's opportunity during different American Administrations.

Comprehensively ,these numbers in table 4 Annex b are evident to conclude that women during the history need to be integrated in a collective educational fields, because the women's percentage who lean to have STEM was 9% in 1979 and reached 22% in 1999 but women's tenure in 2006 reduced to be 11% in engineering and 5% in as an engineering full professor, on the contrary, they retreated back to have psychological field as an educational field in 2006 .This could lead us to find the cause of the retreatment in learning STEM. Nevertheless, women didn't receive more opportunities of job in science field compared with their colleague's men because in 2006 women full professor percentage reached 33% in psychology and 5% in engineering!

I can say that women retreated in accomplishing their goal by education because they couldn't find a chance in many Administration's positions, as well as women during the last four decades, were trying balance the relationship between raising children and

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<sup>62</sup> U.S Department of Commerce , data available at <http://www.esa.doc.gov/sites/default/files/womeninstemagaptoinnovation8311.pdf>

taking care of the family with their work. Single mothers also retreating from pursuing their education due to the children and poverty prevailed in these families (Mather, 2010).

#### 8.4. Education and Health Problems.

Health is very important in women’s life because the journey of woman life starts from the family health needs and it passes through all stages of the life including pregnancy, caring children, and educating them. All these stages need strong health care system to contribute to building very strong community. However, the United States introduced many bills regarding women’s issues, but women still struggle to have complete right to enter the health care system. The lack of laws to equalize women with men in different fields created “health disparity” as a result of domestic violence and inequality in education and work. Poverty and illiteracy also contributed to deteriorating women’s health.<sup>63</sup>

In 2013 women health problems had been reduced due to the progress in women education and due to the reduction in the family’s members that made women endure a high responsibility to their family and work at the same time. Women in the United States preferred not having children to avoid health problems. The health insurance for women who are, between 16 years old to 64 years old, has been improved compared with men as shown in Table 9:

Table 9: Health Insurance in Percent for Women and Men, 2013

<b>Number of women out of the total population</b>	<b>Women with age between 16-64</b>	<b>Men with age between 16-64</b>
160,536,555 out of 316,128,839	79.2%	72.8%

Source: *The Status of the women Full Report 2015*, National Advisory Committee, Table B4.5 p159 available at [www.statusofwomendata.org](http://www.statusofwomendata.org).

<sup>63</sup> Paula Braveman, 2006 “*Health Disparities and Health Equality: Concepts and Measurement*” Annual Review of Public Health, Vol. 27, pp 167-194

The lack of policy in the educational plan caused a low life expectancy among people who have a low education (Crimmins and Saito, 2001), the relation between education and women's health proves that separate plans do not work. Centralization of women's right is very important to have a comprehensive policy towards all women's issues. Particularly, the interdependence between women's issues obliges any researcher to read about all kind of problems related to the health, work, and education to see the connected factors that may affect women future rights. So it is necessary to find a plan leads to a high professional project to be proposed by the Congress includes all aspects of women's problems.

Definitely, addressing and studying the educational system in any country is considered the coefficient of the progress and a great investment in any field. Therefore, evaluating and declaring the educational problems for women and men will lead us to pinpoint the gap between different fields and then search equality between them by addressing the lack of educational resources. As well, correlating community's problems (such as health problem) with its educational system will lead us towards the key solution for that problem. For example, life expectancy related to the attending at school gives us the right indications about the gap in health between women and men based on their different groups and societies ( see table 5 Annex B ). 4.8 percent represents the progress in life expectancy change whenever women attained more education over the period (1970-1990) at age 30 ,it means that in three decades the right of education can achieve huge progress towards women issues especially in health, if we study every presidential term depending on this table we discover the volume of impact happened due to the change of presidents' domestic policy on women's health. Particularly, when the gender gap in education decreases, an increase will happen in women's health situation and that it could depend on how to equalize women and men in their way of living and then reduce the mortality percentages (Rubuli, 2006).

According to the Crimmins' Study 2001 (see Table 5 Annex B), we note that at age 30 for women who completed just 8 years at school, the volume of progress 2.5% for white American women and 2.8 for Black American women. On the other hand, women who completed 13 years at school at age 30; the volume of progress was 1.6% for white American women and 7.6% for black American women. Overwhelmingly, there was a great reduction in these percentages that reduced the gap between women and men at

age 65 and by the way, this indicates that education contributed to shaping women to be better off. In general Crimmins' Study enhances our vision more about the participation of education in improving women's expectancy life<sup>64</sup> please see the following table:

Table 10: Effects of Education on Gap of Life Expectancy by Gender

<b>people who attended 8 years school and 13 years school over the period 1970-1990</b>				
<b>Age</b>	<b>White males</b>	<b>Black American males</b>	<b>White women</b>	<b>Black American women</b>
<b>30</b>	2.6	6.4	-9	4.8
<b>65</b>	2.5	3.7	0.8	4.1

Source: Crimmins' Study 2001.

In the United States, women are exposed more than men to different health conditions, so they need to have more access to the health centers under the coverage of the law. Attaining high education by American women led to having the acceptable income to go to benefit from the health centers. For instance, women who live in poverty couldn't go to health centers due to the low income to pay partially and completely price for the treatment and medicine. Notwithstanding, there is a strong relationship between income and health especially whenever it comes to write about the American social system which has a belief in individuals to achieve their own dreams. Women demographic distribution needs more studies to go inside groups and inside different races to investigate chronic diseases within these groups.

#### 8.5. Women's Self-reliance.

According to the domestic policy during every term of presidency in the United States since 1970, men could achieve some progress in regarding women's issues because they have mothers and daughters but they couldn't build a basement of women's rights to be

<sup>64</sup> Crimmins (2001), wrote an article "Trends in healthy life expectancy in the United States, 1970-1990: gender, racial, and educational differences" explains the racial and gender and educational differences between women and men and at most studying all aspects of gender production will contribute to equalize women and men because women's issues do have a transition relation that leads to the predicted solution by researchers.

at their priority agenda. In approximately four decades, mothers and daughters let their men (husbands, brothers etc) decide on behalf of them starting from family and ending in the high political positions in the government, so the best question that we should ask women in this research, can men decide on behalf of women in any field? (See interview form Appendix B and questionnaire form Appendix C) , or must women build up their own case at all levels of the American way of living with men equally? To answer this question women should adopt “Self-reliance” (Asst. Lecturer: Aisha Isa, 2014) that can be applied on every field to develop one’s situation for better progress as well as the community support to gain the benefit of self-reliance.

It is clear that any citizens need to be dependent and that comes from the law and government practical programs at the very beginning, so using his/her ability in the suitable time is considered self-reliance with accountability towards the society and this comes after a big assessment of women’s situation and by going step by step from basic level to advanced level. Real acts are the best programs to integrate women in the community, but without cooperation from the community’s circle, the equality would be at stake. So U.S Department of Commerce of Economic and Statistics Administrations in its report 2009 confirmed that women need to be supported in STEM education(Beede, Julian and Langdon, 2011).

Although the American women’s history has been full mystery writers in many disciplines(Bishop, 1987) but according to this report 47% of all workers in 2000 were females, and in 2009 just of all females workers they were 48 %, the strange thing is that in the same year of 2000, STEM workers were just 24% and this percentage was the same in 2009.The explanation for that is women were having fragmented law towards different issues which couldn’t expand the resilience relationship between family and work and this, in turn, proves the existence of gender gap in all professions despite the high level of education women reached in the last decades.

Absolutely, Self-reliance demands plan of integration to know women resources skills and to direct these skills towards the suitable fields.On the other hand, transferring women from the status of assessment to be engaging in partnership programs by coordinating with governmental organizations and non-governmental organization in order to update them by the needs of women, is an active and effective process in

developing society. Surveys and studies may promote women issues inside these organizations to predict solutions and be consistent with the constitution. Consistency with constitution creates law and the latter could establish a realistic interpretation of the constitution related to the women's issues. Exploiting all American programs by women could put them on the road to be equalized by men. Historically, it takes a long time to achieve this theory but integration and self-reliance would support women to start from woman's individual training to groups' training within the private and public organization, which in turn, enable them to go through the hierarchal work system in the United States.

I would like here to give an example, women face a lot of obstacles to participating in the army based on gender inequality and cultural idea of women's stereotype. Alienating women from the greatest field like army put us in non-democratic ambient because of preventing women to be integrating within a large group in the country. Absolutely, when the cancellation of the Direct Ground Combat Definition and Assignment Rule (DGCDAR) of 1994 happened in 2013, it might give American women's 230,000 opportunity jobs inside the American Armed Forces.<sup>65</sup>

Misunderstanding women's situations during the long presidential terms widened the gap also in successive policies related to the political Parties' agenda. Changing policy created new start point to find a solution for women's issues. Studying such history of changing the domestic policy of presidents could definitely enhance researchers with a significant result to let the previous studies to be continued, and start from the point of suspended information due to the political disconnection agenda of the successive different policies.

Also "self-reliance" demands from women's organizations creating women's programs and distributing it to women's community targets to illustrate the real needs of women at all level. It is known that enacting a comprehensive law to solve women's problems is somehow impossible, Because of the large number of interlocking issues like abortion, workforce, education, health, crimes. But distributing of work inside women's community regardless their locations whether they are in the government or in the civil

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<sup>65</sup> Report 2015 Published by the RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, Calif. Available in the library of Congress and at [http://www.rand.org/pubs/research\\_reports/RR1103.html](http://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR1103.html)

society may give a good result for each issue with the cooperation of all women's organization in the United States. On this basis, we can find an interdependence formula for different aspects of women's issues at the same time, and finally, it may impact the domestic policy of the government towards women's issues. For instance, by concluding the results from Guttmacher Institute, we can notice the impact of family concerns on finding and improving women's work stability and how organizations and institutes in the community could participate in the awareness of women's issues to be considered in future domestic political plan, in its study about contraceptive plan which considered one of many issues inside women's family they found a great improvement and results after adopting this plan by women and it participated in improving children education and it formed the stable communities which enable women finding a job and caring their children with a stable financial plan, however, in this study they discovered that women improved their care of children and family 63%, and they do better in financing their life 56%, also 51% as an improvement in their families education that participated in getting jobs 50%(Sonfield et al. 2013, p 29).

#### 8.6. Exploiting Programs and Projected Plan.

Although the U.S enacted the Title IX in 1972(see Appendix A) but women still have less opportunity in the education system as mentioned in the U.S Department of Education. Title IX stated that: "No person in the United States shall, on the bases of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving federal financial assistance"<sup>66</sup>.

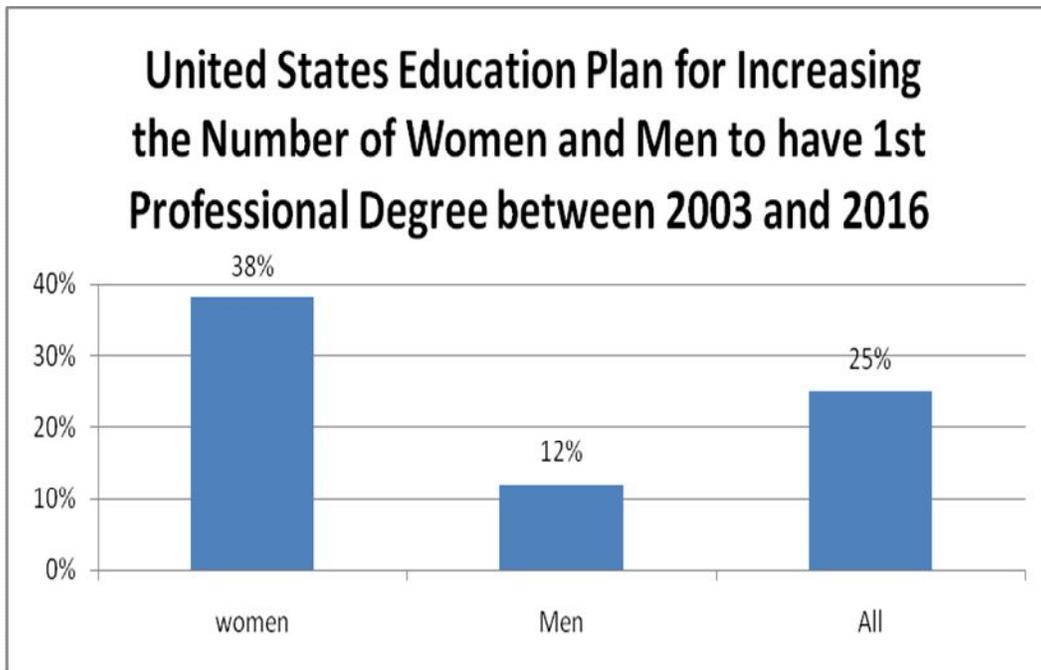
Projected plan for women and men education is very important to achieve progress to enter the work market in the United States. Side by side with IX of 1972 plans can work to have a good result to increase women's full professional degree. The project plan that adopted by *the Department of Education within the National Center for Education Statistics* intended to increase the percentage of women to attain a 1<sup>st</sup> professional degree as shown in figure 1. So if women exploit the advantages of this plan they will

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<sup>66</sup> Title IX available in the United States Department of Labor, Office of the Assistant Secretary for Administration and Management, Title IX, Education Amendment of 1972.

be able to increase the number of women who may attain a professional degree like doctorate in many fields to be qualified for high positions in the hierarchal system of American institutions, and this advanced plan by American government considered a great progress in women’s affairs and government management. The United States intended to increase the percentage of educated women by 38%, and men by 12% to reach the average for its citizens to be 25%and it was pavement to improve their situation adopted by domestic policy.

Figure 1: Predicted Plan for First Professional Degree for Women and Men



Source: Hussar, W.J.,and Bailey, T.M. (2006). *Projections of Education Statistics to 2015 (NCES 2006-084)*. U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office. p 14.

Independently, adopt the reliable rule by women in America increased the number of women who studied complete time as a full degree and it became doubled compared with men’s number from 1997 to 2007.<sup>67</sup>Therefore the percentage of women in attaining high school also doubled but after 1997 women started to settle down their competitiveness with men because they discovered a shortage women’s work

<sup>67</sup> It was indicated in the data of Department of Commerce Economic and statistics Administrations , the President Office of Management and Badget issued the report “*Women in America : Indicators of Social and Economic Well-Being*” of March 2011 in cooperation with White House Council on Women and Girls.p19

opportunities after graduation. The shortage of women’s work opportunity was due to defections happened in domestic policies during the history of different political Administrations and due to the lack of assessment and training and integration plan within the groups of the society.

Table 11: Difference in Educational Attainment between Women and Men since 1970.

<b>year</b>	<b>Female gaining a high school</b>	<b>Male gaining a high school</b>	<b>Female gaining a college degree</b>	<b>Male gaining a college degree</b>
1970	59%	59%	8%	14%
2009	87%	87%	28%	28%

*Source: White House Council on Women and Girls, March 2011.*

The ability of women to attain high education took much time since Nixon’s Administrations until Obama’s second term of presidency. However, it may not possible negate some progress and programs that had been created by different Administrations in order to support women in attaining high educational level (please see Table 11 above).

Historically, in the US, higher education was not established for women at all, but originally, educational schools were set up for the benefit of the US’s citizens. Primarily women continued in their struggle they were able to form a majority in a number of college graduates from bachelor's degree and a master's degree and doctorate degree. Despite all this progress, women still ignored as citizens, and when the doors of education were opened for women in 1982, women reached a high scientific degree and at the same time did not reach the high position of work inside colleges and universities managed by women and men evenly, and taking into considerations the creativity that they achieved under women’s college leadership which give us an indication that gender is the main factor in shaping educational environment (Palmer & Kuh, 2003). This factor has led to the emergence of Feminists Universities which is just for females. Consequently, this factor contributed to the decline of women’s role in the competitive learning environments.

Maintaining the educational process and follow-up educational plans until getting a fair job is one of the most important elements to strengthen practical educational plan(Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development/Centre for Educational Research and Innovation (OECD/CERI), 2005). Equalizing women and men, to get the full benefit of any education plan requires ensuring several targets from the outset, such as free access to the educational centers and institutes , the continuity of the students' study inside these centers to qualifies women and men to receive the next phase of education with strongly united efforts to enter the labor market based on equal opportunities, and also assess the current stage of educational system. By highlighting weaknesses gives us an idea of the new strategy for the next process.

## **9. CHAPTER 3: AMERICAN WOMEN IN THE WORKFORCE.**

Women's educational history gives us an important idea about the relationship between education and work because the type of work depends on the qualified person in education. As we see in the section of women's attainment in education that women achieved professional degrees but the culture of the American community sometimes put obstacles before women inside the workforce. The traditional vision in the U.S is that the male when he becomes a young he should have his own identity by control the environment and place to support the family economically. Then, women ought to be under his control to help in building a family structure(Xiao and McCright, 2012). Since the family is the center of the American community, women are considered contributors in constructing the American community. Family ought to be a transitive factor in advancing the local and federal progress regarding American community development. Male can control of the country resources, meantime, women in her characters try to protect these resources in the country because environmental destruction to use resources of control may participate in preventing a great proportion of the population from taking the advantages of the country. Women don't want to exploit resources and control the environment because they want to protect their children from the diseases in that environment, so they would think before taking risk to gain any income, so because women are defending the environment it has been taken an idea that women are not having the ability to do entrepreneurs and adventures.

Some organizations in the United States tried to help women by initiating some projects to reduce the fear of women ,and to convince men that American community doesn't have non-risky person depending on his/her gender type, but on the contrary, women have the ability to take risk in order to gain their income and this will appear in our empirical data .Anyway, to let women emerge in risky-jobs, they should understand the conceptual framework of risky jobs in order not to stay under the control of traditional and cultural mentality conception of one polar authority.

The representation of women (inside states) is important as well as in the government's high positions to reduce gender gap through women groups of color, and between women and men in general(Scola, 2006). So by determining gender gap between women and men, we can share duties between women and men as well. Finding a

solution for the whole community enable it to produce a professional human being regardless the gender because humanly comes from the same genealogical seed. Any act that contributes to the future comprehensive equal rights for women and men would be for the interests of the human community. In the U.S presidential debates, about a job opportunity, do have a lack of developing techniques and methods sustainment during the election period, in contrast, they have statements and releases and promises but do not specify agenda that could be applied during election time.<sup>68</sup>

Since 1963 the year of enacting the Equal Pay Act, “17 million” women in 2010 were suffering from poverty.<sup>69</sup>By this number, the gender gap in the United States is still controversial that prevents women to gain the same wages as men to achieve a good standard of living. Consequently, if this gap continues, it will be expanded because the family will be expanded at different ages of mothers and that needs an equal pay plan to cover all stages of life until women get a pension which already depending on previous basic salary. However, the American community doesn’t negate the progress done towards women’s issues since the Equal Pay Act enacted during John F. Kennedy term, but the most important step is to set a comprehensive law to guarantee the equal pay among all ages of women including some modifications on pension time.

The White House Council Report, April 2012 indicated that women just earn 77 percent of what men gain. The plan to reduce such a devastating gap was to establish the EEOC (The U.S Equal Employment Opportunity Commission) and the Task Force during Obama’s Administration. Nevertheless, to achieve what was intended by these committees we need a constant vision to be adopted by both Parties Democrats and Republicans to avoid misleading women by different domestic policies.

U.S also put on its domestic agenda a plan to let women work in military and public security services by adopting “hiring policy” to have women work in high-level positions and this kind of progress was related to the DOJ (the Department of Justice) to reconsider women inside the government in all levels to address the shortfall in the number of women’s jobs in every term of presidency. For example, some progress is

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<sup>68</sup> United Nations Handbook issued in 2014 within the World Survey on the role of Women in development and gender equality, and sustainable development explains step by step reasons behind the hindrance of women progress .

<sup>69</sup> White House Council Report ,April,2012.

being done by OFCCP (The Department of Labor's Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs) and it is quite mentioned in this field when cooperating with other U.S departments to educate women how to find a job.

## 9.1. Retreating Women in Workforce.

### 9.1.1. Imbalanced Relation between Work and Family.

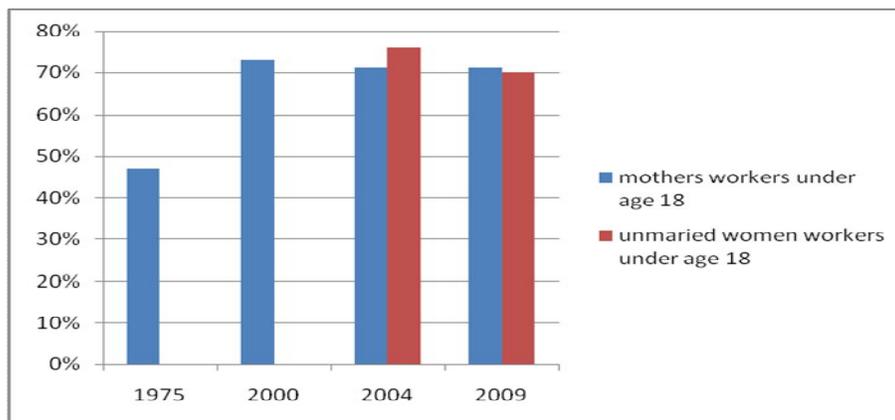
Women in the workforce in the United States could not balance the relationship between work and their responsibility towards their children. So women try to avoid leaving children alone by working part-time instead of full time. On the other hand, this imbalanced relation affected the women's ability to compete with men for a high educational, and professional level. In most cases, children also receive a lot of effects from this imbalanced and inflexible relation (Teasdale, 2013). The result was that the class attendants were a very small number of boys and girls. This thesis is intended to release a collective plan towards women's issues through studying the effectiveness of every president's administration policy and its resilience to check the balance between work and family within their plan. The capacity of American political system to introduce collective proposal about women's rights is still under examination. Hardly ever, we can find laws discuss two issues of women at the same time and proposal introduced to Congress was having its privacy. Most bills of women's issues are sent to the supreme court to give it the suitable constitutional interpretations. Certainly, these difficulties make women think many times before having a single child and going to high positions.

Actually, American women were able to regulate her time to have two kinds of work, within the family and inside the labor force during the almost 50 years from 1950 to 1999 adult women participation increased from 33 to 61 percent but it is significant to focus on the participation of women who have children and family responsibility during my period of study (1970-2015).

By comparing numbers we conclude that women struggled almost three decades to reach the same level of men to enter the American workforce. The endeavor to stay out

of marriage space and trying to have a work to continue with the family's standard living, made percentages differs from year to another. Another thing I would like to invoke is that since 2004 until 2009, the rate of women workers remained approximately in the same average of 71%, but for unmarried women workers, it went down to 70%. For sure, this is an indication that women couldn't balance between the work and family because they couldn't compete for the stability of men situation inside the work. Then what does that mean for our study?! To a large extent president, Obama Administration maintained the same representation's ratio of women in the labor market without going ahead in finding solutions for women's issues since 2004. Exclusively, collecting numbers about women for sure leads to determine the actual situations of women in the United States because the government doesn't mention the private sectors and the partial time of women outside the family to reach percentages mentioned in Figure 2.

Figure 2: The Actual Married and Unmarried Women's Situation in Workforce



Source: white house council on women and girls and the department of the Commerce

All communities should grant women's rights, either married or single and they should have freedom and liberty because they are the half of the society, women are teachers, engineers, directors, and leaders in different fields of work, so their rights should be recognized by all authorities.

### 9.1.2. Different Work for Different Color!

Gender and race-ethnicity, as well as the color of women, played a big role in retreating women to be accepted in the different fields of work in the United States. Since 1970 manufacturing and service jobs attracted women of color and women preferred these jobs because at that time they didn't attain a high degree of education and they didn't have training on professional jobs. Actually, this leads us to investigate the factors behind the kind of job that women chose during the contemporary history of the labor force in the United States.

However, In the United States sometimes gender is connected with human being color, for example after 1970, women in the United States were exploited by the system of "capitalism"<sup>70</sup> which brought many obstacles in the way of progress of black women and white women as well, because the income for black females was just \$2861 compared with white females who received \$3991, also black men were receiving \$4277 compared with white males who were receiving \$6704 (Beale, 1970).

The job opportunity for all women inside America passed in a long struggle since 1970, especially whenever it comes to talk about gender perception based on race, color, and ethnicity. For example, from 1970 to 1990 the management and administrative job as well as officials jobs reached just 9.4% for Indian American women, 12.1% for European American women, 8.1% for African American women, 14.9 for Chinese American women, 14% for Japanese American women, 14% also for Filipina American women, 6.7% for Mexican American women and 8.9% for Puerto Rican American women. Since all these percentages are very modest new domestic policy plan towards women is needed and after 1990 some progress has been achieved by different programs as I mentioned before. (please see figure 4, p147).

In retrospect, in 1923 the Equal Right Amendment was introduced and took the approval of Congress to help women but the quorum ratification of states was not

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<sup>70</sup> Beale 1970, p 114

completed until 1972 and it was extended in Reagan's Administration, it means it took approximately 50 years to discuss women's rights.<sup>71</sup>

Let us here see by year the differences between domestic policies of American Administrations towards women's issues (please see Table 12,p104).From these indications in the Table 12 we can notice that women in the government offices retreated locally in 2009 and accomplished some positions in the political system in the United States, and by the way it is noticed how changing Administrations' policy affected women's issues, for example, during Reagan Administration women in Congress were just 5% percent in the Congress, but in 1999 they shifted to be 12.1 percent as well as this happened for legislature and states offices positions.

All communities should grant women's rights, whether married or single and women should have freedom and liberty because they are a large part of the society, women are in all fields, directors, and leaders in the U.S, so their rights should be recognized by all authorities. Black women always have less important positions than white women because they face two problems based on discrimination; gender and race, gender inside the black community and race problem outside their community. Black women compete inside labor force with black men and with white men. In the dilemma of color, women should have same work the white women have. In the political positions women faced also two challenges; white men and black men who believe in women's traditional stereotype in America. Black women candidate who ran for the presidency during the history faced the lack of support by women organizations and financial problems.

During thirty years, no change happened on the black women campaign but there were differences in supporting women in their campaign, for example, Shirley Chisholm in her campaign of 1972 had less support than Moseley Braun's campaign of 2003.<sup>72</sup> The explanations of this difference related to the role of women's organizations and its supports which made progress in 2003 due to the awareness of women about their political situations.

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<sup>71</sup> European Commission issued a report in 2015 indicated the women's right progress ,European Commission ,2015.pp 9.

<sup>72</sup> Available at <http://www.haworthpress.com/web/JWPP,2005>, *The Haworth Press,Inc.* doi;10.1300/501v27n01\_04

Table 12: Elected Offices Held by Women in the U.S

<b>year</b>	<b>Congress</b>	<b>Legislature</b>	<b>State Offices</b>
1979	3%	10%	11%
1989	5%	17%	14%
1999	12.1%	22.4%	27.6%
2009	16.8%	24.3	22.6
2015	19.4%	24.2%	24.6%

Source: Institute of Women's Policy Research ,figure 1.1,p9

“The self-in-relation-theory” illustrated gender equality in two types: the self-needs and the mutual recognition between women and men.<sup>73</sup>Understanding self-need and exceeding the internal difference between women of color and white women, it may not divide the women’s community and it can be in an equal situation as men .Since 1962 the African women workers rate exceeded the white women’s rate with 18.2 percent , but in 1989 this rate retreated to 2.6 percent, nevertheless African women were receiving minimum wages and it was a kind of suffering during that period of time(Monica L.jackson 1990,p59) .

Table 13: Women Annual Earnings in Full- Time and Women in the Labor Force, 2013 in percent

<b>Number of Women out of all population</b>	<b>Annual Earning for women work full-time</b>	<b>Women in Management and Professional Occupations</b>
160,536,555 out of 316,128,839	\$38.000	39.9%

Source: *The Status of the women Full Report 2015, National Advisory Committee, Table2.1, p40* available at [www.statusofwomendata.org](http://www.statusofwomendata.org)

The austerity program that had been done by Obama’s second term of presidency affected the number of women and men inside the government whether it was at the local level or state level.<sup>74</sup> This kind of austerity to recover from the recession surely participated in retreating women from the participation in the managerial and

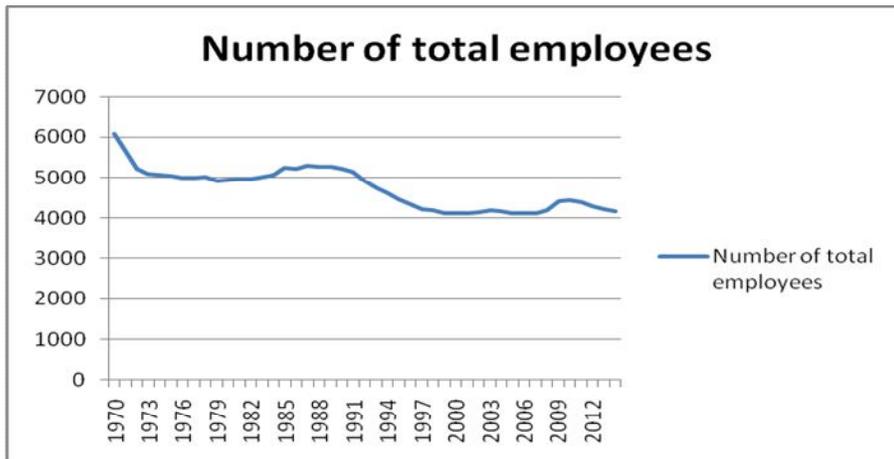
<sup>73</sup> The self-in-relation theory was mentioned by Marcia C .Westkotte.1990. “ on the new psychology of women” Springer Science & business media B.V

<sup>74</sup> Numbers have been taken from the Federal Employment Reports at the Office of Personnel Mangement “Data ,Analysis & and Documentation .

professional jobs after 2012. The latest statistics about women in the labor force appeared in Table 13 above.

In 1970, 6085 was the number of the employees in the federal system and it was more than in 2014 which reached 4185 employees. Since 1971 till 1985, federal employees' numbers were approximately constants but it started to rise after the year 1985 when America widened its trade with Latin America and this continued until 1991. Finally, in the first term of President Obama, the number of federal employees increased and in the second term after 2012 return to be decreasing. Notwithstanding, many factors contributed to those fluctuated numbers such as the economic crises and recessions happened between 1970 and 2014 (see figure 3).

Figure 3: Total Employees in the federal system by year (Women & Men)



Source : <https://www.opm.gov/policy-data-oversight/data-analysis-documentation/federal-employment-reports/historical-tables/total-government-employment-since-1962/> Access [August, 6, 2016].

## **10. CHAPTER 4: VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN.**

Since 1970, the United States has witnessed a great progress by identifying some of the problems of violence against women within the family environment, at work and at schools campuses. This movement to protect women was adopted by the Central Federal government and the judicial system, and some Amendments were issued within the laws and training programs were adopted to defend women in all areas.

Anyway , if we compare this progress, and what is happening in the United States, we will find increasing degrees of societal violence against women's health, and this violence contributed to delay the progress of women to have opportunity in the educational system, and it delayed the follow-up government programs and reformations in all fields, definitely, this leads us to the perceptions of employers to influence the opportunity of Women at work upon the reasons of ethnic, race and color aspects while there is a lack of laws to protect women .

In this chapter, I will address some important issues that cause violence against women, Such as the prevalence of domestic violence and partner, Sexual violence and rape, harassment inside the campus of educational places and women trafficking as well as studying American laws related to this field. By the way, I will explain in general the main mentioned points depending on some quantitative available information as much as possible.

The discrimination against women is not limited to borders also vulnerable women who pass to the United States face a great problem to settle down. migrant woman Fauziya Kassindja from Togo was described as “other” women which refers to a non-American woman (McKinnon, 2011).This expression found some introductions towards the role that feminists do in the community which accuses the feminist movement of defending non-American who may affect the future security of the United States. However, the international law guarantees the right of human beings regardless where she/he could be found as long as the American constitution supports the freedom of American people. Here the logic comes directly to wonder: if American Women don't have their complete rights inside the American law, does the constitution protect migrant women! For sure I

am studying women who are citizens in the U.S but in values definitely, there is no exception.

#### 10.1. Violence by Partner.

Violence against Women Act (VAWA) was passed in 1994 by the Congress due to the crimes happened against women such as stalking, sexual and physical abuse.<sup>75</sup> This Act enacted to protect women from domestic violence, and then, the federal system started to defend and aid women with programs to prevent the violence and the fatal consequences against them.

Violence against Women needs the coordination from all participants in the American community as well as the information about all crimes and victims ought to be studied in the jurisdiction system to improve a good plan in order to defend women.

To go step by step to investigate our logical question, women in the United States still struggle with law especially inside the family and American community, women face crimes in different stages of their life. The lack of interdependence between women's issues within the family and women's issues in the work caused a gap in the preservation of the American feminist goals and a gap between politicians to enact women's affairs law. Staying at the first step of women's right ladder makes the decision makers retreated to enact a new law regarding women rights demands.

Domestic violence in the United States has become a big problem in the category of a large cross-section of women, where violence is embodied in the abuse of women and controlling them through sexual, physical and psychological abuse. The *status of the women report* issued by the Institute for Women's Policy Research for the year 2015 mentioned that women in their life until the year 2011, 47.1% of them are exposed to psychological aggression , 31.5% are exposed to physical assault ,15.8% are exposed to sexual assault without rape cases, 9.2% are stalked and 8.8% are exposed to rape completely as well as the hardest situation that was for the native American women who

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<sup>75</sup> White house "*Fact Sheet : Violence Against Women Act*"  
[https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/vawa\\_factsheet.pdf](https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/vawa_factsheet.pdf)

were exposed to more psychological and physical violence which reached 63.8% for psychological aggression and 51.7% for physical assault.<sup>76</sup>

Sexual abuse against women adversely affects their health, where the rapes transfer of HIV infection to the woman's body, and also force women into pregnancy, in addition to that causing physical injuries. However, different laws in different states couldn't afford for women the protection right without protecting them inside the law.

## 10.2. Avoiding Consequences of Violence against Women.

The USA supports women by imposing sanctions on the perpetrators of violence against them and it enacted laws and opened centers across the states address women problems and abuse cases. In addition, US traced the perpetrators within the laws specifically the violence perpetrated by partners and it did pursue stalking perpetrators, and the US enacted the following:

### a. Family Violence Prevention and Service Act of 1984(FVPSA).

It is intended to initiate projects and programs to establish centers to let women report violence against them and benefit from programs' funding cross the states as well as assist the enforcement of the law and reauthorize states and public organization to address all programs and report and all infractions related to the domestic violence.

Table 14: Family Violence Prevention and Services Acts.

Year	Funding for FVPSA
2014	\$93,464,700
2015	\$94,500,000

Source: Alcantara 2015, Congressional Research Service October, 14, 2015, table C-1 & table C-2, pp35-37

<sup>76</sup> *The Status of the women Full Report 2015*, National Advisory Committee figure 7.1, p240 available at [www.statusofwomendata.org](http://www.statusofwomendata.org)

According to the Congressional Research Service Report (Alcantara 2015) funding for centers to promote supporting women victims reached \$9,155,000 which reflect the government's intention to improve women situations.

b. The Violence against Women Act VAWA of 1994.

VAWA is intended to help and support women to prevent domestic violence also to help children and young people not to be exposed to this violence; Congress has focused on this ACT and enacted in 1994 when the Congress saw that it is necessary to protect women against domestic violence to prevent any action against vulnerable women in the United States.

c. Victims of Crimes Act (VOCA).

“The Office for Victims of Crime (OVC), and United States Department of Justice (DOJ) is publishing Final Guidelines to implement the crime victim compensation and grant program as authorized by the Victims of Crime Act of 1984, as amended, 42 U.S.C. 10601, et seq., hereafter referred to as VOCA.”<sup>77</sup> ( refer to *Document 12* Appendix A).

d. National Domestic Violence Hotlines (NDVH).

As the Violence against Women Act VAWA in 1994 enacted federal government and states started to provide hotlines working 24 hours to address victims and to monitor and pursue all cases of violence happened against women inside states.<sup>78</sup>

By these Acts, US imposed on the public and civil organizations and the educational system to report about any abuse against women and it guarantees child custody whenever women get abused.

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<sup>77</sup> It was mentioned in the federal register Federal Register /Vol. 66, No. 95/Wednesday, May 16, 2001/ Notices p27158.

<sup>78</sup> It can be seen the hotlines service at <http://www.thehotline.org/resources/statistics/>

### 10.3. Stalking Problem.

There was a case in the U.S called “stalking” which represent a very significant issue in the contemporary history of the United States. Law’s slow procedures and women’s fear of being attacked by criminals are the main reasons for not reporting this kind of crime to the police stations. The lack of protection inside the family and relatives caused many stalked cases. In addition to that, the most cases were committed by a person who shares the victims their own lives such as ex-husbands, partners, school colleagues, work colleagues. Blatantly, the proportion of the victims was very high. So from 8000 women, we have 59% faced stalking crimes compared with 30% of also 8000 men. <sup>79</sup>these results would take from future researchers a lot of time to study stalking related cases among family members as well as it enhances the states to enact laws to protect women under these conditions and to support women in the base( family) as well as in hierarchal positions. All threats against women come from the person who is supported by the outlet of laws, who has the role to lead, who has the power to practice, who has the decision to make against the stalked victims.

Divorced female in the United States faces stalking more than men. Stalking causes many diseases to the victim such as mental disease and psychological problems which leads the victim to feel unsafe and unstable. As many females don’t report their situation, stalking problems would be continued in the United States and sometimes it is difficult to be judged in the court because of the lack of concrete evidence.

Table 15: Stalking for every 1000 persons, 2006

<b>Crimes</b>	<b>Percent of victims</b>
Stalked by contact	46%
Stalked for 5 years	11%
Stalked divorces or separated persons	3.4 ( 34 persons out of 1000)
Persons likely to report	Women 37%
	Men 41%

*Resource: Bureau of Justice Statistics Special Report Stalking Victimization in the United States. , (January), pp. 1–16.*

<sup>79</sup> These cases were mentioned in the U.S department of Justice, April , 1998.

“The legal definition for stalking varies across jurisdictions”<sup>80</sup> and varies from one state to another even some victims don’t evaluate whether the behavior is stalking violence or not!.In 2006 one study was conducted and issued its report in 2009 by the Bureau of Justice Statistics about the issues of stalking against women and men, explained that every 1000 persons there are 14 persons with age 18 and older exposed to stalking.

#### 10.4. Harassment against Women in Public Places.

Also, harassment against women in public places needs to be evaluated because harassment preventing women from participation in public work and it gives the authority to men to control the streets and public services. The movement that emerged in 1970,s encouraged women to go outdoors to prove that they are fit to do any work and they can compete with men. On the other hand, feminist movements in the United States were understood as a matter of control and not a competence over rights.

In 2005 immigration created many cases based on gender in the United States ,for example Immigration judge did right decision in a matter A-R-C-G for Guatemalan woman who was seeking asylum after being suffered from domestic violence from her partner inside the same social groups and it was a very good step to protect women (Hang et al., 2015). In addition to that, Angela in 2010 was raped by her employers and she reported that to the company which did nothing towards her case.<sup>81</sup>

*The Guardian* issued one article in 2013 under the title “*Formal complaints over sexism should be last resort for women,*” mentioned the reasons behind the frustration of women to create a case in American jurisdiction system. “A successful court case does not give you back the career you lost” And “While it is widely known that there are

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<sup>80</sup> Please see Baum, B.K. et al., 2009. Bureau of Justice Statistics Special Report Stalking Victimization in the United States. , (January), p3.

<sup>81</sup> Texas Journal of Women & the Law 2014, “Invisible Survivors: Female Farmworkers in the United States and the Systematic Failure to Report Workplace Harassment and Abuse” pp 2-4  
Sarah

laws to protect female workers from sexual harassment in the workplace, the existence of these laws does not change workplace culture.”<sup>82</sup>

Kimberley A. Johnson an author and feminist activist explained in her book “*American women The Poll Dance: Women and Voting*” how she lost her work because she refused sexist remarks by her boss.<sup>83</sup>

Violence against women is considered one of the complicated problems that women suffer in the United States. Rape, stalking and physical abuse are common problems in the society. Also, the violence against women created some consequences that put all women and men in danger of their intimate relation and ex-partner or related work problems.No one in the United States, woman or man, has the immunity against mentioned violence. Many consequences led to mental problem, which in turn, caused mental diseases or even led, in some cases, to committing suicide by the victims

According to the findings of National Violence Against Women Survey ,17.6 percent of every 8000 women exposed to be a victim of rape in their life ,but to explain the disparity between women and men ,is that women are exposed to rape more than men is normal because of their vulnerable situation in work ,street and family ambients, on the other hand, men, are more exposed to be victims in terms of physical assault and stalking as a reason of the men’s participation in all aspects of life in the American Community .

In order to protect women, we need to apply a very strong law that protection through different key areas such as family, work, education, health, and violence. In any case, if we are able to gather information from the United States to conclude the real situation of women, we may be able to create a comprehensive solution to women’s issues to do the required work by laws against those who offend them focussing on both the domestic violence and violence within the work.

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<sup>82</sup> Available at <https://www.theguardian.com/women-in-leadership/2013/sep/23/formal-complaints-sexism-last-resort>, Access [August,7,2016]

<sup>83</sup> Kimberley A.Johnson 2014 “ *Excerpts from American Woman : The Poll Dance*” <http://kimberleyajohnson.com/excerpts-from-american-woman-the-poll-dance/> [accessAugust ,7,2016]

Because of the lack of comprehensive laws to protect women against violence, every Administration practices different programs and plan to apply the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA). Definitely, this kind of practice generated different judgments about the same case and it depends on the accountability of judges in every state.<sup>84</sup>In 2015, *CNN* mentioned that about “41 measures” were implemented against women abortion choice in 22 states.<sup>85</sup>

### 10.5. Trafficking.

Trafficking is defined as an action of an individual to force someone to practice sex for economic reasons and exploit his/her poor situation to achieve commercial objects. Trafficking is difficult to be discovered especially in the racial subgroups, so the federal government enacted the Trafficking Victims Protection Act in 2000 to prevent causes lead to practice this kind of crime. Secretary of state John F.Kerry delivered remarks about trafficking on January 29, 2015, and he described trafficking as a “modern slavery”<sup>86</sup>. We Can say that U.S has made a lot of efforts to prevent trafficking but because it is a big country and it has population more than 300 million in the year of 2006, “there were only 5,808 prosecutions and 3,160 convictions of human traffickers throughout the world, mostly outside of the U.S”(Brown, 2012,p362). Trafficking in persons was defined by the United Nations in *Annex II Article 3* therefore , United Nations wanted to protect human being from any kind of trafficking recruitment either by force or exploitation (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2014,p42). The U.S takes into its considerations the UN Protocol related to trafficking in persons, so the U.S declared effective action to prevent and combat trafficking in all states, especially trafficking of women and children that requires a comprehensive international approach to punish traffickers and to protect victims of trafficking. Bearing in mind that, despite the existence of the UN Protocol , the world is still not having decisive laws against perpetrators.

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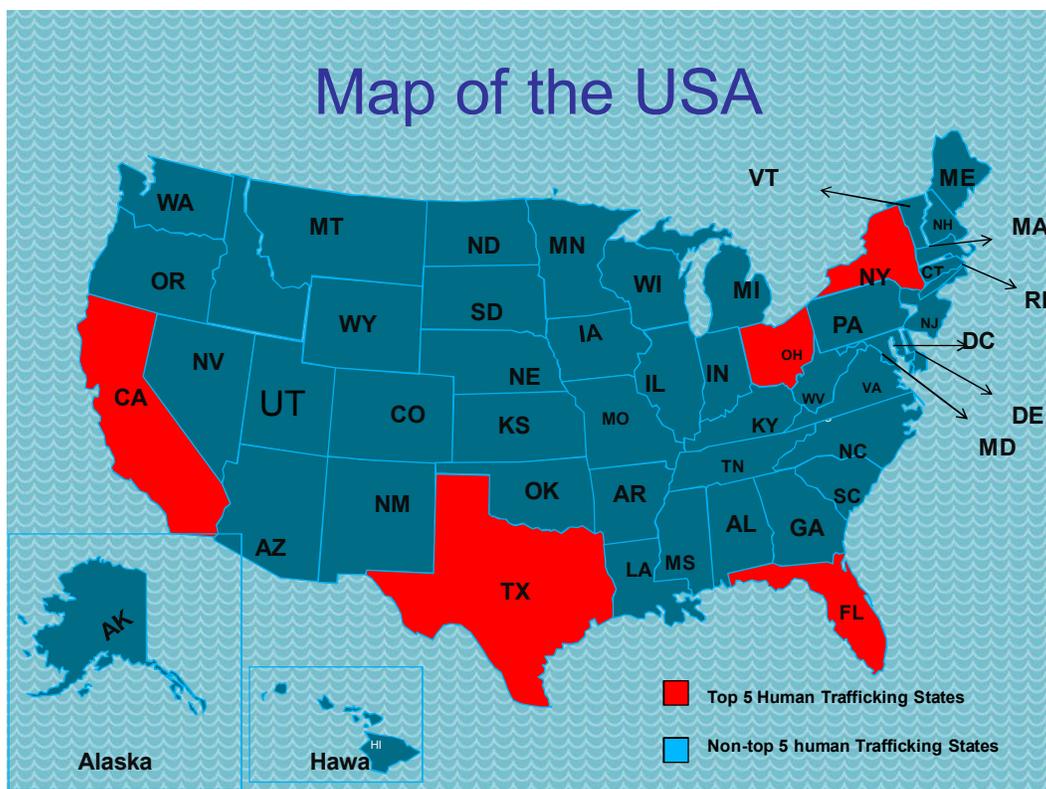
<sup>84</sup> There were different court decisions as a result of not having a guarantee for all women rights inside the law and American Amendments Acts, so all abortion cases can be viewed at in [https://www.law.cornell.edu/supct/cases/topics/tog\\_abortion.html](https://www.law.cornell.edu/supct/cases/topics/tog_abortion.html)

<sup>85</sup> Jessica Ravitz 2016 ,*CNN* “ *the Abortion laws you don’t hear about*” Available at [http://us.cnn.com/2016/03/31/health/abortionlawsoutnumbered/index.html?utm\\_source=nar.al&utm\\_medium=urlshortener&utm\\_campaign=FB](http://us.cnn.com/2016/03/31/health/abortionlawsoutnumbered/index.html?utm_source=nar.al&utm_medium=urlshortener&utm_campaign=FB), access [April ,11,2016]

<sup>86</sup> Available at Department of State July ,2015 under the title “ trafficking in persons report “ pp 1-5

The meaning above included trafficking by force or abuse of power to force vulnerable persons to be trafficked. Exploiting minors in labor field is also considered a kind of trafficking and it violates human rights laws. The inducement of minors to work in commercial sex represents a coercion to let others engage in reducing the human dignity. Alaska state considers minors victims “less than 20 years of age”<sup>87</sup> “The top 5 human trafficking states”<sup>88</sup> are illustrated in Map 2:

Map 2: The top 5 human trafficking states



Source: Map prepared by the researcher

<sup>87</sup> This article mentioned all kinds of trafficking by Polaris Project for a World without Slavery “ 2013 Analysis of State Human Trafficking Laws” p7, available at <https://polarisproject.org/sites/default/files/2013-State-Ratings-Analysis.pdf>,

<sup>88</sup> Mckmanx 2015 “top 5 human trafficking states” available at <http://www.humanracetohumanrights.com/2015/12/31/top-5-human-trafficking-states/> access[August 12,2016]

Trafficking cases still find a theatre in California, Texas, Florida, Ohio, and in New York and Alaska as shown on the map above. it is noticed here that the coastal states are involved in trafficking cases which means that migration and trade factors played a big role in this issue as well as border shortage of surveillance.

#### 10.6. Rape and Sexual Violence.

"Nearly one in five women in America has been a victim of rape or attempted rape,"<sup>89</sup> President Obama said. Rape is considered a big threat to the American community and this kind of violence against women is increased in areas of different race and different ethnicities. In the Department of Justice report of 2006, 17.7 million women were exposed to rape during their lives. This number indicates that the law gap is available wherever find women's rape victims in a different type of conditions. Some cases happened because of the environment where women live, other cases were due to ethnic and race situations based on gender inside the same ethnic group, so a necessary investigation is recommended to do surveys and studies about the crimes against women taking into their considerations the differences of environments in which are happening many cases within races and ethnic groups based on gender conditions in the United States of America.

Table 16: Women and Men Victimized in their Lifetime (in percent)

<b>Category of violence</b>	<b>Every 8000 Women</b>	<b>Every 8000 Men</b>
<b>Rape</b>	17.6	3.0
<b>Physical assault</b>	51.9	66.4
<b>Stalking</b>	8.1	2.2

*Source: Reno, J. & Leary, M. Lou, Full Report of the Prevalence, Incidence and consequences of violence against women, national violence against women survey p14, exhibit 3.*

<sup>89</sup> Jacobson 2015, "Barack Obama Says 20 percents of women in the U.S. have been raped or faced raped attempt", Politifact, available at <http://www.politifact.com/truth-o-meter/statements/2015/feb/16/barack-obama/barack-obama-says-nearly-1-5-women-us-has-been-rap/> access [August 11, 2016]

Women and girls inside colleges and universities are experienced sexual assaults, on the other hand, universities and colleges don't report this kind of crimes against women, but the Violence Against Women Act imposes on universities to report any kind of violence. Also bullying in the universities and colleges is difficult to be reported because of the lack of trained people to enforce the law against perpetrators of these crimes.

On 10 of June 2016, *Daniele Paquette* wrote in the editorial of opinions sections that there are “five myths about rape”, the writer mentioned in first place the sexual harassment in colleges campuses and victims are women in addition to that it was mentioned that men cannot rape their wives which make a controversial problem about rape . The thirds problem of rape was about reviving older cases of rape and the fourth problem was reporting sexual assault may contribute to revealing the large proportion of women as victims of rape, which in turn, incited President Obama and another member of the Congress to support centers to report about rape cases. Reporting created training on how to solve problems and encourage survivors in the American community.<sup>90</sup>

The white house council on women and girls issued in November, 2014, mentioned the violence by partner against women during their life still 51.7% for black women, 29.7% for Hispanic women, 27.7% for American Indian native Alaska women, 15.3% for Asian American and Pacific Islander women and the latter AAPI and native women have the fewer rates of violence by partner so this indicates that progress differs from part to part in the United States. Nevertheless, it is not a matter of gender gap and differences, there is a lack of geographical coordination between north and south and all Administrations might not have the plan to reduce gender gap related to the geopolitical domestic policy.

To protect women, studies and surveys in different fields related to women are needed as well as reports have been done by UN and other credited organizations. Violence against women obliged them to stay at home without work and violence consequences

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<sup>90</sup>Daniele Paquette June 10, 2016 “*Five myths about rape*” available at [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/five-myths-about-rape/2016/06/10/668e0fb4-2e7c-11e6-9de3-6e6e7a14000c\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.3e64bd933e4b](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/five-myths-about-rape/2016/06/10/668e0fb4-2e7c-11e6-9de3-6e6e7a14000c_story.html?utm_term=.3e64bd933e4b) access[August 11,2016]

threatens their families. In addition to that, US government spends a great deal of money on violence cases and its consequences.

Rapid response to violence against women by implementing international human rights and permitting researchers to report about women's issues are considered the great part of the solution. Supporting and funding women organizations to enter the victim's community may create long-pragmatic approaches to protect women in public and private places. For example, implementing CEDAW convention is considered one of the international efforts to end the violence in the global arena( refer to *Document 19* Appendix A).

## **11. DISCUSSION.**

11.1. The impacts of changing American Administrations' domestic policy on Women's representation inside the political system.

### ***Results:***

This thesis includes different kinds of methods to investigate the problem to find the impacts of changing American Administrations on gender and women's issues over the period 1970-2015. First, the thesis includes interviews with American citizens and professionals in history to search more data about the subject. Second, it includes also a questionnaire directed to American people to know their opinion about women's rights in the United States. The third method is gathering great data about the topic by studying various studies related to the problem of the thesis. By comparing all data by different methods, it would be beneficial to accomplish the objective of the research.

After studying how American Administrations handled women's issues during the period of the study, we found out that there was a slowness in solving women's issues under the American Administrations during 1970-2015, and the main impact on this issues was the way and the domestic policy that American Administrations adopted towards women issues. The results of all methods prove that Democratic Party handled women's issues better than Republican Party and some suspended women issues were the representation in the political system, the retreatment of women in education and health problems, women in the workforce and the violence against women. Since 1970 women suffered in different fields to do their case. The thesis's data with its methods found out that women's issues were fragmented in the period 1970-2015 between Presidencies. In addition, solving problems fluctuated from term of presidency to its successor, on the meantime; presidents during their terms over the period of study (1970-2015) didn't focus on the status of women within the historical causes of the problem that delaying the solution for women's issues.

The information resulted from the data gathered, said that women's issues were impacted and fragmented between discontinued American Administrations' programs because of the transition of power between Parties' different domestic policies that impacted women's representation, women's education, women's opportunity jobs and the protection of women against violence.

Studying gender in the United States enhances readers to understand the policy of the government implemented at all levels of governance circle, starting with the United States presidency and ending in local base of women and men, from leadership to the family center. Any policy in general, supposed to understand all branches' functions as well as knowing that U.S's president's Administration ought to have a domestic policy and external policy plan which is considered the biggest circle in the United States and definitely it leads to ensure the national security of the country. The equality is a balance between humans regardless their sex, race identity. However, to achieve our goals in gender equality, it is needed to draw a map to keep up with our project step by step in order to define the problem and then search about logical indications in a good technical methods passing through government's data about women and analyzing the government's policy to search about solutions and present recommendations. This roadmap will not be effective if we study single issue related to women and propose it alone to the Congress. To avoid the fragmentation of women's issues within the American laws, we need a comprehensive theory that could generalize women's issues in the first women's right proposal to widen the circle of solutions.

Fragmentation comes to be against women's integration in all field of life like high education and political positions. The ERA would be considered fully integrated law if it passed through the Congress, but dealing with separated women's issues contributed to the fragmentation of women's issues over the period (1970-2015).

Facing challenges of social issues required understanding the structure of American demography and its population, on the other hand, socializing females and males inside the family by orienting them about their role is considered very significant gender "schema" to avoid the multiplication of responsibility for both females and males.<sup>91</sup>

The production of community division came from the separation duties between women and men in which men were connected with the public values and women with home duties. Separation such this divided the work into two types: "real work" and not "real work"(Bourne & Calas 2013,p426), unfortunately, women took the latter without

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<sup>91</sup> A schema is a cognitive structure, and it is a production of the information and what is perceived individually from the incoming information. Sandra Lipsitz Ben, 1981. "Gender Schema Theory: A Cognitive Account of Sex Typing", Cornell University. pp355.

wages. Conception like that forced a great proportion of women to introduce concession to stay at home.

In the United States of America, there are 50 states and the lack of coordination between states and the federal governments over women's issues creates a gap in implementing laws related to women. In the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the constitution (Authenticated U.S. Constitutional Information, 2004) (refer to *Document 2* Appendix A), women ought to have the rights to have positions in politics that lead to equal representation in Congress in elected offices inside states. Also, they should have the opportunity to be in the top of the hierarchical system in companies as managers or directors regardless of their family's responsibility and their marital status. Not to apply the provisions in the Constitution and in constitutional Amendments made this research study the performance of American Administrations over the period (1970-2015) toward women's issues based on constitutional provisions and that enabled us to find out the differences in domestic policy between Administrations.

*Women & Politics Institute, Washington DC Jan 2012*, published a study under the title "*Men Rule, the continued under-representation of women in the U.S. politics*" (Lawless and Fox, 2012) explained how women candidate in the past years illustrated the perception of impartiality during the electoral campaign and how women's were dealing with issues without taking risks, and preferring calm environment, which means, they should reconsider these many "factors" in the new election.

But those factors are describing the women's characters rather than the plan projected for them. At the same time, it could enhance women by the necessary plan that could be introduced for them in the field of gender equality. "Women's political interests appear to be more sporadic than those of men"<sup>92</sup> because of the cycle between work and family, so if we arrange that cycle in a good plan it may work and it may balance the community's duties.

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<sup>92</sup> Women and Politics in the United States and Canada by Rosamonde Ramsay Boyd "Women around the World" *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 375, (Jan., 1968), pp. 52-57 Published by: *Sage Publications, Inc.* in association with the American Academy of Political and available at <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1037887> Accessed: 20-03-2017 14:24 UTC .

Politics for women must become equality goal rather than finding a solution for women's problem because "Women usually enter politics because they want to solve a problem, because they see a policy issue they want to address, according to Debbie Walsh, director of the Center for American Women and Politics at Rutgers University"<sup>93</sup> In the last decades, progress has been achieved to improve women's situation in education, family life, health, and employment. The American government became aware that, if the status of women improved, it can help their communities to be better off.

In this thesis, it has been searched for reasons behind the decline of women's rights, and it was found out that, several factors contributed to the fluctuation of women's representation in the US Congress. From these reasons, the inability of women to control the means of communication in the press and media as well as the inability to promote their electoral campaign due to financial reasons. In addition, the absolute support of the major companies in the United States is addressed to favor of men. This thesis searched in all possibilities to pinpoint the factors behind women's underrepresentation in politics as well as it studied three fields: educational field, violence against women, women in the workforce.

Presidential term and the transition of Power over the period (1970-2015) represents the period of the presidency in particular, and it appeared in all studies inside studies as Administration policy or president's domestic policy. This thesis initiated a critical intellectual thinking to start dialogue about the impact of changing Administrations or the transition of power on women's issues in the U.S. By choosing a manuscripts and articles written by respected previous researcher, this thesis enhances the researcher community to have very deep insights about women's issues and essential needs of equality in the U.S. No one can negate the ability of previous researchers to have results about separate women's issues like abortion, health care and some laws cases thus, this research takes their researches into its consideration in order to complete full insight into women's issues during the contemporary history of the U.S over the period 1970-2015. It has been a kind of suspended accumulative women's issues in different stages

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<sup>93</sup> *CNN NEWS Nov 5, 2014*, "100 women in Congress is not enough" available at <http://edition.cnn.com/2014/11/05/opinion/ghitis-women-in-congress/> [access Mar 20, 2017]

of political governance in the U.S. In addition to that, some laws had already passed by the American Congress; it took a long time to be activated for the interests of women.

The reason for studying presidential terms and its task, is the role that it plays in managing the affairs of citizens within the domestic policy, whether any term lasted for four years or eight years, as well as, the effect of each presidential term has to contribute to the creation of a bureaucratic entity that adversely affects the executable plans, especially regard to women's rights. For example, President George H.W. Bush was in a sequence bureaucratic positions extended from the term of President Ronald Reagan as a Vice President for two terms in presidency and one term as a president, thus he actually stayed approximately 12 years in the US presidency, that allowed him to implement his domestic political programs, and his foreign policy as well.<sup>94</sup> If we look at the electoral debates for 2016, we find that the Republicans' candidates are very proud of Reagan's policy, this reflects the continuity of both parties' ideologies and discontinued women's programs that couldn't be improved by the time.

Anyway, the concept of democracy in the theories of politicians is a win or loss of access to the means of governance, and not to win in the creation of the issues solution, in which the majority annihilate the minority not only by the electoral votes but also by future policies that force the minority to accept it, if we modify the definition of democracy to be the winners of the majority of votes and they have right to manage the affairs of state, but at the same time start to solve minorities outstanding and major problems in the subsequent agendas and build up directly new minority's committee to be the first agenda for the new president, sure such a solution may contribute to finding equal solution for all competitors affairs within the game of political democracy, and thus, it would reduce the influence of parties in the state's affair. The internal political balance requires achieving internal security and building up internal political harmony on domestic issues, including women's issues. Monopoly of power under the pretext of democracy for long period of time, without the participation of all Parties in finding solutions for internal matters, delaying progress in the outstanding issues, and I can say here, that waiting for Parties' agendas kills currently outstanding issues, then

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<sup>94</sup> Senate Historical office, March 13, 2008.P 8 ,table 6-1

democracy can be lost between the current competing Parties' agendas and between its successors' agendas.

However, by all of the significant meaning and definition of Presidential term , we could reevaluate the performance of every president's Administration since 1970 until 2015 and how they were handling women's issues because the president has a great influence on the foreign policy due to his knowledge about updated situations in world at a time the Congress has lack of information about some political situation(Canes-Wrone, Howell and Lewis, 2008) which affects also the domestic issues inside the United States of America. Dispersing Women's issues throughout the contemporary history of the United States makes the researcher looking for presidents' performance toward women's issues and how the internal policies of their Administrations handled women's problems. However, the best results for evaluating Administrations' performance are to pinpoint the rate of success in women's issues over the period 1970-2015.

#### Questionnaire and Interview Data Results.

The results generated about the four domains of study depended on the intersectional main literature review ,qualitative data, questionnaire, and the interviews. The researcher created the questionnaire about changing ruling parties within the American Administrations which already had affected other domains of study such as women's attainment in education, women in the workforce, and women's protection against violence. By comparing qualitative results with questionnaire's and interview' results, the transitive effects of a domestic policy of different American Administrations towards women's representation in politics definitely impacted other three factors because women were underrepresented in high positions.

#### Basic Data Analyzed.

Fields under this subject categorized under the main relevance to changing of domestic policy towards women's issues between American administrations Republicans and Democrats. The questions in the questionnaire asked if (1) changing of the ruling party

in the United States adversely affects the achievement of progress in women's rights (2) Political Parties participation in retreating women's role in the United States, (3) Women role outside the Political Parties, (4) introduction of women's issues through the law as a complete package ,(5) women's decisions by their own, (6) women's ability to practice pressure on Politicians, (7) women's goal in voting, (8) civil society organizations and women centers role, (9) women in high positions, (10) women capacity to manage high-ranking positions.

In the domain of women representations many interviewed persons gave their beliefs about changing administrations effects on women's issues. American associate professor at the University of Jordan Debbie Abuelghanam explains how the transition of power between Democrats and Republicans impacted the women's issues she says:

Women and their issues did not fare well under Presidents Nixon, Carter, Reagan, Bush Sr. It was not really until Bill Clinton's Administration that you began to see women's issues make it onto the political agenda, women elected and appointed to a variety of positions that had been impossible to reach before then. Things stagnated under Bush jr. and did well under President Obama.

### Interview Data

#### Interview 1

Professor Debbie Abuelghanam explains about women's issues in the United States:

There are a number of issues for women that are currently on the table. The first is the Lily Ledbetter Act, passed in 2009 by President Obama which addresses equal pay for women. Currently, women make 79 cents for every dollar that a man makes. It is a systemic problem that includes pay scale, benefits, insurance, etc. Ledbetter was a good start but it needs to be followed up.

Secondly, they are women's health care issues. Two come to mind. First is *Roe vs. Wade*, a U.S. Supreme Court case which gave women the right to choose to either have a safe abortion. This precedent has been wheedled away by many states over a long period of time. It now is in jeopardy of being overturned in a US Supreme Court Case called *Whole Women's Health vs. Hellerstedt* which will be argued before the Court on March 2<sup>nd</sup>. It could overturn *Roe vs. Wade*. The second is a group of cases filed under "freedom of religion" where women are being denied birth control due to religious preferences of their employers like *Zubik vs. Burwell*. This Presidential election cycle pits the GOP who does not favor these issues vs. either Hillary Clinton or Bernie Sanders both of whom supports these women's issues.

This has been complicated by the death of US Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia, someone on the Court that voted against these women's issues. Either President Obama or the incoming presidential nominee will appoint the next Supreme Court Justice, which could overturn the Conservative control of the Court. Prior to Scalia's death, there were 5 conservatives and 4 liberals on the court. This appointment could change the balance of power on the court for not only women's issues but many other issues as well.

A further issue is the Equal Rights Amendment, which died in 1982 because not enough states ratified it. Because of the trend against women's issues, there has been talking about resurrecting this amendment. But at this time I believe that it is just talking.

I believe that the Republican Party has played a role in the retreat of women's issues. The Democratic Party, in general, has supported women's issues far more. You can see under Reagan, Bush Sr., and Bush Jr. a retreat. That is why the current election is so important to women's issues.

Much of the work on women's issues has been done by the national women's organizations. Now with the number of women in the US Senate, 20, and in the House of Representatives, 84, there is some support for women's issues.

Therefore, I believe these issues need to travel on several tracks to be ratified. These would include the private sector, political sector, and civil society sector.

I don't believe given the current political environment that 1 law could be passed. First of all, there are a number of issues raised for women. Secondly, it would be difficult to get a positive response on one issue, let alone more than one.

Granted the piecemeal way things have been done has not gotten women what they need but one comprehensive piece of legislation would not currently pass either house of Congress. And here again, I believe it must travel on the political, private and civil society tracks.

Historically, it has been believed that men can act as representative of women's issues. What qualified them was that they had mothers, daughters, etc. so they would understand women's issues. However, women bring a wide range of skill sets that men cannot even begin to understand to the table. So the answer would be no.

Women politicians can be only one part of the answer. Of course, if a woman was elected as President in 2016, many women's issues would hopefully be placed on the political agenda. However, that is not a guarantee. Racism under President Obama was not effectively addressed.

Not only would it take elections, but the appointment of women at all levels of federal and state courts, women appointed to positions in the cabinet and alike, and more women placed as heads of major corporations, boards of directors and such.

It would also take women's organizations that operate in Civil Society, who do gather a lot of the issues, funds, research, advocacy etc. for women's issues.

Women and their issues did not fare well under Presidents Nixon, Carter, Reagan, Bush Sr. It was not really until Bill Clinton's Administration that you began to see women's issues make it onto the political agenda, women elected and

appointed to a variety of positions that had been impossible to reach before then. Things stagnated under Bush jr. and did well under President Obama.

If you mean fragmented due to changes in Presidential elections, Parties' issues, then maybe to some extent. The two greatest issues for women came during this time. The first was Roe vs. Wade which was a major triumph for women and her right to choose. And then the Equal Rights Amendment was our biggest loss during Ronald Reagan's Administration.

It is clear that many in the American population consider themselves to be neither Democrats nor Republicans, but Independents. Since there has never been any viable third party that has lasted for a period of time, I would say that at least 40% of the electorate operate without party affiliation. Most independents either lean toward one of the two parties. So yes, they can be an activist and not be party affiliated.

However, I believe that "women's issues" however one defines this can take in any number of issues and find support from publically elected individuals from both parties, from both men and women. However, women's answers to these issues will not just come from politicians, but civil society and the private sector as well. Each sector of the community will have to play a role if women's issues will be addressed any time in the near future.

I think that is only one part of the strategy necessary for achieving women's rights. There needs to be a political track for legislation, but we know that one cannot legislate change, look at the Voting Rights Acts. There must be a Civil Society component, which would be made up of women's organizations, women's PACS, etc that would help coalesce women around the issues, educate on women's issues, get women to run in political races, and act also as a lobby on behalf of women's issues. There is a further component, which is the private sector, where much of the discrimination against women occurs – in the workplace. There needs to be training so people are aware of the discrimination so that women are promoted to higher positions based on their merit, mentoring programs to bring

women into the business world. There is also an education component to this. First new generations need to be educated as to what has come before. The newer generations take for granted the hard-won fights of the past. Girls and women must be encouraged to go into the Math and sciences, etc. as well as educating young men to respect women, treat them as equals and pay them an equal wage.

## Interview 2

The director of CIEE Elena D. Corbett addressed that:

It doesn't a matter who will be the president, because America Has three branches in the political system and if Democrats, for example, control the presidency, Republicans will control some parts of the Congress upper house or lower house, women are outside the game because they don't have a lot of rights regardless who is the presidents whether he is a Democrat or a Republican. Congress can change the decision of the ruling party so the United States solve women's issues such as maternity leave, abortion, and equal pay for women and men consequently, law cannot achieve women progress, on the contrary, because of the bad record in these issues ,American women should go outside the parties affiliations' circle and call for their rights in public like what was happening in the advent of civil right movement and the three wave of feminism.! Law in the constitution protects women because all Americans are equal under its terms. The vote is not the only way to help women have their rights, in another meaning, if Hillary Clinton wins, it doesn't mean women will take maternity leave or paid leave as well as equal pay for women and men. Women organizations will achieve something if they are not tied to the interest of the government. Women reached a high position in the Congress because they are wealthy but large numbers of women are working in the service jobs and in the labor sectors, so white wealthy women can reach high positions with the support of her political party. Women can decide on behalf themselves if they are out of the parties' agenda. Every party has women's issues at the center of its platform but the party's agenda changes everything so it is necessary to women to be in grassroots organizations that are tied to labor forces to remind Americans of occupations of the Wall Street,

American women need to stand out of their jobs to support their sisters who don't have jobs. And because of the difference between the Federal law and local states' law, if a woman in California has a baby and her friend in Texas has a baby also, the rights of leave for both are. For sure, this will affect the success of women in their job because of the discontinuity in work. Abortion also is technically illegal in the United States but some cases in different states resulted in getting legal abortion and as for the south is completely different, there is inequality as a result of exploiting black and poor people.

### Interview 3

A girl from Texas tells about the change in power effects:

Changing the ruling Party impacts the women's issues because when they have the power they become lawmakers and they can do that change and it depends on the political agendas. The retreatment of women in different fields it was because of these agendas and it really fluctuates from party to party. Civil right organizations it does help women and women of different color should be defined more. Men cannot decide on behalf of women but we need more people in a high position because one woman couldn't achieve progress alone. As for laws, it should be standard in all states to exploit programs introduced by the government. Women can manage themselves very well and they are justice capable and in some cases, women did better than men. President Obama did pretty good job towards women's issues.

#### Interview 4

A teacher from Texas When she was interviewed mentioned that changing American Administrations:

I don't think the two parties are much differentiated on women's rights in general. This year election is not to be considered normal. I believe that both parties treat women differently than men and that they both put women's rights and roles second to men's. however, women in the United States couldn't do better for their case outside Political Parties the two party system is too strong in the USA, a third party will almost always be inferior. The solution for women's issues in the United States must not be introduced through the law as a complete package because we could get laws passed individually or as part of other packages. Also, men shouldn't decide on behalf of women in the United States in any women's issue, the American men have already proved that they are ignorant of how a woman's body works and should not be solely in charge of making laws that involve women's bodies. Women must have intelligent female representation. Women find it difficult to practice pressure on Politicians to have their right without affiliation to any party in the United States; it would be quite difficult in the current system. The two major parties are too strong to allow third or fourth parties to gain much momentum. The vote is not the only way to achieve women's goal. Women could organize and constant representatives and congresspersons directly. Civil society organizations and women centers can help women to accomplish their goal because many women need help in the day to day and not just on the national political level. But the organizations would benefit from better laws.

And I am not sure that the work of women in high positions may help them solve their other problems in all fields I think woman should be a pioneer in all field, for example, CFO, it doesn't mean that she's got the rest of her life figured out , but I think it's no different for men. If you are super successful in one area often another part of your life suffers from lack of attention. Women can manage high-

ranking positions excellently in the United States because we have many highly intelligent women.

#### Interview 5

The director of CIEE in Palma de Mallorca discussed changing of power in the United States:

When the transition of power between parties happened some projects are blocked and discontinued because of different new projects and its priority, but we need ruling party to fix women's problems and other projects. And as for the decision making women and men can decide on behalf of each other if they don't have discriminations based on gender and Administrations don't depend on sex, it depends on the persons. So domestic policy depends on agendas of the political parties.

#### Interview 6

An American student from Iowa State, Providence College explains about changing Administrations in the United States:

I think that changing of the ruling Party in the United States adversely affects the achievement of progress in women's rights, But I don't believe that the Political Parties participated in retreating women's role in the United States. Women in the United States can do better for their case outside Political Parties. I believe that the solution for women's issues in the United States must be introduced through the law as a complete package. And as for decision making sometimes I believe that men can decide on behalf of women in the United States in any women's issues, and I think that women can practice pressure on Politicians to have their right without affiliation to any Party in the United States as well as the vote is

the only way to achieve women's goal. I think that civil society organizations and women centers can help women to accomplish their goal. The work of women in high positions may help them solve their other problems in all fields and I think that women can manage high-ranking positions excellently in the United States.

#### Interview 7

A Student from Oklahoma discussed the changing party role and its effects on women's issues:

I don't believe women's rights belong to a certain political Party. I believe women can do great things in political parties and outside of political parties also women can manage high-ranking positions excellently in the United States. But law package would be difficult to implement. Men cannot decide on behalf of women only a woman can completely understand a women's issue. Possibly, bringing together women that share a common goal can be advantageous to accomplishing the goal and as for civil rights organizations.

#### Interview 8

A Student from New York discussed the changing party role and its effects on women's issues:

Women should go out of political parties to achieve their goals and they should take advantage of all programs that the government introduced to them because they can manage work everywhere. Sure women retreating in education but they should struggle even they don't have the suitable job. Also women should not be cheated by the election campaign, absolutely the voting system is for men's control but women can do better if they decide that.

### Questionnaire Data

This thesis intended to do cross analysis to confirm the collected data about the topic so its questionnaire was distributed to 50 American citizens (females), and it was found out that women were interested in the subject more than men , women’s participation percent was 77.6% and men’s participation percent was 22.4% but it doesn’t a matter, because we are searching for women’s right and gender equity and women’s opportunity inside American community (Please see Appendix B which contains all questions that asked participants ).

Table 17: Changing Ruling Party Impacts on Women’s Issues.

Question	Yes	No
Q1	57.1%	42.9%
Q2	66.7%	33.3%
Q3	75%	25%
Q4	45.8%	54.2%
Q5	20.4%	79.6%
Q6	71.4%	28.6%
Q7	22.4%	77.6%
Q8	95.9%	4.1%
Q9	71.4%	28.6%
Q10	95.9%	4.1%

*Source : questionnaire results prepared by the researcher( see interview’s questions in Appendix B) .*

57.1% participants in the questionnaire think that changing of the ruling Party in the United States adversely affects the achievement of progress in women's rights, and 66.7% believe that the Political Parties participated in retreating women’s role in the United States. Also, 75% of them think that women in the United States can do better for their case outside Political Parties but 45.8% participants believe that the solution for women`s issues in the United States must be introduced through the law as a complete package.

79.6% of the participants believe that men cannot decide on behalf of women in the United States in any women's issue. 71.4% think that women can practice pressure on Politicians to have their right without affiliation to any party in the United States and 77.6% think that the vote is not the only way to achieve women's goal because 95.9% of participants think that civil society organizations and women centers can help women to accomplish their goal. 71.4% of participants think that the work of women in high positions may help them solve their other problems in all fields and 95.9% of them think that women can manage high-ranking positions excellently in the United States.

Women's issues were impacted by the change of power in the United States. The change in the domestic policy towards women based on gender resulted from different roots: how presidents handled women's issues depending on the Party's agenda, the effects of American culture and identity, American demographic distribution, unimplemented programs by the government and unexploited programs by women, imbalanced relation between work and family's responsibility, lack of security and protection against violence, and retreatment in STEM education which led to lack of representation in high positions. Fewer opportunities led to health problems and they became less capable to pay for health care. The last origin root of the problem is dealing with women's problems separately and sporadically by many American Administrations.

I tried to measure the rate of Parties' success to pinpoint the average of success (average of percentage numbers of occupations and jobs) during all United States Presidents' Administrations of the study period (1970-2015). In such way, we can know the average of progress in every term, and this can be evaluated by using qualitative method to avoid skepticism about domestic policy that had been adopted by presidents during the last four decades. Nevertheless, to judge over the handling problems, it is necessary to illuminate the road towards the future progress of women by studying domestic policy towards women's issues.

In retrospect, women's organization were the only part of American community who were interested in women's issues, apart from that, United States government and Congress started to write reports concerns women's issues and declare it to the public. The library of Congress is a very important resource to have numbers about the rate of

success in this field. The availability of some women inside the political system ensured that information is available in public as well as presidents' tendency is announcing it. By all available resources from the government, Representatives of the House and the Senates, we can bring about the real situation of women comparing it with articles that had been written about our topics. Finally, delaying women's issues to be proposed as bills in the Congress during many decades didn't give women at least course of actions to chose the better solution to accomplish their rights.

After studying the history of women's representation in politics, it made clear that women ought to choose the way for going to high position and this depends on the Political Party that they had chosen. In addition to that, developing their career is very important to come close to decision making process in order to shift from family environment to the high work role within the political elite. However, if women took over high positions, they would be a model for investing women's goal for new women generations. Women ambition is a significant factor and if they "act upon their political ambitions can become role models for other women and simultaneously help build a homo-social structure for women which parallels that of men"<sup>95</sup>

In the election of 1972 during President Nixon's Administration, Republican Party decided to recruit more women because they realized the importance of women's votes. Barbara Franklin was trying to do her job to accomplish this goal by recruiting many women in the high ranking positions to attract women's votes within the Republican Party. Later on, Barbara Franklin became the secretary of Commerce under the presidency of the George H.W. Bush and that coincided with her work in the Women's Liberation Movement. Then she realized that women don't have power and positions in politics and she described women in the government as an "establishment women" to pave the road for new women in the government especially in politics. The founder of the National Organization for Women, Betty Friedan, mentioned that "President Nixon has done nothing on women's rights and responsibilities"<sup>96</sup> (refer to *Document 9*, Appendix A).

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<sup>95</sup> Sara Slavin Schramm.1981., "Women and Representation: Self-Government and Role Change". p58,it was published by the University of Utah on behalf of the Western Political Quarterly Vol.34.No.1, ) pp46-59Special Issue on Women and Politics ,available at <http://www.jstor.org/stable/447889>[16-03-2017 13:40 UTC]

<sup>96</sup> Emma Green .2013. How the Nixon Administration Tried to Woo Women. *The Atlantic* Aug 22.[ Access Mar 16, 2017]. Betty Friedan after the speech of Barbara Franklin, Understands the message how

After 1982, Congress tried to enact laws to achieve equality between women and men. Women reduced the gap of wage by their hardworking over the period of (1970-2015) but women still need more support to reduce the gap that could face them in the future depending on a job opportunity. The Equal Pay Act of 1963, gives women the right to work but it doesn't guarantee the kind of work that they have.

The number of women in the United States is more than the number of men, but men still taking the highest positions in the government. In education, women achieved a very good progress and after 1979 number of women with a college degree exceeded the number of men because Title IX gives women the right to be equal with men. Finally, the most important progress with equality based on gender is the right of women to go to work outside the family, but at the same time, they were exposed to the pressure of work as well as the pressure of the family care. "Given the research and real-world experience on what impacts the representation of women"<sup>97</sup> is very beneficial especially whenever it comes to talk about women's organizations and Academic research studies that may enhance women about their situations and the government about women's issues as well.

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would women work in order to improve the women's representation in politics and to exceed the traditional positions.

<sup>97</sup> *The Nation newspaper Mar 7, 2014*, by Steven Hill "Why does the united states still have so few women in office ?at the current rate of progress, it will take nearly 500 years for women to reach fair representation in government". available at <https://www.thenation.com/article/why-does-us-still-have-so-few-women-office/> [Access Mar 20, 2017]

Table 18: List of Women who ran for Presidency over 1970-2015

Presidential Candidate Name	Election Year
Patsy Takemoto Mink,( Democrat)	1972
Shirley Chisholm,( Democrat)	1972
Ellen McCormack,( Democrat)	1976 and 1980
Sonia Johnson, (US citizens Party)	1984
Patricia Schroeder, ( Democrat)	1988
Lenora Fulani, (Independence Party of New York)	1988 and 1992
Elizabeth Dole, (Republican)	2000
Carol Moseley –Braun, ( Democrat)	2004
Michele Bachmann, (Republican)	2012

Source: Cassie Werber .2016. *QUARTZ Magazine March 31, 2016*

After having a good experience with many Presidential Administrations, Barbara “Franklin performed a multifaceted role: recruiting women, stationing them in available positions and overseeing departmental initiatives on women’s advancement. To accomplish these goals, Franklin generated a bipartisan talent bank of qualified women her office could consult when presented with a vacant position”( Buzan 2015) to push forward women’s goal to have their rights in politics and to empower them as a collective plan and she suggested to do all efforts to help women get high positions.

During the period of study 1970-2015, many women ran for the presidency but they couldn’t achieve their goals in spite of serving as senates and representatives Table 18 includes their names.<sup>98</sup>

This thesis avoided to fragment women’s issues and it intends here to evaluate the presidents handling women’s issues and because it is built on a collective idea in order to find a comprehensive solution for women, this thesis took the progress in solving

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<sup>98</sup> Cassie Werber .2016. “All the women who have run for the US president –starting before they could even vote”. *QUARTZ Magazine March 31,2016* [Mar 16,2016]. Those names included all women but for the purpose of the study the thesis included the names from 1970 until 2015.

success rate performed by all Administrations in every term of presidency. Studying the contemporary history of women's representation guides us to test and improve the hypothesis of this research depends on the summary of policies adopted by different Administrations over the period (1970-2015), Table 19 shows the number of women's representation inside American Congress.

Obama 2<sup>nd</sup> Administration is considered the year of victory for women because their numbers in the Congress increased as shown in Table 19 "the 2012 election was the year of the woman"<sup>99</sup> More than two centuries after founding of the American nation, America has advanced in scientific, economic and military leadership in the world, but the status of American women are still modest compared with its counterpart in some other countries. In the United States, the percentage of women in Congress, only 108 out of 538 members. The American women have not yet succeeded in entering the White House as president of the United States.

The inequality of jobs distribution in the political occupation positions does barriers between the family and the political power, also the representation of women in many positions has taken a matter of statistics rather than a subsequent influential model in practicing a big role for women's future positions and authority. Therefore, if they surge their number in the political positions by helping each other, they will achieve more women's goals. A goal that could be great for women is to become the majority in the in the election process by organizing themselves on one goal. So to have women represented in the political power we need to evaluate gender differences gap between women and men in the personal life ;we need to let the woman have the role of managing themselves in the process of election; divide responsibilities inside the domestic life ; find a mechanism to have the same goal even if they are from different Parties .The equal number of women in both Parties (Republicans and Democrats) will not create a role for women in the political system because every woman will go for her party's agenda.

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<sup>99</sup> *CNN Nov 8, 2012*, "How women ruled 2012 election and where the GOP went wrong" by Halimah Abdullah. Available at <http://edition.cnn.com/2012/11/08/politics/women-election/> [Access Mar 20, 2017]

Table 19 : Women’s representation in Congress over the period of study (1970-2015)

Congress Year	Total number of women	Representatives	Senates
1971-1973	15 (Republicans Term)	13	2
1973-1975	16 (Republicans Term)	16	0
1975-1977	19 (Republicans Term)	19	0
1977-1979	20 (Democratic Term)	18	1
1979-1981	17(Democratic Term)	16	1
1981-1983	23(Republicans Term)	21	2
1983-1985	24(Republicans Term)	22	2
1985-1987	25(Republicans Term)	23	2
1987-1989	25(Republicans Term)	23	2
1989-1991	31(Republicans Term)	29	2
1991-1993	33(Republicans Term)	30	3
1993-1995	55(Democratic Term)	48	7
1995-1997	59(Democratic Term)	50	9
1997-1999	65(Democratic Term)	56	9
1999--2001	67(Republicans Term)	58	9
2001-2003	75(Republicans Term)	62	13
2003-2005	77(Republicans Term)	63	14
2005-2007	85(Republicans Term)	71	14
2007-2009	91(Republicans Term)	75	16
2009-2010	85(Democratic Term)	71	14
2011-2012	96(Democratic Term)	79	17
2013-2014	102(Democratic Term)	84	20
2014-2015	108(Democratic Term)	88	20

*Source: Congressional Research Service “ Women in Congress :Historical Overview,Tables, and Discussion”,Apr 29,2015 Table CRS-97,pp1-100, also other numbers collected from CRS Report for Congress “ women in the United States Congress : 1917-2008, Jul 23,2008 p5.*

CAWP Center mentioned that The proportion of women in Congress from 1789 until 2015 represented only 2%, it means that the total number of women during approximately 226 years is only 292 women, and at the same long historical period, men's total number is 11,808. By the way, in 2015, women who serve in the House of Representative were 84 women and they represent 19.3% of the representatives and women who served in the Senate were 20 and they represent 20% of the Senates and here are women's names in the Senate :

Kelly Ayotte , Tammy Baldwin, Barbara Boxer, Maria Cantwell, Shelley Moore Capito, Susan Collins, Joni Ernst, Dianne Feinstein, Deb Fischer, Kirsten E. Gillibrand, Heidi Heitkamp, Mazie Hirono, Amy Klobuchar, Claire McCaskill, Barbara Mikulski, Lisa Murkowski, Patty Murray, Jeanne Shaheen, Debbie Stabenow, and Elizabeth Warren.<sup>100</sup>

The change in women's representation between 1973 and 1988 is considered a small progress during this long period of time, because after 15 years in 1988, number of women in the House of Representatives were shifted from 16 to 23 women and "That barely qualifies as progress, let alone the "momentum" of the title of this breezy, upbeat account of the current status of women in American political life"<sup>101</sup>. Until the year 1986 "Nationally, women hold 1,100 of the 7,461 seats in the 50 state legislatures, representing 14.7 percent of all legislators; in New Jersey, 10 percent of the lawmakers are women"<sup>102</sup> so women's representation is very modest compared with the percent of men in all offices. Table 20, p134, explains women governors' names . However, women's efforts to go in the right way , it may come by exploiting all government's programs and adopting a model role in the politics.

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<sup>100</sup> CAWP, *Center for American Women and Politics, 2015* Available at

<http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/women-us-congress-2015> [Access Mar 24, 2015]

<sup>101</sup> *The New York Times* Jul 3, 1988, by Lind Greenhouse "In Short : Notification"

<sup>102</sup> *The New York Times* Mar 9, 1986 by Robert E. Tomasson "Women in Government : State Found To Lag"

Table 20: List of women governors over the period (1975-2015).

1975	Ella Grasso
1977	Dixy Lee Ray
1982	Vesta Roy
1984	Martha Layne Collins
1985	Madeleine Kunin
1987	Kay Orr
1988	Rose Mofford
1991	1). Joan Finney. 2). Ann Richards. 3). Barbara Robert
1992	Christine Todd Whitman
1997	1). Jean Shaheen. 2). Jane Dee Hull.
1998	Nancy Hollister
2001	1).Jan Swift.2). Judy Martz.3). Ruth Ann Minner.
2003	1).Jennifer M.Granholm.2)..Linda Lingle. 3). Janet Napolitano.4). Katheleen Sebelius.
2004	1).Katheleen Blanco.2). M. Jodi Rell.
2005	Christine Gregoire
2007	Sara Palin
2009	1).Jan Brewer. 2).Beverley Perdue.
2011	1).Suzana Martinez.2). Mary Fallin.3. Nikki Haley.
2013	Maggie Hassan
2015	Gina Raimondo

Source: Suzan J. Carroll “Women in State government : Past, Present, Future Table A ,p344 and also governors names over the period information taken from New England Institute of Technology “ Women governors through the U.S. History .

This kind of evaluation may enable readers to enhance women with information in order to be aware of their goals in the future to decide and work from inside the civil and social community. And that could enable them to understand the way that they should have done from the very beginning and what should they do in future. To illustrate the performance of the two Parties let us see women's representations in the Congress and how women were underrepresented when the two Parties reign alternately (Table 21).

Table 21: Percentage of Women's Representation in Congress ( with delegates) related to the term.

<b>Term</b>	<b>Number of women at the beginning of the term</b>	<b>Number of women at the end of term</b>	<b>Percentage of women representation at the end of the term</b>
<b>R(1969-1974)</b>	11	16	2.9%
<b>D R(1975-1976)</b>	.....	19	3.5%
<b>D (1977-1980)</b>	12	18	3.3%
<b>R (1981-1988)</b>	23	26	4.8%
<b>R (1989-1992)</b>	31	34	6.3%
<b>D (1993-2000)</b>	55	67	12.4%
<b>R ( 2001-2008)</b>	76	95	17.6%
<b>D (2009-2016)</b>	96	108	20%
<b>Average of Success</b>	8.85%		

*Source: Administration, G.W.B., & Berry, M.F., 2004. Redefining Rights in America, the Civil Rights Record, (September), pp. 2001-2004.*

To explain numbers in Table 21, I took every percentage of every year during every term and arranged them as an average for political Administration's term to know the rate of success of political Parties in appointing women inside the Congress. Clearly, I found slowness process in solving women's issues, putting in mind, the time that had been taken to achieve these small averages related to the term of presidency. In addition, I calculated the average of success for four decades to know the smallest progress

volume happened since 1970.<sup>103</sup> Woman Representation percentage Average over the period (170-2015) is 8.85% and this percentage indicates that women's issues were fragmented by different discontinued programs and agendas. The volume of progress in terms of presidency approximately does not exceed 6.1 %. Nevertheless, clear slowness process in domestic policy appeared in table 21.

analyzing the impact of the political Parties' agendas on women's representation in the United States Parliament over the period 1970-2015 is very important, as well as studying the effectiveness of each Party's policy (Democrats & Republicans) towards women's participation in the Congress in each term of Presidency during the period of my study. By using impartiality in the analytical methods, it may show readers how we can make progress in the women solving issues in the political participation field. A statistical method for women's different cases is used to clarify women's representation in Congress.

In my point of view, I would like to introduce a package of all factors as well as numbers that can pave the road for women to solve their problems and to remove obstacles remained during the history ahead of them rather than individual cases and statistical numbers or figures about them. Certainly, women can improve their role in building the nation and their role in constructing the base of political representation inside the parliament to accomplish a collective progress in the field of gender equality even in high positions. All numbers appear in, Table 6 Annex B, brings up to ones' mind two themes, the first one is *local Representation Theme* which considered the basement of the second theme which is *federal Representation theme*. We note here that the appointments in the Parliament are steady increases by the local level. So the representation of women in Congress is built on a strong local basis and on the strong competition between women and men. Definitely, it is noticed a very small number in the elected offices as shown in the Table 6 Annex B.

American political system separated its three branches of power so Parties control these branches for example, if Democrats control the presidency, Republicans will control

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<sup>103</sup> The average of success is the average achieved by every president in his term and the total average of success is volume of progress achieved in all term ,Letter **R** represents Republican Party term , Letter **D** represents Democratic Party term.

some parts of the Congress upper house or lower house, in general women are outside the plan of the two Parties but Congress can change the decision of the ruling party so women's issues such as maternity leave, abortion, and equal pay for women and men are very difficult to be on the same president's agenda and few numbers of women in Congress couldn't support solve these problems . As a result to this complicated system, women should be affiliated to their own opinion within the civil organizations pertain to women's goals without saying we are women but by saying we are capable to lead and help all American citizens women and men to improve their impartiality principle towards men's issues as well. Political agenda of both parties Democrats and Republicans couldn't guarantee the maternity leave for women in the absence of approved law in this fields. Women who didn't participate in voting may have the ability to change the game. Women's Organizations coordination is necessary for producing women's public opinion.

In the *Wall Street Journal* ,Sheryl Sandberg ,Sept 27,2016 wrote an article under the title "*Women Are Leaning In-but they Face Pushback*" and she mentioned that women have less opportunity to enter to have good positions and men didn't inform women about what to do to have experienced, on the contrary , they change them with other males without saying the reasons and without giving them any training project to do the work as demanded from them . "So not surprisingly, women are almost three times as likely as men to think their gender will make it harder to get a raise, promotion or chance to get ahead."<sup>104</sup>

To have comprehensive solutions we obliged to know the meaning of citizenship, as well as it is necessary to know the meaning of everyone's rights starting with the family and finishing with the big community.Men's Political power has a connection with the family power which in this case could create a complex understanding of the women's power and given responsibility to do a different job.In the United States the powerful woman is affiliated to the wealthy environment, therefore, if a woman is affiliated with a Politician man , she would vote for him, but the opposite is impossible to happen in the United States elections.

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<sup>104</sup> *Wall Street Journal Sept 27, 2016* available at <https://www.wsj.com/articles/sheryl-sandberg-women-are-leaning-inbut-they-face-pushback-1474963980> [Mar 17,1017]

The inequality of jobs distribution in the political occupation positions does barriers between the family and the political power, also the representation of women in many positions has taken a matter of statistics rather than a subsequent influential model in practicing a big role for women's future positions and authority. Therefore, if they surge their number in the political positions by helping each other, they will achieve more women's goals. A goal that could be great for women is to become the majority in the in the election process by organizing themselves on one goal. So to have women represented in the political power we need to evaluate gender differences gap between women and men in the personal life ;we need to let the woman have the role of managing themselves in the process of election; divide responsibilities inside the domestic life ; find a mechanism to have the same goal even if they are from different Parties .The equal number of women in both Parties (Republicans and Democrats) will not create a role for women in the political system because every woman will go for her party's agenda.

11.2. The impacts of the domestic policy on Women's attainment in education.

***Results:***

In the education field, it was noticed that women had achieved progress till 1999, but when women found out that they could not accomplish representation in all aspects of the American community, they retreated in STEM education due to, first, the culture and stereotype factors which accompanied women wherever they go. Second, the lack of American Administrations' initiatives and the discontinued programs by the government in every term of presidency. Third, the failure of exploiting government's programs that related to women by both women and the Administration. Fourth, the lack of training on self-reliance theme among American women. Fifth, American demography based on gender distributions. Sixth, dealing with women's issues separately by some Administrations and avoiding to enact ERA that includes all rights for women . Seventh, women were underrepresented in high ranking positions. Actually, women were frustrated to seek high education whenever they felt that it was not suitable to achieve progress.

The thesis found out that underrepresented women in the political system participated in retreating women in STEM education because women felt that they are educated, but on the other side, they are not achieving high positions in the government, which in turn, affected the health system related to women in the United States because of the lower wage for women, and The latest information about women’s attainment in education in 2013 appears in Table 22:

Table 22: Percentage of Women’s Attainment in Education in 2013

<b>Number of Women</b>	<b>Less than a High School</b>	<b>High School</b>	<b>College or Equivalent Degree</b>	<b>Bachelor’s Degree and Higher</b>
160,536,555 out of 316,128,839	12.8%	27.3%	30.3%	29.7%

*Source: The Status of the women Full Report 2015 ,National Advisory Committee ,Table B4.4, p158, population numbers have been taken from the latest census of 2013 at available [www.statusofwomendata.org](http://www.statusofwomendata.org).*

It has been noticed that women achieved significant progress in bachelor degree graduates and higher but it is still a modest percentage compared with their numbers. Certainly, Education is considered the cornerstone in individuals’ life and it may build the quality of life and predict how it would be in the future, and therefore social equality on the basis of citizenship, without discrimination on the basis of gender, race is the primary factor to improve sharing and participating social life among members of the same society. Introducing good project plan for education may enable the decision makers in Federal System and in the state to understand the basic need of education and the lack of its necessities in this field.

Empowering women by education reduces gender gap differences between women and men within races and ethnicities and leads to gender equality. As for the United States, it does have different groups and different educational system inside states which made parity between these groups a difficult mission for the federal government. This kind of

educational mission could be translated into the local educational project to accomplish its targets by sustaining the project for long period of time and financing its process.

In another study Judith Warner Aug 4, 2015, wrote in *The Center for American Progress* article under the title “*The women’s Leadership Gap*” and this article mentioned the percents of women representation in the United States in a different field as following:

Table 23: Women leadership Gap, 2015

Women number of the U.S. populations	50.8
Undergraduate degrees	60
Master’s degrees	60
Law degrees	47
Medical degrees	48
Master’s degree in Business and management	38
MBA’s degrees	36
Specialized Master’s degrees	47
Labor Force	47
College-educated workforce	49

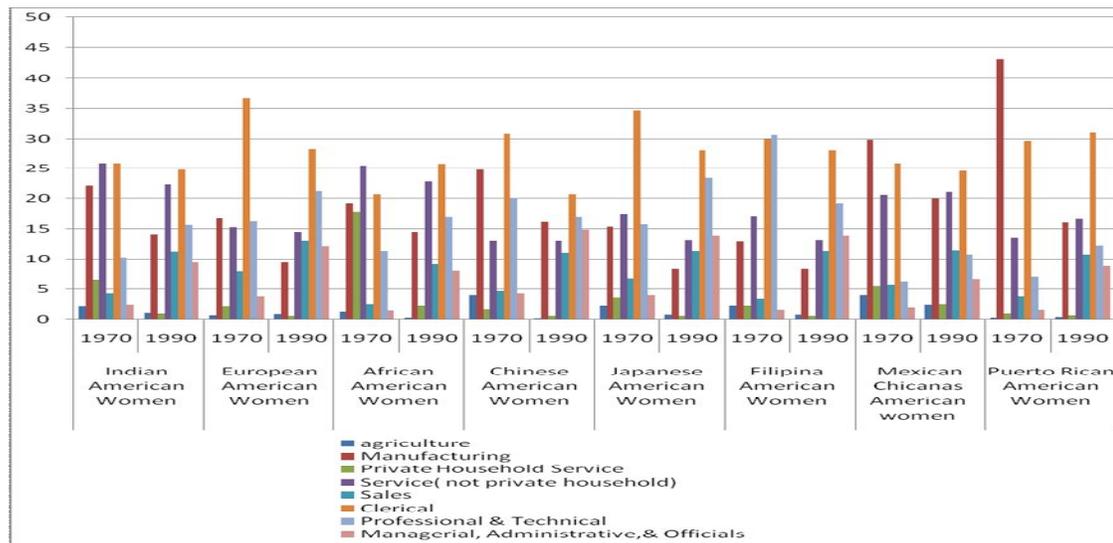
*Source: Numbers from The Center for American Progress Aug 4,2015.*

11.3. The impacts of the domestic policy on Women’s employment inside the American workforce.

**Results:**

The lack of the equal rights based on gender caused imbalanced relation between work and family and the lack of laws to protect women contributed in retreating women to achieve quality inside the workforce, therefore, it was difficult for women to keep good work while they were having family’s responsibilities and they could not travel to the high political positions .In America, there was different work for different color which came through all American Administrations since 1970. However, women in the seventies tried to choose lower-wage job and non-demanding job because they have more responsibility with the family but some studies said that there were other reasons behind that such as gender causes and cultural factors that contributed to reducing the number of managerial and professional jobs for women as well as the retreatment in the educational training projects.<sup>105</sup> However, the following graph distributed women of color for their preferred job:

Figure 4: Comparison between American Women Workers during the year 1970 & 1990.( In percent)



Source: Teresa Amott and Julie Matthaei (1996) ” Race, Gender , and Work : A Multicultural History of Women in the United States pp 48-278.

<sup>105</sup> Available at <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/20/upshot/as-women-take-over-a-male-dominated-field-the-pay-drops.html>,Access [August,6,2016]

“over the 1987-96 decade, women’s board seats increased from 270 to 602”<sup>106</sup> and if women keep their efforts to increase their numbers in high positions, they will empower their situations towards their goals. Searching in women’s struggle at work , enable us to discover the disparity in women’s issues. For instance, Woman in Vermont gains “ 85 cents” of each dollar man gains, but in Wyoming gains “64 cents”(Analysis, Women and Faring, 2013) and this comes from the limitations ahead women to entrance to all fields of work.

11.4. The impacts of the domestic policy on Women’s protection against violence.

**Results:**

Domestic violence is considered a big problem in the American community. Women were exposed to different kinds of violence. The first one, Domestic violence by partner or ex-husband. Second, stalking problem by work and family environment. Third, rape and sexual harassment inside public places are still controversial. Fourth, trafficking of women. And by the way, trafficking and stalking problems still do not have real statistics about cases happened in American society, and absolutely, it contributed in destroying women’s health and it escalates the community’s diseases.

The consequences of violence against women make the communities lose its stability and its security as well as it causes diseases to the women’s mental health. Spending money on victims’ health insurance and over programs to protect them also consider a big loss in the economy. Injuries that would happen because of domestic violence are affecting the liberty and the stability of the country. Knowledge about types of violence or crime, whether within the family or within work, certainly helps the government find the tactics against this violence.

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<sup>106</sup> Catherine M. Daily, S. Trevis Certo and Dan R. Dalton . 1999. “A Decade of Corporate Women: Some Progress in the Boardroom, None in the Executive Suite” p 96 ,*Strategic Management Journal*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (Jan., 1999), pp. 93-99 Published by Wiley ,available at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3094234> Accessed: 17-03-2017 16:52 UTC

Table 24: Percent of Girls Feeling Unsafe at High School a Cause of Dating, Bullying, and Verbal Harassment, in the United States, 2013.

Type of violence	Percent
Physical dating	13.0%
Bullying at school	23.7%
Verbal harassment	74.1%
Don't go to school one day because feeling unsafe	8.7%

Source: *The Status of the women Full Report 2015*, National Advisory Committee available at [www.statusofwomendata.org](http://www.statusofwomendata.org), Figure 7.4, figure 7.5, and figure 7.6, pp240-262.

Describing the acts of the perpetrator of the crime within the family is one of the difficult things because the violence it may come from the father or from the mother or from the partner regardless the sex of perpetrators. Certainly, if the government doesn't find a solution to the issues of domestic violence it will lead to the transmission of this crime to generation to come. So studies are very important to determine the percentages of domestic violence in the community Table 24 above shows percentage of different types of domestic violence.

In Table 24, as the cause of the sexual violence happens, women feel unsafe in the teen educational system ( high school) which participated in the depression among women who fear to be integrated into unsafe environment at school and at the workforce . The percent of girls who don't go to school due to the harassment reached 8.7% because bullying at school percents is 23.7% and the verbal harassment created a big gap between the acceptance to incorporate in school and stay at home. As a consequence of violence women who are subjected to physical abuse, sexual or emotional might be having depression diseases, and this violence leads the victims to have thoughts of suicide, a disorder of victim's life, as well as the willingness to use drugs and alcohol to escape from this kind of scene. Women who are victims of the sex relations imposed by force, they feel inferior. Also, children who see their mothers abused before their eyes, suffering from various psychological problems, as well as suffering from anxiety and other psychiatric disorders as well as the perception of inferiority before other children who are not exposed to these types of violence. In addition to that, they may have

organic problems, as well as. The problem is that children who grow up in homes with a common violence when they grow up, they may repeat this violence to their children.

By and large ,depending on McKinsey Global Institute results, gender across the states differs from region to another because this study has taken into its considerations 10 fields related to women starting from work, jobs, high positions held by women, work without wage, mortality of mothers, single mothers , high education, early pregnancy, political representations and violence against women in general.

The change in the domestic policy has a negative impact on several issues like Gender ,health, social issues, and work. This kind of change affects the American women because they are half of the community. The equality of rights in any country contributes to advance in many aspects of life .Country's stability and the individual's sense of comfort attract strategic investment from all over the world as a cause of justice, and in this sense, revising laws is a healthy process for a good governance.

Women's issues in the world are the focus of strategic researchers to accomplish justice between citizens in the U.S. The balance between all citizens is the duty of the government within the law in all aspects of life. Today, Women's issues in the world have become the interest of the academic conferences, studies, and they are the basis of many international organizations' interest. In the U.S, studies of women's organizations focus on all aspects of women's rights like education, women's security, and obviously, their interest in women's affairs has been both professional and qualitative.

Major institutions and human rights organizations managed to promote many of the rights that were absent during women's struggle in their community. Women's organizations have been founded to clarify the role of women and to establish their rights within legislative acts, to achieve their goal women took these encouragements into their considerations and maintain their assertion in order to play a great role in public life as well as promote their rights inside politics.

International human rights organizations have played a prominent role in monitoring women's affair through international agreements under the umbrella of the United Nations; many countries have signed such agreements. Women have the right to choose their religion and choose their own work. Women equal men and have the right to enter to all departments inside the States as well as serve in high political positions.

International organizations, conventions, and agencies deal with women's issues in order to activate women's rights in political, cultural, social and even educational life. It seems that international organizations are already interested in holding events every year to highlight the benefits of Women's liberation and freedom, however, the efforts of these organizations have led to important decisions through conferences, documents, and promises under the auspices of the United Nations like the Convention on Women and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women and the adoption of support for women's rights in family and work , in addition to that, the target of these organizations is to highlight women's liberation from dependence and exploitation to open wider horizons to choose their own life, education, marriage, work and other aspects of their personal lives.

Based on the resolution 34/180 of the General Assembly in the United Nations on December 18, 1979, about equality PART I , Article 1 intended to eliminate all forms of discriminations against women which is mentioned in CEDAW Convention that the United States until now didn't sign it .

The term "discrimination against women" shall mean "any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field."(Edwards, 2009) (See Document 19, AppendixA).

Gender equality increased between 1970 until 1980 because of the Civil Rights Movement and women started to work in different fields after getting college degree, and at the same time changing the power between Political Parties contributed in that attitude and "Indeed, the only major exception to the trend toward greater support for gender equality in the family between 1977 and 1985 was among college-graduate women, a group whose support for such equality was extremely high in 1977"<sup>107</sup> which is mentioned by Karen Oppenheim Mason and Yu-Hsia Lu Study 1988.

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<sup>107</sup> After the progress of education that women gained between 1970-1980, women tried to have their rights , a study for Karen Oppenheim Mason and Yu-Hsia Lu "Attitudes toward Women's Familial Roles: Changes in the United States, 1977-1985" *Gender and Society*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (Mar., 1988), pp. 39-57

In a study under the title “ *A paper ceiling: Explaining the persistent underrepresentation of women in the Printed news*” the authors analyzed gender names(masculine and feminine names) that mentioned in 13 American newspapers and they found out :

“An analysis of content in 13 major U.S. newspapers between 1983 and 2008 found that about 40 percent of all coverage went to 1 percent of the names. People who received thousands of mentions were almost only male” and when they analyzed 2000 English-Language news between 2004 and 2009 they found out the ratio is” 5:1”.<sup>108</sup>

The inequality gap between men and women in the United States affects women’s opportunity in the states. By the way, this made women in a weak situation to keep up with men in all fields. Many studies proved that single mothers with children are under the poverty line in the country. Generally speaking, wherever we have children with single mothers, we have poverty. The economic equality “has roots” in the government policy.<sup>109</sup>

The United States did not improve the women’s situations over the years, despite getting a high education in the United States and we still have poverty and “70%”<sup>110</sup> of the poor people are women and children. Clearly, women are underrepresented in a different field but we cannot negate the government’s efforts to avoid that during various American Administrations.

America is the land of plenty, not only of material resources but also of human resources. The percents of gender equality in Table 7 Annex B, give us an indication that if we go to the southern states that have different regions and ethnicities and colors which are distributed in many racial subgroups, surely, we will find more disparity scores of gender compared with the regions and states that have less concentrated with

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Published by: *Sage Publications*, Inc. available at <http://www.jstor.org/stable/190468> Accessed: 18-03-2017 19:17 UTC.

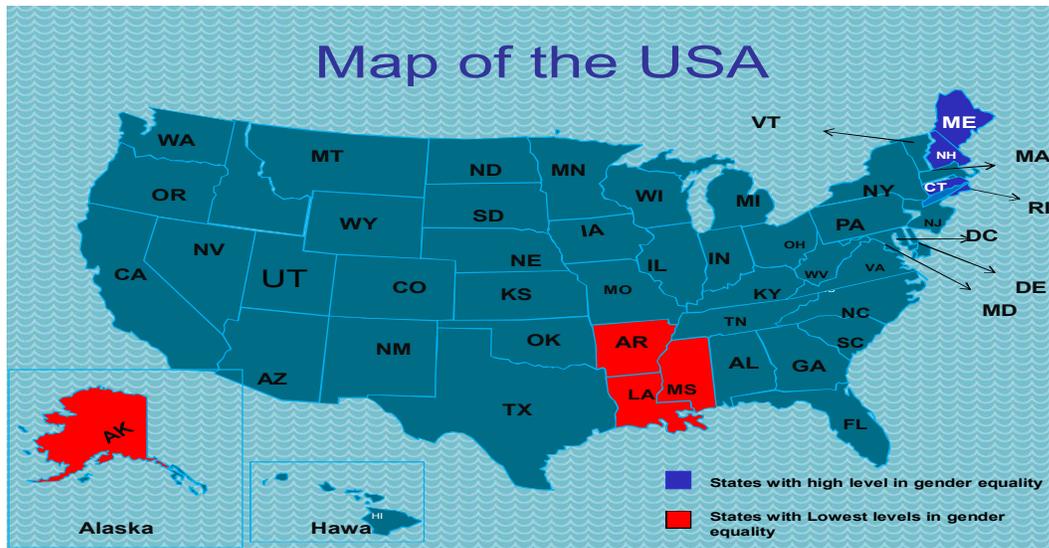
<sup>108</sup> *Journalist’s resources Jan 4, 2016*, by Denise-Mrie Ordway “are women underrepresented in news coverage?” <https://journalistsresource.org/studies/society/gender-society/women-gender-disparity-news-coverage> [Access Mar 21, 2017]

<sup>109</sup> *The new York Times Jun 21, 2016*, by Teresa Tritch under the title “ the United States of Inequality” available at <https://takingnote.blogs.nytimes.com/2016/06/21/the-united-states-of-inequality/> [Access 22 Mar ,2017]

<sup>110</sup> *El Pais Mar 8, 2017*, by Cristina F. Pereda “Ustados Unidos donde nacer mujer multiplica las probabilidades de vivir en la pobreza”

ethnic and different racial groups. In addition to that, lack of coordination among states in law enforcement and borders control give different results in gender equality.

Map 3: Gender Equality Map by State



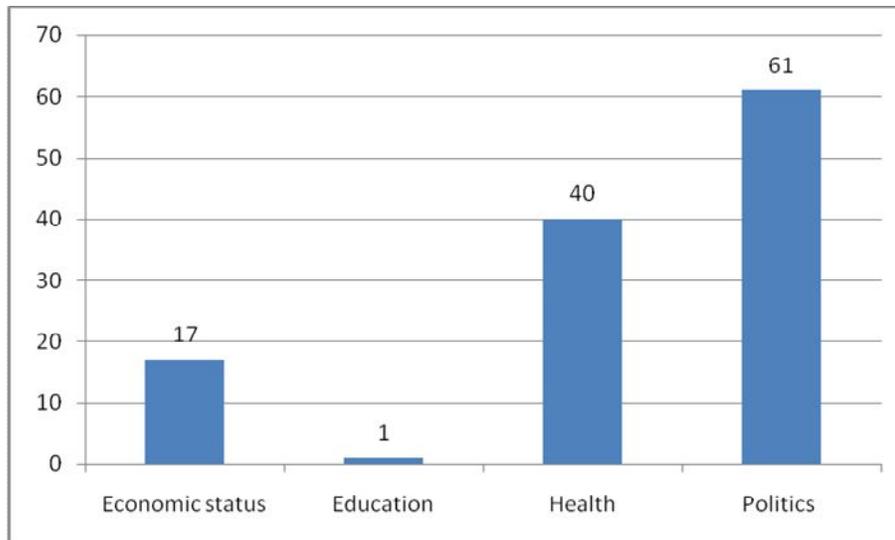
*Prepared by the researcher*

The highest level achieved in gender equality was in the state of Main which got 74% and the lowest level of gender equality was in Alaska which got 58% (as shown in Map3). Definitely ,as the study intended to search for the parity score of the states ,I concluded that from scored resulted in this study that some states coordinated with each other because they have connected borders and connected applications of the women’s program by the federal Acts related to women ,also it depends on the civil society organizations that have been authorized to support women as well as the fund that have was given to help the coordination between the security departments and judicial system women’s associations to implement their established programs recommended by Congress (refer to Table 7 , Annex B which contains all scores of gender inside states).

Gender parity between the 2009 and 2015 explains to us the impacts of changing ruling Parties’ agenda in regarding women’s issues. If we compare the progress of the start point of Obama’s presidency in 2009 and the year 2015, we will find that he has achieved a great progress in reducing gender gap in the United States because he has

two terms that applied his plan continuously, because in 2009 The United States got the rank 31 among 134 countries and he reduced that number to be 28 in 2015.

Figure 5: United States' Gender Rank Among 134 Countries in 2009/Obama's 1<sup>st</sup> term.

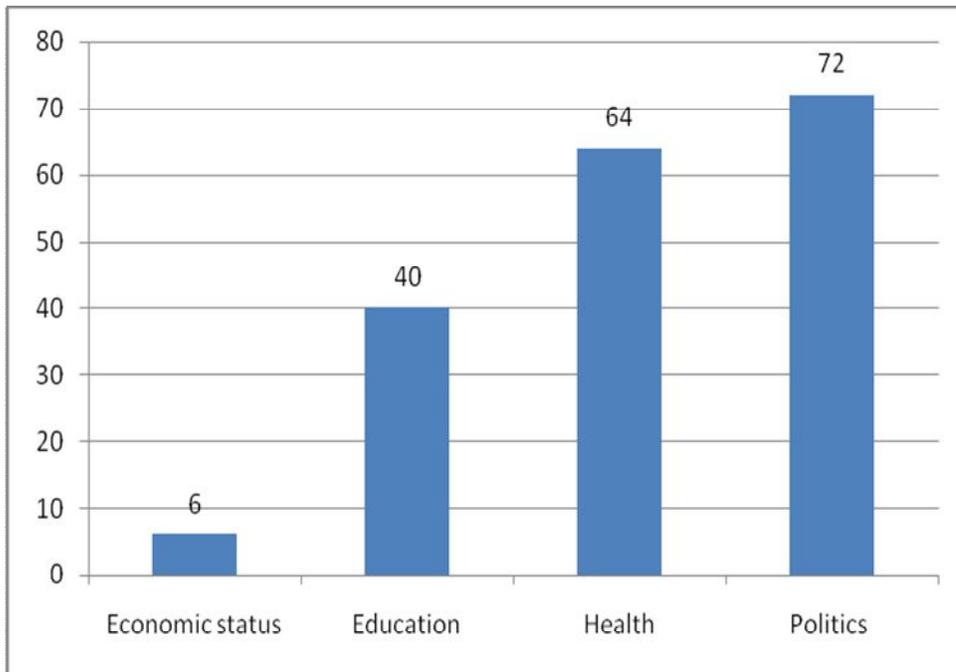


Source: *The Global Gender Gap 2015*, World Economic Forum, index over the years ,p357

As shown in Figure 5, Obama's Administration reduced the gap in three different fields like education, health, and political empowerment for women in leadership position. These Results enhance our hypothesis in proving gender issues between terms of presidencies due to changing two Parties' agenda and the domestic policy of different Administration.

According to the both figures 5 and 6 economic situations stayed fluctuating between 6% and 17% but the representation of women in politics shifted to 61% to 72% in the second term of Obama's Administration which considered very important significance that women still struggle to find good opportunity and jobs despite the high professional degree that they have gotten after the year of 2000.

Figure 6: United States' Gender Rank among 145 Countries in 2015 Obama's 2<sup>nd</sup> Term



Source: *The Global Gender Gap 2015*, World Economic Forum, Gender Gap Index .p356

Women's qualifications didn't enable them to have a good job and after getting the high professional degree they found themselves under work and employer conditions. So trained women for full-time work couldn't continue with this kind of work for a long time due to the conditions of women's health and the employer's requirements. It is supposed that humans are equal when they have the same qualifications regardless their sex whether they are women or men, but gender gap differences still hit the American society because women lately accomplished higher professional degree but they returned to small jobs and part-time job due to the discrimination conditions inside work. However, the problem is not about how to choose the job but about gender production inside the work which was adopted by public and private sector. Avoiding women to be in leadership positions participated in delaying the solutions for women's issues.

Each state has its own disparity regarding women's issues. Disparities appear in the high leadership positions, for instance, "15 states have no female elected leaders in the House of Representatives or the Senate. Lastly, while less than 10 percent of women in Vermont, Wisconsin, Hawaii, and Massachusetts are uninsured, nearly 25 percent of women in Texas do not have health insurance"(Analysis, Women and Faring, 2013).

In this thesis, it is intended to evaluate the history of gender equality and inequality in the United States over the period (1970-2015). So by collecting and doing surveys about the role of the Political Parties' agendas over the period (1970-2015) and evaluating the performances of Presidents, we can pinpoint the results and good information about the contemporary history of women's struggle to achieve their goals in order to let women get benefits from that collective information.

11.5. Women's role towards their issues during the period of study.

***Results:***

Women played a changeable role in the U.S during the contemporary history. As women have obtained new jobs far from their families by working in industrial and management jobs. because women were less than the half of workers in 1969, until the year of 2015 women approximately are half of the workers in U.S. Women now are trying to be in leadership positions which explains women's record of high percentage in the House of representative and senate in 2012, so women achieved progress in many issues like health and protection. Over the last decade, the discrimination against was faced by a good insurance firms provided by the Affordable Care Act. In spite of progress gained by women, nevertheless, gender issues remained the factor and the obstacle in their way to gain equality, only 77 cents woman gains for each dollar a man gains. The gap is between women and men is widened especially for women of color even larger for women of color who made less than 77 cents for each dollar men makes. After 2012, women have been elected to public positions and offices but in a small percentage while they are half of the American population. Since they are less than 20 percent in Congress, they couldn't overcome all challenges related to work and family to decide on behalf of themselves on standard issues like job opportunity and health cases.

After investigating the previous studies and doing questionnaire about that, it appears that changing of the ruling party in the United States adversely affects the achievement of progress in women's rights over the period (1970-2015) due to the participation of the Political Parties in retreating women's role in the United States. The lack of representation in Congress and in politics made women during the history controlled by the affiliations to two Parties (Republican & Democrats), and as a result, they haven't

been doing well for their case and interests in the American community. Another result in the absence of women in Politics is the suspended bill of rights (ERA) during a long history that prevented women from achieving their rights by law. In addition to that, women were subjected to accept males' decisions over their rights. However, women can practice pressure on Politicians to have their right without affiliation to any party in the United States. The vote is not the only way to achieve women's goal as well as civil society organizations and women centers can help women to accomplish their goal.

The work of women in high positions may help them solve their other problems regarding the main domains of our study (representation, education, work, violence against women). And by the way, women can manage high-ranking positions excellently in the United States as women worked in different elected offices inside states.

## 11.6. Limitations of the study.

The limitations of this study were to distribute the questionnaire to a large proportion of American women ,so it is advised to extend the sample to reach many thousands of American women . In Addition ,researchers may have a great deal of data by traveling to every state in America and attending conferences to hear from women’s organization and academic commissions about gender and women’s issues in the United States of America.

If we took the data from all interviews and questionnaire we can build up our assessments to have excellent core idea about the track recommended for women to establish a new political platform. In regard to data collected from interviews, women and their issues did not fare well during four Administrations: under President Nixon, Carter, Reagan, Bush Sr. It was not really until Bill Clinton’s Administration that you began to see women’s issues make it onto the political agenda, women elected and appointed to a variety of positions that had been impossible to reach before then. Things stagnated under Bush jr. and did well under President Obama.

It was clear that women are outside the game because women’s rights are not belonging to presidents’ priority. American women ought to demand their rights in public like and vote is not the only way to solve women’s problem. Women organizations that aren’t tied to interests groups can do something for women. Women’s organizations tied to labor forces are the best to accomplish women goals.

To investigate about the effects of the transition between American presidential Administrations on women’s issues, we should put in our mind that there are a number of women’s issues that are on the table. The first is the Lily Ledbetter Act, signed by President Obama in 2009 which states that equal pay for women and this was the first action in favor of women when Obama started working in the US presidential office(Francisco, 2010,p3). Nowadays, women get 79 cents for every dollar that a man gets(Sheet, 2015, p 1). Systemically, it is a problem with a distributed pay scale. Ledbetter the best initiative and it is necessary to be pursued. Secondly, health issues. And by the way, we should mention two cases regarding a health issue. First is *Roe vs. Wade*, in which U.S. Supreme Court case which gave women the right to choose

abortion (Oe and Udge, 2003). This case had taken a long period of time and It is now at risk to be changed in a US Supreme Court Case called *Whole Women's Health vs. Hellerstedt* which will be discussed in the Court on second of March 2016(Centre for reproductive rights, 2016). It could overturn Roe vs. Wade. The second is a package of cases under the name "freedom of religion" by which women are prevented from birth control due to some religious causes of their employers like *Zubik vs. Burwell*.<sup>111</sup> This Presidential election cycle let the GOP entered in a strong competition who does not favor these issues vs. either Hillary Clinton or Bernie Sanders who are going for these women's issues. This has become more serious by when US Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia died ( New York Times,13 Feb 2016), who voted against these women's issues. Either President Obama or the incoming presidential nominee will appoint the next Supreme Court Justice, which could overturn the Conservative control of the Court. Prior to Scalia's death, there were 5 conservatives and 4 liberals on the court and "Republican approval" of the work done was at 18% .in contrast "Democratic approval" was 76% and that created a big gap in decision inside the court during its history (*Washington Post*,26 Jul 2015) . The new appointment could change the situation for many cases in America. A further issue is the Equal Rights Amendment, which died in 1982 because not enough states ratified it(Baldez, Epstein and Martin, 2006). Because of the trend against women's issues, there has been talking about reviving this amendment. But until at this time, there is no concern and neither concrete debates have been initiated about it.

It is very important to know that the competition of the Political Parties in the United States participated in retreating women's role due to the competition between the Republican Party and The Democratic Party and the latter has practiced somehow positive role towards women's issues lately. You can see under Reagan, Bush Sr., and Bush Jr. (Administration and Berry, 2004) a retreat in solving women's issues especially, in the late twentieth century due to the fragmentation of social issues created by global and domestic polities (Boggs, 2004). That is why the new election is very important to women's issues and For sure women in the United States can do better for their case outside Political Parties because much of the work on women's issues has been done by the national women's organizations. Now with the number of women in

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<sup>111</sup> Babtist Joint Committee, 2016 "*Zubik vs. Burwell: consolidated contraceptive mandate*" available from <http://bjconline.org/Zubik/>. [17 Feb 2016].

the US Senate, 20, and in the House of Representatives, 84(Manning, Brudnick and Shogan, 2015), it is noticed some progress in women's issues. Therefore, issues need to travel on several tracks to be ratified. These would include the private sector, political sector as well as civil society sector organized by women institution to have the final benefit of the whole organized process.

The system of the United States finds it difficult to have a solution for women's issues through the law as a complete package. So at the actual political system, it is not easy to pass bills related to women. First of all, there are many fragmented issues related to women. Secondly, it would be not easy under this political system, to get an effective solution for due to many elements that are playing in just in one issue. Generally, using the piecemeal process didn't enable women to accomplish what they need but one comprehensive package of legislation would not even pass through the Congress. Consequently, women's issues must be pursued through the political process, private sector and civil society women's organizations. However, what happened in America regards to women in a time of peace, it happens in another part of the world in the time of distress, such as areas of conflict like Africa and many researchers right about the way of reparation for the all humans rights transgression(Wandita, Campbell-Nelson and Pereira, 2006).

Notwithstanding, going to women organization and the civil society is the best way because the men can decide on behalf of women in the United States on women's issue in the past but nowadays it becomes very difficult because many women's issues don't have a solution. Historically, it has been believed that men can act on behalf of women to decide on their issues. Because they already had mothers, daughters, etc. so they would understand women's issues. However, women have the skills and the ability that men sometimes cannot do (Debbie Abuelghanam interview, 26 February 2016). Also, the power that has been given to white males enabled them to decide in the past and it was a privilege for them to talk on behalf of women and ethnicity race groups as well as women's issue(Kendall, 2006). Consequently, women in America start to realize that the men cannot decide on behalf of women about their issues but it could be a combination of decision inside tolerated political system participation and representation.

If women enter the competition in the election in the United States, it would be the gate for solving women's issues and women politicians can be only a big part of the solution. Surely, if a woman is to be elected as President, this could contribute in introducing women's issues to the Congress. However, we couldn't predict things because gender and racism during President Obama presidency were not frequently raised. As the history told us the reality of women inside Congress nowadays, women need to practice better role in media and press to have complete coverage on their campaign especially when women from villages and countryside want to be a candidate known by city inhabitants. Increasing the coverage and good reputation may affect the public opinion for the interests of women candidate running for the presidency. Women in the House of Representative and in the Senates ought to support their local women's organizations at the local level and offices with a practical plan for any women's campaign.

Elections are considered one part of the solution, but the participation of women at all level of work in the government, Congress, local states offices, and inside boards of corporations, It would also help the working of women's organizations inside the Civil community to do studies about women's situation. Fragmenting women's issues were due to changes in ruling Party' policy. The two greatest issues for women came during this time. For instance, changing policy created triumph and loss, the triumph was in Roe vs. Wade case that I mentioned before it was about women's right to choose. And the loss was the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) under Ronald Reagan's term of presidency.

Women can practice pressure on Politicians to have their right without affiliation to any party in the United States because it is clear that many people in the American population consider themselves to be neither Democrats nor Republics, but Independents. Since there has never been an effective third party that has lasted for a period of time, and the U.S has at least "40% of the electorate" functions without Party's affiliation and identifications.<sup>112</sup> Most independents either lean toward one of the two parties. So women can be activists and they may not be Parties' affiliated.

To define women's issues, it takes time depending on the number and the type of the issues it will need the support from public opinion from both men and women

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<sup>112</sup> Data available at CAWP CENTER FOR AMERICAN WOMAN AND POLITICS.

regardless their parties. However, women's solutions to these issues are not depending on politicians only, but the public organization and civil cooperation as well. Each sector of the community will have to play a role if women's issues will be addressed any time in the near future. Actually, I can say the political track is very important as well as civil organization to build women case in the United States.

As a result of this study 57.1 of a sample contains 50 Americans believe that changing ruling party in the United States adversely affects the achievement of progress in women's rights, Also 66.7 of them believe that the Political Parties participated in retreating women's role in the United States, as well as 75%, think that women in the United States can do better for their case outside the Political Parties. American opinion about the ability of law to support women was just 45.8% because of the historical record that proved slowness process of law to protect women's right in education, work, health problems and protection against violence. Women can decide by their own opinion to accomplish their goals and 79.6% of 50 Americans supported this idea, Americans believe that women can practice pressure on Politicians to have their rights without affiliation to any party in the United States. In addition to that, Americans don't believe that the vote is the only way to achieve women's goal because 95.9% of the questionnaire's sample think that civil society organizations and women centers can help women to accomplish their goal. Certainly, women can manage high-ranking positions excellently in the United States to solve women's and men's problem equally (Please see Table 17, p152) and all study's results come up with evidence to support thesis' hypothesis which states that changing American Administrations and the transition of power between Parties adversely impacted women's issues over the period (1970-2015).

Hillary Clintons when she was in the white house appointed many women in her staff, but she couldn't support equal right for all women and most of her advisors were men! .For example, "In the White House, a significant percentage of Clinton's staff was female. A review of a 2001 Senate payroll shows more than half of her staffers were females. Fifty-five percent of her current campaign staff are women", and it was noticed that, "including political director Amanda Renteria, two of her three top policy advisers and most of her communications team. Still, the campaign's top advisers remain mostly males, including chairman John Podesta, manager Robby Mook, and

chief strategist Joel Benenson”.<sup>113</sup> Women Talent can make the history and they can be role models for other women when they serve in high positions.

Women votes and women talent were very important and president’s campaign in election took a proportion of time, after President Carter, paved the road for human rights and women’s issues solution. Absolutely, Republican Party in 1980 during President Reagan Administration realized its importance and started to attract women to have identification to the GOP. On the other hand, anti-feminist agenda and anti-feminist President were not easy to be discovered by speeches and promises. President Reagan after he was elected to office 1981, he appointed Sandra Day O’Connor in the Supreme Court( refer to “*Document 14*”<sup>114</sup>, Appendix A). Sandra Day O’Connor wrote to President Reagan to thank him and she considered her appointment an equality and it is better than addresses and “speeches” without acts to equalize women with men in<sup>115</sup>.

Women can serve women in politics if they have representation and Nancy L.Cohen on Apr 6, 2016, in *Los Angeles Times* “*why Women should vote for Women*” wrote :

Many studies have been done to know if women can do their job as men, or better than them, and the political scientist Beth Reingold writes in a comprehensive review, “women, more often than men, take the lead on women's issues, no matter how such issues are defined”.<sup>116</sup> But this could be applicable outside of the parties’ agenda and it depends on the women’s personality as well as men.

Finally, due to the domestic policy change of American transition power, women’s issues and their problems are still fragmented and it does need a comprehensive solution to have their rights as their peers men. The change in the domestic policy towards

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<sup>113</sup> *USA TODAY Newspaper Jul 25,2016* by Heidi M. Przbyla under the Title “ Clinton’s history of hiring Women includes monitoring, office crib”[Mar 17,2017]

<sup>114</sup> *Source : National Archives :The Center for Legislative Archives, Reagan’s Nomination of O’Connor, Aug 19,1981. Available at <https://www.archives.gov/legislative/features/oconnor.html>*

<sup>115</sup> Quoted from *Miranda Revues Organization* that work on gender equity that published an article under the title “Women, Ladies, Girls, Gals: Ronald Reagan and the Evolution of Gender Roles in the United States” available at <https://miranda.revues.org/index.html>

<sup>116</sup> Nancy L.Cohen on Apr 6,2016 in *Los Angeles Times* “ Why Women should vote for Women” Available at <http://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-cohen-why-women-should-elect-women-20160406-story.html>

women based on gender resulted from different roots: how presidents handled women's issues depending on the Party's agenda, the effects of American culture and identity, American demographic distribution, unimplemented programs by the government and unexploited programs by women, imbalanced relation between work and family's responsibility, lack of security and protection against violence, retreatment in STEM education which led to lack of representation in high positions, less opportunities led to health problems and they became less capable to pay for health care and the last origin root of problem is dealing with women's problems separately and sporadically.

The exchange between the ruling Parties (Democratic & Republican) since 1970 has played a prominent role in shaping the domestic policy of US administrations. Previous studies have focused on the evolution of women's affairs over four decades, without focusing on the reasons for the delay of finding solutions due to purely political factor. The separation of the three powers (Executive, Legislatures, Judicial System) does not necessarily guarantee the rights of citizens that are not interpreting laws upon the original constitutional but upon the ideology of the changed ruling party.

After an exchange of American Administrations President's remarks about women during the period of the study (1970-2015) reflects the future policy towards women's issues and it can be considered the sparkle of the new policy but sometimes the Congress change the process intended by the president.

In the past, dealing with women's issues was taking the form of individual cases and did not take into account the overall women's issues. If all governments interest in finding a law to guarantee the rights of all women and men, the solutions will be possible. But to make the burden of finding solutions for these issues moving between governments according to some agendas, inevitably this may delay the solution to these issues. If we go to the history of women's rights in America we will find that women's issues in the twentieth century are the same as women's issues in the 21st century. We have the separation of the three powers, the executive, legislative and the judiciary, but this kind of separation couldn't give women their right due to the separation of duties between women and men.

Achieve justice among citizens is considered an equation of any project plan to achieve success and progress for both sides of the equation, and therefore the delay in finding a solution to women's issues or men's issues will, absolutely, lead to a delay in finding solutions within the general plan of the country. In general, American Administrations have more interest in the economic file than the social problems.

What has been proven during the contemporary history of women's rights, certainly explains the reasons for the progress and decline of women's representation within the political system of United States of America, and several basic factors mentioned and addressed in this thesis that contributed to the women's advancement towards their rights, and among these factors are:

- a) Political changes and transition of power in the political system of the United States.
- b) The quality of education between men and women.
- c) The central culture and principles on which Political Party relies on.
- d) The development in the field of employment and jobs due to industrial and technological development.
- e) The historical stages of struggle for equality between women and men and the programs that have been pushed through the civil society institutions and women organizations.
- f) Inequality between women and men within the Constitutional real interpretations.

In 2016, Debbie Walsh, director of *the Center for American Women and Politics* explains that women are less than “ 25%” in the Congress and she considered mentioning number in the record of Congress as a “misleading”.<sup>117</sup>For sure, if America has a women president, it doesn't mean that women's representation in politics is perfect, especially if we have a small number of women in Congress! Then the problem is in the political process rather than in the women's capability of doing leadership

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<sup>117</sup> *USA today*, Nov 4, 2016 by Erin Kelly “ Next Congress likely to have record number of women ,but gains still slow”

duties. The representation of women in American political system is one of the most important types of progress in finding solutions to women's issues and it depends on equality in education , which in turn, will help women to build an advanced position within the three separated powers.

## 12. CONCLUSION.

The objective of this thesis was to find out the impact of changing American Administrations on gender and women's issues over the period 1970-2015. Those impacts were found out in different domains related to women's issues like women's political representation, women's attainment in education, women in the American workforce, and violence against women. Collected information indicates that Democratic Party handled women's issues better than Republican Party. To reach the core contemplated idea this thesis used qualitative data and extra information collected by questionnaires and interviews with American citizens combined with a good analytical process to reach fruitful analysis about the effective procedures that have been done by democrats towards women's issues.

At the beginning of the eighties of the last century, it had been a radical transformation in the consciousness and in the literature of the feminist movement in the United States. And started a number of associations to have many slogans that were believed in, such as the wave of "postmodernism" which is based on a philosophy that women differ from men in certain biological and psychological characteristics. That period also marked by criticism of controlling men on the world and called for the rejection of what men brought such as tragedies and wars on humanity in general because they were the decision-makers in politics at that time.

Women's organizations and academic organizations tried to link the male dominance on the decision-making positions in the United States, particularly, to the weak areas in the colonial periods. Critical Studies on the so-called masculine mentality concluded up that the dominance of men on power conquered the third world and destroyed its nature and neglected women's issues, then women began their struggle and created women's organizations inside the United States to have their rights, and started to call for improving the living conditions of oppressed peoples and granting of all world's poor people depending on liberty and principles of democracy.

Thus, those organizations turned to carry the slogans of human rights. Those organizations also began to demand an end to male domination on the decision-making centers as the only means to stop the bleeding wars decided by men, and then women with their children paid the price. Many organizations led by women organized their

efforts to focus on women's access to the decision-making process in an attempt to stop what it was called male dominance in the world. I have explained previous information to give the readers an idea about cooperation between the feminist's movement with women's rights organizations that we have nowadays in many numbers and those organizations transferred women from the individual struggle to a collective one.

Gender aspects and women's issues under the American Administrations over the period 1970-2015 are very important issues. Studying women's situation in the United States gave us a perfect perception of the domestic policy towards different women's issues. There were many studies on gender and women's issues in the U.S, which enhance the study to present the reality about women's issues. Evaluating women's issues based on gender enabled the researcher to pinpoint the reasons behind women's retreating in many fields. During the last four decades, the fluctuated domestic policy created a gap without overlapping women's issues between American Administrations. Fragmenting of women's issues came as a result of changing the ruling Party's policy. Anyway, by giving a comprehensive understanding of women's real situations over the period (1970-2015), we can pave the road for future study and for Politicians to introduce the issue to be accepted in the political arena.

The main data gathered from all methods confirmed the impacts of changing American Administration on women's issues in different fields. Handling women's issues is differentiated from president to his successor, and discontinued women's program was influenced by changing agendas whenever the transition of power happened. American culture about women stereotype and their ability participated in retreating women taking high-ranking positions. In Addition to that, the imbalanced relation between work and family as well as the lack of independence after 1999 made women retreated of being entrepreneurs because of the heavy responsibility of their family.

Education of women after 1970 contributed in getting women high professional degrees but after 1999 they retreated due to the old idea about women ability that says women couldn't take the risk to defend the national security and to do political jobs. Demographic factors between north and south of the United States caused lack of coordination between states to implement laws had reduced exploiting women's

program introduced by the government. Women talents were not attracted to a projected plan in education after 1970, but after 2009 good projected plan has been initiated.

Women inside workforce found themselves going back to traditional jobs in education rather than STEM educational jobs because they couldn't coordinate between work and family so they went back after 2000 to work in teaching field and humanities studies in order to save time for their children and some of them, as a result, became single mothers to have independence in their own family and work to reach high positions. In the field of work, Women tried to reach high positions after getting a high degree but later they were disappointed by the preference of employers who preferred women without children.

Domestic violence against women also contributed to gendering women's issues and some of the crimes are still without evaluations such as women trafficking, stalking crimes and its roots. Many crimes Acts have been enacted but American women still suffer from domestic violence by partners and work-related crimes.

After evaluating women's situation in the United States during the period of the study (1970-2015) it has been found out that women's status differs from one state to another, it means that the progress in one state depends on the way of managing things inside that state and on the domestic policy comes from federal government correlated with the functioning Party at a time. However, domestic policy by different American Administrations towards women's issues ought to have political women's program as well as social women's programs. The first concern is setting up programs for women to be integrated into the American community in different aspects and the second concern is the political participation from local state's level to the top Congressional level, at the end, they can push forward to have their rights within the law.

Since the Nineteenth Amendment to the US Constitution in 1920, women tried to get positions and jobs opportunity in politics because the number of women exceeds the number of men in the United States, but until now women didn't come close to accomplish their goal.

National level is a very good target for women to have representations in the employment system inside the United States of America. Fluctuated numbers of women in Congress give us indications about the future that women may face because women need too many years to have good representations in the Congress, and yet no woman has become President or Vice President. However, the participation of women in civil societies and in the voting system to exploit the institutional positions in the United States is considered very important to achieve women's demands in the future. Absolutely, they will have a high level of representations in any elected government within its institutions and commissions.

For future studies, searching about the role of civil organizations in enhancing the public sector especially in non- ERA's fifteen States such Arizona, Georgia ,Illinois ,Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, ,Nevada, Florida ,North Carolina , Arkansas, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Utah, Virginia ,and Missouri(Francis and Force, 2016) , with great data about the benefit for women ,it may encourage these states to ratify ERA .In general, ratifying ERA will equalize women and men under the law rather than to discriminate between citizens based on sex, which in turn, puts men and women in different classes, ERA represents the comprehensive equality that was intended in the original constitution when it was established. Self-reliance is the best way for women to contribute to work projects, in public and private sector, in order to get a high level of representation in politics.

The limitations that this thesis faced was to visit and communicate with a large proportion of women inside the United States in order to distribute a great number of questionnaires and to do many interviews with women who hold high-ranking positions. Next studies are advised to initiate correlation between this results mentioned in this thesis and connect it with new problems that may appear with new American Administrations.

Eventually, while women struggled many years in the last four decades, this thesis gives indications that many challenges are to be done for the sake of achieving justice in the American community for both women and men. Accomplishing women's goal, might contribute to improving the whole human-being to get ahead in constructing social justice.

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- e. A girl from Texas interview ( 7 Sept 2016 at 1:006 PM)
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## **14.ANNEXES.**

## ANNEX A

### PRESIDENTS' REMARKS ABOUT WOMEN (1970-2015)

#### 1) Democrats Presidents' Remarks about Women .

President Jimmy Carter(1977-1981)
<p>In his book “A Call to Action: Women, Religion, Violence, and Power” he said :</p> <p><i>“There is a similar system of discrimination, extending far beyond a small geographical region to the entire globe; it touches every nation, perpetuating and expanding the trafficking in human slaves, body mutilation, and even legitimized murder on a massive scale. This system is based on the presumption that men and boys are superior to women and girls, and it is supported by some male religious leaders who distort the Holy Bible, the Koran, and other sacred texts to perpetuate their claim that females are, in some basic ways, inferior to them, unqualified to serve God on equal terms”.</i></p> <p>President Carter said about human rights:</p> <p><i>“The abuse of women and girls is the most pervasive and unaddressed human rights violation on earth. Women’s inequality has profoundly affected our world”.</i></p> <p>He said also about registering women in the army :</p> <p><i>“My decision to register women confirms what is already obvious throughout our society - that women are now providing all types of skills in every profession. The military should be no exception ”.</i><sup>118</sup></p>
President William J. Clinton(1993-2001)
<p><i>“Abortion should not only be safe and legal, it should be rare.”</i><sup>119</sup> “</p>

<sup>118</sup>LAUREN HOLTER (2015) , August 14 NEWS  
<http://www.bustle.com/articles/104161-7-wonderful-jimmy-carter-quotes-on-womens-rights-that-will-make-him-your-new-favorite-feminist>,8  
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<sup>119</sup>[http://www.notablequotes.com/c/clinton\\_bill.html#Tq6eFSdjwrCfy5C8.99](http://www.notablequotes.com/c/clinton_bill.html#Tq6eFSdjwrCfy5C8.99)

*“I'm glad to be here for this occasion. I was thinking how amazing it is that a State like Wyoming would be the first place, the first democracy anywhere in the world to give women the right to vote. And maybe it was because the men were more secure here than they were other places at the time. [Laughter] But for whatever reason, it was a very good thing.*

*I have always been interested in these issues because, as Hillary said, I was born to a working mother in the 1940's and raised by a working grandmother in the 1940's. So my mother and my grandmother were both working 50 years or so ago, just 25 years after women were given the right to vote in the country as a whole.”*

*“We can't imagine what it's like in America because of the progress being made in this country by women, but there are still places where women babies are more likely to be—little girl babies are more likely to be killed just because they are little girls. There are countries in the world today that have a huge imbalance in the number of males and females because the little girls are killed at birth because they're not thought to have sufficient value.*

*There are still countries in the world that try to force women not to have children, and that's something we can't imagine in this country, where that's the most profound right that women have in the family. There are still countries in the world where a young bride can be burned if her family can't come up with the dowry or won't come up with a little more. There are still places in the world that are held in abject poverty because women who are entrepreneurial and creative and willing to work don't have a chance even to borrow what would be a pittance in America to start a little business to ply their trades and work their skills.”*

*“Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott, Esther Morris, Carrie Chapman Catt, they helped to achieve that. Mother Jones fought to end child labor. Sojourner Truth fought to end discrimination and to establish social justice. My friend Rosa Parks set*

*in motion the civil rights movement by simply refusing to sit in the wrong place on a bus. A lot of ordinary women all over this country, decade after decade after decade, have worked to advance the cause of fairness and freedom.*

*When we look back on them from the vantage point of the present, it's hard to imagine that as recently as 1920 American women couldn't vote. The suffragists had a lot of vision. They knew that the vote would be an opening, a door through which women could help to direct our Government to where it should be and with which women could stand behind issues that would make their families stronger and their children's lives better.*

*When you look back, it seems remarkable that all this has happened in the last 75 years. Now, more and more women are completing higher and higher levels of education, entering fields which were closed to them not so long ago. Every time I visit a Federal facility, every time I go to these national parks, I marvel at how many of the park rangers are women.”*

*“Blind justice was right; the Statue of Liberty was right; and the kind of self-confidence displayed by the people of Wyoming when they led the world in giving women the right to vote was right. It was right then, and it still is. Thank you, and God bless you.”<sup>120</sup>*

President Obama(2009-incumbent)

President Obama confirmed:

*“Right now, women are a growing number of breadwinners in the household. But they’re still earning just 77 cents for every dollar a man does—even less if you’re an African American or Latina woman. Overall, a woman with a college degree doing the same work as a man will earn hundreds of thousands of dollars less over the course of her career. So closing*

<sup>120</sup>William J. Clinton: "Remarks on the 75th Anniversary of Women's Suffrage in Jackson Hole, Wyoming," August 26, 1995. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=51773>.Aso points A,B,C,D taken from the same resource

*this pay gap— ending pay discrimination—is about far more than simple fairness. When more women are bringing home the bacon, but bringing home less of it than men who are doing the same work, that weakens families, it weakens communities, it's tough on our kids, it weakens our entire economy.*"<sup>121</sup>

He also said about women:

*"This week, the United States signed a new Declaration on Women's Participation. Next year, we should each announce the steps we are taking to break down economic and political barriers that stand in the way of women and girls. That is what our commitment to human progress demands."*<sup>122</sup>

He also stated about women:

*"I didn't run for President so that the dreams of our daughters could be deferred or denied. I didn't run for President to see inequality and injustice persist in our time. I ran for President to put the same rights, the same opportunities, and the same dreams within the reach for our daughters and our sons alike. I ran for President to put the American Dream within the reach of all of our people, no matter what their gender, or race, or faith, or station."*<sup>123</sup>

President Obama said about girls' education :

*" I always hear stories about how we can't find enough engineers, we can't find enough computer programmers... And that's why we're emphasizing math and science. That's why we're emphasizing teaching girls math and science. We've got to lift -- we've got to lift our game up when it comes to technology and math and science. That's, hopefully, one of the most important legacies that I can have as President of the United States."*<sup>124</sup>

President Obama said about women

*"Lifting women up lifts up our economy and lifts up our country."*

<sup>121</sup>The White house report : *Equal Task Workforce Accomplishments : Fighting for Fair Pay in the Workplace, April 2012*

<sup>122</sup><https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2012/09/24/fact-sheet-equal-futures-partnership-expand-women-s-political-and-econom/> The White House Office of the Press Secretary

<sup>123</sup>[www.whitehouse.gov/women](http://www.whitehouse.gov/women)

<sup>124</sup>[www.whitehouse.gov/ostp](http://www.whitehouse.gov/ostp) November 30, 2011 Page 4 of 4

In another occasion he said about equal pay for both women and men:

*“Equal pay is by no means just a women's issue -- it's a family issue. It's about parents who find themselves with less money for tuition and child care; couples who wind up with less to retire on; households where one breadwinner is paid less than she deserves. That's the difference between affording the mortgage -- or not; between keeping the heat on, or paying the doctor bills -- or not. And in this economy, when so many folks are already working harder for less and struggling to get by, the last thing they can afford is losing part of each month's paycheck to simple and plain discrimination.”*

And about the fair wage for women he said:

*“The nearly two million in-home care workers across the country should not have to wait a moment longer for a fair wage. They work hard and play by the rules, and they should see that work and responsibility rewarded. Today's action will ensure that these men and women get paid fairly for a service that a growing number of older Americans couldn't live without.”*

President Obama said :

*“Our economy works only when everybody is participating, and that means that things like equal pay for equal work aren't just women's issues, those are middle-class family issues, because how well women do will help determine how well our families are doing as a whole.”*

President Obama stated:

*“Today, as we near this solemn anniversary, it's fitting that we salute the extraordinary decade of service rendered by the 9/11 Generation — the more than 5 million Americans who've worn the uniform over the past 10 years... They were there, on duty, that September morning, having enlisted in a time of peace, but they instantly transitioned to a war footing... They're sons and daughters who carry on the family's tradition of service, and they're new immigrants who've become our newest citizens. They're our*

*National Guardsmen and Reservists who've served in unprecedented deployments. They're the record number of women in our military, proving themselves in combat like never before. And every day for the past 10 years, these men and women have succeeded together — as one American team.”*

President Obama said about women skills:

*“Last month, I got a chance to meet the winners of the Google Science Fair. This is an international competition of high school students, the cutting edge of technology and science. All three of the winners turned out to be Americans. All three were girls.... My wish for my daughters and for yours remains the same. I want them to go out into a world where there is no limit to how big they can dream, how high they can reach...”*

Also president Obama said :

*I also want to say something as a father. You know, it was this program in the mid-1990s as much as anything that helped propel women's basketball into the national consciousness. And thanks to players like each of these women and those who came before them, our young women today look at themselves differently, especially tall young women, like my daughters. My girls look at the TV when I'm watching Sports Center and they see women staring back. That shows them that they can be champions, too. And so, as a father, I want to thank all of you.”*

In the report of the council on women and girls ,June 2016. *“Economic empowerment and accomplishment” p1-14.* President Obama said about the following women’s issues :

About Equal Pay he said :

*“Making our economy work means making sure it works for everyone. That there are no second class citizens in our workplaces, and that it’s not just unfair and illegal – but bad for business – to pay someone less because of their gender, age, race, ethnicity, religion or disability. And that justice isn’t about some abstract legal theory, or footnote in a casebook – it’s about how our laws affect the daily realities of people’s lives: their ability to make a*

*living and care for their families and achieve their goals.”*

About Women labor force

*“We’ve got to harness the momentum that we’re seeing in the broader economy and make sure the economy is working for every single American. We’ve got to keep making smart choices. And today, here at RIC, I want to focus on some common-sense steps we can take to help working families right now. In particular, I want to zero in on the choices we need to make to ensure that women are full and equal participants in the economy.”*

About raising income:

*“Today, the federal minimum wage is worth about twenty percent less than it was when Ronald Reagan first stood here. [...] Give America a raise.”*

About poverty :

*“I think it’s important when it comes to dealing with issues of poverty for us to guard against cynicism, and not buy the idea that the poor will always be with us and there’s nothing we can do -- because there’s a lot we can do. The question is do we have the political will, the communal will to do something about it.”*

About caregivers he said:

*“But here’s what makes caregivers like you all so inspiring for me. No matter what you're going through, you always find a way to dig just a little deeper. You always find more to give. You always keep moving forward and rebuilding for your families. And we are here today because we want to show you that you're not alone in this journey.”*

About Trafficking he said :

*“Our fight against human trafficking is one of the great human rights causes of our time, and the United States will continue to lead it -- in partnership with you. The change we seek will not come easy, but we can*

*draw strength from the movements of the past. For we know that every life saved -- in the words of that great Proclamation -- is 'an act of justice,' worthy of 'the considerate judgment of mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God.'"*

President Obama said about Empower women:

*"Any nation that fails to educate its girls or employ its women and allowing them to maximize their potential is doomed to fall behind in a global economy."*

*President Obama's remarks were mentioned in The White House Council on Women and Girls April, 2012 (September, 2015), "Keeping America's Women Moving Forward: The Key to an Economy Built to Last", pp3-65.*

2) Republicans Presidents' Remark about Women.

President Nixon(1969-1974)
<i>"I don't think a woman should be in any government job whatsoever... mainly because they are erratic. And emotional. Men are erratic and emotional, too, but the point is a woman is more likely to be."</i> <sup>125</sup>
President Gerald R. Ford(1974-1977)
<i>"I deeply believe in equal justice for all Americans, whatever their station or former station. The law, whether human or divine, is no respecter of persons; but the law is a respecter of reality."</i>
President Ronald Reagan(1981-1989)
President Ronald Reagan said at a White House Reception for Women Appointees of the Reagan Administration, February 10, 1982  <i>"Thank you very much. I appreciate that very much, and seeing the great number of you -- and that there are many more appointees than would be here today -- makes me very proud. But I'm not just proud of some quota or number or statistic; I'm proud because of the qualifications, the ability, and the energies that each of you brings to this administration. All of you are here as part of this administration for one reason and one reason only: because your country needs you. I appreciate the sacrifice that many of you have made to be here in government, and since most of you have been on the job for some time, my message is not so much one of welcome as it is to thank you for your hard work and to rally you once again to the cause that brought us all here."</i> <sup>126</sup>  President Reagan said to a group of 1,200 women:  <i>"We have been doing a number of things here with regard to the thing of great interest to you, and that is the recognition of women's place. I want you to know I've always recognized it, because I happen to be one who believes that if it wasn't for women, us men would still be walking around in skin suits carrying clubs."</i> <sup>127</sup>

<sup>125</sup> <http://www.celebritytypes.com/quotes/richard-nixon.php>

<sup>126</sup> The President spoke at 12:39 p.m. in the East Room at the White House.  
<http://www.reagan.utexas.edu/archives/speeches/1982/21082b.htm>

<sup>127</sup> it was mentioned in the New York times By STEVEN R. WEISMAN  
Published: August 4, 1983

President George H. W. Bush(1989-1993)
<i>“This is America: the Knights of Columbus, the Grange, Hadassah, the Disabled American Veterans, the Order of Ahepa, the Business and Professional Women of America, the union hall, the Bible study group, LULAC<sup>128</sup>, "Holy Name"—a brilliant diversity spread like stars, like a thousand points of light in a broad and peaceful sky”.</i> <sup>129</sup>
President George W. Bush(2001-2009)
<i>He said about pro-life :</i>
<i>“I’m going to pick a vice president who can be the president. I’ll pick judges who strictly interpret the constitution and not use the bench as a way to legislate. And I will work to keep the Republican Party pro-life.”</i> <sup>130</sup>

<sup>128</sup> Stands for :League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), founded in 1929.

<sup>129</sup> Ben J. Wattenberg (1995) *“Values Matter Most :How Republicans ,or Democrats, or Third Party can Win and Renew the American Way of Life”* P 36

<sup>130</sup> Issues2000 every presidential candidates’ view every issue taken from Commission on Presidential Debates : Transcripts available at : <http://debates.org/index.php?page=debate-transcripts>, also refer to the website : [http://issues2000.org/George\\_W\\_Bush\\_Abortion.htm](http://issues2000.org/George_W_Bush_Abortion.htm) also see julian 2003, *“ abortion ,What the American Think on Abortion”* available at :[http://www.captelco.qc.ca/churchofjesus/\\_disc1/0000015d.htm](http://www.captelco.qc.ca/churchofjesus/_disc1/0000015d.htm)

## ANNEX B

### TABLES

Table 1 : Women's Demographic Distribution by State ,2013 Census

<b>State's Name</b>	<b>Abbreviation</b>	<b>Number of Population</b>	<b>Number of Women</b>
Alabama	AL	4,833,722	2,492,5548
Alaska	AK	735,132	325,128
Arizona	AZ	6,626,624	3,325,355
Arkansas	AR	2,959,373	1,498,176
California	CA	38,332,521	19,273,782
Colorado	CO	5,268,367	2,616,599
Connecticut	CT	3,596,080	1,844,231
Delaware	DE	925,749	476,664
District of Columbia	DC	646,449	341,690
Florida	FL	19,552,860	9,989,240
Georgia	GA	9,992,167	5,113,796
Hawaii	HI	1,404,054	694,578
Idaho	ID	1,612,136	805,049
Illinois	IL	12,882,135	6,560,187
Indiana	IN	6,570,902	3,343,036
Iowa	IA	3,090,416	1,562,487
Kansas	KS	2,893,957	1,453,067
Kentucky	KY	4,395,295	2,232,200
Louisiana	LA	4,625,470	2,367,933
Maine	ME	1,328,302	677,009
Maryland	MD	5,928,814	3,048,733
Massachusetts	MA	6,692,824	3,450,931
Michigan	MI	9,895,622	5,038,988
Minnesota	MN	5,420,280	2,747,152
Mississippi	MS	2,991,207	1,540,005
Missouri	MO	6,044,171	3,081,854
Montana	MT	1,015,165	508,501
Nebraska	NE	1,868,516	942,838
Nevada	NV	2,790,136	1,386,739
New Hampshire	NH	1,323,459	672,259
New Jersey	NJ	8,899,339	4,559,251
New Mexico	NM	2,085,287	1,049,487
New York	NY	19,651,127	10,109,477
North Carolina	NC	9,848,060	5,047,190
North Dakota	ND	723,393	354,742
Ohio	OH	11,570,808	5,915,372
Oklahoma	OK	3,850,568	1,946,121
Oregon	OR	3,930,065	1,984,979
Pennsylvania	PA	12,773,801	6,534,366

Rhode Island	RI	1,051,511	537,532
South Carolina	SC	4,774,839	2,455,831
South Dakota	SD	844,877	420,653
Tennessee	TN	6,495,978	3,319,592
Texas	TX	26,448,193	13,301,940
Utah	UT	2,900,872	1,438,422
Vermont	VT	626,630	318,348
Virginia	VA	8,260,405	4,204,129
Washington	WA	6,971,406	3,487,837
West Virginia	WV	1,854,304	936,667
Wisconsin	WI	5,742,713	2,892,365
Wyoming	WY	582,658	286,499
Total Population	US	316,128,839	160,536,555

Source : *The Status of the women Full Report 2015* ,National Advisory Committee ,table B8.1,p282, available at [www.statusofwomendata.org](http://www.statusofwomendata.org)

Table 2 : Families with Single Woman .

<b>Year</b>	<b>Whites</b>	<b>Blacks</b>
1980	13%	47%
1990	15%	51%
1993	17%	53%
Average	15%	50,30%
White Single Female-Parent income / 1992	\$ 43.000	\$22.000
Black Family with Parents / 1992	\$ 34%	\$13.000
Percent of Worries about Social problems / 1992	31%	

Source : Ben J. Wattenberg(1995) *“Values Matter Most : How Republicans or Democrats or Third Party can Win and Renew the American Way of Life”* New York ,the Free Press ,A Division of Simon & Schuster Inc.

Table 3 : Obama’s Terms Indications Ratios of Progress towards Women’s Issues over the period 2009-2015.

<b>Increased Progress by Numbers and Rates</b>	<b>Black Women</b>	<b>Hispanic Women</b>	<b>American Indian-Alaska Native Women</b>	<b>Asian American and Specific Islander Women</b>
Increased percentage of graduation rates at Bachelor Degree	0.9	3.1	2.7	2.1
Increased Number of women with raised income	2.9 Million	5.4 Million	800.000	200.000
Fallen and poverty rates	0.2	2.9	3.8 Increased	2.2
percentage of loans	29	15	34	18
percentage of decreasing unemployment	3.2	3.6	2.8 for Indian and Asian Women	.....
percentage of women living in poverty at age 65	21	20	13	13
Number of Women Access to women’s preventive service	5.1 million	4.9 million	2.5 million of both Asian and Indian	.....
Women included in raising minimum wages	360000	1.5 million	320.000 of both Asian and Indian Women	.....
Decreased percentage of teen pregnancy at age (15-16)	56	47	54	60
HIV/AIDS Mother to child transmission	70	15	..... .....	..... .
Women incarceration percentage	decreasing to 0.44 for all			

Source :Velerie Jarret .2014. “ Addressing challenges and Expanding Opportunity”,The White House Council on Women and Girls 2014,p1-53

Table 4: Retreating Women in STEM Education

Year	1979	1999	2006
Women STEM attitude towards Education	9%	22%	
Full Professor/High Degree	5%	14%	
Number of Women Graduates in Science	.....	.....	
Number of Women Graduates in Psychology	.....	.....	46%
Number of Full Professor in Psychology	.....	.....	33%
Percentage of Women in Engineering	.....	.....	11%
Percentage of Women in Engineering Full Professor	.....	.....	5%

Source: Cindy L. Cain\* and Erin Leahey( 2014) “Cultural Correlates of Gender Integration in Science” Gender, Work and Organization. Vol. 21 No. 6 November 2014, pp 516-530.

Table 5 : Life Expectancy Gap upon Education

<b>Difference gap between educational subgroups in life expectancy in the U.S over the period 1970-1990 for the people who completed 13 years at school.</b>				
Age	White males	Black American males	White women	Black American women
30	4.8	6.5	1.6	7.6
65	3.8	4.0	0.9	5.4
<b>Difference gap between educational subgroups in life expectancy in the U.S over the period 1970-1990 for the people who completed 8 years at school.</b>				
Age	White males	Black American males	White women	Black American women
30	2.2	0.1	2.5	2.8
65	1.3	0.3	1.7	1.3

Source :Eileen M. Crimmins (2001), Yasuhiko Saito “Trends in healthy life expectancy in the United States, 1970–1990: gender, racial, and educational differences”pp1629-1641

Table 6 :Women Representation and Political Participation by State for the year 2015

State's Name	Number of Women	Representatives	Senates	Legislatures	Elected offices
Alabama	2,492,5548	2	0	20	2
Alaska	325,128	0	1	17	0
Arizona	3,325,355	3	0	32	3
Arkansas	1,498,176	0	0	27	2
California	19,273,782	19	2	31	2
Colorado	2,616,599	1	0	42	0
Connecticut	1,844,231	2	0	53	3
Delaware	476,664	0	0	15	1
District of Columbia	341,690	-	-		-
Florida	9,989,240	7	0	39	1
Georgia	5,113,796	0	0	54	0
Hawaii	694,578	1	1	21	0
Idaho	805,049	0	0	28	1
Illinois	6,560,187	4	0	55	3
Indiana	3,343,036	2	0	31	5
Iowa	1,562,487	0	1	34	2
Kansas	1,453,067	1	0	41	0
Kentucky	2,232,200	0	0	23	2
Louisiana	2,367,933	0	0	18	0
Maine	677,009	1	1	54	N/A
Maryland	3,048,733	0	1	59	0
Massachusetts	3,450,931	2	1	50	4
Michigan	5,038,988	3	1	31	1
Minnesota	2,747,152	1	1	67	3
Mississippi	1,540,005	0	0	30	2
Missouri	3,081,854	2	1	48	0
Montana	508,501	0	0	47	4
Nebraska	942,838	0	1	10	1
Nevada	1,386,739	1	0	20	1
New Hampshire	672,259	1	2	122	N/A
New Jersey	4,559,251	1	0	36	1
New Mexico	1,049,487	1	0	29	1
New York	10,109,477	8	1	51	1
North Carolina	5,047,190	3	0	38	5
North Dakota	354,742	0	1	27	3
Ohio	5,915,372	3	0	33	1
Oklahoma	1,946,121	0	0	19	3
Oregon	1,984,979	1	0	28	2
Pennsylvania	6,534,366	0	0	45	1
Rhode Island	537,532	0	0	30	1

South Carolina	2,455,831	0	0	23	1
South Dakota	420,653	1	0	22	2
Tennessee	3,319,592	2	0	23	N/A
Texas	13,301,940	3	0	36	1
Utah	1,438,422	1	0	16	0
Vermont	318,348	0	0	74	1
Virginia	4,204,129	1	0	24	0
Washington	3,487,837	3	2	48	1
West Virginia	936,667	0	1	20	1
Wisconsin	2,892,365	1	1	33	1
Wyoming	286,499	1	0	12	2
Total number of women	160,536,555 out of 316,128,839	83 women out of 435	20 women out of 100	1786 women out of 7383	72 women out of 267

Source : *The Status of the women Full Report 2015* ,National Advisory Committee ,Table B1.1,Table B1.3and Table B1.4 pp24-28 available at [www.statusofwomendata.org](http://www.statusofwomendata.org), data also have been taken from Congressional Service Report April,2015,pp 1-5, Table 2, the latest statistics of population in 201

Table 7 : Gender Rank by States

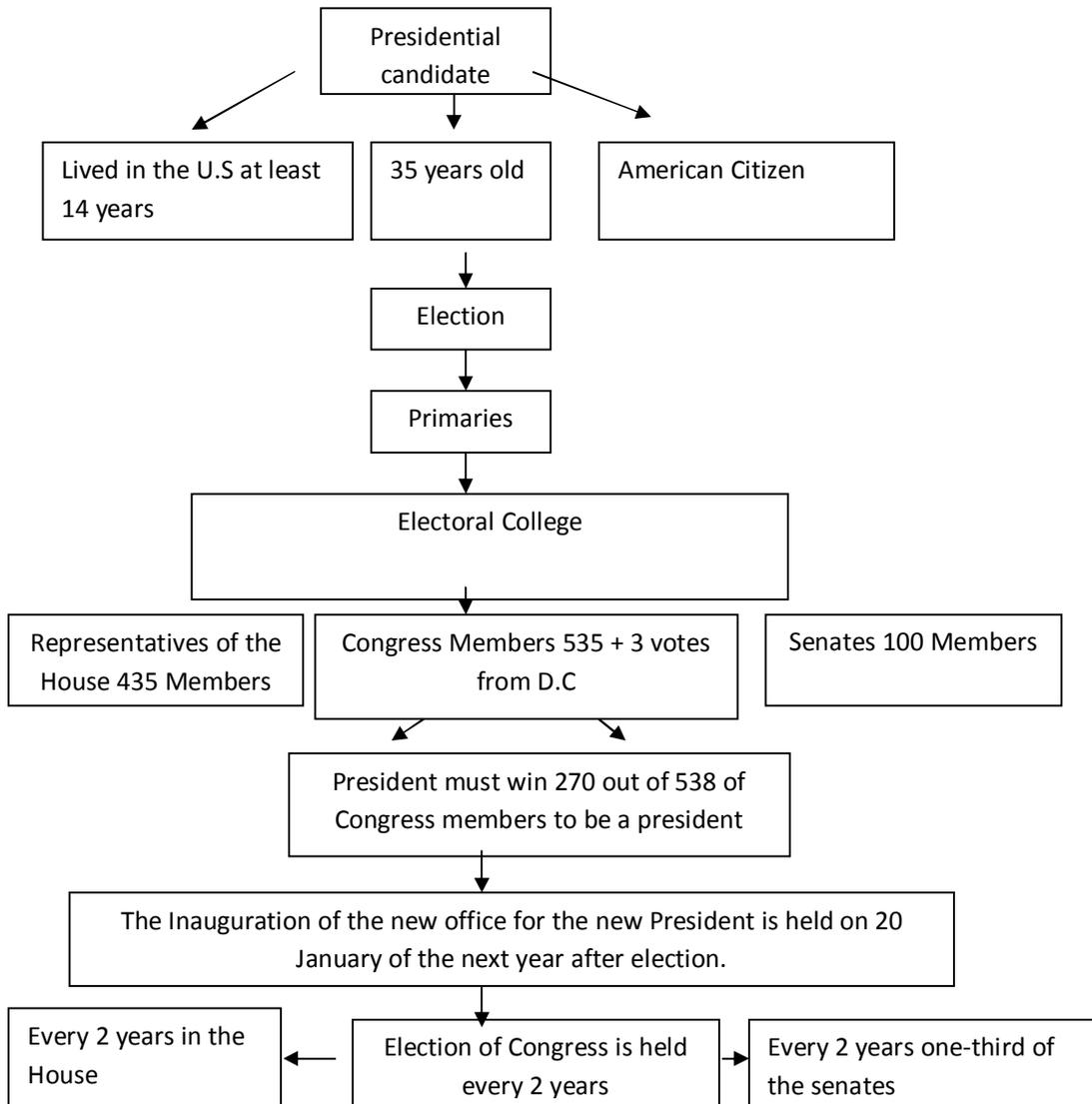
State's Name	Abbreviation	Rank of gender equality among states
Alabama	AL	65%
Alaska	AK	58%
Arizona	AZ	69%
Arkansas	AR	59%
California	CA	67%
Colorado	CO	62%
Connecticut	CT	70%
Delaware	DE	65%
District of Columbia	DC	
Florida	FL	63%
Georgia	GA	60%
Hawaii	HI	69%
Idaho	ID	63%
Illinois	IL	67%
Indiana	IN	67%
Iowa	IA	64%
Kansas	KS	62%
Kentucky	KY	62%
Louisiana	LA	59%
Maine	ME	74%
Maryland	MD	62%
Massachusetts	MA	69%
Michigan	MI	66%
Minnesota	MN	70%
Mississippi	MS	60%
Missouri	MO	64%
Montana	MT	68%
Nebraska	NE	61%
Nevada	NV	60%
New Hampshire	NH	70%
New Jersey	NJ	65%
New Mexico	NM	65%
New York	NY	67%
North Carolina	NC	67%
North Dakota	ND	63%
Ohio	OH	64%
Oklahoma	OK	60%
Oregon	OR	66%
Pennsylvania	PA	63%
Rhode Island	RI	65%
South Carolina	SC	60%
South Dakota	SD	65%
Tennessee	TN	63%
Texas	TX	60%
Utah	UT	61%
Vermont	VT	66%

Virginia	VA	63%
Washington	WA	66%
West Virginia	WV	63%
Wisconsin	WI	
Wyoming	WY	63%
Total Population	US	64%

Source : McKinsey Global Institute available at: <http://fortune.com/2016/04/07/mckinsey-best-worst-states-women/> Access [14 August,2016].

## ANNEX C DIAGRAMS

Diagram 1: The Process of the Elections in the United States .

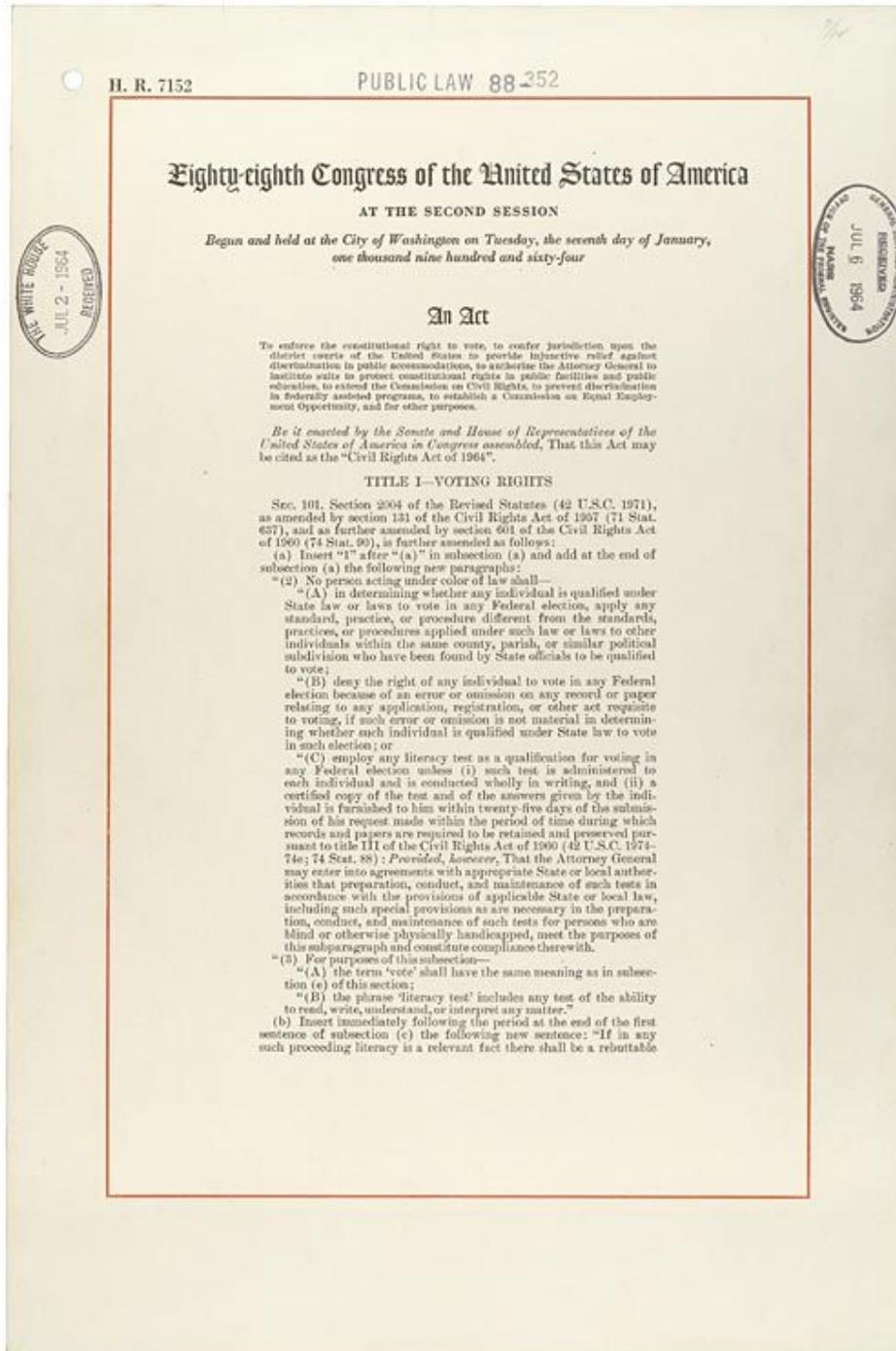


*Source: the diagram prepared by the researcher and the information taken from Roger Darlington ,2016 " A short Guide to the American Political System"*

## **15.APPENDICES.**

APPENDIX A  
DOCUMENTS

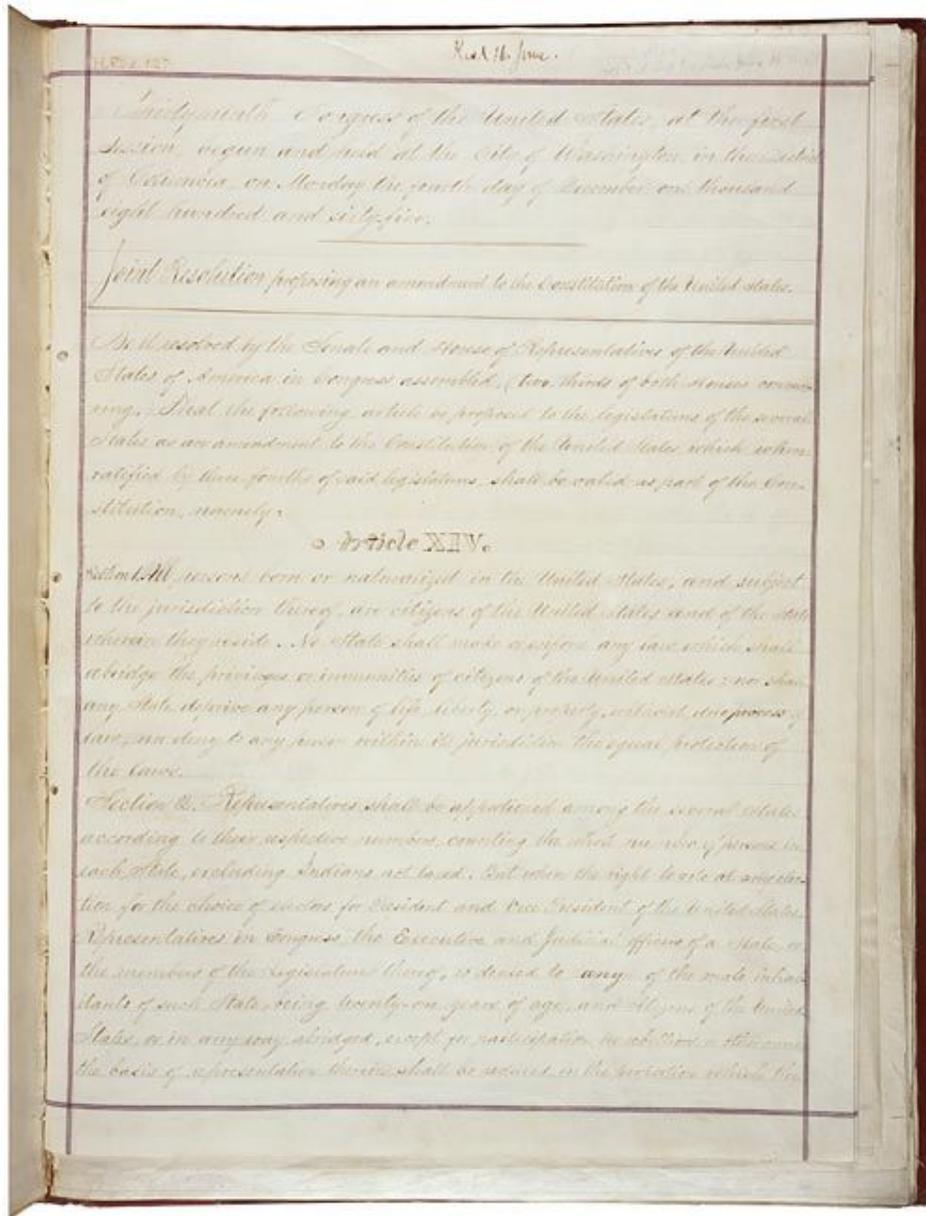
Document 1: Civil Rights Act of 1964.



Source : An act approved, July 2, 1964; Enrolled Acts and Resolutions of Congress, 1789-; General Records of the United States Government; Record Group 11; National Archives.

Document 2: 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment in American Constitution ( 2 pages).

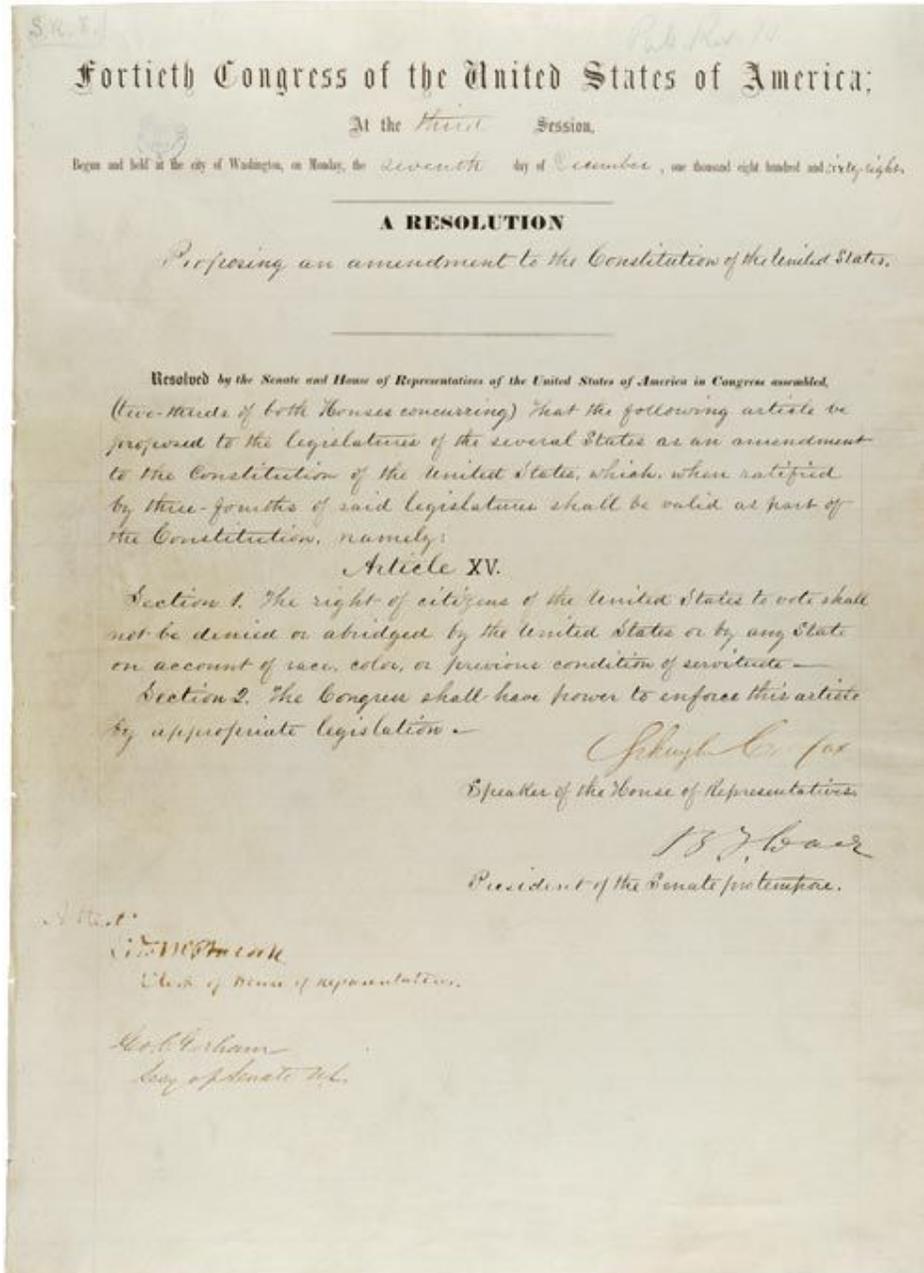
Page 1:





Document 3: The 16<sup>th</sup> Amendment in American Constitution (Federal Tax Income, 1913)

Page 1:



Form 1040.

**INCOME TAX.**

**THE PENALTY**  
FOR FAILURE TO HAVE THIS RETURN IN  
THE HANDS OF THE COLLECTOR OF  
INTERNAL REVENUE ON OR BEFORE  
MARCH 1 IS \$20 TO \$4,000.  
(SEE INSTRUCTIONS ON PAGE 4.)

UNITED STATES INTERNAL REVENUE.

**RETURN OF ANNUAL NET INCOME OF INDIVIDUALS.**  
(As provided by Act of Congress, approved October 3, 1918.)

RETURN OF NET INCOME RECEIVED OR ACCRUED DURING THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 191....  
(FOR THE YEAR 1913, FROM MARCH 1, TO DECEMBER 31.)

TO BE FILLED IN BY COLLECTOR. TO BE FILLED IN BY INTERNAL REVENUE BUREAU.

List No. \_\_\_\_\_ File No. \_\_\_\_\_  
 District of \_\_\_\_\_ Assessment List \_\_\_\_\_  
 Date received \_\_\_\_\_ Page \_\_\_\_\_ Line \_\_\_\_\_

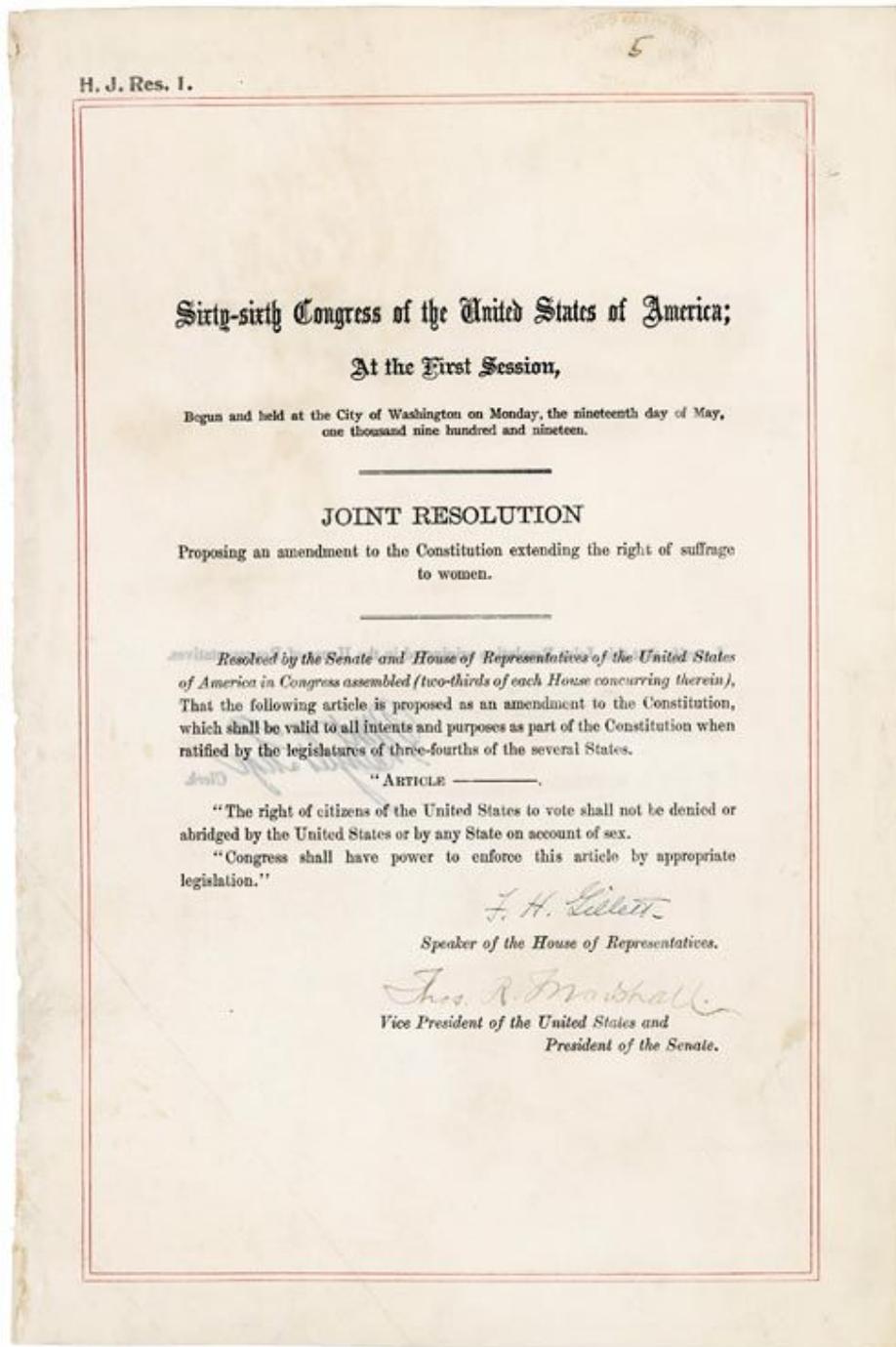
Filed by (or for) \_\_\_\_\_ of \_\_\_\_\_  
(Full name of individual.) (Street and No.)

in the City, Town, or Post Office of \_\_\_\_\_ State of \_\_\_\_\_  
(Fill in page 2 and 3 before making entries below.)

1. GROSS INCOME (see page 2, line 12) .....	\$				
2. GENERAL DEDUCTIONS (see page 3, line 7) .....	\$				
3. NET INCOME .....	\$				
Deductions and exemptions allowed in computing income subject to the normal tax of 1 per cent.					
4. Dividends and net earnings received or accrued, of corporations, etc., subject to like tax. (See page 2, line 11) .....	\$				
5. Amount of income on which the normal tax has been deducted and withheld at the source. (See page 2, line 9, column A) .....					
6. Specific exemption of \$3,000 or \$4,000, as the case may be. (See Instructions 3 and 19) .....					
Total deductions and exemptions. (Items 4, 5, and 6) .....	\$				
7. TAXABLE INCOME on which the normal tax of 1 per cent is to be calculated. (See Instruction 3). \$ .....	\$				
8. When the net income shown above on line 3 exceeds \$20,000, the additional tax thereon must be calculated as per schedule below:					
	INCOME				TAX.
1 per cent on amount over \$20,000 and not exceeding \$50,000 .....	\$				\$
2 " " 50,000 " " 75,000 .....					
3 " " 75,000 " " 100,000 .....					
4 " " 100,000 " " 250,000 .....					
5 " " 250,000 " " 500,000 .....					
6 " " 500,000 .....					
Total additional or super tax .....					\$
Total normal tax (1 per cent of amount entered on line 7) .....					\$
Total tax liability .....					\$

Source :Executive Order 8802 dated June 25, 1941, General Records of the United States Government; Record Group 11; National Archives.

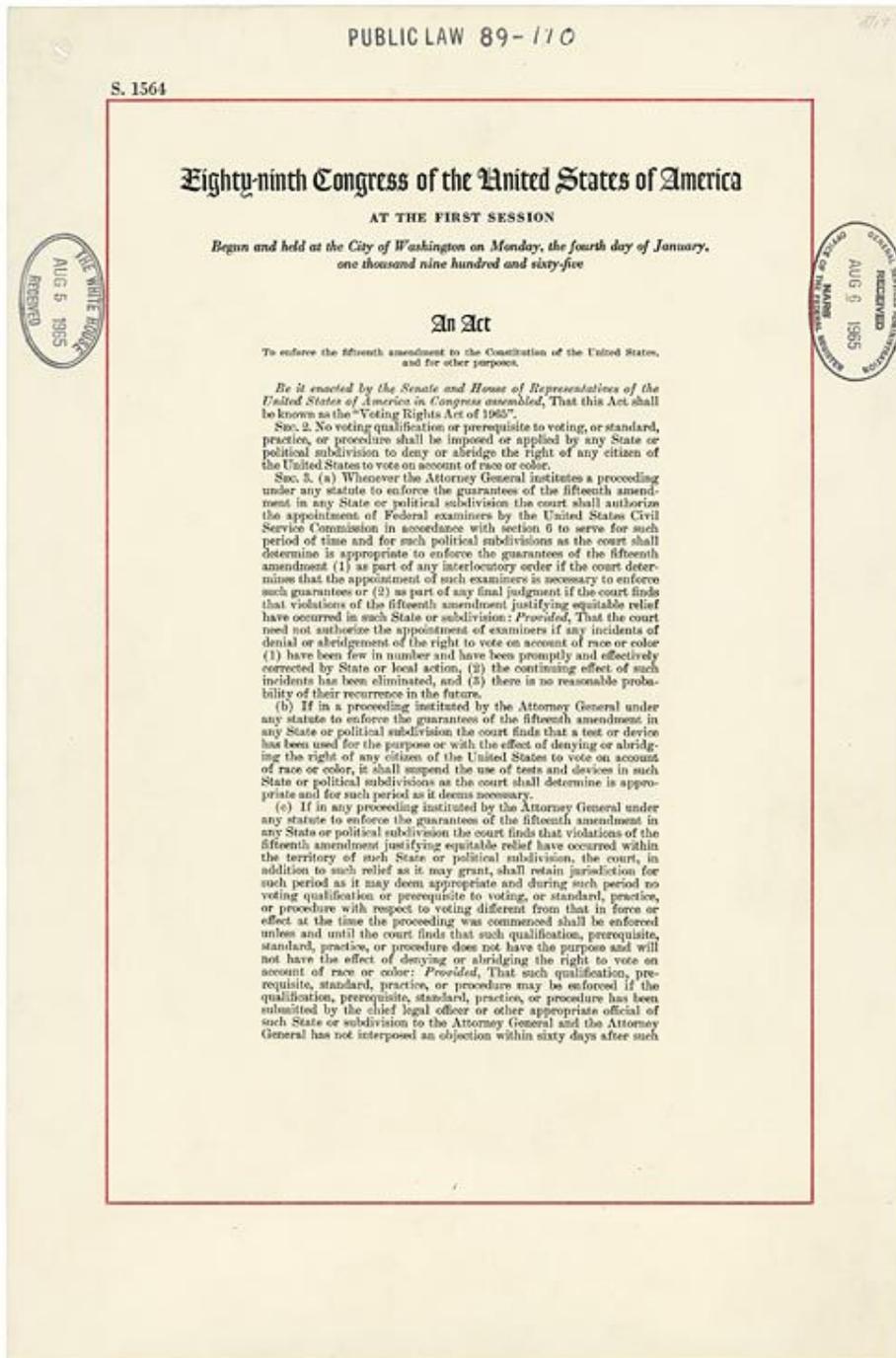
Document 4: The 19<sup>th</sup> Amendment in American Constitution ( Voting Rights )

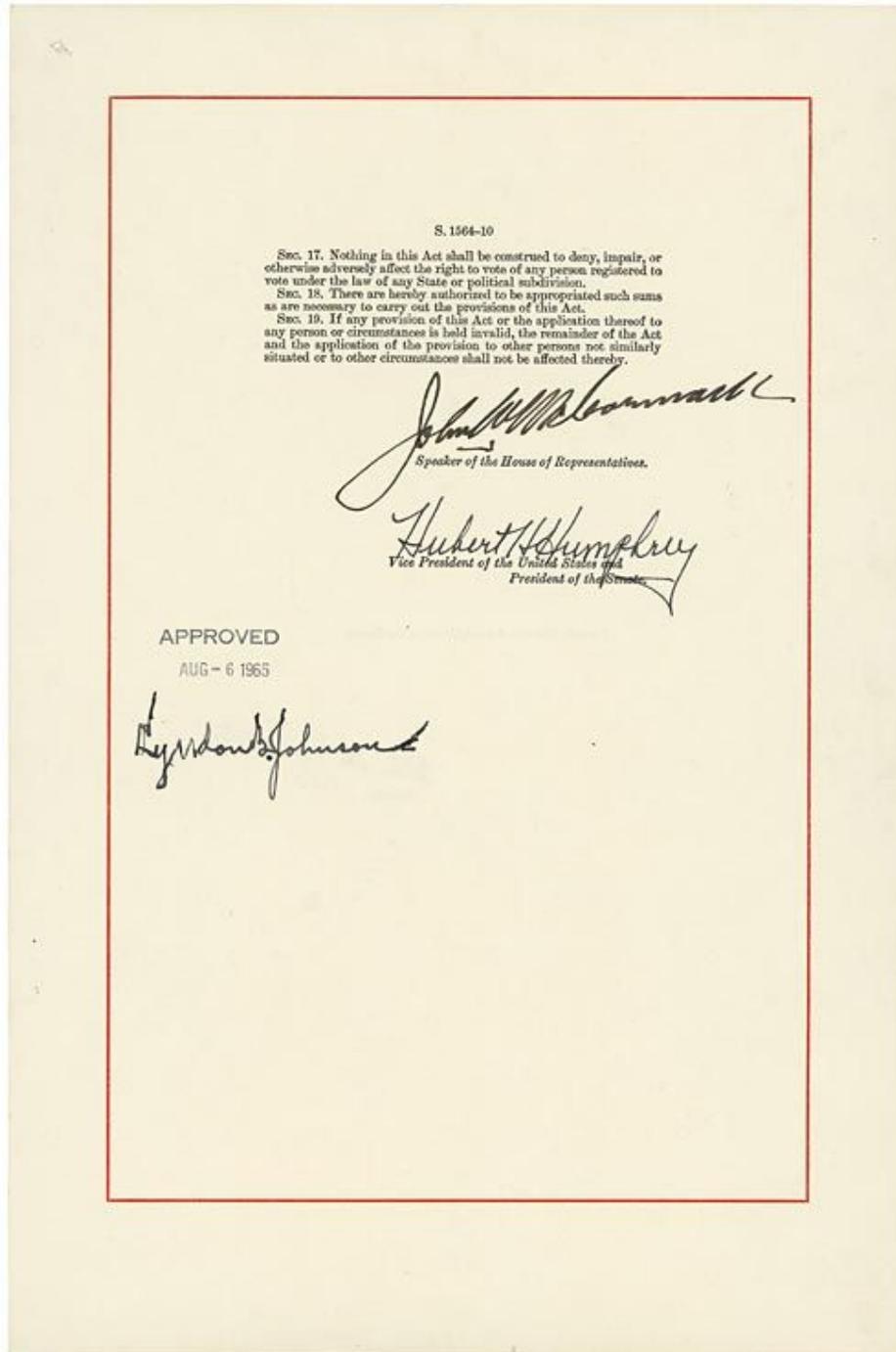


Source : It was approved June 4, 1919.; Ratified Amendments, 1795-1992; General Records of the United States Government; Record Group 11; National Archives.

Document 5: Voting rights (1965)

Page 1:



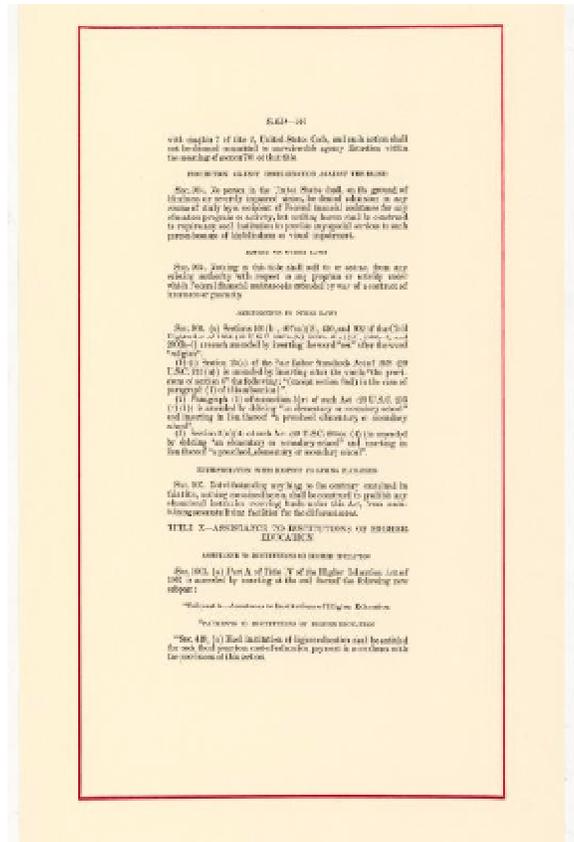


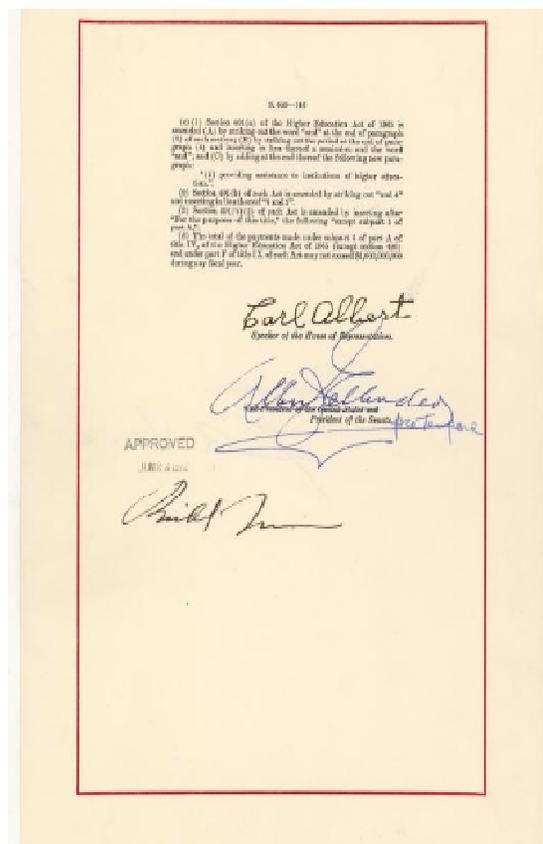
Source : An act to enforce the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States and for other purposes, August 6, 1965; Enrolled Acts and Resolutions of Congress, 1789-; General Records of the United States Government; Record Group 11; National Archives.











*Document 7: Scene of signing the United States Constitution.*



**"Scene at the Signing of the Constitution of the United States"**

**By Howard Chandler Christy,  
Provided by the Architect of the Capitol.**

*Source: National Archive of the United States of America.*

*Document 8: Photograph of Suffragettes in Bastille Day ,1917*



*Source: Photograph, "Bastille Day spells prison for sixteen suffragettes who picketed the White House" July 19, 1917; Records of the War Department Genial and Special Staffs; Record Group 165 [NWDNS-165-WW-(600A) 2]; National Archives.*

*Document 9: Betty friedman speech about Women's Right during President Nixon's Term.*

Then, Betty Friedan, author of Feminine Mystique and founder of the National Organization for Women, spoke. She said in essence:

- o Women are outside the political power structure. "What women need is political power." (Much applause)

- o Women are tired of working to elect men to office -- men who don't represent them. Women are tired of "looking up zip codes, ringing doorbells, having coffees, and writing speeches" for men. (More applause)

- o President Nixon has "done nothing" with the report of the Task Force on Women's Rights and Responsibilities. It's in some "second-level staff man's bottom drawer. And that's where it will stay." (More applause)

- o "And appointing 38 women to high-level positions. . . out of how many thousand positions? It's nothing!" (Lots of applause)

*Source :The Atlantic Aug 22.*

## Document 10: Equal Pay Act Text of 1963.

The U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

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# The Equal Pay Act of 1963

*EDITOR'S NOTE: The following is the text of the Equal Pay Act of 1963 (Pub. L. 88-38) (EPA), as amended, as it appears in volume 29 of the United States Code, at section 206(d). The EPA, which is part of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, as amended (FLSA), and which is administered and enforced by the EEOC, prohibits sex-based wage discrimination between men and women in the same establishment who are performing under similar working conditions. Cross references to the EPA as enacted appear in italics following the section heading. Additional provisions of the Equal Pay Act of 1963, as amended, are included as they appear in volume 29 of the United States Code.*

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### MINIMUM WAGE

#### SEC. 206. [Section 6]

(d) (1) No employer having employees subject to any provisions of this section shall discriminate, within any establishment in which such employees are employed, between employees on the basis of sex by paying wages to employees in such establishment at a rate less than the rate at which he pays wages to employees of the opposite sex in such establishment for equal work on jobs the performance of which requires equal skill, effort, and responsibility, and which are performed under similar working conditions, except where such payment is made pursuant to (i) a seniority system; (ii) a merit system; (iii) a system which measures earnings by quantity or quality of production; or (iv) a differential based on any other factor other than sex: Provided, That an employer who is paying a wage rate differential in violation of this subsection shall not, in order to comply with the provisions of this subsection, reduce the wage rate of any employee.

(2) No labor organization, or its agents, representing employees of an employer having employees subject to any provisions of this section shall cause or attempt to cause such an employer to discriminate against an employee in violation of paragraph (1) of this subsection.

(3) For purposes of administration and enforcement, any amounts owing to any employee which have been withheld in violation of this subsection shall be deemed to be unpaid minimum wages or unpaid overtime compensation under this chapter.

(4) As used in this subsection, the term "labor organization" means any organization of any kind, or any agency or employee representation committee or plan, in which employees participate and which exists for the purpose, in whole or in part, of dealing with employers concerning grievances, labor disputes, wages, rates of pay, hours of employment, or conditions of work.

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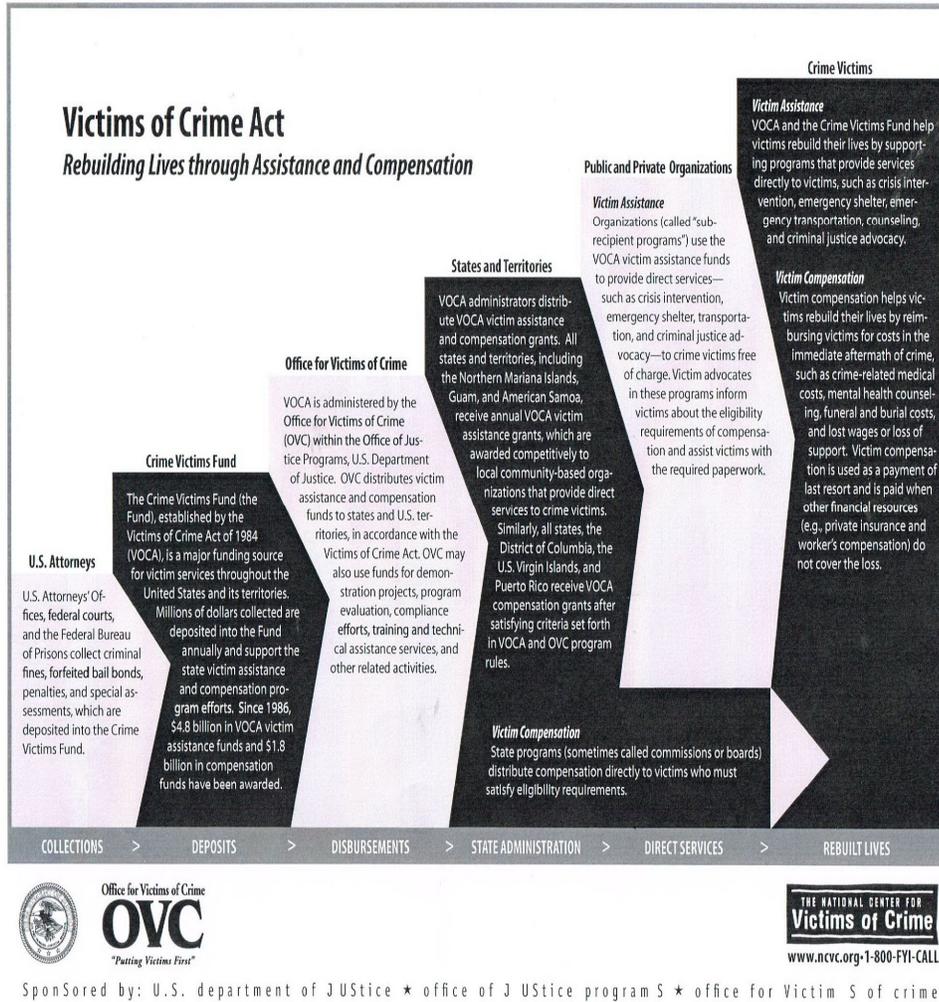
Source: EEOC (The United States Equal Employment Opportunity Commission) available at <https://www.eeoc.gov/laws/statutes/epa.cfm>

*Document 11: President George H. W. Bush Served in the Presidential Bureaucratic System from 1981-1993*

<u>Vice President</u>	<u>Years Served</u>	<u>Date Broke Tie</u>
		September 13, 1965
Hubert H. Humphrey (cont.)		May 9, 1967 March 11, 1968
Spiro T. Agnew (2)	1969-1973	August 6, 1969 July 17, 1973
Gerald R. Ford (0)	1973-1974	--
Nelson A. Rockefeller (0)	1974-1977	--
Walter Mondale (1)	1977-1981	November 4, 1977
George Bush (7)	1981-1989	July 13, 1983 November 8, 1983 June 14, 1984 May 10, 1985 July 23, 1986 August 7, 1986 September 22, 1987
Dan Quayle (0)	1989-1993	--
Albert Gore, Jr. (4)	1993-2001	June 24, 1993 <sup>2</sup> August 6, 1993 August 3, 1994 May 20, 1999
Richard B. Cheney (8)	2001-2009	April 3, 2001 April 5, 2001 May 21, 2002 April 11, 2003 May 15, 2003 May 23, 2003 December 21, 2005 March 13, 2008
Joseph Biden, Jr. (0)	2009-2017	--
Michael R. Pence (1)	2017-	February 7, 2017 <sup>3</sup>

*Source :The Senate Historical Office Feb 7,2017 .*

Document 12: Plan for Victims of Crime Act.



Source :U.S. Department of Justice Programs

Document 13: Equal Employment opportunity is the Law.

# Equal Employment Opportunity is the

# LAW

## Private Employment, State and Local Governments, Educational Institutions

**Race, Color, Religion, Sex, National Origin:**

Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, as amended, prohibits discrimination in hiring, promotion, discharge, pay, fringe benefits, and other aspects of employment, on the basis of race, color, religion, sex or national origin.

Applicants to and employees of most private employers, state and local governments and public or private educational institutions are protected. Employment agencies, labor unions and apprenticeship programs also are covered.

**Age:**

The Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967, as amended, prohibits age discrimination and protects applicants and employees 40 years of age or older from discrimination on account of age in hiring, promotion, discharge, compensation, terms, conditions, or privileges of employment. The law covers most private employers, state and local governments, educational institutions, employment agencies and labor organizations.

**Sex (wages):**

In addition to sex discrimination prohibited by Title VII of the Civil Rights Act (see above), the Equal Pay Act of 1963, as amended, prohibits sex discrimination in payment of wages to women and men performing substantially equal work in the same establishment. The law covers most private employers, state and local governments and educational institutions. Labor organizations cannot cause employers to violate the law. Many employers not covered by Title VII, because of size, are covered by the Equal Pay Act.

If you believe that you have been discriminated against under any of the above laws, you immediately should contact:

**The U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission**  
Washington, D.C. 20507  
or an EEOC field office by calling toll free 800-USA-EEOC.  
(For the hearing impaired, EEOC's TDD number is 202-663-4399.)

## Employers holding Federal contracts or subcontracts

**Race, Color, Religion, Sex, National Origin:**

Executive Order 11246, as amended, prohibits job discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, sex or national origin, and requires affirmative action to ensure equality of opportunity in all aspects of employment.

**Handicap:**

Section 503 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, as amended, prohibits job discrimination because of handicap and requires affirmative action to employ and advance in employment qualified handicapped individuals who, with reasonable accommodation, can perform the functions of a job.

**Vietnam Era and Special Disabled Veterans:**

38 U.S.C. 2012 of the Vietnam Era Veterans Readjustment Assistance Act of 1974 prohibits job discrimination and requires

affirmative action to employ and advance in employment qualified Vietnam era veterans and qualified special disabled veterans.

Applicants to and employees of companies with a Federal government contract or subcontract are protected under the authorities above. Any person who believes a contractor has violated its non-discrimination or affirmative action obligations under Executive Order 11246, as amended, Section 503 of the Rehabilitation Act or 38 U.S.C. 2012 of the Vietnam Era Veterans Readjustment Assistance Act should contact immediately:

**The Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs (OFCCP)**  
Employment Standards Administration, U.S. Department of Labor,  
200 Constitution Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20210  
(202) 523-9368, or an OFCCP regional or district office, listed in most telephone directories under U.S. Government, Department of Labor.

## Programs or activities receiving Federal financial assistance

**Handicap:**

Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, as amended, prohibits employment discrimination on the basis of handicap in any program or activity which receives Federal financial assistance. Discrimination is prohibited in all aspects of employment against handicapped persons who, with reasonable accommodation, can perform the essential functions of a job.

**Race, Color, National Origin, Sex:**

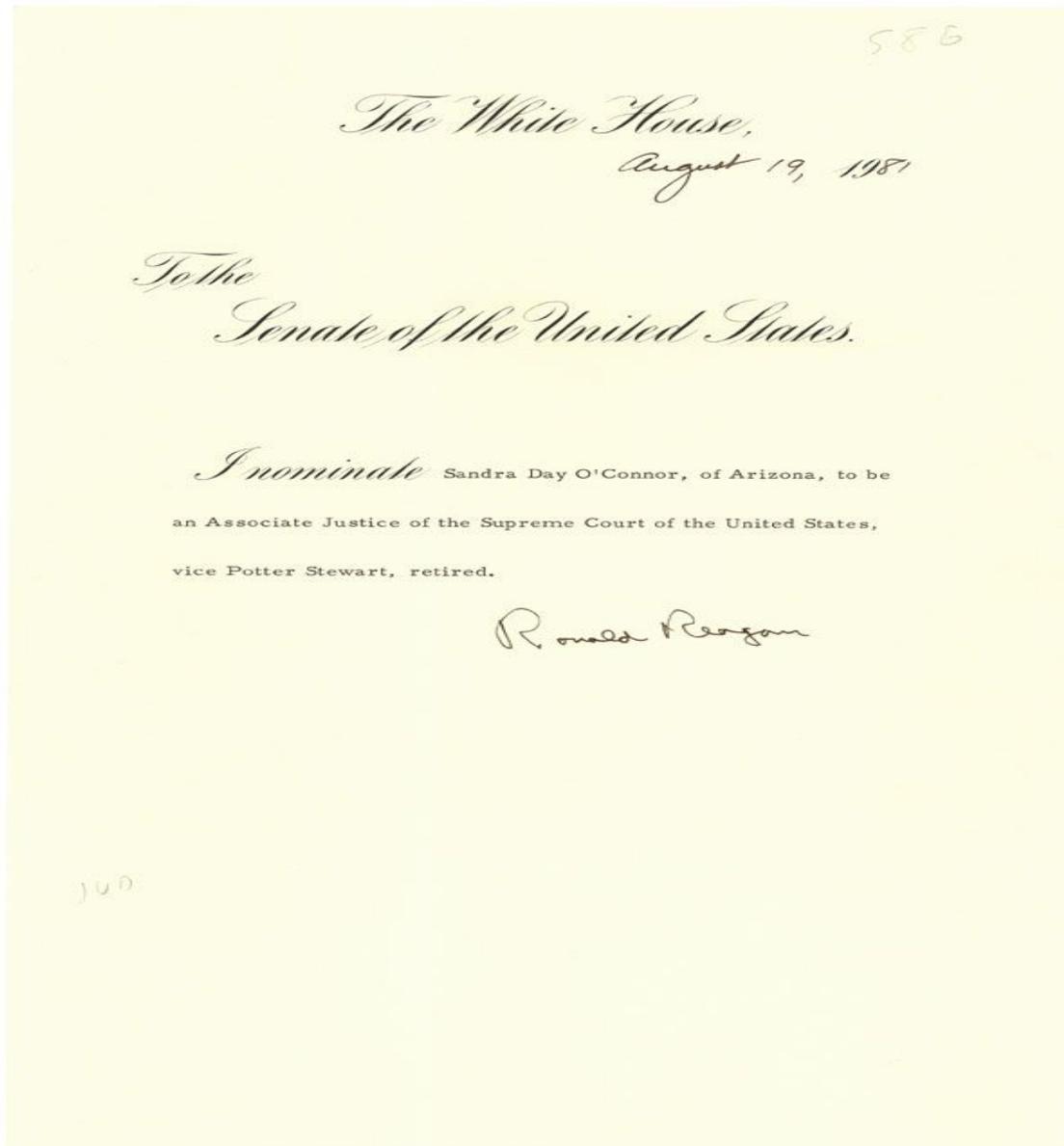
In addition to the protection of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VI of the Civil Rights Act prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, color or national origin in programs or activities

receiving Federal financial assistance. Employment discrimination is covered by Title VI if the primary objective of the financial assistance is provision of employment, or where employment discrimination causes or may cause discrimination in providing services under such programs. Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 prohibits employment discrimination on the basis of sex in educational programs or activities which receive Federal assistance.

If you believe you have been discriminated against in a program of any institution which receives Federal assistance, you should contact immediately the Federal agency providing such assistance.

Source : EEOC , Equal Employment opportunity Commission "poster about the Law.

Document 14: Sandra Day O'Connor was appointed in 1981 by President Reagan as he promised in his campaign of 1980.



Source : National Archives :The Center for Legislative Archives, Reagan's Nomination of O'Connor, Aug 19, 1981. Available at <https://www.archives.gov/legislative/features/oconnor.html>

← New York Daily News, 1970 - Ph...  
www.nydailynews.com

DAILY NEWS

Members of Mom (Men Are Our Masters) gather at City Hall while women's lib ladies cut up a midiskirt on Fifth Ave. to demonstrate their independence of the fashion industry's dictates.




## Gals Give This Man's Town the Biz

By MARYANNE McNELLIS and ELLEN FLEYSHER

Women activists, only a few thousand strong but all in fine feminine fettle, struck yesterday for women's equality in daylong demonstrations that denounced government and private business, the fashion industry, social security laws and even the venerable Katie Gibbs secretarial school.

The women hit Times Square, City Hall, Wall Street, Federal Plaza and Fifth Ave. near Rockefeller Center.

There were no arrests or casualties, but Estelle Martin, a member of the Radical Feminists, was furiously ejected from the Social Security Building at 28 Federal Plaza.

Late in the afternoon with the demonstrations still going on about town, the girls were assembling at 10th St. for a triumphant march down Fifth Ave. to Bryant Park.

Betty Sounds the Call

The day's keynote was sounded by 1941 veteran fighter Betty Friedman, a founder of the National Organization of Women, who proclaimed:

"We are not a small minority. We are an oppressed majority. The feminist movement has become the largest movement for social and political change in the '60s."

In this heady spirit, the girls romped into what was once a men's bar at the Plaza and threw off the chains of fashion outside Bonwit Teller's by publicly sewing a midiskirt into little pieces.

The Only Way, She Says

"This is only one way in which women are told what they must be," Lindsey Van Gelder, a spokesman said daffily. "From now on, we are going to define what we are."

The mid-*a* brown tall, button-down front, Size 4—was gladly sacrificed by Truena Keshner, who said she had "purchased it in a moment of weakness—every time I tried it on and looked in the mirror, I thought I looked like an old hag."

On the 50th anniversary of winning the right to vote, the women were plunging forward "to complete the unfinished business of their equality." They demanded equal opportunity in jobs and education, 24-hour universal child care under community con-



NEWS photo by Charles Rosenberg

Bella Abzug (left), congressional candidate, and Marie Goldberg, executive director of Women's Medical Center, place plaque at dedication ceremony for building.

## Ex-Suffragette Votes No

By JOSEPH MODZICKI

"God did make us different," reasoned Dorothy Fooks, thus injecting a bit of biological warfare into the battle of the sexes, now nearly 74—the doughty Miss Fooks refuses to be cowed by the angry herd of feminists who rallied yesterday under the flag of Women's Liberation.

"I was known as the 'child suffragette,'" she recalled proudly, "I went into rollers to repair plumbing," she added.




# U.S. Elections

## Women in Politics

U.S. Department of State  
Bureau of International Information Programs



### A Woman's Place

In the late 18th century, Western governments were run by white men who probably couldn't imagine women running for any elected office, let alone the presidency.



**Abigail Adams** was ahead of her time in her advocacy for inclusion. "Remember the ladies," she wrote to her husband, the revolutionary leader John Adams, in March 1776, when he was a delegate to the Continental Congress. She urged that Congress consider the rights of women as it laid the foundations for American independence.

"Remember, all men would be tyrants if they could," she wrote. "If particular care and attention is not paid to the ladies, we are determined to foment a rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound by

any laws in which we have no voice or representation."

Abigail Adams became the first lady when her husband succeeded George Washington as president in 1797.

Between Abigail Adams' letter and the 2008 campaign of **Hillary Rodham Clinton**, the first politically viable female candidate for president, generations of American women overcame stereotypes and broke down barriers to elected office.

In 1887, **Susanna Madora Salter** was elected mayor of Argonia, Kansas, becoming the first female U.S. mayor only weeks after Kansas women earned voting rights. Some men had nominated the 27-year-old Salter as a joke, but the joke was on them when she won the election.

### Women in Congress

**Jeannette Rankin**, a Republican of Montana, took her seat in the U.S. House of Representatives on April 2, 1916, as the first woman elected to Congress – even before the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920 gave all American women the right to vote in elections.

Rankin maintained that women's talents and expertise were needed to build better societies. "Men and women are like right and left hands; it doesn't make sense not to use both," she said.

In 1932, **Hattie Caraway**, initially appointed to fill her late husband's seat, became the first woman elected to the Senate in her own right, representing Arkansas. Nick-



named "silent Hattie" for the rarity of her public speeches, Caraway took her responsibilities seriously and built a reputation for integrity.

**Margaret Chase Smith** represented Maine first in the U.S. House of Representatives and then in the U.S. Senate – the first woman to serve in both chambers of Congress. In 1964, Republican Smith became the first woman considered for the presidential nomination at a national convention; she lost to Barry Goldwater.

Top: Hillary Clinton campaigned for the Democratic presidential nomination in 2008. Left: Abigail Adams urged women's rights in 1776. Right: Jeannette Rankin became the first congresswoman.

Source: Top: GOP Records, LLC; Bottom: Department of State, Bureau of International Information Programs.



**National Candidates**

**Shirley Chisholm** of New York — the first black woman elected to Congress and a champion of minority rights — campaigned for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1972. Chisholm struggled to be taken seriously; newscaster Walter Cronkite announced her candidacy by saying “a new hat — rather, a bonnet — was tossed into the Democratic presidential race today.” Chisholm lost the nomination to George McGovern.

In 1984, **Geraldine Ferraro** campaigned as the Democratic candidate for vice president. In accepting the nomination, the New York representative said, “By choosing a woman to run for our nation’s second highest office, you sent a powerful signal to all Americans. There are no doors we cannot unlock. We will place no limits on achievement.”

When President George W. Bush delivered his State of the Union address in January 2007, the first female speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, **Nancy Pelosi** from San Francisco, sat behind him on the dais. (The speaker is next in line of succession to the presidency after the vice president.)

President Bush called Pelosi’s ascension to the post of speaker “historic for our country. And as the father of young women ... I think it’s important.”

In 2008, **Sarah Palin** became the Republican Party’s first female nominee for vice president.

In June 2008, former first lady **Hillary Rodham Clinton**, a U.S. senator from New York, ended her historic bid for the U.S. presidency. The 18 million primary votes she had won by June were not going to be enough to secure the Democratic nomination.

“Think how much progress we’ve already made,” Clinton told her supporters. “... [F]rom now on it will be unremarkable for a woman to win primary state victories, unremarkable to have a woman in a close race to be our nominee, unremarkable to think that a woman can be the president of the United States.”

Top: Suffragettes march for women’s right to vote in 1912. Second row, left to right: Argonia, Kansas, Mayor Susanna Madara Saller; U.S. Senator Hattie Caraway; U.S. Senator Margaret Chase Smith; U.S. Representative Shirley Chisholm; Representative Geraldine Ferraro; U.S. Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi.

Images: Top, GIP/Thomas; Madara Saller, left to right; Madara Saller, U.S. Congress; GIP/Thomas; GIP/Thomas on right.



U.S. Department of State  
Bureau of International Information Programs

Source: IIP (Department’s Bureau of International Information Programs (IIP) Publications.

Document 17: 10,000 marchers demonstrated in the United States to pass ERA ( Equal Right Amendment)1976



Source : TheGuardian Sept 7 ,2016.



*Document 19:* UN ( United Nations Entity for Gender equality and the Empowerment of Women) General Assembly resolution 34/180 December 18,1979.

**CONVENTION ON THE ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN**

The States Parties to the present Convention,

Noting that the Charter of the United Nations reaffirms faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women,

Noting that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights affirms the principle of the inadmissibility of discrimination and proclaims that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights and that everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth therein, without distinction of any kind, including distinction based on sex,

Noting that the States Parties to the International Covenants on Human Rights have the obligation to ensure the equal rights of men and women to enjoy all economic, social, cultural, civil and political rights,

Considering the international conventions concluded under the auspices of the United Nations and the specialized agencies promoting equality of rights of men and women,

Noting also the resolutions, declarations and recommendations adopted by the United Nations and the specialized agencies promoting equality of rights of men and women,

Concerned, however, that despite these various instruments extensive discrimination against women continues to exist,

Recalling that discrimination against women violates the principles of equality of rights and respect for human dignity, is an obstacle to the participation of women, on equal terms with men, in the political, social, economic and cultural life of their countries, hampers the growth of the prosperity of society and the family and makes more difficult the full development of the potentialities of women in the service of their countries and of humanity,

Concerned that in situations of poverty women have the least access to food, health, education, training and opportunities for employment and other needs,

Convinced that the establishment of the new international economic order based on equity and justice will contribute significantly towards the promotion of equality between men and women,

Emphasizing that the eradication of apartheid, all forms of racism, racial discrimination, colonialism, neo-colonialism, aggression, foreign occupation and domination and interference in the internal affairs of States is essential to the full enjoyment of the rights of men and women,

Affirming that the strengthening of international peace and security, the relaxation of international tension, mutual co-operation among all States irrespective of their social and economic systems, general and complete disarmament, in particular nuclear disarmament under strict and effective international control, the affirmation of the principles of justice, equality and mutual benefit in relations among countries and the realization of the right of peoples under alien and colonial domination and foreign occupation to self-determination and independence, as well as respect for national sovereignty and territorial integrity, will promote social progress and development and as a consequence will contribute to the attainment of full equality between men and women,

Convinced that the full and complete development of a country, the welfare of the world and the cause of peace require the maximum participation of women on equal terms with men in all fields,

Bearing in mind the great contribution of women to the welfare of the family and to the development of society, so far not fully recognized, the social significance of maternity and the role of both parents in the family and in the upbringing of children, and aware that the role of women in procreation should not be a basis for discrimination but that the upbringing of children requires a sharing of responsibility between men and women and society as a whole,

Aware that a change in the traditional role of men as well as the role of women in society and in the family is needed to achieve full equality between men and women,

Determined to implement the principles set forth in the Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women and, for that purpose, to adopt the measures required for the elimination of such discrimination in all its forms and manifestations,

Have agreed on the following:

## PART I

### *Article 1*

For the purposes of the present Convention, the term "discrimination against women" shall mean any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field.

### *Article 2*

States Parties condemn discrimination against women in all its forms, agree to pursue by all appropriate means and without delay a policy of eliminating discrimination against women and, to this end, undertake:

- (a) To embody the principle of the equality of men and women in their national constitutions or other appropriate legislation if not yet incorporated therein and to ensure, through law and other appropriate means, the practical realization of this principle;
- (b) To adopt appropriate legislative and other measures, including sanctions where appropriate, prohibiting all discrimination against women;
- (c) To establish legal protection of the rights of women on an equal basis with men and to ensure through competent national tribunals and other public institutions the effective protection of women against any act of discrimination;

(d) To refrain from engaging in any act or practice of discrimination against women and to ensure that public authorities and institutions shall act in conformity with this obligation;

(e) To take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women by any person, organization or enterprise;

(f) To take all appropriate measures, including legislation, to modify or abolish existing laws, regulations, customs and practices which constitute discrimination against women;

(g) To repeal all national penal provisions which constitute discrimination against women.

*Source : UN ( United Nations Entity for Gender equality and the Empowerment of Women)  
General Assembly resolution 34/180 December 18, 1979.*

## **APPENDIX B**

### **INTERVIEW MODEL**

**Thesis Interview Model.**

#### **An Interview**

**Title: Gender and Women's Issues Under the American Administrations over the period 1970-2015.**

This interview is intended to evaluate the history of gender equality and inequality in the United States over the period 1970-2015. So by evaluating the role of the Political Parties' agendas during their Administrations since 1970 till 2015 and comparing these agendas with the performances of Presidents, we may have good results to help women find a comprehensive idea about their status in order to achieve progress for their situation. Depending on the experienced contemporary history of the United States in gender inequality and equality we can help the investigator to answer the following questions by explaining the answers briefly to help us decide the reasons behind your answer whether it is Yes or No :

**Q1 : Do you think that changing of the ruling party in the United States adversely affects the achievement of progress in women's rights?**

**Q2: Do you believe that the Political Parties participated in retreating women`s role in the United States ?**

**Q3: Do you think that women in the United States can do better for their case outside Political Parties?**

**Q4: Do you believe that the solution for women`s issues in the United States must be introduced through the law as a complete package ?**

**Q5: Do you believe that men can decide on behalf of women in the United States in any women`s issue?**

**Q6: Do you think that women can practice pressure on Politicians to have their right without affiliation to any party in the United States?**

**Q7: Do you think that the vote is the only way to achieve women`s goal?**

**Q8: Do you think that civil society organizations and women center can help women to accomplish their goal?**

**Q9: Do you think that the work of women in high positions may help them solve their other problems in all fields?**

**Q10: Do you think that women can manage high-ranking positions excellently in the United States?**

**This choice is optional if you decide to mention your name in the body text of the thesis:**

**Your Name:**

**Your State:**

**Your Position:**

**End of the Interview**

**APPENDIX C**  
**QUESTIONNAIRE MODEL**

**Thesis Questionnaire**

**Gender and Women's Issues Under the American Administrations over the period 1970-2015.**

This questionnaire is intended to evaluate the history of gender equality and inequality in the United States over the period 1970-2015. So by evaluating the role of the Political Parties' agendas during their Administrations since 1970 till 2015 and comparing these agendas with the performances of Presidents, we may have good results to help women find a comprehensive idea about their status in order to achieve progress for their situation. Depending on the experienced contemporary history of the United States in gender inequality and equality we can help the investigator to answer the following questions:

**What is your age?**

- 18 to 24
- 25 to 34
- 35 to 44
- 45 to 54
- 55 to 64
- 65 to 74
- 75 or older

**What is your Gender ?**

- Female
- Male

**What is your nationality?**

**Do you think that changing of the ruling party in the United States adversely affects the achievement of progress in women's rights?**

- Yes
- No

**Do you believe that the Political Parties participated in retreating women's role in the United States ?**

- Yes
- No

**Do you think that women in the United States can do better for their case outside Political Parties?**

- Yes
- No

**Do you believe that the solution for women`s issues in the United States must be introduced through the law as a complete package ?**

- Yes
- No

**Do you believe that men can decide on behalf of women in the United States in any women`s issue?**

- Yes
- No

**Do you think that women can practice pressure on Politicians to have their right without affiliation to any party in the United States?**

- Yes
- No

**Do you think that the vote is the only way to achieve women`s goal?**

- Yes
- No

**Do you think that civil society organizations and women center can help women to accomplish their goal?**

- Yes
- No

**Do you think that the work of women in high positions may help them solve their other problems in all fields?**

- Yes
- No

**Do you think that women can manage high-ranking positions excellently in the United States?**

- Yes
- No

**End of Questionnaire**

End of the the Thesis