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The Institutions and Ideas of Women's Studies: From Critique to New Construction

Women's studies began in the United States in the late 1960's from both a critique and a constructive impulse. An essential part of women's studies at every level, every activity, every faction, is negative in content: the critique, sometimes angry, of the pervasive patriarchy of academe and the utter failure of the curriculum, like the rest of the society, to explain or provide adequately for women at any level. But women's studies also incorporates a relentlessly optimistic hope: to create within academe a feminist enclave that is a positive force for the liberation of women, with its first mission the transformation of academe itself.

By 1983, women's studies in the U.S. has become established and legitimate. The new scholarship on women, including clearly identified feminist critiques and interpretations, is now an accepted part of most scholarly disciplines, with topics like the psychology of women or women's history as legitimate as any other subfield. Articles and papers are accepted in prestigious mainstream journals and conferences and by major publishers, as well as in new scholarly forums established specifically for women's studies. There are 445 women's studies programs in colleges and universities, and perhaps thirty thousand courses offered nationwide. The growth has been phenomenal: tenfold since 1972, when the first count was published. Some of these programs are small, sometimes just a committee of interested people who give each other mutual support, publish a list of courses focusing on women, and perhaps sponsor a colloquium on topics of interest to women. But 315 of these programs offer some form of undergraduate concentration, minor, or degree, and 55 have graduate programs as well. Although women's studies began in large rather than small institutions, and public rather than private ones, in recent years the most prestigious universities have joined the movement, as programs have been established at Stanford, Yale, and Princeton.[1]

It is extremely difficult to define or describe what women's studies is in the United States. It includes a number of different institutions and ideas, none of which is fully representative of the movement as a whole. Women's studies consists of a number of separate activities — notably both scholarship and teaching — which are to some extent located in separate networks, although often carried out by the same people. Some of the diversity comes from our history; women's studies courses, programs and scholarship have evolved in different ways from different starting points. Moreover, since so much of women's studies has been a critique of the inadequacy and especially the elitist narrowness

principles is an almost visceral determination that no woman (or group of women) should be shut out, which at least promotes continuing discussion and occasionally bitter argument among factions. But the lack of consensus also has meant that people with different ideas about what constitutes the important work of women's studies often work separately, with relatively little awareness of what other women's studies people do or think.

Several different cross-cutting divisions within women's studies are clearly visible. Splits are most easily identified during disagreements; and during its eventful thirteen-year history U.S. women's studies has had many. It is tempting to regard these splits as "radical" vs. "liberal," corresponding to the major division within contemporary U.S. feminism. Yet the splits are not really ideological. Arguments within women's studies are about internal matters like structure, process, priorities, style, strategy, and even personalities, rather than ultimate goals; and they spring frequently from status and position within women's studies itself, and correspondingly different ideas about how to change things, rather than from differing ideologies about the world at large.

One of the earliest, noisiest splits to surface was between "academic" and "community" women. The "community" women identified themselves primarily as feminist activists, though they may also have been students or faculty members; their primary interest is women's studies was as part of the broader women's liberation movement; and they felt strong hostility to academe's general elitism and irrelevance to women's real needs. "Academic" women, on the other hand, were often criticized for the positions they held (or aspired to) within academe, relatively prestigious and powerful professors or administrators, sometimes tenured. Academic women were able to operate within the traditional academic system, and often worked for structures and processes which could win reforms there. Such reforms naturally placed the "established" academic women in leadership positions, which did not conform to radical feminist principles of collectivity and nonhierarchical organization. The academic women were challenged for having too much power within the movement, constituting an internal elite to be resisted. In some ways these factions were "radical" and "liberal," in the sense of the feminist movement. The "radicals" want women's studies as a means to women's liberation, rather than an end in itself, placing relatively little weight on intermediate steps like establishing legitimacy and position within academic institutions, or on the traditional values of scholarship and the academy; they are hostile to hierarchy as means or end. The "liberals," in contrast, accept many of those values and are more interested in reform within the university itself, perhaps as a goal in itself, or with assumed faith that change within academe could lead to change in the larger society. This conflict was voiced at a number of early conferences in women's studies, and surfaced within many women's studies programs trying to establish their own structure and control.[2]

Though these tensions persist between women's studies' academic and activist goals, there has been less discussion of these issues for several [illegible]

there is no opposition — no faction justifying racism and heterosexism per se — but there is insensitivity, ignorance, slowness, and considerable failure of imagination among white, straight women.

This paper examines women's studies in the United States today with special focus on its institutions and ideas. A model of change over time is also implicit. Women's studies is no longer a shapeless, powerless revolutionary vision. It has content and institutions of its own. From the anger and hopes of the early years, the fledgling institutions have developed and now have new needs of their own, which strengthen some ideas perceived as conservative. At the same time, however, and perhaps unexpectedly, the most surprising and sparkling development has been the new scholarship. Thirteen years of research and publishing have uncovered and developed new ideas, not just about oppression and revolution, but about women, women's culture, and what it means to be human. These ideas have turned out to be the true revolutionary force of women's studies, which will alter profoundly not only the institutions of higher education but all of the understandings and knowledge which are housed therein.

National Women's Studies Association: Limited Inclusiveness

The only organization which promotes and claims to represent all levels and activities of women's studies in the United States is the National Women's Studies Association (NWSA), founded at a special convention in 1977 in San Francisco "to further the social, political and professional development of Women's Studies throughout the country and the world, at every educational level and in every educational setting."[4] NWSA resembles a professional association of an academic discipline (e.g. Modern Language Association, American Sociological Association), with a membership up to about 2,000; national headquarters at the University of Maryland; a paid staff including a coordinator with an advanced degree; an annual conference featuring papers and workshops; and academically oriented projects, including a large federal grant to develop women's studies service-learning courses (which give students an opportunity to work in community agencies). NWSA leaders have been called on frequently to speak as official representatives of the women's studies.

But NWSA also differs from traditional professional associations in important ways. Wishing to combat elitist "professionalism," NWSA has attempted to include all the voices and viewpoints within feminist education, especially oppressed and underrepresented ones. This energetic and largely successful attempt is neglected in NWSA's constitution, structure, process, and activities. NWSA's founders were especially concerned about three factors that could prevent the organization from being fully representative: the dominance of certain geographical regions, societal oppression of certain groups of women, and differences of power and status within women's studies itself. Both the constitution and the budget have been structured to combat these factors.[5]

To make sure that NWSA represents the entire country, the basic structure provides for equal representation from each of ten regions, which are also expected to have independent organizations and leadership. (Regional organizations are strongest in the large urban

women traveling long distances, but this innovation has not worked well. The location of national conferences rotates around the country.

A unique caucus system also attempts to guarantee a voice to groups which are either oppressed within contemporary American society (lesbian and "third world") or whose views might otherwise be underrepresented within NWSA (students, community colleges, program administrators,[6] and prek-12[7]).

The caucus structure has had notable effects on NWSA. It has shaped our sense of who we are: NWSA has tended to focus on race, heterosexism, and academic status as factors that divide us, rather than class or ideology. The caucuses have also influenced the policies and finances of the organization. For example, the student caucus, with others, presses the issue of equal access for low-income women by requesting sliding scales for dues, conference fees, and below-cost services such as housing at the conferences. The Lesbian Caucus has raised issues of separate conference housing and closed sessions for lesbians. The Association has attempted since 1981 (although with very minimal success) to provide special conference scholarship and travel funds for third world women; and the Third World Caucus has challenged NWSA's acceptance of funding from and provision of space to the U.S. Agency for International Development because it is sexist, racist and imperialist in its dealings with third world countries. The theme of the third national NWSA conference in 1981 was "Women Respond to Racism," featuring daily consciousness-raising sessions so that NWSA members could personally confront and begin to change racist attitudes.

NWSA is also more openly political than traditional professional associations, finding the alleged distance between "professionalism" and politics intellectually dishonest in general, and undesirable in an organization explicitly linked with feminism. Although no one questions that women's studies is "feminist," the precise relationship between the academic work and the social change movement is not clear. The NWSA constitution attempts to define the relationship by naming women's studies a constituent part of the feminist movement: "Women's studies owes its existence to the movement for the liberation of women," it declares; and "Feminist education is a process deeply rooted in the women's movement and remains accountable to that community." Feminist education is defined as "not only the pursuit of knowledge about women, but also the development of knowledge for women, a force which furthers the realization of feminist aims." NWSA's "political" aspect, however, with respect to the world outside its own boundaries, consists mainly of taking official stands on a number of non-"academic" issues, by passing resolutions at the annual national convention denouncing or supporting something and sending follow-up letters. In the 1980's, this activity sometimes seems ritualistic and ineffective.

The resolutions do, however, reflect the nature and depth of NWSA's commitment to be a broadly inclusive organization. NWSA defines feminism not simply as the struggle against patriarchy and sexism, but against every form of oppression. The constitution declares:

religion, ethnicity, and sexual orientation as well as other barriers to human liberation inherent in the structure of our society.

Thus NWSA's Delegate Assembly has officially protested not only budget cuts in women's studies programs and censorship of feminist books in public schools and libraries, but also the proposed Family Protection Act; U.S. militarism, defense spending, and racist imperialistic policies in the third world; United Artists' film *Windows*, for its portrayal of lesbians; the illegal racist frameup of Black civil rights activists Maggie Bozeman and Julia Wilder; and apartheid. NWSA has officially supported Women's Studies Day, National Women's History Week, and the ERA, as well as the Voting Rights Act, legislation to prohibit discrimination because of sexual preference, and a policy on terrorism against Blacks in the U.S.[8] No one present objects that such resolutions are not "academic" or appropriate for NWSA. The association established its "political" nature so long ago that anyone with more narrow academic interests either keeps silent during the business meetings or stays away from them.

Because of its central position and its self-proclaimed mission and scope, it is tempting to identify NWSA with women's studies in the U.S. The only other candidate for the national voice of U.S. women's studies is the *Women's Studies Quarterly*, a periodical founded in 1972 by Florence Howe to help build a network among people interested in women's studies at all educational levels, and the official newsletter of the NWSA from its founding convention in 1977 to 1982.[9] The *Women's Studies Quarterly* does not publish scholarly research, but it is the only periodical to report regularly on women's studies at all educational levels, nationally and internationally, including programs, projects, courses, teaching materials and techniques, organizations, activities, and the NWSA.

Yet NWSA, despite its purpose and its constitutional innovations, it not an all-inclusive organization; and the influence of the *Women's Studies Quarterly* has limits. Many people deeply committed to women's studies in the United States remain outside NWSA — some because they are unaware or uninterested, some because they have resigned or refuse to become involved. The resulting boundaries of women's studies' major national voices thus take on functional implications. Most notably absent from NWSA are some of the leading scholars and researchers in women's studies, the "big names" whose writing is women's studies' most important content. NWSA and the *Women's Studies Quarterly* emphasize organizational and pedagogical aspects of women's studies, with NWSA in particular focusing on the links between women's studies and the feminist movement. The scholarly and research aspects of women's studies tend to be outside NWSA, with institutional structures that emphasize links to the traditional academic disciplines.

Scholarship and Publishing: Tied to the Disciplines

The premier U.S. journal publishing the new scholarship on women is *Signs*, founded by Catharine Stimpson in 1975 and published by the University of Chicago Press. *Signs* is a journal for all of women's studies, publishing research articles of the highest quality, and maintaining a broad overview of developments in all branches of women's studies through a series of review essays. U.S. women's studies also has several other successful journals carrying scholarship from throughout the field, such as *Feminist Studies* and *Women's Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal* (both founded in 1972), and *Frontiers* (since 1975).[10] These are all independent, not affiliated with NWSA or any other women's studies organization beyond their own editorial [illegible]

Yet even the combined output of these journals is but a fraction of the published research of women's studies. The bulk of our scholarship is identified not with women's studies, but with the traditional disciplines. It is sometimes performed, presented, or published in the forums of the established disciplines in the humanities and social sciences — since women's studies and feminist scholarship have by now securely won this limited legitimacy of token acceptance as permissible disciplinary specializations. In addition, there are a whole range of journals, conferences, and organizations dedicated to a single discipline's scholarship on women. These include a number of national and regional conferences every year, such as the highly respected conference on women's history sponsored by the Berkshire Conference of Women Historians, or the Women's Theatre Program preconvention at the American Theatre Association; and publications like the *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *Sex Roles: A Journal of Research*, *Women and Literature*, *Hypatia* (on philosophy), and the *Women's Art Journal*.

Many of these activities are affiliated with women's caucuses tied to the traditional disciplines, such as the Association for Women in Psychology, Sociologists for Women in Society, the Women's Caucus of the Modern Language Association, the Coordinating Committee on Women in the Historical Profession/Conference Group on Women's History. Some of these organizations were founded primarily to promote equal opportunity for women within their given professions, but they are also important to the new scholarship about women, pulling together bibliography, sponsoring publications and holding major academic conferences highlighting the new research. They generally lack paid staff, but have excellent newsletters, and together are far larger than NWSA.[11]

An effect of these arrangements is that the new scholarship on women tends to be located "closer" to the old disciplines than to women's studies. The disciplines, not women's studies, provide the prestigious avenues of publication, and ultimately the identity of women's studies scholarship. It is known as "psychology of women" or "women's history" of "feminist literary criticism" rather than "psychological women's studies" or "women's studies history"; and the scholars identify themselves as psychologists or historians not "women's studies people." This division of research into disciplinary specializations makes it more difficult to integrate the work into a coherent, comprehensive scholarship on women. the scholars write from their discipline's particular frame of reference; they don't speak each other's professional languages; and often are reluctant to learn about or write for people in other disciplines.[12] Relatedly, there is no comprehensive central index for women's studies (the *Women's Studies Abstracts* is an unsubsidized one-woman operation); and scholars have to search through the indexes and references of a number of different disciplines to get through coverage of work already published.

The scholarship of women's studies, closely tied to the disciplines, is also correspondingly less closely tied, at least in an organizational and rhetorical sense, to the feminist movement, since NWSA is women's studies' principal link to so-called "political" concerns. It seems possible that the strong political tone of NWSA, and its hostility to "elites," make many scholars uncomfortable and keep them away. On the other hand, it is also true that some individuals are active in both sets of institutions. Cultivation of

from politics, and to leave it divided along disciplinary lines, rather than organized in a way that can provide not only services to scholarship (bibliographies as well as teaching aids), but the meeting of minds necessary to develop a solid, overall vision — in other words, an academic discipline.

One other major structure of U.S. women's studies unites scholars, teachers and administrators: the programs in colleges and universities, which now number almost 500.

Interdisciplinary Programs in Colleges and Universities

Women's studies in colleges and universities is, with few exceptions, organized as an "interdisciplinary" program,"[13] which means that it is not an autonomous department; it is a committee, or network, or collective, which coordinates (and depends on) resources actually controlled by someone else. The vast majority of faculty teaching women's studies are employed by traditional departments, on departmental budgets; their courses are officially by those departments. Women's studies itself usually has control over only a small operating budget, and an extremely small amount of paid staff time, if any at all; a common pattern is to "release" part of a faculty member's time for coordinating the women's studies program. At most, the interdisciplinary program may have a few lines, often part-time people, to teach a few "core" courses. The degrees offered in women's studies are seldom given in women's studies per se; they are either under a standard interdisciplinary rubric such as "social sciences," "humanities," "liberal studies," or "interdisciplinary studies," or specializations within a particular department, or individually designed majors.

We worked within this framework for over a decade, expanding it somewhat, learning its strengths and limitations.[14] It allowed us to become established fairly rapidly within colleges and universities, and it will probably help us resist utter destruction, since a widespread network is difficult to eradicate. Being "interdisciplinary" also gives us breadth, since we can draw on the perspectives, talents, and energies of a wide range of interested supporters from a variety of fields. It is a structure which maintains strong channels for communication and influence between women's studies and the departments; these ties may make it easier for us to change the rest of the university. At the same time, however, being interdisciplinary and dependent gives the departments influence over us, hampering the strongest development of our own programs.

We acquired this structure initially for two very different reasons. One reason is pragmatic: this was easiest. "Interdisciplinary" programs already existed in other subjects, so feminists were relieved of carrying the entire general argument for academic innovation and for interdisciplinary cooperation and degrees. The program model had already been used for academic units focusing on a particular place or time, on a particular social problem, or an oppressed group. Women's studies had only to fit into this common pattern. The "interdisciplinary" model also required only the resources we already had — namely a number of people with feminist commitments and developing, but not yet deep or broad,

The "interdisciplinary" structure also fitted the ideology of both radicals and liberals within women's studies. Most women's studies programs have not wanted to be departments, even if they could be.[16] The more radical founders strongly rejected traditional academic structures. Departments reify the "male" fragmentation of knowledge into separate compartments, denying connections, whereas women's studies was to include all knowledge and eschew artificial divisions and exclusions. Departments are elitist and hierarchical. They are headed by a single individual; and only certain people, namely those with with high rank and power, may make important decisions — either only faculty, or sometimes only tenured faculty. Women's studies wanted to be much more open and much more democratic, partly out of general hostility to elitism and exclusion, partly because our collectivity is our major strength, partly to be able to include the insights and energy of our large, varied constituency, and partly because of out intuitive dislike of excluding anyone, at least openly. Early women's studies committees strove to include students, community women (feminist activists), and support staff (program secretaries and assistants) in decision-making positions whenever possible.

Sometimes these principles were applied in a constructive way to create dramatically new forms of academic governance. The first women's studies program in the country, founded at San Diego State University in 1970, was planned as part of a ten-part women's center run collectively. SUNY-Buffalo's program took advantage of a unique "college system," founding a large program in which both teaching and governance are mostly in the hands of students and non-university "community" people.

But these innovative structures have not survived intact; autonomous collective governance in particular has largely perished. In 1974, believing that their women's studies program was compromised and coopted by its close association with the university, the entire faculty of women's studies at San Diego State University resigned. The university hired new faculty, however, and retains a women's studies program structured as an autonomous department. Women's studies at SUNY-Buffalo has been threatened repeatedly with budget cuts and even dissolution, over issues such as collective structure and excluding men from certain courses. The program now may have only one coordinator.[17] At Portland State University, the women's studies program had a major crisis when it was required to appoint a single coordinator, and many supporters left the program in protest over the change. In 1981, women's studies at the University of Illinois at Chicago Circle fought off disproportionate budget cuts proposed because their administrative structures looked costly to an administration not sympathetic to the rationale.[18]

But if the radicals' innovations have not lasted, the aversion to traditional academic department has; and the interdisciplinary program model at least appears highly democratic. Rotating the coordinator position prevents long-lasting hierarchy; and women's studies committees and meetings can be quite open. Even more important, however, is a very different rationale that came from an altogether different quarter: women with some position within academe, part of the "establishment" and more directly focused on changing universities than in the more remote effects on society at large.

This rationale for avoiding department structure is fr[illegible]

else) because they were too autonomous, focused too much inward. Thus, although many colleges and universities established separate units for these academic subjects, the new units remained powerless. They were unable to gain respect from other academic units, and were unable to do anything significantly to challenge racism or sexism. Separation, in this scenario, leads directly to trivialization; and the interdisciplinary structure, with its dispersion of women's studies faculty and courses to the departments, was expected to give us more power for affecting the entire university.[19]

With both radical and liberal hostility to departmental structure, most women's studies programs have little alternative to being "interdisciplinary." The exact focus of the program varies somewhat from school to school, such as the combination of women's studies and ethnic studies at California State University-Chico and Illinois State University-Normal; the "Program for the Study of Women and Men in Society" at the University of Southern California and "Men and Women: Perspectives on Sex and Gender" at John Carroll University; "Feminist Studies" at Standford; and "Gender Studies" at Hiram College. There are also several "consortial" programs that combine faculty from several different colleges, as in the Great Lakes area, the Claremont Colleges (California), and the Five Colleges in Massachusetts. Sometimes women's studies is closely affiliated with (or part of) a particular department, most commonly American studies or history, or sometimes English, psychology, sociology, or a department in education. A few women's studies programs are combined with Women's Resource Centers, providing student services and programming as well as coordinating an academic program.

An important recognition of academic legitimacy now held by 37 women's studies programs is the degree granted directly in women's studies, without going through a general rubric such as interdisciplinary studies or liberal studies. Some programs are gaining staff lines of their own, and a growing roster of independent courses offered and listed solely in women's studies. But lack of autonomy remains the most important deficiency of the "interdisciplinary" structure. Only a few programs — notably those at the University of South Florida, San Diego State University, and the University of Hawaii — are structured as departments, with power to hire and grant tenure on a number of faculty lines of their own.[20] When courses taught and listed in departments are cross-listed by the women's studies program, the power of women's studies is limited to the choice of listing or vetoing a course already approved and legitimated by another unit, with little power to change the content of the course or to structure the women's studies curriculum coherently and comprehensively. While the experience of most women's studies programs to date is support and cooperation from many departments, and especially from femininist faculty members in departments, cooperation is not power, which usually shows itself only during disagreement. A dilemma faced by many women's studies programs is the departmental course taught about women but from a non-feminist perspective. An interdisciplinary program focusing on women simply as subject matter would have little legitimate reason to refuse to list such a course. If, however, women's studies is a separate academic discipline, with its own body of knowledge and its own approach to organizing knowledge, it can distinguish itself from other approaches to the same subject matter (women) in the same

be penalized if women's studies is devalued, or seen as "outside" the "real" work of the department. Tenure for a women's studies faculty member in a department is cause for a major celebration; some women have been denied tenure because their work in women's studies was undervalued. Tenuring full-time faculty within women's studies itself would be a crucial step toward autonomy and permanence; but according to Florence Howe, fewer than five programs have tenured faculty or directors.[21] Probably the most desirable course for women's studies programs would be gradually to add faculty lines of their own, while continuing to cross-list departmental courses and to work with faculty housed elsewhere. Autonomy would thus be developed without losing the major strength of the "interdisciplinary" program model: the ability to draw on the talents of a comparatively large number of people distributed widely throughout the university, and to maintain working relationships with them.

Autonomy as Discipline and Department

Autonomy for women's studies implies two interrelated changes: being a discipline and being a department. In a logical world, academic structure should be shaped to fit the nature of the field, not vice versa, so the ultimate discussion should focus on the nature of women's studies as an approach to knowledge. I would argue that the interdisciplinary structure, though practical and reasonable for the early years of women's studies, is no longer appropriate because women's studies is maturing, becoming a distinctive academic discipline.[22]

But what about the often-expressed fear of isolation and ghettoization that allegedly accompany autonomy? Would the rest of the university ignore a department of women's studies more than an interdisciplinary program? The whole "ghettoization" argument, as used to support "interdisciplinary" rather than departmental structure, is probably a misunderstanding of the historical experience of Black studies and home economics, as well as an explanation that blames the victims (for making the wrong decisions or for somehow being too snooty and separatist) rather than the sexism and racism which were and still are at work. Was it really decisions made within home economics and Black studies, choosing autonomy and emphasizing the uniqueness of their academic fields, that limited their acceptance and influence within academe? I doubt it. Other new, "interdisciplinary" academic units have been founded in U.S. higher education, given autonomy, and accepted, such as linguistics and biochemistry. Formerly new approaches like psychoanalytic theory, various quantitative methods, and the use of computers have spread widely, regardless of whether there is a department of psychology, statistics or computer science. What make Black studies and home economics different, and women's studies as well, are racism and sexism.

Consider, then, what messages are given about the nature of women's studies by calling it "interdisciplinary." The other [illegible]

are committed permanently. Interdisciplinary programs also are usually organized around "problems" that seem to require the application of a number of different disciplines — with the fundamentally liberal assumption that throwing money and academic talent at problems will do something about them. We may think of sexism that way — a social problem to which knowledge should be applied — but I think that underestimates the way in which women's studies re-structures knowledge itself.

Interdisciplinary programs also, by their very nature, do not challenge but actually reinforce the primacy of the "regular" departments as the fundamental divisions of knowledge. The programs create formal means for people (and departments) to cooperate without losing any of their disciplinary identity. Faculty in interdisciplinary programs do not merge their disciplinary identities into some new identity because of their collaboration; they do not change their sense of how they and their work fit into the structure of knowledge. They may learn a bit about other disciplines, but they do not actually learn more than one discipline; and they continue to see themselves as firmly attached to the discipline of their training, which has shaped how they think, ask questions, and answer them. The same problem exists with the popular concept of "androgyny". This term denotes a combination of "masculinity" and "feminity" and gives that polarization legitimacy, which we might alternatively deny by focusing on a large and fundamental humanness and naming differences between the sexes as changeable results of power differentials. In reality, the existing disciplines (like sex roles) have been created by history and politics; and a new history may allow us to create a new discipline of women's studies that does more than simply combine the old ones.

There's more going on here than just symbolism. Our sense of community and ability to collaborate are influenced by out self-definition as well as by such practical issues as who pays our salaries and whether our offices are scattered among departments or located in a women's studies building. Of all our various tasks and commitments, this sense of community and collaboration is most important for our scholarship. Our teaching, our academic administration, and even our politics are coordinated reasonably well by the main institutions of women's studies — the programs, the NWSA, and the *Women's Studies Quarterly*; but we have been far less successful, either nationally or on many campuses, in coordinating research, which remains more meaningfully located "in the departments." I mean far more by this than simply our ability to produce scholarship, or to publish it, since the volume and quality of women's studies scholarship are not in question and the forums for its publication include so-called "interdisciplinary" ones. Research builds on itself in its most productive way only when researchers work on common ideas, visions, or paradigms. We must do more than simply work side by side on related topics or problems, with resulting anthologies of separate, incommensurable approaches that give us another opportunity to practice tolerance and pluralism. We could do far more to seriously evaluate our

paradoxes too: we have neither Ph.D. programs producing scholars trained wholly "in women's studies," nor autonomous departments hiring scholars and teachers with these credentials. Which should we establish first?

I would argue that we should be moving in this direction, determinedly, for another reason, which has to do with the nature of women's studies: are we a subject matter, a political movement, or an academic discipline? If we are simply new subject matter, we should probably be absorbed and "mainstreamed" by the traditional disciplines and eventually work ourselves out of business. If we are a political movement, our longevity within a conservative institution like higher education is problematic, both because we will not win much support and because the fear of cooptation will drive the true radicals out. But it we are an academic discipline — by which I mean mainly an organized approach to knowledge that is more than the sum of its disciplinary parts — we ought most properly to have the academic autonomy and academic freedom accorded to disciplines by housing them in departments. I think that we are, or at worst are becoming, this kind of academic discipline — not because we willed it, or because it is politically correct, but because women's studies scholars are asking new questions, evolving distinctive ways of answering them, and developing coherent new ways of looking at and understanding not just women's experience, but human phenomena.

The Ideas of Women's Studies

The sheer volume alone of women's studies scholarship would make it difficult to write an overview of its content; but its division into categories corresponding to the traditional disciplines makes the task even more daunting. Most review essays, whether published in *Signs* or a disciplinary journal, are written from the perspective of a single discipline.[23] Even research published in interdisciplinary women's studies journals, as well as that presented in forums tied to the traditional disciplines, tends to be written in professional languages sometimes mystifying to outsiders. Grounding in a traditional discipline affects the way one views women's studies scholarships as well as the way one writes it. For many observers trained in one traditional discipline, and only newly acquainted with women's studies research done in a different discipline, women's studies scholarship seems to be new, young, unformed. The most basic concepts from another discipline often are overvalued as innovations — a misevaluation that Catharine Stimpson has called a "fallacy of misplace originality."[24] When one views women from within a traditional discipline, it seems that scholarship grows as these "new" ideas are grafted onto the perspective one understands best; it appears that time will help to integrate our work. From this viewpoint, women's studies seems young and unformed, and any assessment of its common themes or structure would be premature.

From another perspective, however — "outside" or "above" the disciplines — women's studies does have form; it is uncoordinated; it is growing by leaps and bounds but in dozens of different places under different disguises; and time may or may not help us integrate it — depending on how we use that time. One way in which we might view this scholarship as a somewhat structured body is to note that similar themes are found in feminist scholarship in many different disciplines, and those themes which we hold in common across at least some disciplinary boundaries are the real content of the discipline of women's studies. I offer here some generalizations about what those common themes

Women's studies, in every discipline, has two basic impulses or commitments. One is negative, the other positive; one is critical, the other constructive; one is to challenge patriarchy, the other to study and understand women in their own right and in their own terms; one is a demand for liberty, the other a search for identity. Although some scholars focus more on one than the other of these two great themes, women's studies as a whole, and many individual works, interweave them.

The negative or "deconstructive" part of women's studies is founded on a deep challenge to all previous scholarship about women. The simplest is the early, by now convincingly demonstrated critique that traditional scholarship has simply left women out. Even within standard categories and conceptual frameworks women have been neglected, not to mention the absence of concepts and frameworks suitable for explaining and understanding women's live. The fundamental bias of "masculism," as defined by Shiela Ruth, is that it mistakes the part for the whole, assuming that the male realm is the human realm.[26] When women have been studied at all, they have been studied in a sexist way, affected by this masculist bias. Aristotle, Freud, Parsons, Kohlberg, Hemingway have all distorted our experience. Women have been defined as deviant, the "other," or in terms of men. Ignorance of women causes masculist scholarship to distort women's experience in countless different ways — as, to cite just one example, by seeing women as unchanging essences, unaffected by history, culture, class, race.

The critique of sexism has led women's studies scholars in many disciplines to denounce the foundations of traditional scholarship, including its methods and its underlying assumptions. An important criticism challenges "context-stripping" research, which views women's actions apart from the larger socio-political context which restricts choices and rewards or punishes women in particular ways. A more far-reaching challenge is to the very concept of "objectivity," which is seen as so flawed as to be useless. Feminist critics doubt that scholarship is very abstract, impersonal, or independent of the identity, status, and gender of the researcher, much less his or her values. Thus everything about modern scholarship, from the way experiments are designed to the way works of art and literature are evaluated, must be reconsidered for its maculist bias.[27]

The critique of sexist scholarship does not by itself and could not make women's studies an academic disciplines. It properly belongs within each of the traditional disciplines that it criticizes. The "constructive" part of women's studies is something else. If all other scholarship is flawed by its masculist bias, then women's studies has the possibility (and challenge) of creating a better understanding — either a more accurate and useful understanding of women, or perhaps by extension an improved vision of the whole world. A key question for women's studies is whether this new, better content is a coherent picture or whether it is dozens of different and unconnected pictures, corresponding to the traditional disciplines.

There are important obstacles in the way of women's studies' creation of a coherent constructive vision. Calling women's studies feminist scholarship does not solve the problem, even though virtually all women's studies people are self-proclaimed feminists of

and strategies for change. Women's studies in the U.S. has not resolved these differences, and has generally preferred to be an inclusive pluralism, encompassing all of these approaches, rather than attempting to create either a super-feminism that will supercede the others, or a watered-down consensus which might give the illusion of feminist unity.

But the constructive impulse is clearly there, has always been there, and is perhaps the special mission of women's studies in the context of the larger feminist movement. For if men have ignored and then misunderstood everything about women, we still need to recover our heritage and have some sense of who we are, where we have come from, what divides us and unites us, whether our individual experiences are shared or unique, how women participate in every arena of human activity, what ideas women have had and what works women have made.

It should be no surprise, however, that the strongest theme even in the constructive scholarship of women's studies focuses on oppression, women's studies' first vision of the reality of women's lives. While some scholars wrote of derogatory images of women in male-produced culture, or of the undervaluation of the cultural creations of women, or the themes of suppression found in women's expression, others studied the underrepresentation of women in positions of power, the structural biases of institutions, or the gender roles, socialization, and power imbalances that cause alleged "sex differences."

Women's studies would be pretty thin stuff if it had stopped there. There are probably several reasons why it didn't. The focus on oppression is less congenial for the personally comfortable or the fundamentally moderate or liberal scholars, than it is for radicals and outsiders. It is also frustrating and depressing to see women always as victims; we want a better identity than that, and something that belongs to us. Even more important, this vision is not even true. We know this because of our basic methodology, in both teaching and research: the emphasis on women's own voices interpreting their experiences.

This principle was first seen in women's studies classes that emphasized sharing of personal experiences; it contributes to a preference for qualitative over quantitative methods in research. It led to a widespread search for new data, including documents by women — whether formal or informal, such as letters and diaries. Some scholars found mostly evidence of oppression — women telling us of suffering and restriction. But researchers also found more: a relatively private women's culture, in which women do different things than men and value their own lives differently than the men around them do. If we try to see women's lives as women themselves see those lives, and to throw off the masculist bias that undervalues whatever part of human existence has been assigned to women, we begin to value the work that women have done and to ask new questions about it.

Several key words and trends in different disciplines illustrate this phenomenon. In humanities fields scholars have shifted from studying images of and restrictions on women to study of women's creative works. Historians and anthropologists are seeing women's culture, behavior, and even certain ideologies about women's place as ways in which women create their own identity and make limited progress, albeit within boundaries imposed by patriarchy. Jean Baker Miller describes a 'new psychology of women" that builds from the psychological strengths of women as a subordinated group. Carol Gilligan has asked how women make moral decisions, studied their open-ended responses in detail,

structures and culture of women, with minimal reference to men, attempting "to deal with the female world in and of itself, as an entity in its own right, not as a byproduct of the male world."[29] This new scholarship, based in large measure on new sources as well as new viewpoints, brings such new ideas about women and women's culture that it challenges all heretofore existing, but limited, ideas about "humanness."

Mainstreaming

The long reach of women's studies throughout the university is especially useful to the newest, popular, and rapidly-growing activity of women's studies programs in the U.S.: "mainstreaming." This project extent reverses the flow of influence between women's studies and the disciplines, which are now being asked to accept the new ideas, scholarship, and approaches of women's studies in order to improve their own legitimacy. "Interdisciplinary" women's studies is well-suited for this activity, since faculty are already situated throughout the university, trained in the professional languages of the disciplines, and teaching courses which their departments have certified as a legitimate part of their subject matter.

The work goes under a variety of names: getting women's studies into the curricular "main stream," "integrating" the curriculum to include material about women, or "transforming" it — a name reflecting more accurately the magnitude and nature of the task. The first name is the most widely used. By whatever name, women's studies is a pioneer in this new activity. Neither home economics, nor Black studies, nor any interdisciplinary program, nor any traditional discipline for that matter, has tried anything like it.

A variety of activities are part of mainstreaming. Some are projects to revise general and survey courses to include new scholarship about women. Every survey course about "history," for example, should include women's history; it should not be limited to upper-level specialized courses. Another aspect of mainstreaming focuses on getting the specialized courses about women accepted toward requirements in general education; a women's literature course, for example, should be as acceptable as any literature course. Denison college recently set a new requirement that students take at least one course focusing on women or minorities. Yet another strategy is to get questions on women's studies included in standardized examinations such as college entrance exams, to motivate teachers "from the top down." Other mainstreaming projects focus on general faculty development. A number of projects at colleges and universities or sponsored by disciplinary professional associations have been funded by grants from federal agencies or private foundations.[30]

The simplest form of integration of the new scholarship on women occurs when a teacher inserts a day, a week, a unit, a reading, or a guest lecture on women into a course otherwise unchanged. This extremely minimal change has been widely denounced as insufficient. The material on women is so poorly integrated into the course that it is marked as different, extra, and probably not as important as the rest of the course. Not much more acceptable is to scatter material on women throughout the course, a procedure sometimes called "add women and stir."

spaces); and the genres of expression considered worthy of study are those in which women were not allowed to work (epic poems, sculpture, novels of alienation and quest). To transform the humanities so that they truly reflect humanity requires redefining which achievements and expressions are worthy of study — it is not mere coincidence that women are systematically excluded. In a similar way, most social science neglects the work of women (just as the value of their unpaid labor in the home or as volunteers is not counted in the U.S. Gross National Product) or defines "human" as male (with concepts such achievement motivation defined solely in terms of male roles, and social stratification assigned to women according to their husband's or father's occupation). Higher education, like the rest of society, reflects the confinement of women to certain roles, the devaluation of whatever women do or are, and the perception of women as "other" than fully and centrally human. Even a focus on the ways in which women have been oppressed, in part by exclusion from the male world, still considers women only as related to male roles and male standards. In short, the disciplines will probably have to redefine themselves fundamentally.

Mainstreaming is thus rightfully seen by its proponents as a transforming rather than a reforming activity. If not forced to compromise their goals or to stop short of achieving them, mainstreamers will effect profound changes in educational content. But even understood as a fairly drastic "transformation," mainstreaming does represent the triumph of liberal tendencies within women's studies over more radical ones. Mainstreaming is the total triumph of integrationist approaches over separatist ones; a narrowing of focus to existing institutions rather than new, alternatives ones; abandonment of innovation in structure and process for full concentration on content; a focus on changing education rather than on changing society (except insofar as changing education more of less automatically changes society, an element of liberal faith), and a change of audience from women who might make a revolution to men who hold power and (though only indirectly) students in general, whether feminist or not.

The mainstreaming transformation in not a subversion, for it does not seek to turn higher education to any other than its traditional purposes. Indeed, mainstreaming women's studies is justified by the claim that is will help higher education achieve its traditional purposes better, especially the goals of providing students with an education that is "liberal," "rounded," useful to them in the world they will actually face, more inclusive, and ultimately more truthful about the world, which does actually contain women as well as men. Mainstreaming is motivated by a demand for justice, truth, and "reality," as conventionally defined by liberals and positivists.[31] It is a sort of liberal revolution proposing to transform higher education to live up to liberal/positivist ideals by ending the exclusion and devaluation of women.

The criticisms leveled against mainstreaming from within women's studies have so far been scattered. Some are familiar themes: the disciplines are a patriarchal fragmentation of knowledge and we should stay away from them; or mainstreaming is an antifeminist strategy to divert us from other goals; or this is a retreat from necessary struggle within women's studies, where we must first work out our differences over race, class, sexual preference, and ideology. Some fear what would happen to women's studies if mainstream- successful: minor reforms could be made without the complete

the two goals of mainstreaming and autonomy.[32] On some levels, there is no conflict and needn't be. Most women's studies programs, for example, want both mainstreaming and strong, relatively autonomous programs: freedom to do our work, and recognition and change by others. Developing the scholarship and teaching of women's studies is essential if we are to transform the curriculum; and mainstreaming builds a broader base of support that can strengthen women's studies' claim to legitimacy.

The only real threat of mainstreaming — like the only real problem with autonomous programs — is what would happen if it were the only work we did. Mainstreaming without simultaneously insisting on our own autonomy puts us at risk of depending on men and male-dominated institutions to legitimize what we do. There is indeed a tone in some of the pro-mainstreaming literature that the main reason for seeking this integration is to satisfy men who are suspicious about women's studies. Judith Walzer, for example, who is assistant to the President of Princeton University, wrote critically of scholars who "retreat into a private, mutually supportive 'hideout' apart from the rest of the academy," warning us not to give "particular groups of people (male students and scholars) reasons to feel that they were to be excluded from its pursuits." She, too, holds up the model of Afro-American Studies, which allegedly sometimes became "an enclave for special interests and purposes which the university as a whole may ignore while supporting these enterprises financially." Acceptance by the academy is her measure for the value of women's studies, since it will prove "futile," she says, if it does "not become an accepted part of the corpus of conventional scholarship." She wants us to "prove" and "test" our work by selling it to the patriarchs rather than by testing its propositions against women's own experience of reality.[33] To me this looks like male-identified begging; to avoid it, we need a clear, consistent focus on the academic legitimacy of autonomous women's studies, a legitimacy that springs from the nature and quality of our work, not from somebody else's opinion of it.

Conclusion

In little over a decade, U.S. women's studies has undergone changes that seem to make its identity and future clearer, if only because some of the multiple strands present at its creation have weakened. I think it is clear now that women's studies is not the women's liberation movement, will not be primarily a political activist organization, and in particular will not be the radical branch of the women's movement. Women's studies is tied to a particular, limited set of institutions: established education. The radical founders knew that if women's studies became institutionalized it would become more conservative, that the structures would take on lives of their own, with needs of their own. The moderates countered that structure is necessary for survival and to accomplish practical work. Both sides were correct: we needed institutions, created them, and they now shape us. Some radical theorists and activists have quit women's studies, leaving moderates and academics in charge — which may be the best solution for both groups, who are still free to pursue their somewhat different aims in the most appropriate ways.

Women's studies will work to reform these educational institutions, alongside other

nurturance of ideas. Women's studies was born into a rather anti-intellectual climate, and much of the hostility to academic procedures, structures, and work seems, in retrospect, to have been related to general concern about the distance between intellectual work and the actual political events and forces that cause tangible hurt, especially to women. But it is difficult to be anti-intellectual when you are inside a university, trying to reform it.

This paper has argued that what women's studies most needs now is better coordination among its highly productive parts. In our intellectual work we are like that gaggle of blind people feeling an elephant — none of us understands the whole, and occasionally we yell at each other critically for having a "wrong" interpretation, or a wrong strategy for researching the rest of the elephant. What we do have to help us is a deep commitment to inclusiveness and to diversity — to include all women, to hear all women speaking in their own voices, to have an understanding that will not be limited by any oppression or exclusion. We strive for this in our organizations, and as individuals in our best scholarship. We are learning, much more slowly than we thought we would, how to get a diverse group into one place and talking; this alone turned out to be far more difficult than we first thought, because we all underestimated racism, heterosexism, social class, and other forces that divide us. If we can stay in this place together long enough, we may be able to learn to integrate ourselves in a way that does not oppress or denigrate any of us. If we do this, as organization and as thinkers, the world will change utterly, because no one who has seen or heard about our vision will see anything the same old way again.

I would like to close by quoting Berenice Carroll, who gave a speech at a regional meeting in 1978 with a surprising ending. She spoke at length deploring women's studies' inability to act in the community because it had become enmeshed in "traditional, masculine" value systems. But her final paragraph contained these words:

> Yet it is true that women have an intellectual life as well as a political, economic, emotional, physical, and sexual life. It is important for that intellectual life to be nourished — and restored. Women have a rich intellectual history, still largely unknown . . . Women have a right to know of this body of women's intellectual work, and we may have some things to learn from it. . . . Thus academic women's studies has its own tasks, its own contributions to make.[34]

Notes

I would like to thank Nupur Chaudhuri for her comments on a draft of this essay.

[1] The list of women's studies programs existing in 1982 was published in the *Women's Studies Quarterly* 10:3 (fall, 1982), pp. 21-31. The *Quarterly* has published such lists annually since 1972. (For its first eight volumes, until 1981, this publication was known as the *Women's Studies Newsletter*; throughout this essay it will be referred to as the *Women's Studies Quarterly*.) See also Florence Howe, *Seven Years Later: Women's Studies Programs in 1976*, (Washington, D.C.: National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs) June, 1977, p. 18.

[2] For an early analysis of these conflicts, see Catherine Stimpson, "What Matter Mind: A Critical Theory about the Practice of Women's Studies," *Women's Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 1:3, (1973), pp. 293:314, condensed in *Women's Studies Quarterly*, No. 2 (Winter 1972-3), pp. 1, 4.

Reports from two important early conferences also analyzed and evaluated the underlying conflict. Regarding a conference in Pittsburgh in 1971, see Rae Lee Siporin, ed., *Feminist Studies v: Proceedings of the Conference Women and Education: A Feminist Perspective* (Pittsbur-

Beyond: American Women and American Studies, Vol. 2 (Pittsburgh: KNOW, 1974), pp. 24-39; and Deborah Rosenfelt, "What Happened at Sacramento," *Women's Studies Quarterly*, No. 5 (Fall, 1973), pp. 1, 6-7. On the first national conference of the National Women's Studies Association, see *Women's Studies Quarterly* 7:3 (Summer, 1979). These tensions existed also outside the United States; see *Women's Studies Quarterly (Newsletter)* 4:2 (spring 1976) for a report on a conference in the Netherlands.

For more recent comments along similar line, see Adrienne Rich, "Disobedience is what NWSA is Potentially About," in *Women's Studies Quarterly* 9:3 (fall 1981), pp. 4-6, calling for a "true" rather than "false rebellion," which cannot be carried out by "dutiful daughters," since it involves a disloyalty recognized and therefore punished by the "white, patriarchal university."

[3] See reports of the conferences of the National Women's Studies Association, in *Women's Studies Quarterly*, 7:4 and 8:1 (letters on the 1979 conference); 8:2 and 9:1 (for Barbara Hillyer Davis's reports on the evaluation forms filled out by conference participants after the 1979 and 1980 conferences); 8:3, 9:3, and 10:3 for reports on the 1980, 1981, and 1982 conferences respectively.

Discussions of racism and heterosexism within women's studies are found throughout the literature, and especially within the *Women's Studies Quarterly*, which also publishes strategies for overcoming these biases. Two accessible volumes which pull together much of the criticism are Gloria T. Hull, Patricia Bell Scott, and Barbara Smith, eds., *All of the Blacks Are Men, and All of the Women are White, But Some of Us Are Brave: Black Women's Studies* (Old Westbury: The Feminist Press, 1982), and Margaret Cruikshank, ed., *Lesbian Studies* (Old Westbury: The Feminist Press, 1982).

[4] Preamble to the Constitution of the NWSA, revised and ratified in 1982, printed in *Women's Studies Quarterly*, 10:4 (winter 1982), pp. 41-43.

[5] See *Women's Studies Quarterly* 4:1 (winter 1976), 4:2 (spring 1976), and 4:3 (summer 1976) for articles by Elsa Greene and others outlining concerns of NWSA's founders, and 5:1/2 (winter-spring 1977) for reports from the founding conference in San Francisco.

[6] This group includes those persons, usually full or part-time faculty members, who are either coordinators or directors of women's studies programs in colleges or universities. This caucus was not named in the original NWSA constitution, but the group began meeting at national conferences and in 1981 requested official caucus status, which was granted a year later. Program administrators are not oppressed in society, but recognition was granted on the grounds that their voices and needs were underrepresented in NWSA, and that they are an existing, active, and organized group of strong supporters of NWSA. The caucus publishes its own newsletter, *Program Network Notes*.

[7] This caucus is to represent primary and secondary education. It includes some teachers from these levels, but also a number of professors from Colleges of Education.

[8] Resolutions have been printed in the *Women's Studies Quarterly* 8:3 (summer 1980), pp. 21-24; 9:3 (fall 1981), pp. 36-37; and 10:3 (fall 1982), pp. 32-33.

[9] In 1982 the NWSA decided that the *Women's Studies Quarterly* would no longer be its official publication, provided free as a benefit of membership, primarily because of financial problems, but also because of difficulties over content and personalities. The NWSA then began publishing its own independent newsletter, and the *Women's Studies Quarterly* is one of a group of women's studies journals and periodicals which are offered at reduced rates to NWSA members.

[10] *The Women's Studies International Forum* (London; founded 1978), *The International Journal of Women's Studies* (Montreal, founded 1978), and *Resources for Feminist Research (RFR/DRF)*, formerly known as *Canadian Newsletter of Research on Women* (Toronto, founded 1972) should also be named in this list, because they are essential for women's studies scholars in the U.S., even though they are published in other countries. Another [illegible]

depressing amount of resistance, even among those most in favor of women's studies, to actually reading essays outside their areas of expertise." *University of Michigan Papers in Women's Studies*, May, 1978, p. 23.

[13] I put the term "interdisciplinary" in quotation marks since, as I discuss below, I believe it is a misnomer for women's studies, which is not "interdisciplinary" in the usual sense but actually a new discipline. Gloria Bowles has suggested that a more accurate word for what we do is "multidisciplinary" or "transdisciplinary." (See *Theories of Women's Studies*, ed. Gloria Bowles and Renata Duelli-Klein, London & NY: Pergamon, 1983.)

[14] Brief reports from about fifty different colleges and universities are found in the pages of the *Women's Studies Quarterly*. See also *Feminist Studies VII: New Courses/New Programs*, ed. Deborah Rosenfelt (Old Westbury: The Feminist Press, 1973).

[15] An excellent review of the literature of women's studies, and hence of most of its accessible history, is Marilyn Boxer, "For and About Women: The Theory and Practice of Women's Studies in the United States," *Signs*, 7:3 (spring 1982), pp.661-695. Boxer's essay gives an extended treatment of the issues involved in the establishment of the original women's studies programs, the rationales for various decisions made about structure, and changes over time.

[16] See Boxer, p. 688, and the *Women's Studies Quarterly* for virtually all of the colleges and universities reported on, such as the University of Washington (*Women's Studies Quarterly* No. 5 (fall 1973). Florence Howe has been a main advocate of the interdisciplinary model for many years; see especially "Structure and Staffing of Programs," *Women's Studies Quarterly* 3:2 (spring 1975), and *Seven Years Later*, p. 21, where Howe labels the department "an empire in one small corner of the campus."

[17] Boxer, pp. 670, 689-690; Roberta Salper, "Women's Studies," *Female Studies V*, ed. Rae Lee Siporin (Pittsburgh, KNOW, 1972) pp. 100-105; *Women's Studies Quarterly*, 3:3/4 (summer-fall 1975); 6:2 (spring 1978); and 10:1 (spring 1982), p. 32, on SUNY-Buffalo and San Diego State.

[18] See *Women's Studies Quarterly* 10:1 (spring 1982), p. 32 for Chicago Circle; and No.2 (winter 1972-73) and 3:2 (spring 1975) for Portland State; also see reports from Portland State in *Female Studies VI: Closer to the Ground — Women's Classes, Criticism, Programs, 1972* ed. Nancy Hoffman, Cynthia Secor, and Adrian Tinsley (Pittsburgh: KNOW, 1972).

For the most part, however, although many women's studies programs have faced budget cuts in recent years, they are part of the current budget crisis faced by higher education in the United States because of declining enrollments or decreases in state funding, not motivated by hostility to the subject matter of women's studies. The major exception was the attack in 1982 on the program at California State University at Long Beach, in which people from the far right alleged that women's studies did not teach "traditional American values."

[19] See, for example, Elsa Greene, "The Case for a National Women's Studies Association," *Women's Studies Quarterly*, 4:1 (winter 1976), p. 3; Boxer, p. 688.

[20] On the University of South Florida, see the reports by Juanita H. Williams, Director, in *Women's Studies Quarterly* 2:3 (summer 1974), pp. 5, 11-12; and 3:3/4 (summer/fall), p. 27; on San Diego State University, see *Women's Studies Quarterly* 6:2 spring 1978) pp. 20-23, and Boxer, p. 670 and 690; on Hawaii, see Madeleine J. Goodmen, "Women's Studies: The Case for a Departmental Model,;; *Women's Studies Quarterly* 8:4 (fall/winter 1980), pp. 7-9.

[21] Florence Howe, "Feminist Scholarship . . ." in *Change*, (April 1982), p. 17.

[22] See Sandra Coyner, "Women's Studies as an Academic Discipline: Why and How to Do it," in *Theories of Women's Studies*, ed. Gloria Bowles and Renate Duelli-Klein (Univ. of California-Berkeley Women's Studies Program, 1980; reprinted London & New York: Pergamon Press, 1983).

[23] *Signs* publishes review essays in most issues, which are an excellent source of information about the development and extent of women's studies scholarship.

[24] Catharine Stimpson, "Women's Studies: An Overview," University of Michigan *Papers in Women's Studies* (Ann Arbor: Women's Studies Program, May, 1978), p. 22.

Majority Finds its Past (NY: Oxford, 1979), pp. 145-153; Cheri Register, "Brief, A-Mazing Movements + Dealing with Despair in the Women's Studies Classroom," *Women's Studies Quarterly* 7:4 (fall 1979), pp. 7-10; Catharine Stimpson "Women's Studies: An Overview" (note 24 above); Nancy Cott *The Bonds of Womanhood* (New Haven: Yale, 1977), pp. 197-198. See also Sandra Coyner, "The Feminist Perspective: A Working Paper," presented at the Western Association of Women Historians, Los Angeles, May 1982. Stimpson is the author of the popular terms "deconstruction, reconstruction, and construction."

[26] Sheila Ruth, *Issues in Feminism: A First Course in Women's Studies* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1980), especially pp. 7-8. This book was written as a text for an introductory course in women's studies and has been widely adopted for that purpose.

[27] Excellent articles outlining some of these concerns and others are Marcia Westkott, "Feminist Criticism of the Social Sciences," *Harvard Educational Review* 49:4 (November 1979), pp. 422-431, and Annette Kolodny, "Dancing Through the Minefield: Some Observations on the Theory, Practices and Politics of a Feminist Literary Criticism," *Feminist Studies* 6:1 (spring 1980).

[28] Mary Brown Parlee notes that non-feminist psychology work about women is recognized, even by its practitioners, as not being in the field "psychology of women." See her review essay "Psychology and Women" in *Signs*, 5:1 (winter 1976), p. 121.

[29] Jean Baker Miller, *Toward a New Psychology of Women* (Boston: Beacon, 1976); Carol Gilligan, "In a Different Voice: Women's Conceptions of the Self and of Morality," *Harvard Educational Review* 47 (1977), pp. 481-517; Jessie Bernard, *The Female World* (NY: Macmillan/Free Press, 1981). See also Westkott (cited in note 27 above) for new concepts about the relationship between individual and culture, which emerge from women's studies.

[30] See Betty Schmitz, "A Current Status Report on Curriculum Integration Projects," *Women's Studies Quarterly* 10:3 (fall 1982) p. 16; and the special feature on "Transforming the Traditional Curriculum" in *Women's Studies Quarterly* 10:1, (spring 1982), pp. 19-31, which reports on two foundation-supported conferences held in 1981 for directors of 17 mainstreaming projects and for university administrators. See also Carolyn C. Lougee, "Women, History and the Humanities: An Argument in Favor of the General Studies Curriculum," *Women's Studies Quarterly* 9:1 (spring 1981), pp. 4-7, and Joan Hoff Wilson, "A Grand Illusion: Continuing the Debate on General Education," *Women's Studies Quarterly* 9:4 (winter 1981), pp. 5-6, which advocate, respectively, transforming general education courses and putting women's studies questions on standardized examinations.

[31] See especially two articles in the *Women's Studies Quarterly*, 10:1 (spring 1982), by Myra Dinnerstein et al (p. 20 on the commitment to liberal education) and by Peggy McIntosh (p. 30-31 on women's studies and the professed aims of liberal education); also Florence Howe, "Feminist Scholarship . . . ", *Change*, April 1982, pp. 17-20.

[32] See Anne Chapman, "Toward Respect for Diversity: Some Hard Questions about the Ideology of Integration," *Women's Studies Quarterly* 10:3 (fall 1982), pp. 15-16, reporting on sessions at the 1982 NWSA conference.

[33] Judith Walzer, "New Knowledge or a New Discipline? Women's Studies at the University," *Change*, April 1982, pp. 21-23.

[34] Berenice A. Carroll, "Women's Studies and Women in the Community," *Women's Studies*

Placing Women in the Liberal Arts: Stages of Curriculum Transformation

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Research on women has created a new body of knowledge that is reshaping our understanding of the traditional curriculum. The scholarship about women's experience produced in the last two decades has entered the curriculum primarily through women's studies courses. But what happens next? In the last five years, informed administrators and women's studies teachers have undertaken to transform traditional courses throughout the curriculum. Marilyn Schuster and Susan Van Dyne present a paradigm describing how teachers and students experience the process of curricular change. Their analysis suggests that teachers may move through a sequence of stages and try a variety of strategies in order to represent women and minorities, and thus a fuller range of human experience, in their courses.

Curricular Change in the Twenty-First Century: Why Women?

For the first time in history, women represent the majority of the college population. Moreover, a growing percentage of women undergraduates—nearly 20 percent in some institutions—are older returning students. The women we educate will organize their adult lives in substantially different patterns than in the past. Census statistics have already recorded the demise of the traditional nuclear family: fewer than 20 percent of the U.S. population are in households in which both parents and two or more children are living together; only 7 percent live in families in which the wife or mother does not work outside the home. In 1980, over 50 percent of mothers with preschool children had full- or part-time employment. With the life expectancy for American women now over seventy, most women can anticipate forty years of work in their adult years, even if they spend ten years exclusively in childrearing.

At the same time that postgraduate expectations of women are shifting, the ethnic characteristics of the youth cohort, or the pool of potential college applicants among traditional-age students, are changing dramatically. By 1990, groups currently designated as minorities in the educational system will represent 30 percent of the youth cohort nationwide. In Texas and California, 45 percent of the public high school graduates will be members of minority groups in 1990; in New York, the

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estimate is 32 percent, in New Jersey, 28 percent.[1] These statistics demand that we do more to prepare our women and men students for adult lives in a multicultural world in which work will not be a choice but an economic necessity.

Administrators are more likely than most faculties to acknowledge that maintaining or returning to the core curricula and distribution requirements of the past will no longer adequately serve the student population we must educate for the twenty-first century.[2] Nonetheless, transforming institutional structures in order to incorporate scholarship on women and nonwhite cultural groups effectively is a particularly difficult task at this historical moment. External and internal forces have created a context of crisis in American higher education that imperils progressive change. Budget cuts, retrenchment, a steady-state faculty, a shrinking pool of applicants, the vocationalism of women and men students—narrowing opportunities in the 1980s have put many faculty members on the defensive, making them more protective of their own special interests at the very moment that interdepartmental cooperation and a broader, institutional vision are called for.[3]

Scholarship on Women: Redefining the Core Curriculum

The scholarship about women's experience produced in the last two decades has entered the curriculum primarily through women's studies courses. More recently, the intellectual implications of this substantial body of research have led informed administrators and experienced women's studies teachers to undertake a transformation of courses throughout the curriculum. The multicultural, interdisciplinary perspective that feminist scholarship has produced in concert with black studies reveals that the gaps and distortions in a curriculum that is predominantly white, male, Western, and heterosexist in its assumptions are large-scale and pervasive. Informed by work in black and ethnic studies, the study of women, in the words of Peggy McIntosh of the Wellesley Center for Research on Women, "makes visible many men who were not previously featured in the curriculum. In fact, about nine-tenths of the world's population suddenly become visible when one takes the emphasis off the public lives of white Western men . . . and includes those who, for reasons of sex, race, class, or national or religious background, were defined as lower-caste."[4] Since the late 1970s, over fifty programs nationwide at a variety of institutions have begun to develop strategies to reeducate established teachers, to incorporate mate-

[1] Harold L. Hodgkinson, "Guess Who's Coming to College: Your Students in 1990" (Washington, DC: National Institute of Independent Colleges and Universities, 1983). The report is available for $5.00 from NIICU, 1717 Massachusetts Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20036; it is also excerpted in *Academe*, 69, No. 1 (1983), 13–20.

[2] *Liberal Education and the New Scholarship on Women: Issues and Constraints in Institutional Change*. Report of the Wingspread Conference for college and university presidents, Oct. 1981 (Washington, DC: Association of American Colleges, 1982).

[3] Among articles that document these related trends are Lee Hansen, " 'Bottoming Out?' The Annual Report on the Economic Status of the Profession, 1983–84," *Academe*, 70, No. 3 (1984), 3–10; Robert Jacobson, "A.A.U.P.'s Leader Assays Decline in Faculty Morale, Governance," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 27 Dec. 1984, pp. 15, 17; Hazard S. Adams, "How Departments Commit Suicide," in *Profession 83*, ed. Richard Brod and Phyllis Franklin (New York: MLA, 1983), pp. 29–35.

[4] Peggy McIntosh, "The Study of Women: Implications for Reconstructing the Liberal Arts Disciplines," *The Forum for Liberal Education*, 4, No. 1 (1981), 1–3.

rial on women and minority groups into traditional courses, and, in doing so, to restore quality and responsibility at the core of the liberal arts.[5]

We propose here a description of the curriculum change process engendered by these recognitions. Our observations grow out of our experience as codirectors of the Smith College curriculum transformation project, now in its fourth year of implementation, and our participaton in the National Consulting Program of the Wellesley College Center for Research on Women. Designing, leading, and evaluating faculty seminars is central to our work on our campus and in our consulting at other institutions. Comparing the outcomes of projects developed in institutions with marked differences in size, student populations, human and budgetary resources, and political climates has enabled us to identify important commonalities. Our observations are corroborated by other feminist teachers, researchers, and administrators around the country.[6]

What is surprising, given the depth and extent of the scholarship and the commitment of women's studies teachers to share their findings with colleagues, is the relative reluctance of many faculty members to learn about the study of women. In the last twenty years, more information has been gathered about women's experience than has ever been available before. Like the growth of computer science, the explosion of research on women's experience is a key factor reshaping American education in the final two decades of the twentieth century. The adaptability of the computer to all areas of the curriculum and its transforming effect on what and how we learn is widely recognized by administrators. The need for computer literacy has already spurred faculty retraining programs on nearly every campus and has been identified in many institutions' core education requirements. The impact of scholarship about women throughout all academic disciplines, and on our pedagogy, has been steadily growing and may have an even more profound effect than the computer revolution on how we understand human experience, how we organize knowledge, and how we teach our students. As a faculty member observed, "Trying to add material about women to a conventional course is like adding the fact that the world is round to a course based on the assumption that the world is flat."[7] Just as the impact of computer technology can no longer be confined to the math department, the understanding of women's experience in every culture cannot be restricted to separate women's studies courses; it has become crucially important to every course in the liberal arts.

[5] See *Directory of Projects: Transforming the Liberal Arts Curriculum through Incorporation of the New Scholarship on Women*, comps. Barbara Kneubuhl and Peggy McIntosh (Wellesley, MA: Wellesley College Center for Research on Women), an annual directory which is available for $3.00 from the Center. For reports on the progress of exemplary projects, see these special issues of *The Forum for Liberal Education*, **4**, No. 1 (1981) and **6**, No. 5 (1984). For discussions on the implications of scholarship on women to the liberal arts curriculum, see these special issues: *Change*, April 1982; *Women's Studies Quarterly*, **10**, No. 1 (1982); and *Academe*, **69**, No. 5 (1983).

[6] McIntosh, *Interactive Phases of Curricular Revision: A Feminist Perspective*, Working Paper No. 124 (Wellesley, MA: Wellesley College Center for Research on Women, 1983); Elizabeth Arch and Susan Kirschner, "'Transformation' of the Curriculum: Problems of Conception and Deception," *Women's Studies International Forum*, **7**, No. 3 (1984), 149–151; and "Faculty Development: Models for Institutional Change," Sec. 2 in *Women's Place in the Academy: Transforming the Liberal Arts Curriculum*, ed. Marilyn Schuster and Susan Van Dyne (Totowa, NJ: Rowman & Allanheld, in press).

[7] Janice Monk, associate director of the Southwest Institute for Research on Women (SIROW), in a personal communication.

Faculty Development: Redefining Competence

Research on women not only has created a new body of knowledge but is reshaping our understanding of the traditional curriculum, including the conceptualization of periods in history, genres in literature, the role of the "private" or "domestic" sphere in politics, and the choice, design, and interpretation of scientific research questions. Yet, by and large, most faculties are not professionally current in this important scholarship and pass on an incomplete version of human history in their courses. The translation of this information and perspective into classroom practice cannot be accomplished merely by good will. Some teachers experience more psychological resistance to understanding women than to learning about computers. They recognize that without becoming a computer scientist it is nonetheless important to understand the implication of the computer for their own research and teaching; it is a cultural and intellectual phenomenon that cannot be ignored. Yet many teachers continue to think that feminist research and "women's issues" can be taken care of by specialized groups and, therefore, have no direct bearing on their own courses. Because the computer is a product of science, it is not as politically charged a subject of study as is feminist scholarship, the product of a social movement. The example of computer literacy programs and writing-across-the-curriculum projects for faculty has demonstrated that institutions need to make long-term commitments to faculty education and offer substantial incentives and collegial guidance to enable teachers to gain access to new learning. The same kind of programs are needed to help faculty members catch up in the scholarship on women and to incorporate these insights into courses in every academic field.

If we have learned anything from the last five years' efforts to transform the curriculum to include the experience of women and subordinate cultural groups, it is that we are engaged in a long-term process. While our goals are clear—to be inclusive, to see and respect differences, to recognize political motives in the structures of our knowledge—the results, in terms of concrete products, are still unfinished. The descriptions we offer colleagues are as much statements of what we must strive for as they are demonstrations of what we have accomplished. Nevertheless, because of the importance of the scholarship on women that has accumulated in almost every discipline, our vision of a representative curriculum is no longer merely negative. We no longer need to define curriculum in terms of what it must overcome or avoid—racism, sexism or class bias; the promotion of exclusively male-centered values; the proclivity for making female students feel invisible in the classroom.

In gaining commitment to these goals from administrators and teachers, we need to counter their impatience for the finished product, their understandably urgent demand for the transformed syllabus, the fully integrated textbook, the inclusive general education requirements, and the truly liberal core curriculum. The shape and substance of these changes become clearer as we understand more about the process. The curriculum, like education itself, is hardly static, and our eagerness to have closure, to touch actual products, should not make us forget that because knowledge is historical we will need to revise the curriculum again and again.

We have tried to describe the process of undertaking curriculum change because we have learned through our consulting work that individual teachers, planning

being derailed in their efforts, if they can anticipate the potential roadblocks. While no descriptive or theoretical account can substitute for actual engagement in the task, we have found that an intellectual overview can be a key strategy to help those participating in the change process identify sources of resistance in others and in themselves.

Sources of Resistance: Invisible Paradigms

Women's studies has enabled us to see what we have come to call the "invisible paradigms" of the academic system and the larger cultural context that marginalize or trivialize the lives of women, of blacks and ethnic minorities, and of those outside the dominant class or culture. Invisible paradigms are the skeletons in the closet of even the most liberal institutions. They are, to use another image to make the invisible visible, the infrastructure of our academic system: the internalized assumptions, the network of unspoken agreements, the implicit contracts that all the participants in the process of higher education have agreed to, usually unconsciously, in order to bring about learning. This infrastructure has worked so long and has supported the commerce of higher education so effectively that we no longer see it, notice its presence, or, most importantly, name it for the determining force that it is. Not surprisingly, these invisible paradigms are organized around power (who has it and how we are allowed access to it) and around values (among available choices, what is important and what is best). In our analysis of the curriculum change process, we have tried to bring as many of these to light as possible.

Inevitably, invisible paradigms are related to ideology. The more coherent an ideology and the better it serves the interests of those who benefit from the status quo, the less visible these paradigms will be to those who perpetuate them. Because a feminist transformation of the curriculum is often opposed on the grounds that it is ideological, we would like to define how we understand this often volatile term. It is helpful to us to regard ideology as a dynamic system of values and priorities, conscious and unconscious, by which men and women organize their actions and expectations, and explain their choices.[8] If the reigning ideology of higher education in the past has been pervasively male-defined, the practice and theory of black studies and women's studies prove that it is not inevitable and that other ideologies are possible. In her keynote address to the 1981 Wingspread Conference, Florence Howe contrasts the types of political choices that education implies.

> In the broadest context of that word, teaching is a political act: some person is choosing, for whatever reasons, to teach a set of values, ideas, assumptions, and pieces of information, and in so doing, to omit other[s]. . . . If all those choices form a pattern excluding half the human race, that is a political act one can hardly help noticing. . . . To include women with seriousness and vision, and with some attention to the perspective of women as a hitherto subordinate group, is simply another kind of political act.

[8] We are indebted to Mary Poovey's definition of ideology in her "*Persuasion* and the Powers of Love," in *The Representation of Women in Fiction*, ed. Carolyn Heilbrun and Margaret Higonnet (Baltimore: Johns

> In a university whose goal is that abstraction called truth, no political act ought ideally to be excluded, if it might shed light on the ultimate goal. And the study of half the human race—the political act we call women's studies—cannot be excluded without obvious consequences to the search for truth.[9]

Charting the Change Process

We produce something more dramatic than a ripple effect when we introduce women as subjects of study on a syllabus, when we take seriously the needs and authority of women students, and when we undertake the faculty development necessary to do both successfully. Outlining the evolution of efforts to effect curriculum change reveals many parallels with the directions of scholarship on women over the last twenty years. The insights from that research have altered the content of many academic disciplines.[10] Accumulation of these new data, in turn, generates new questions about the nature of women's experience and that of other groups not currently represented on the traditional syllabus. As a result of the important landmarks in this scholarship, and because of the examples of curriculum change projects across the country, we can begin to identify the interactions between research questions and classroom practice that stimulate the transformation of the curriculum.

Our description suggests that teachers move through a sequence of stages, trying a variety of strategies in order to represent women and minorities adequately in their courses.[11] Yet we would like to acknowledge at the outset that these stages have fluid boundaries and that individuals may not experience them as a strictly linear progression. Of course, it is unlikely that different groups of teachers within a single institution will be moving through the same stages at the same time. Our emphasis in organizing the description as a series of stages is to illustrate that certain phenomena are often associated, that raising a particular set of questions leads to similar kinds of curricular outcomes. Even more important, the more fully we understand the commitments that lead teachers to ask these questions, the more able we are to motivate continued growth among our colleagues.

Table 1 highlights the major characteristics of the six stages in our description of the change process. We have attempted to identify for each stage the operative perspective for seeing women's experience, the questions raised about women in order to reconstruct the syllabus, the incentives that motivate faculty and govern

[9] Howe, in *Liberal Education and the New Scholarship on Women*, pp. 5–21; rpt. "Feminist Scholarship: The Extent of the Revolution," in *Change*, April 1982, pp. 12–20.

[10] For essays analyzing the transformative effect of research on women on the disciplines, see our "Selected Bibliography for Integrating Research on Women's Experience in the Liberal Arts Curriculum," included in our *Women's Place in the Academy*. See also Elizabeth Abel and Edward K. Abel, eds., *The SIGNS Reader: Women, Gender, and Scholarship* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1983); Elizabeth Langland and Walter Gove, eds., *A Feminist Perspective in the Academy: The Difference It Makes* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1983); Paul Lauter, ed., *Reconstructing American Literature: Courses and Critiques* (Old Westbury, NY: The Feminist Press, 1983); Julia A. Sherman and Evelyn T. Beck, eds., *The Prism of Sex: Essays in the Sociology of Knowledge* (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1979); Dale Spender, ed., *Men's Studies Modified: The Impact of Feminism on the Academic Disciplines* (Elmsford, NY: Pergamon Press, 1981); and the Working Papers Series of the Wellesley College Center for Research on Women, a list of which is available from the Center.

[11] See Gerda Lerner, "Placing Women in History: Definitions and Challenges," in *The Majority Finds Its Past: Placing Women in History* (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1979); McIntosh, *Interactive Phases of Curricular Re-Vision*, and Arch and Kirschner, "Transformation of Curriculum."

TABLE 1
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Stages
Absence of women not noted
Search for missing women
Women as disadvantaged, subordinate group
Women studied on own terms
Women as challenge to disciplines
Transformed, "balanced" curriculum

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TABLE 1
Stages of Curriculum Change

Stages	*Questions*	*Incentives*	*Means*	*Outcome*
Absence of women not noted	**Who** are the truly great thinkers/actors in history?	Maintaining "standards of excellence"	Back to basics	Pre-1960's exclusionary core curriculum Student as "vessel"
Search for missing women	**Who** are the great women—the female Shakespeares, Napoleons, Darwins?	Affirmative action/Compensatory	Add on to existing data within conventional paradigms	"Exceptional" women on male syllabus Student's needs recognized
Women as disadvantaged, subordinate group	**Why** are there so few women leaders? **Why** are women's roles devalued?	Anger/Social justice	Protest existing paradigms but within perspective of dominant group	"Images of women" courses "Women in politics" Women's Studies begins Links with ethnic, cross-cultural studies
Women studied on own terms	**What** was/is women's experience? **What** are differences among women? (attention to race, class, cultural difference)	Intellectual	Outside existing paradigms; develop insider's perspective	Women-focused courses Interdisciplinary courses Student values own experience
Women as challenge to disciplines	**How** valid are current definitions of historical periods, greatness, norms for behavior? **How** must our questions change to account for women's experience, diversity, difference?	Epistemology	Testing the paradigms Gender as category of analysis	Beginnings of integration Theory courses Student collaborates in learning
Transformed, "balanced" curriculum	**How** can women's and men's experience be understood together? **How** do class and race intersect with gender?	Inclusive vision of human experience based on difference, diversity, not sameness, generalization	Transform the paradigms	Reconceptualized, inclusive core Transformed introductory courses Empowering of student

their intellectual inquiry and teaching, the means or strategies used to represent women on the syllabus, and the curricular outcomes, including the types of courses typically generated at each stage, and the changes in the student's role in her or his education. In analyzing the sources of resistance to change at each level, we have focused on the obstacles for the teacher and for the student. Our observations are derived from listening to teachers involved in faculty development projects and

Stage 1: Invisible Women

The absence of women from the curriculum is simply not noticed in some institutions. Although this phenomenon was much more common in past decades, it is hardly rare today. In fact, it may be the most harmful outcome of the recent push for curricular "coherence" that moves many faculties in the mid-1980s to reconsider a central core of required courses as the heart of a liberal education. To the extent that their search for coherence is nostalgic, faculties may simply reproduce the old orders and alleged civilities of their own undergraduate education rather than undertake a revision of the curriculum that reflects the state of current knowledge.[12] The wish to teach a curriculum in which the experiences of women and of nonwhite cultures are entirely absent is not, of course, perceived as regressive or exclusionary by its supporters. Teachers arrested at this stage often claim the existence of indisputable "standards of excellence" and their moral as well as intellectual responsibility to maintain them. Excellence, in their definition, implies greatness; the expectation is that we will all know and recognize greatness when we are exposed to it. The questions posed at this stage in structuring a syllabus focus on the incomparable individual: Who are the truly great thinkers, or writers, or actors in history? These questions assume criteria of greatness that transcend specific cultures and historical periods; teachers who argue for these standards acknowledge no relativity in their judgments, nor any ideological context surrounding them.

If these values are reminiscent of Matthew Arnold and his father, the most recent incarnation of these values was also influenced by the specific historical and social circumstances following World War II. The core curriculum many of us grew up on, Rhoda Dorsey of Goucher College reminds us, was designed for the predominantly male population returning to college on the G.I. Bill.[13] What was regarded as essential knowledge was substantially shaped by both the producers and primary consumers of that education—the dramatic influx of male Ph.D.s who began teaching, even at women's colleges, in the 1950s, along with the return of male students in great numbers to the college classroom. The current popularity of plans to return to an essentially exclusionary definition of knowledge lies in the simplicity of the appeal. "Back to basics" is a rallying cry that rejects the last two decades of curriculum change as frivolous. Proponents of the old core would dismiss the proliferation of women's studies and the diversification of ethnic and cultural studies as confusing fragmentation, and would disparage the grudging place made in the academy for student-centered learning as a misguided notion of "relevance." Serious students need sterner stuff, which is usually equated with the subjects, and often the very books, these teachers themselves studied twenty or forty years ago. This definition distrusts education as process and prefers fixed principles of value and judgment and supposedly timeless products.

[12] For examples of essays that express a longing for old "certainties" and a rejection of the insights of new scholarship, see Arnold Beichman, "Is Higher Education in the Dark Ages?" *New York Times Magazine*, 6 Nov. 1983, pp. 46-90; and L. Steven Zwerling, "A New Mission for Continuing Education: Teaching the Skills of the Liberal Arts," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 28 March 1984, p. 80.

[13] Dorsey in remarks at the opening panel of college presidents at the Skidmore College Conference, *Toward Equitable Education for Women and Men: Models from the Last Decade*, Saratoga Springs, NY, 11 March 1983.

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Not surprisingly, teachers who want to provide the "truly great" or "the best that has been thought and known" tend to conceive of their students as waiting vessels. Although the female (or male) student's passivity in this kind of curriculum is often very real, the professor does not imagine himself as exercising power in determining what is valued or regarded as "best," and would probably never agree that his choices on the syllabus or in the classroom are political or gendered. More likely, this type of teacher sees himself as the vehicle for transmitting knowledge that is imagined to be immutable and apolitical. Many male professors do not notice the absence of women from the curriculum. When a system of priorities, a set of values, or a syllabus serves a group's interests, or at least does not constrain them, members of that group find it very difficult to become aware of the inadequacies of these designs. The number of female professors who still see no inequity or omissions in the male-defined curriculum is more startling, and serves to underscore dramatically how thoroughly women students may be deceived into believing traditional curricular values are congruent with their interests.

How can this stage—in which the experience of women is omitted from the definition of essential knowledge—be maintained or returned to now given twenty years of scholarship on women, the growth of women's studies programs, and the steadily rising proportion of women students in every classroom throughout higher education? Ironically, women students themselves may unwittingly collude in its perpetuation. When no representation of women's experience appears in the curriculum, a woman student is encouraged to believe the "generic man" includes her. With no basis for comparison, she may erroneously assume that male-derived definitions of "the good, the true, and the beautiful" actually describe her own experience. Student resistance to this male-centered curriculum is surprisingly low; the profound reaction to its omissions occurs, for women, only after graduation.[14]

Stage 2: Search for the Missing Women

Because most colleges pride themselves as much on a liberal learning environment as on their mission to conserve wisdom, committed teachers in Stage 1 may be moved to raise questions about adding women to the curriculum because they become aware of the needs of women students. The conviction that a woman student needs role models may prompt the teacher to begin a search for the women missing from the curriculum. Interestingly, the number of bright women students who must be present in the classroom in order to raise these questions is disproportionately large compared to the number that are believed to constitute an adequate representation on the syllabus.

The search for women figures good enough to be included on the syllabus may be well-meaning, but it risks being short-lived because of the way that questions are raised at this stage: Who are the great women? Who are the female Shakespeares, Napoleons, Darwins? The missing women are assumed to resemble the men who

[14] Countless letters from our former students over the last fifteen years confirm this phenomenon. Other women's studies teachers and scholars report this postgraduate awakening in their lives, and feminist scholarship of the last two decades often includes such an account of the author's education. See, for example, Howe, "Feminist Scholarship," pp. 12–20.

are already present in the traditional curriculum; the criteria by which greatness or excellence is defined remain unexamined. A few women turn up when the syllabus is revised with these expectations, but they exist in isolation from each other, apparent anomalies within their gender.

These "women worthies" who do appear are usually actors in the public sphere—queens, martyrs, suffragists, female novelists with male pseudonyms—women whose outstanding characteristic is their similarity to men. Adding these women to the existing order on the syllabus gives students the distorted sense that women have participated only occasionally in the production of history and culture, or expressed themselves only eccentrically in their writing or behavior. The courses that emerge at this stage of attempted curriculum transformation show women's experience as the "special case" of the larger topic, which is still considered ungendered.

The fair-minded faculty member whose search for worthwhile women to study is guided by resemblances to the established male examples may find less than he or she hoped for. Most women's histories, recovered in such a search, will not measure up to those of the preeminent male model: as writers, their production will seem "minor" in form or scope; as political activists, their participation in the sweep of history will seem sporadic; as representatives of a culture, their significance will seem subordinate or muted; as biological or moral beings, their condition will appear derivative or flawed. It is important to notice that the "minor status" of most women, considered from this perspective in the change process, is typically attributed to an individual fault or inadequacy, a personal inability to achieve prominence, genius, or "universal" value. If only Emily Dickenson had written longer poems or Jane Austen broader novels, or if only that reformer could have championed more than her specifically female causes: these are the reasons we often hear at this stage for not devoting more days of the semester to women's experience. In other words, the more women's experience and production have differed from men's, the less they will seem worth including in a survey of knowledge structured by male norms. The very differences that could illuminate the study of both genders bar the admission of all but a few women to the traditional syllabus.

The motivation of teachers at this stage is usually a liberal desire for equity within the status quo. Faculty members may become stuck here for some of the same reasons that they find it difficult to do affirmative action hiring. All other things being equal, when a teacher decides whether to choose a familiar male figure or to introduce a new female figure who may be equally relevant or important to the topic on the syllabus, it is less trouble to choose the man. The context of the established syllabus, like the context of the established department, makes it extremely unlikely that the token woman will seem equal to the same things or equal in the same way.

The danger of regression is significant. To return to the familiar on the syllabus seems less problematic to some teachers than to include "minor" figures, they may say, "just to have some women." Teachers may experience an apparent conflict between their intellectual responsibility to teach the best or most important material in their field and their moral responsibility to include a representative number of women and minorities on the syllabus.

Stage 3. Women as a Subordinate Group

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begin a structural analysis of the experience of women and nonwhite cultural groups. The types of questions raised at this stage shift dramatically from the terms available in the structure of conventional syllabi. Instead of looking only at outcomes—the actions, production, or expression of individual women—the typical questions that move teachers into the next stage of the curriculum change process look for causes: Why are there so few women leaders? Why are women's traditional roles (or forms of expression) devalued?

These questions are often provoked by the frustrating search for the missing women. Rather than opting out of the transformation endeavor because of the initially disappointing results, concerned faculty members find themselves moved by extra-academic concerns. Women teachers identify their duty to raise such questions for their women and men students in order to enable them to seek social justice. Women and men teachers also begin redefining their intellectual responsibility. Rather than a narrowly defined responsibility to a disciplinary canon of great works or great acts, they broaden their inquiry to encompass the historical and cultural context as the means for understanding the results they found at Stage 2. Such a comprehensive understanding of what constitutes their legitimate subject matter is liberating, yet it may create new sources of anxiety. As teachers begin a program of interdisciplinary reading and teaching, they often express doubts about their ability to judge work in fields outside their own specialty.

Both teachers and students often report that they feel angry when they discuss the new questions of Stage 3. The classroom heats up because the material introduced about women begins to make visible the "invisible paradigms" upon which the old syllabi rest. The multiple structures of the culture that define women as a disadvantaged or subordinate group begin to emerge. Understandably, women students in late adolescence regard the news that their opportunities may be in any way limited as extremely unwelcome; likewise, young male students are uncomfortable with the possibility that male-defined cultural values or systems are unfair. Because most young women and young men have relatively little experience in the adult work world, and because both groups are relatively unconscious of their gender socialization, they are skeptical of a structural analysis that suggests their behavior is either constrained (female) or culpable (male).[15] Predictably, student resistance to courses that focus on a structural analysis of gender asymmetry is quite high. Students, rather than faculty, are most likely to take flight at this stage in the change process. For women students especially, the temptation is great to disassociate themselves from the disadvantages they perceive as defining women as a group. As protection, they may cling to a faith in an "individual solution," and believe that their merit or worth will be sufficient to overcome the disability of gender. Another reaction may be that such a picture of social reality may be "historically" true but is irrelevant to their own futures. Contemporary women students, whether or not they represent a "post-feminist" generation, may believe that the equality of aspirations they express will be matched by an equality of opportunities as a result of the women's movement. Rather than be mobilized to examine the persistent and pervasive gender

[15] Of course, some students have always worked, and students at public institutions are more likely than the privileged, mostly white population of elite schools to know firsthand about gender inequalities

inequalities that remain and work to change them as their teachers might have hoped, these students, both male and female, may deny the problem exists.

Despite the difficulties of this stage, we cannot afford to forget the valuable truths about women's experience, relative to men's, that were learned here. The early years of women's studies generated many important courses that examined the representation of women as a subordinate group. In literature, such courses might have examined "images of women" in the novels of the established canon of male authors, and identified stereotypes such as the "virgin" and the "whore," the "earth mother" or "castrating bitch." In the social sciences, they may have studied gender roles in the family and society, or differential participation in the paid labor force. A common denominator among these courses is that they were conceived in a spirit of protest against the gender arrangements that shaped women's experience to their disadvantage. Their insights have enabled us to see the paradigms that govern not only our social behavior, but also the assignment of values and the criteria for judgment that lead to a male-dominated syllabus. The first wave of women's studies courses brought women as a group (rather than as isolated individuals) onto the syllabus, yet the most striking characteristic of the analysis was the oppression of women.

Stage 4: Women Studied on Their Own Terms

Fortunately, the history of women's studies and of black studies offers proven strategies for overcoming both the anger and the disbelief of Stage 3. The example of black studies gave women's studies another perspective that has made the kind of curriculum transformation we are currently envisioning a possibility. We have learned from black studies that only from the narrow perspective of the dominant group within a North American context was slavery the most salient feature of black experience. To study black experience in its own terms, it was necessary to step outside the paradigms of the dominant group, and outside the framework of the androcentric, white, Western syllabus, and attempt to adopt an "insider's perspective." What became visible was the range and diversity of black experience, both within and beyond the North American context, including forms of resistance to oppression and various sources and strategies for exercising power. Rather than focusing on cultural subordination, the evolution of black studies demonstrated that the multicultural realities of black experience—African, Afro-American, Afro-Caribbean, for example—could be articulated on their own terms. As Johnnella Butler, chair of Afro-American Studies at Smith College, has said, black studies has enriched our definitions of culture and ethnicity and complicated the question of what is American.[16]

The second major movement in women's studies courses and in feminist scholarship, especially in the humanities and the social sciences, has been to delineate the character of women's experience as women themselves have expressed it. This stage is crucial to successful transformation of traditional courses because only through developing women-focused courses do we discover the data we need to draw a full picture of human experience. This stage takes as its premise the eye-opening declaration of Gerda Lerner that "to document the experience of women would mean documenting all of history: they have always been of it, in it, and making it . . .

half, at least, of the world's experience has been theirs, half of the world's work and much of its products."[17] Rather than disappointment, disbelief, or anger, the participants in this stage of the change process, teachers and students alike, experience a liberating intellectual excitement, a sense of expanding possibilities.

For teachers, whole new fields of inquiry are opened; new areas for research, publication, and professional renewal become available. The compelling motivation most frequently described by teachers who have entered this stage is a voracious intellectual appetite: What was and is women's experience, known as a subject rather than object? What are the differences among women, such as race, class, and culture, that have contributed to their identities? This stage produces the careful cross-cultural comparisons that complicate the questions we ask about the dimensions of women's experience and that enable us to avoid inaccurate generalizations about "all women" derived from a limited sample.

Women students are attracted to the new material and new perspective because this stage of curriculum development can provide informed access to their own experience, and the means for valuing what they have lived. When we develop courses that focus on the actual experience of ordinary women, we often find illuminating patterns emerge that allow us to understand the politics of domestic life; the artistic characteristics of noncanonical forms (such as letters and journals) or of collective or folk forms (such as quilts). Just as a female student may be inspired by the example of the extraordinary women, the "women worthies" studied in Stage 2, she learns to reflect more self-consciously on her own daily behavior and her choices for self-expression by studying the wealth of "nontraditional" materials made visible in Stage 4.

Stage 5: Women as a Challenge to the Disciplines

What we learn in Stage 4 is too important to keep to ourselves or to study with only a limited group of self-selected students in women-focused courses. The accumulation of data gathered from the insider's perspective causes us to question in profound ways the frameworks that organize our traditional courses: How valid are current definitions of historical periods, standards of greatness or excellence, norms for behavior? How must the organizing questions of each academic discipline change to account for the diversity of gender, race, and class? Teachers who have spent some time developing women-focused courses or who have read extensively in the scholarship on women are the most likely to undertake a thorough form of curriculum transformation: they test the paradigms that have conventionally organized knowledge on the syllabus to exclude or marginalize women and other subordinate groups. In personal terms, the move from women-focused study to transformation of the conventional curriculum is inevitable because, as teachers, most of us inhabit both worlds and must necessarily question how what we learned by studying women bears on the other courses we usually teach in our departments. In institutional terms, the movement from women's studies to integrating or transforming the core curriculum is rarely seen as a natural or welcome outgrowth. When faculty members who have enjoyed a Stage 1 curriculum for most of their professional lives are asked the questions typical of Stage 5, they often feel that their own credentials, as well as the worth and integrity of their academic discipline, are in doubt. In questioning

the paradigms we use to perceive, analyze, and organize experience, we are pointedly asking not only what we know but how we came to know it, and consequently the intellectual investment on both sides of the debate may be higher here than at earlier points in the process of change. Even those who are willing to admit the validity of the feminist critique of the disciplines (that periodization in history does not mark the significant changes in women's estates, that canons of great art and literature are derived from and reinforce male practice as most valuable, that the scientific method defines objectivity in androcentric rather than gender-neutral terms) may resist the deconstruction of their own discipline.[18] Underneath all the wide variety of expressions of resistance is a residual fear of loss—a reluctance to give up what had seemed most stable, efficient, authoritative, transcendent of contexts, and free of ideological or personal values—in short, a fear that feminist criticism means a loss of subject matter and methodology without a compensating gain. If the current systems are flawed, we often hear, they at least serve us better than no system at all. When feminists can offer us a workable alternative, then we'll consider reconceiving the total design of the syllabus.

In 1980 Catherine Stimpson, the editor of *SIGNS*, a journal of interdisciplinary feminist research, characterized the first five years of *SIGNS*'s publications as "the deconstruction of error" and identified the next major task as "the reconstruction of theory."[19] Yet the very tools that allowed us to document the errors have already provided the strategies for an alternative construction of the syllabus. To allay the fears of wholesale loss and to demonstrate that feminist theory has moved beyond merely offering a critique, those engaged in curriculum transformation need to be explicit about the ways that gender as a category of analysis enriches and illuminates traditional subjects, including the experience of elite, white men. Using gender, race, and class as primary categories of analysis will transform our perspective on familiar data and concepts as well as reveal new material to be studied.

How is this possible? All of the earlier stages of feminist analysis and curriculum change have highlighted the operation of gender as a principle for exclusion or subordination of material on the syllabus. Although the conventional syllabus is purported to be gender-neutral or gender-free, we now recognize that it is inevitably and pervasively gendered. Recognizing the gendered nature of all texts allows us to recuperate material that, in our earlier anger, seemed corrupt or false and teach it in a new light. Having uncovered the error that most material on the conventional syllabus is derived from male experience and is erroneously generalized to represent the human condition, we might, nonetheless, agree that these are helpful descriptions of what it means to be male and of a certain race and class at a certain moment in history. This stage unequivocally means a loss of old certainties, but the gains are the recovery of meaningful historical and social context, the discovery of previously invisible dimensions of the old subjects, and access to instruments of analysis (gender, race, and class as significant variables) that expose strata of formerly suppressed material.

[18] See, for example, McIntosh, "Warning: The New Scholarship on Women May Be Hazardous to Your Ego," *Women's Studies Quarterly*, 10 (1982), 29–31.

[19] Stimpson, "The Scholarship About Women: The State of the Art," *Annals of Scholarship*, 1 (1980), 2–14.

Stage 6: The

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[20] Lerner,

Stage 6: The Transformed Curriculum

What are the paradigms that would make it possible to understand women's and men's experiences together? What would a curriculum that offers an inclusive vision of human experience and that attends as carefully to difference and genuine pluralism as to sameness and generalization actually look like? Although we possess the tools of analysis that allow us to conceive of such an education, we cannot, as yet, point to any institution that has entered the millennium. What will exist there depends on the recognition that any paradigm is historical and that no one framework is likely to serve for all time. This stage promotes process rather than immutable products and fixed principles.

Our descriptions so far resemble an ideal frame of mind or a hypothetical state more than they promise a syllabus we could distribute to classes next term. Perhaps the greatest danger at this stage is the impatience for a concrete product. Administrators and teachers who are persuaded that the curriculum could be improved by more equitable representation of gender, race, and class often underestimate the time it will take. Lerner suggests that if patriarchy has held sway for over 2000 years, we should not be surprised if, in a discipline like history, it takes several dozen women scholars fully funded for the length of most grants to even imagine the categories that would have to change in order to bring this curriculum into being.[20] While the goal of a Stage 6 curriculum is often readily assented to, the means may seem too costly or cumbersome. Many well-meaning college presidents and deans wish to move directly from Stage 1 to Stage 6 without an allocation of resources and an enduring, clear commitment to women-focused study. There is a temptation to believe that the promised land can be attained without passing through the difficult terrain of women's studies. Some curriculum change projects risk foundering because "good intentions," especially among administrators who want to sponsor programs that will be perceived as apolitical, are substituted for the expertise developed by those who have taught and contributed to the scholarship on women. It would be an intellectual mistake of monumental proportions to believe that we can do without or bypass women-focused study in the name of the "greater good" of the transformed or "gender-balanced" curriculum. The vital work of Stage 4, studying women on their own terms, generates the transformative questions that stimulate the change process, as well as provides the data and alternative paradigms that inform the whole continuum of curriculum transformation we have described.

We would like to propose some of the elements that would characterize a transformed course. We have intentionally included the teacher's and student's relationship to the changed subject matter and to each other as crucial ingredients. A transformed course would:

- be self-conscious about *methodology* – use gender as a category of analysis, no matter what is on the syllabus (even if all males);
- present changed content in a *changed context* – awareness of all knowledge as historical and socially constructed, not immutable;

[20] Lerner, in a comment made at the Wingspread Conference.

- develop an *interdisciplinary perspective* – the language of discourse, assumptions of a field, and analytical methods are made visible by contrast with other fields;
- pay meaningful attention to intersections of *race, class, and cultural differences within gender* – avoid universalizing beyond data;
- study new subjects in their *own terms* – not merely as other, alien, nonnormative, non-Western – encourage a true *pluralism*;
- *test paradigms* rather than merely "add on" women figures or issues – incorporate analyses of gender, race, and class by a thorough reorganization of available knowledge;
- make the student's experience and learning process part of the explicit content of the course – reaffirm the transcendent goals of the course;
- and recognize that, because *culture reproduces itself in the classroom*, the more conscious we are of this phenomenon, the more likely we are to turn it to our advantage in teaching the transformed course.

CHECK

This essay is adapted from a chapter in

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The Alberta Counsellor, 1989, 17(3), 24-28.

The Challenge of Women's Studies

M. Ann Hall

Dr. Ann Hall is a professor in the Department of Physical Education and Sport Studies at the University of Alberta. She has been involved in the planning and coordinating of the Women's Studies Program since its inception, and next year will teach a new core course in the program on feminist research and methodologies.

I am the woman
offering two flowers
whose roots
are twin

Justice and Hope

Let us begin[1]

Women's studies is first and foremost an intellectual and educational movement that is irrevocably transforming what we know and think about women and gender. Our program brochure at the University of Alberta states the following:

> Students in the Women's Studies Program learn about the ways in which women's roles in society have been constructed and the ways in which they have changed and continue to change. They also learn about the work of women in such diverse fields as science, literature, the fine arts, philosophy, social welfare and politics as well as learning about scholarship written by women and about women. The core courses in women's studies as well as cross-listed courses in the social sciences, humanities and fine arts, pay particular attention to research methods and scholarly criteria which examines women's experiences and women's achievements in nondiscriminatory ways.

Women's studies, therefore, is an *interdisciplinary* program with a specific focus and bias. The focus is women's history, thought, cultural production (e.g., literature, films, media, leisure, etc.) and the significance of these to their lives. The bias is an emphasis on feminist scholarship that helps students to examine issues of special relevance to women and to teach them the research methodologies that will allow them to analyze these issues in ways that add to our knowledge about women's lives and work.

In fact, when the new Women's Studies Program at the University of Alberta was officially approved, one dissenter (male) admonished: "We may end up with graduates who have an unbalanced view of the world." Our claim is precisely the opposite. University curricula are themselves biased toward a male view of the world and the only way to counter this bias is to expose students to a kind of scholarship that takes women and women's experiences as its starting point. By and large, university curricula have rendered women and their intellectual efforts

[1] Alice Walker, *Horses Make a Landscape More Beautiful* (San Diego, Calif.: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1984), 2.

invisible. Women's studies is an attempt to fill this void by providing a comprehensive exploration of the experience and achievements of women in all areas of human endeavor.

The Women's Studies Program at the University of Alberta is one of a growing number of programs throughout North America. This is the first year the program has been offered and there are now some 55 students enrolled in an introductory course in women's studies; approximately 17 have declared their intention to major in women's studies in a four-year B.A. degree; countless others are taking women's studies as a "second subject" in the same degree program; there are nearly 30 core and cross-listed courses in women's studies with more being proposed; the university has hired a full-time coordinator of women's studies, and we are now in the process of planning for a graduate program.

Women's Studies in Canada

Where and when did these programs begin? On a general level, women's studies was born from the women's movement that began in the midsixties. The explicit goal of this social movement is the explanation and analysis of women's experience as well as the formulation of effective strategies for change. Women's studies has become the "academic arm" of the women's movement.

In Canada, it's also important to revisit the 1970 *Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women.* Although it did not mention the potential of women's studies, it linked the generally inferior status of females to widespread sex-role stereotyping in our schools, vocational channeling and traditional attitudes which limited women's educational choice and discouraged them from developing their intellect.

Another impetus to the development of courses specifically for women was the remarkable increase in women's attendance at Canadian universities in the 1970s. Between 1970-79, women accounted for more than 95 percent of the increase in full-time enrollments. Perhaps more important were the increasing numbers of mature, part-time students who were women. Adult and continuing education programs recognized the value and attractiveness of women's studies for this particular group. At the University of Alberta, for instance, the Women's Program and Resource Centre, which offers non-credit courses and seminars through the Faculty of Extension, was established in 1981 well before our academic program in women's studies. Therefore, as Somer Brodribb points out in her comprehensive discussion of women's studies in Canada: "The granting of institutional resources to women's studies courses can be traced to this conjuncture: the increasing visibility of women on campus, and their growing demand for an education more appropriate to women's specific needs, aspirations and realities."

At the institutional level, women's studies is now well established in Canada although programs have developed differently in various universities. Almost all of the approximately 50 major degree-granting institutions in Canada offer one or more courses on women or gender in a traditional discipline. However, beyond this the pattern varies: a few offer "women's studies" courses or equivalents but no degree program, some (12) offer a minor, an option, or concentration in women's studies and, fewer still (7) offer a major or specialist degree in women's studies. Only one university (Simon Fraser) currently offers a graduate program in women's studies whereas several others provide the opportunity for graduate students to pursue their studies through an interdisciplinary program.

The granting of five regional chairs in women's studies to Canadian universities (Mount Saint Vincent, Laval, Carleton/Ottawa, Manitoba/Winnipeg, and Simon Fraser) by the federal government is further indication of the institutional stability of this new field. The purpose of the chairs is to

raise the profile of women's studies both within the university and their surrounding community and to provide opportunities for outstanding Canadian feminist scholars to share their expertise. The joint chair at Carleton and the University of Ottawa, for example, is currently held by the Honorable Monique Bégin, former Minister of Health and Welfare in the past Liberal government. With her formal training as a sociologist she has developed exciting courses in both French and English on women and the development of social policy, women and health, and women in Canadian politics.

Finally, outside the university structure, a number of national associations all attest to the visibility and continuing growth of women's studies and feminist scholarship. The Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women, founded in 1976, was the first national and bilingual Canadian organization to promote research grounded in women's experience and reality. Its goal is to redress the balance of research, which has been overwhelmingly written by men and about men, by promoting, developing, coordinating and disseminating research into women's lives. The Canadian Congress for Learning Opportunities for Women is a voluntary, national and bilingual task force concerned with the availability of information and formal learning opportunities for women. The Canadian Women's Studies Association, a member of the Learned Societies, provides an information network for those teaching women's studies in educational institutions across the country. Other major organizations include the Canadian Society for Women in Philosophy, Institute Québéocois de Recherche sur la Culture, and the National Association of Women in the Law.

Are Women's Studies Programs Useful in a Vocational Sense?

This area is a difficult one to address for two reasons. First, women's studies programs are so new that they have produced few graduates. For instance, in planning our program at the University of Alberta, we estimated in 1986 that there had been only 50-70 graduates of women's studies degree programs across Canada. Presumably the number is larger now, but the relative numbers are still quite small. Second, to my knowledge, no one has conducted a systematic study as to what, precisely, are the career and vocational paths followed by these graduates.

However, anecdotal evidence tells us that graduates with this particular background and training do find employment in the myriad of public and private agencies aimed at assisting women and at improving their status. Some of these agencies are: the national and provincial lobby groups (e.g., the Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women in Sport, or the Alberta Status of Women Action Committee), battered women's shelters and sexual assault crisis centres, government agencies and programs aimed at women (e.g., Secretary of State Women's Program), and of course well-trained teachers are needed for the established courses and programs at the high school, community college and university levels.

It is also becoming evident that training in women's studies is increasingly essential in a large number of professional areas (counselling, therapy, social work, archival and museum work, communications, corrections and law, to name only a few). There is also a growing need in the business world for personnel officers with information on the status and roles of women.

Like any other concentration within the rubric of a B.A. degree program, women's studies does not train a professional (like a dentist, a lawyer, a teacher) but it should make graduates more informed about and sensitive to women's issues. Eventually, if they enter the work force, and most women today do, they face these issues on a daily basis both individually and collectively.

Challenges for the future

Women's studies now has a past and, of course, a future. What are the challenges to the future of this bold, new program? Catherine Stimpson, a Professor of English and Dean of the Graduate School at Rutgers University, suggests that the power of women's studies has at least three sources. First, it has created a number of interdependent models under which the work goes on: interdisciplinary women's studies programs such as I have been describing here; the study of women and gender within a specific academic discipline; mainstreaming or integrating the study of women and gender into conventional curricula and courses, and last but not least, work outside the universities.

The second source of power is that women's studies has, as Professor Stimpson puts it so succinctly, "serious moral and political ambitions." Within the specific context of academe, it has fought for educational equity for faculty, staff and students. However, more important, women's studies has sought to connect education to social injustice, and these to everyday life. Violence against women, for instance, is a necessarily compelling issue in women's studies. Finally, the third source of power is that women's studies (to quote Professor Stimpson again) "has produced a body of thought so big, complex and vital that people who ignore it should be sued for intellectual malpractice."

When I began my academic career 25 years ago, I could not have predicted nor imagined that we would over time transform the entire academy. As feminist scholars we have moved far beyond the "add women and stir" phase of our scholarship to a perspective that is highly critical and that challenges the dominant intellectual traditions of our time.

The journey, however, has not been easy and as the potential threat of women's studies to the traditional disciplines becomes more and more evident, the road is becoming increasingly hazardous with nasty roadblocks to circumvent. Funding is certainly a problem with the irony of new and exciting women's studies programs seeking even a tiny portion of the ever-decreasing economic pie. The majority of women's studies professors are without tenure and security of employment. They tend to be lecturers and part-time workers with junior positions in their departments, and they are extremely vulnerable to cutbacks as are the programs they administer. On many campuses women's studies remains suspect, something to be trivialized or worse still, denigrated. Therefore, removing it, or never letting it develop in the first place, is seen as reasonable by financially stressed administrations.

Another problem is the continuing, and increasingly vicious attacks on feminism and feminist scholarship by neoconservatives, more colloquially called the New Right. Here, women's studies is clearly not marginalized but is seen as a potential and dangerous threat to the territoriality of established disciplines. The irony of this is that women's studies has, to some degree, been successful at breaking down artificial disciplinary barriers. It should also be pointed out that these attacks are not always from our conservative male colleagues, as many women in academe are at best skeptical of academic feminism and at worst want what they perceive to be a destructive force eliminated. It is also becoming apparent that it is less disruptive for the university to respond by hiring experts in feminist scholarship in already existing departments (and then marginalize them there) than to put resources into an autonomous women's studies program.

Finally, as other male colleagues see the relevance of feminism to their own intellectual endeavors, there is the inevitable debate about the role of men in women's studies. The possible move to an integrationist model, through the creation of gender studies for instance, especially in a period of financial restraint, will be a challenge to the promise, integrity and autonomy of women's studies.

However, despite the knowledge that we have many battles to fight ahead, I think the future for women's studies is very bright. I'd like to give the last word to Catherine Stimpson: "Women's studies ought to invest in hope, not dread. For the social changes that helped create it are irresistible."

Useful Sources for Further Reading

Bowles, G., and R. D. Klein, eds. *Theories of Women's Studies*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983. This remains one of the best available introductions to the debates and issues within women's studies.

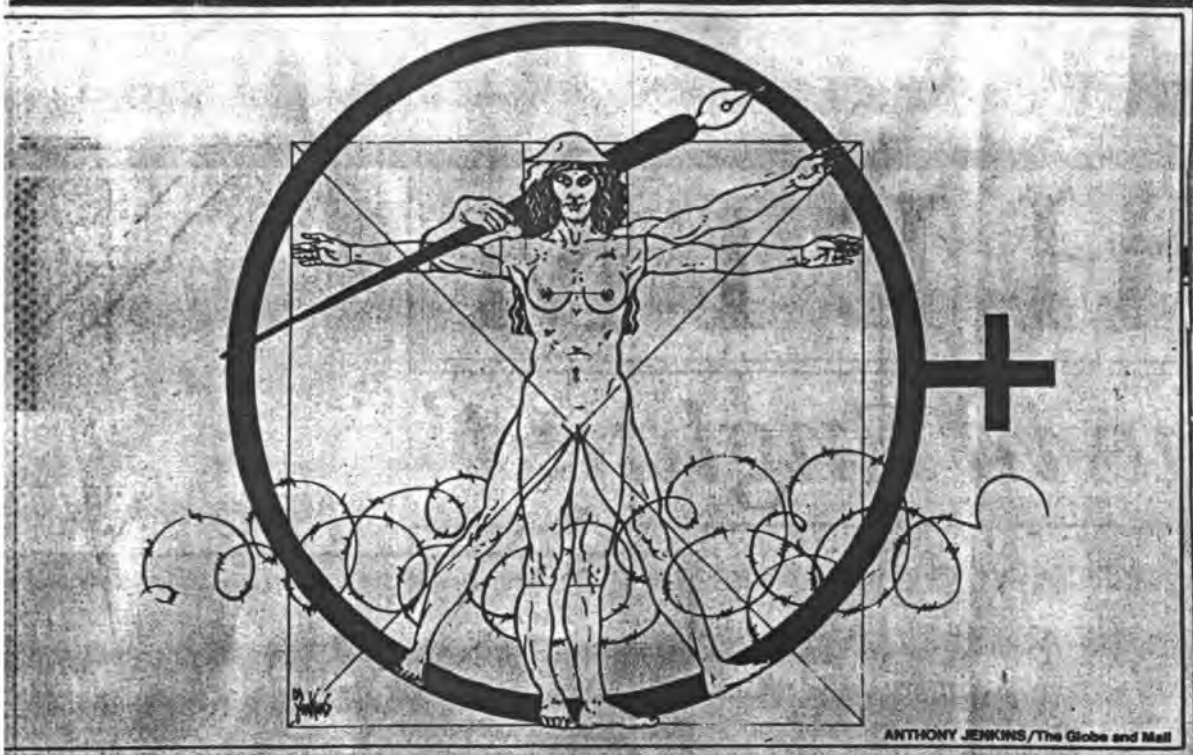
Brodribb, S. *Women's Studies in Canada: A Discussion*. A special publication of *Resources for Feminist Research/Documentation sur la Recherche Féministe*, 1987. A good source because it lists and describes all available programs across the country.

Canadian Women's Studies 6 no. 3: (1985). This issue was devoted to papers given at two Canadian conferences on women's studies.

Dagg, I. A., and P. J. Thompson. *MisEducation: Women and Canadian Universities*. Toronto: The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1988. See Chapter 5 especially.

DuBois, E. C. et al. *Feminist Scholarship: Kindling in the Groves of Academe*. Urbana and Chicago: The University of Illinois Press, 1985. This is an excellent introduction to how feminist scholarship has arisen in the traditional disciplines and what has been the response of those disciplines.

Stimpson, C. A. "Setting Agendas, Defining Challenges." *The Women's Review of Books*, (February 1989): 14. This issue has a special section devoted to an assessment of the state of women's studies 20 years after its inception.



ANTHONY JENKINS/The Globe and Mail

The feminization of literature

NO MAN'S LAND
THE PLACE OF THE WOMAN WRITER IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY
VOL. I: THE WAR OF THE WORDS

BY SANDRA M. GILBERT AND SUSAN GUBAR
Yale University Press
320 pages, $32

REVIEW BY JANICE KULYK KEEFER

Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar, authors of The Madwoman In The Attic, a pioneering study of the literary achievements and anxieties of nineteenth-century women, have now produced a thoroughly provocative (and provocatively thorough) revisioning of the genesis of modernism. The central premise of No Man's Land — that the radical departures that characterize such classics as The Waste Land, Ulysses and The Waves derive from context of sexual as well as social, political and economic conflict — is developed by means of a thematic overview of late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century texts that showcase women's attempts to assert their right not to primacy, but to a place in the predominantly masculine world of letters.

As the authors often wittily (and always intelligibly) show, the relations of twentieth-century writers to language, to their literary forebears and to their peers have all been "changed utterly" by women who are not shameless hacks, mute muses or dainty or dewlapped authoresses, but rather major artists.

As No Man's Land amply documents, many significant "modern masters" have responded to "the feminization of literature" with fear, loathing and fury. One of the most refreshing features of this study is its calm demonstration of the misogynistic mindset of those giants of modernism whom students of the period have been taught to revere — D. H. Lawrence, of course, but also James Joyce, Ezra Pound and the supercilious T. S. Eliot, not to mention their immediate predecessors Henry James and Thomas Hardy. The fear of women as competitors for literary laurels has, we discover, infected not only Norman Mailer and Henry Miller, but also Robert Graves, William Carlos Williams, Robert Lowell and John Berryman, among others. Gilbert and Gubar make clear that misogyny is not merely a 2 x 4-letter word, but also a deforming cast of mind whose features influence the nature of artistic expression.

The book functions both as a war memorial and as a warning notice that we still inhabit a battle zone. The first chapters give the social and political background to modernism's "war of words" by analyzing the "crucial shift in mid-nineteenth century Anglo-American society" that led to sexual struggle becoming "a key theme in late Victorian literature and ultimately a shaping element in modernist and postmodernist literature."

These chapters detail the modes of assault and defence chosen by the different sexes, and document significant changes in the ways male and female writers responded to the ideas of victory or defeat. Modernism, they say, is not monolithic in nature, but comprises a dialetic between traditional masculinist conceptions of society and a new feminist vision typified by the work of such writers as Virginia Woolf, Katherine Mansfield, H. D. and Gertrude Stein. Again, Gilbert and Gubar produce ample documentation of the distaste and envy that has so often deformed men's reception of women writers.

[illegible] deals with what the authors term "the female affiliation complex," the attempt of modern women writers to establish a matrilineage that will compensate them for the long line of literary fathers whose message to them as writers has always been variations on the theme of "women can't paint, women can't write." Gilbert and Gubar appear to chide Virginia Woolf, for example, for slighting the achievements of some of her literary "mothers." It is lamentably true that, because of their gender and not their treatment of genre, such accomplished writers as Woolf, Sylvia Plath and Katherine Mansfield have been demeaned by the epithet "minor," while others (Jean Rhys among them) have until recently been excluded from the literary canon. Yet it is no service to women writers to imply that they must revere an Eliza Haywood or Ella Wheeler Wilcox as literary mothers, regardless of these ladies' literary merits.

The final chapter is an invaluable and innovative treatment of one of the most pressing questions facing contemporary women writers: should they reject "common speech" as inherently patriarchal and imprisoning, and consequently bend their creative efforts to fashioning a radically new, female form of speech? Such a language would surely be, by definition, inaccessible to men, and would put women writers firmly beyond even the margins of contentional discourse. Gilbert and Gubar show that the idea of a "fantasy language" has been entertained by male modernists as well as female. More important, they make a convincing case that common speech — our "mother tongue" — is both women's native territory and "no man's land," in the sense that English-speaking men have, in their writing, embraced the ideal of an exclusive educated "patrius sermo" or "father tongue," whether Greek, Latin or a mystification of common English. The presentation of our mother tongue as a woman writer's own home ground, and not as an inevitable slave quarters, is the most exciting and valuable achievement of this revisioning of modernism.

Is modernism the product of the battle of the sexes that became open warfare with women's entry into (or, depending on one's point of view, invasion of) universities and polling booths, professions and factories, birth control clinics and divorce courts? Or were the seismic shifts in what and how people believed and thought occasioned by our century's political and technological upheavals? Or by wars fought not only with words but also with bayonets, incendiary bombs, gas and torture chambers? Whatever the answer, Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar have produced a challenging and engaging introduction to a central feature of the cultural movement that continues to shape our century.

Janice Kulyk Keefer's book Under

CAUT Bulletin ACPU
FEBRUARY/FEVRIER 1987

Viewpoint The educated feminist: the anatomy of a role-model

by Jeanne Phelps-Wilson

The author is a former Lecturer in English at the University of Alberta. The views expressed in this article do not reflect those of the CAUT.

Revolutionary movements attract into their following those whose ability has proven unequal to their ambition. Such as these derive power from the movement they foster, shoring up a crumbling self-esteem by finding themselves in a position affording control over their fellows. Cloaked in the invulnerability of a cause, they are impervious to reasoned criticism and draw strength from animus, seizing every opportunity to occasion hostility and allowing nothing to slip by that can be turned to account in confirmation of the justness of the cause and to justify any extremist action. In social movements they are the case-hardened militants who, by threats and intimidation, ride rough-shod over those who demur. Purporting to be acting to achieve a just society, they delude themselves into believing that, with egalitarian idealists and conscience-stricken liberals on their side, they can trample all opposition under foot with impunity. So it is with the feminists in academia.

These insouciant academics, whose promotion of the status of women is not so much a concern that women be recognized as second to none as to be themselves first among equals, have taken it upon themselves as members of the educated élite to speak and act on behalf of all women, all similarly down-trodden. The reason, as their authority Germaine Greer has said, is that: "The women who are most conscious of the disabilities which afflict women are those who are educated to the point of demanding and deserving the same kind of advancement as men." They have cozened or coerced university administrations into humouring their views that sexual numerical balance is equality, and that, since equality of opportunity will not achieve this equity for many years, discrimination in favour of women, whatever their professional qualifications, promotes equal opportunity. It is clear that any change in the *status quo* by the appointment of more women of high calibre, who have no need of a leg-up to bolster a large incompetence, would take away from these mediocre academicians their *raison d'être*. In promoting, ahead of proven scholars, women whose abilities have been untested because of unequal opportunity, undemonstrated because of the unequal burden of motherhood or wifely domesticity, and are immeasurable because they lie in potential, the militants at the perimeter of scholarly achievement, paradoxically, have little to lose should they succeed; everything to gain if they fail.

The aims of the women's movement have been corrupted by self-seeking individuals who derive advantage from the cause they espouse. The vendetta against the male faculty already has achieved its purpose: it has harassed into existence resentment and resistance and diatribes of dissent; the feminist charge of "sexism" soon will have the foundation it lacked, as men who refuse to be coerced into submission or intimidated into silence are conditioned into becoming the "Neanderthals," the "male chauvinist bigots" they are dubbed in the cant of the feminist, arrogating to herself a monopoly in intolerance. For bigotry is in the ascendant when men are characterised in a generality that is an abuse of language and a perversion of truth, and when feminists demand that their views on all matters be accommodated by virtue of their minority status: the imbalance of their sex.

Opportunism in the guise of the seamless garment of justice is a betrayal of the just cause of women; for when blame for personal failings can be thrown off by transferring the guilt to others, it is a denial of all that. In the early 1970s in the Movement, women of clear-sighted unwarped judgement strove to achieve: equal opportunity for those of comparable ability: equal status and pay for those of comparable achievement; equal rights before the law for men and women. It is not equality the militants of the 1980s demand — it is privilege.

Jeanne Phelps-Wilson, une ancienne chargée de cours qui enseignait l'anglais à l'Université de l'Alberta, soutient que les féministes militantes veulent que les femmes ne se contentent pas d'être deuxièmes mais d'être les meilleures. Les militantes des années 1980 n'exigent pas l'égalité mais un traitement particulier.

By vicious reasoning and covinous coinings the feminist sophists have set out to eradicate the generic use of "man" from the English language, the gender differences between men and women, and the generative impulse in both. When it comes to sexist bigotry, men are not their equals; but they may become so, these anti-feminists and reluctant misogynists whom female mediocrity has called into being with such deadly intent.

In *1984* Orwell predicted: "If you want a picture of the future, imagine a boot stamping on a human face — for ever." But Orwell failed to foretell that the boot would be a militant feminist's; that the face would be a man's. "But it (is) all right, everything (is) all right," so long as we never admit that when we look up at the portrait of Big Brother we find ourselves looking at a Female Eunuch — the educated feminist's rôle-model.

Reflections on Recent Women's Studies Conferences; Or, *Watch Out We Don't Sell The Farm!*

Greta Hofmann Nemiroff

L'auteure est professeure d'anglais et des études de la femme à la Nouvelle École du Collège Dawson à Montréal. Au cours des dix dernières années, elle a assisté, tant aux États-Unis qu'au Canada, à plusieurs conférences sur les études da la femme. Dans cet article, elle discute de plusieurs courants importants dont elle a pris conscience lors de ces conférences, mettant l'accent surtout sur trois conférences récentes. Ces courants contemporains son placés dans le contexte, plus positif, du "bon vieux temps" des années 70, lorsque les études de la femme étaient un domaine tout nouveau.

Reflecting on the subject matter of this article, I found myself musing about the "good old days" in the '70s when Women's Studies was starting in Canadian colleges and universities. I realised that during those early years, I met many of the feminist scholars from across the country whom I now know; we met at conferences at Queens (the Learneds in 1973), at York University in 1974, and at the University of Toronto in 1975. The atmosphere of those meetings was conducive to meeting other feminist educators and/or researchers: time and space were made available to meet the affiliative needs of feminist academic women who were atomized throughout so many Canadian post-secondary institutions and were often the lone voices in their work-places.

We were all avid for information because there was so little available to us in print or other media. What there was came from the United States and Europe; and the Canadian feminist periodical press was only about to get started. While papers were delivered and there were the usual panel discussions, there was also a rather informal setting; the ambiance was quite democratic with all tiers of faculty from all types of institutions, as well as a wide sprinkling of students, freely exchanging with one another. There was not only a need for networking and affiliation, but there was also a need for "fun." The "fun" needs were often met by "cultural" events in the evenings as well as through shared meals, banquets, and coffee breaks. Sometimes we'd all be put up in university dormitories where we'd sit up late discussing ideas and attitudes. Or else, some of us would go out drinking and do the same. Now I am not trying to indicate that we were one happy pyjama party: I am underlining the fact that there was a clear desire to discuss our work and that time and opportunity for these informal and essential meetings were made available for such discourse.

Feminist educators needed the active confirmation of these conferences in order to continue the often solitary battle for validation in our "home" institutions. Even those of us lucky enough to have a group of supportive colleagues needed to hear how other women strategized in similar situations.

Very often we would discuss our pedagogical methodology, our resources and reading lists, our ways of reaching the students. We were often amazed at the "life stories" we heard from our students in those days before we had vocabulary at our disposal succinctly to describe "sexual harrassment" or "wife battering." It seemed to us at the time that we had much to teach one another – professors and students – and we were determined to obliterate some of those patriarchal structures which had divided women in the past, especially those few privileged academic women from the majority of women in the society. This must also be mentioned: in our tenuous positions at work, the students were often the only reliable and potent support group we had; they were the troops which could cause pressure. We needed them.

We were quite aware that our way of doing things was different from that of academic men. We talked about the gender bias in everything from hiring to qualitative terms like "hard" and "soft" data and research. We were adamant about establishing our own terms of reference, our own criteria and pedagogy, when those of the patriarchal academy did not fit either the contents of our teaching and research, or the style of discourse we preferred. We were anxious to empower our students (although the term "empower" in its present sense was not then in the feminist vocabulary), and often we were on first-name bases with them.

While there was a clear desire to demysitify the academy, we were also interested in maintaining high academic standards by our own criteria. We did not want Women's Studies to be perceived as "Minnie Mouse" courses. University and Community College women would exchange pedagogy and research with little vying for status, and it was only towards the end of the '70s that feminist scholars from the colleges were less likely to appear on the mailing lists of university Women's Studies programs.

Over the intervening decade, I have attended several Women's Studies conferences in both Canada and the United States. I have also attended myriad women's conferences devoted to general issues of advocacy, many of which included education. While the general advocacy conferences explore new and exciting ways to get women together, it has been my observation that the strictly "academic" conferences increasingly replicate those too often sponsored and dominated by male academics: they are frequently stuffy, hierarchical, elitist, boring, competitive or decreasingly open to discussions about pedagogy.

In this article, then, I will discuss some of the trends I have observed in the processes of Women's Studies conferences in Canada. While there is no doubt that I have heard stimulating and original presentations and papers, I will not comment on those matters of content. Rather I would like to comment on the somewhat disquieting "sub-texts" I perceive in these gatherings: their structure and ambiance; the nature of discussion; the evasion of certain glaring issues regarding the environment in which not only the conferences themselves, but the teaching of Women's Studies, are taking place. I will focus most of all on three recent conferences which I have had the privilege of attending: "Women's Studies in Canada: Researching, Teaching and Publishing" (York University, Toronto, April, 1985); "Approches et méthodes de la recherche féministe" (Laval University, Québec

City, May, 1985); the Canadian Women's Studies Association Programme at the 1985 Learned Societies (Université de Montréal, Montréal, May-June, 1985).

WOMEN'S PROCESSES?

Conferences are expensive to run and are usually at least partially financed through government grants. This raises the question of whether we spend the money wisely. In a country as wide and under-populated as ours, they afford singular opportunities for women to get together. They are particularly important to minority interest groups, like Women's Studies faculty, because they encourage formal discourse and exchange, but also because through them national and international networks can be formed. It is characteristic of academic life in general that whatever small perquisites are available are more accessible through appropriate contacts. Contacts are best made on a face-to-face basis; conferences often facilitate this in the great big world of (male) academia. For conferences to succeed, rigorous attention must be paid to process and structure, ambiance and to pre-conference information being made available to prospective participants.

While it is somewhat ill-natured to carp at the quality of information available preceding the three conferences I am citing, let it suffice to say that information prior to the conferences was not easy to get, was not always entirely accurate, and that this exclusivity precluded the participation of many women. This problem is further exacerbated by the fact that, since conference mailing lists are often confected from the attendance at previous conferences, and since the attendance is predicated at least partially on previous adequate information, many potentially interested feminist educators and/or scholars are excluded at the outset. While it is possible to advertise in the feminist periodical press, often journals are quarterly and their deadlines are missed. In my experience it usually takes at least a year's lead time to mount a successful conference. Do academic women's conferences really get scrambled together at the last minute? If so, why? Could it be that they are not considered as important as other academic conferences? To be sure, they do not offer the same "points" within the regular departmentalized university and college system as conferences devoted to the established disciplines.

The basic format in each of these three conferences followed the familiar lecture-hall approach: the auditorium with the platform in front and tiers of observers, misnamed "participants." While in the "old days" some effort was made to draw upon the accumulated expertise of the participants, we have apparently descended to the tried and true academic habit whereby only a few are "called." While at CWSA, panels were followed by rather informal and often interesting discussions moderated by able women in the Chair, the modes at Laval and York were different.

At York, I had been invited to chair the first session of the conference which was on the "Chairs" in Women's Studies across Canada. I was advised just before we began that there was to be no discussion from the floor – rather, after all the four presentations were completed, I was to facilitate intra-panel discussion for the edification of the audience. There were no microphones in the auditorium except on stage. I was somewhat dispirited when I noticed so many interesting and experienced Women's Studies professors in the room. There was so much expertise present; it seemed wasteful not to call upon it. Well, the panel gave its presentations and I did, in fact, start a discussion going with some questions I had formulated during the presentations. However, the situation was anomalous: each presenter had emphasized the central part played by inter-university cooperation in establishing the Chair in her region. Yet the session was structured on the most authoritarian of models . . . that only the appointed "talking heads" should be heard. Eventually, so many hands were raised in requests to speak, that I simply encouraged the speakers and questioners from the audience to use the stage microphones. A rather interesting discussion and exchange of information was thus instigated. Later sessions of the conference did install microphones for the audience, although we seem to have been impaled on the "talking head" model. While it is true that those who have prepared to give a talk certainly deserve to be heard and usually have much to offer, it is also essential to offer other participants air space for two reasons: their participation can enrich us all with either critical thought or further information; it models exemplary and equal forms of exchange.

At Laval, we were sentenced to the fate of endless sitting. On the first day of the conference, talks were scheduled from 9:30 through 12:30 and again from 2:00 through 5:00 p.m.; that is, six hours of sitting and listening to "talking heads" presenting the results of their research in fifteen-minute packages. Counting the short presentations of the "animatrices," thirteen presentations were offered that day on subjects as diverse as "Law and Feminism" and "The Artistic Production of Quebec Women from 1975 – 1980." These talks, one after the other, were unbroken by questions or discussion, taking place in a high-ceilinged chilly hall with the speakers on a dais. Unlike York, which at least offered the respite of rather cosy coffee breaks, Laval offered none. True, one could have coffee from an urn in the huge hall outside the auditorium, but there was virtually no possibility of meeting or chatting with people except at lunch. After six or seven presenters had held forth at Laval, there were three "resource persons" who responded from the microphones in the hall. Then the subject(s) were open to discussion. Since many of the presentations were very detailed, and since they were all piled up on top of one another, very few questions were raised relating to them. The microphones were often commandeered by women who made rather confessional speeches or who raised unrelated topics of interest only to themselves. While I, along with much of the audience, felt some irritation at these interventions, I understood them as well. It was frustrating to be talked at for so many hours in such an alienating environment. These unsolicited dissertations, it seemed to me, were efforts to validate oneself in an environment which was actively disconfirming of everyone . . . even the presenters, who had to compress important and interesting research into assembly line slices.

As for "fun," there wasn't much to be had. True, York had a banquet with a witty and charming talk by Thelma McCormack; CWSA had an informal dinner in a restaurant in downtown Montreal; at Laval one had to fend for oneself. There all meals were of that nature, except for a rather select and catered luncheon offered to about twenty professors from Laval, Université de Montréal and L'Université de Québec à Montréal (UQAM) with one or two "honoured guests." I myself simply stumbled into one of these events by accident and stayed there, assuring myself that our "hostesses" would certainly *not* shut themselves away like that. Evidently they would. So at Laval, an opportunity –

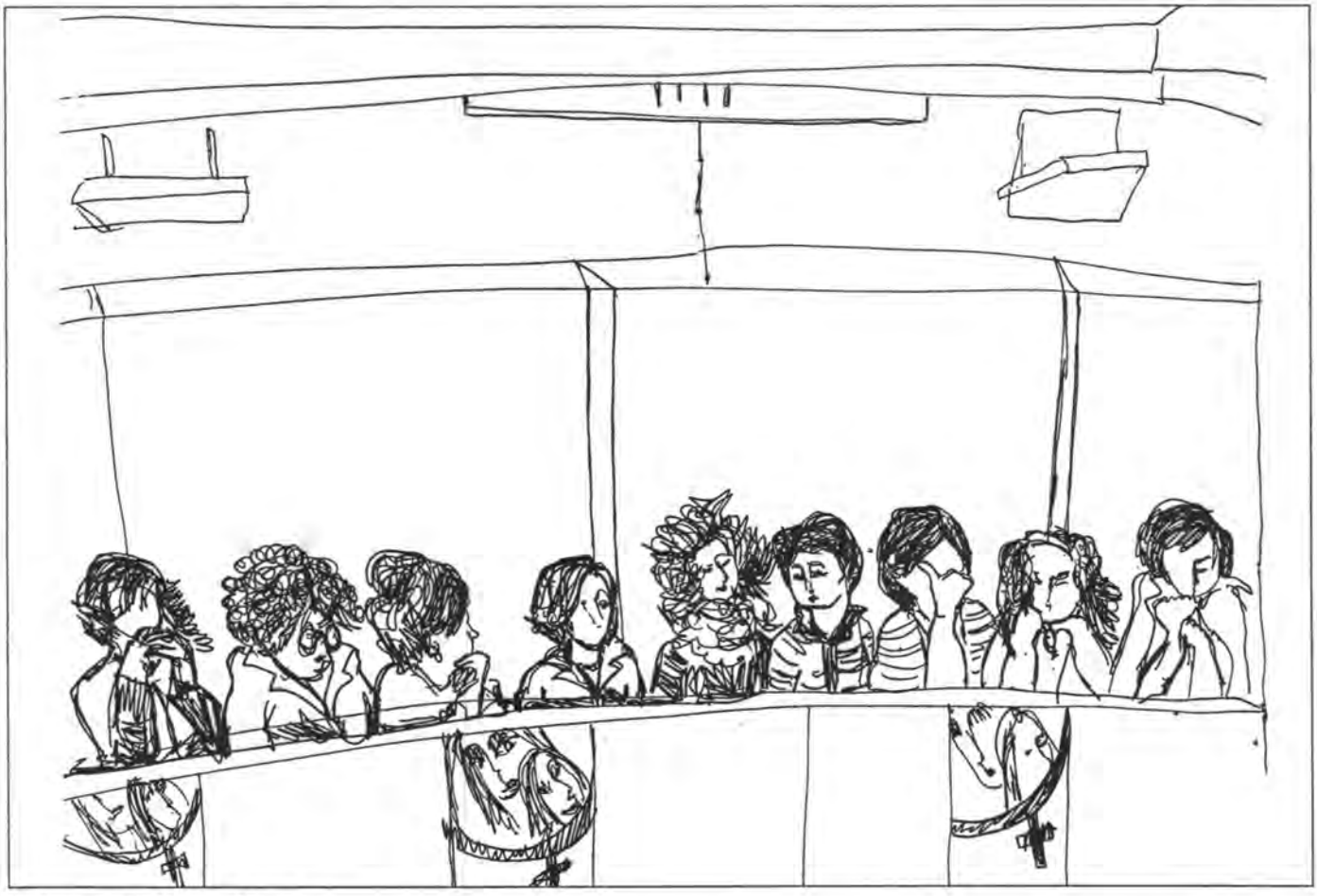


Illustration: Greta Hofmann Nemiroff

and the first one of its kind – to get Québecoises women teaching Women's Studies in post-secondary institutions together was lost. Indeed women from the CEGEP's, where most Women's Studies is taught, were not even invited to the conference.[1] At both Laval and York, the participants were housed in various buildings spread across those huge tundra-like campuses. There was very little opportunity for informal inter-change.

Where in the past, students often would take a lively part in Women's Studies conferences, their presence at York and Laval was limited mainly to the function of the traditional female "helpmates." At Laval there were graduate students presenting with their professors, but they were certainly excluded from the elitist luncheons, and in most cases outtalked by their "superiors." Indeed, when some students gave a paper on "Some Methodological Problems of Student Feminist Research," they mentioned the difficulty 'ordinary' women had in understanding the language of academics and in relating to them.[2] This was hotly contradicted by various professors in authoritarian tones and the kind of language inaccessible to most women in Quebec society. At another conference not discussed here (CRIAW in Montreal in November 1984) the student registration fee was $40.00 – a cost far beyond the means of many students who exist on minuscule government grants and whatever money they can pick up *if* they can find part-time work. One of our largest losses is our increasing distance from students in the fifteen years since Women's Studies started in Canadian universities and colleges. If there were any students at the Learneds/CWSA, they must have been so advanced in graduate work as to have been Teaching Assistants or Sessional Lecturers. The absence of students deprives them, of course, of important opportunities to see Women's Studies being taken seriously beyond the confines of their own institutions. If we want Women's Studies to continue after we retire from our jobs or from life itself, we would be well advised to make it visible as a viable choice for our students.

In *A Room of One's Own*, Virginia Woolf bemoaned the poverty of women scholars and the women's colleges of her time in England. As a metaphor she used the comparison of two meals, one at a men's college reminiscent of Oxbridge, and one at a women's college reminiscent of Newnham. Predictably the men had multiple courses of *haute cuisine* washed down with exquisite wines, while the women dined on rumps of beef and prunes and custard. However, Woolf at least was able to retire to the rooms of her friend, a woman don, and share a drink from her friend's private cache. They were even able to have a discussion in peace and intimacy. That was more than half a century ago. What would she say, I wonder, about us . . . Canadian feminist academics . . . who "do it to ourselves?" It was *ourselves*, not even poverty, which initiated structures so chilling and discouraging of discourse; it was *we* who chose the rubber chickens, who sentenced ourselves to tustling with more nimble students for luncheon places in over-crowded, steamy cafeterias.

WHAT WE TALK ABOUT WHEN WE TALK ABOUT WOMEN'S STUDIES

Women's Studies as a discipline, or the equivalent of one, was hardly discussed at York or at Laval. At Laval it was not discussed, I imagine, because it has made few inroads in the French institutions.

'Feminist research' describes an attitude which can be imposed upon any discipline, and a desirable one at that. However, there is little evidence that the notion of Women's Studies programs has taken hold in Québecois universities; in the French CEGEP's (and to a lesser degree in the English ones as well) Women's Studies do exist as internal programs, but are taught under the rubrics of other disciplines.

At York, there was very little direct discussion about Women's Studies *per se*. Indeed, on the first afternoon we were supposed to break into smaller groups for discussion of the pedagogy within our disciplines: there was no group for Women's Studies! Naturally what this implies is that, notwithstanding its title, "Women's Studies in Canada," notwithstanding the existence of Women's Studies programs in many Canadian post-secondary institutions, it is not considered a "real" discipline , or accorded the respect of one. "Real Disciplines," it would seem, are those in which we got graduate degrees . . . those invented by men. Of course this attitude reinforces the marginality of Women's Studies and almost pre-ordains that it will be impossible to get graduate degrees in that subject. While I can respect (if disagree with) the arguments against Women's Studies as a discipline, its virtual invisibility in a conference ostensibly dedicated to it is more than questionable.

The problem with this ambivalence to Women's Studies (that is, that we can have programs in Women's Studies but they are not, somehow, "real" or truly valid) is that it permeates the teaching of the subject and eventually ends in acts of bad faith with students in our institutions. If we do not struggle to have Women's Studies seen as a valid field or discipline, then there is no future in it for people with a burning interest in the subject. No future jobs will ever open up, and students would be well advised simply to dabble in it, thus reinforcing the conservative notion that Women's Studies is "Minnie Mouse." At CWSA I was struck by the fact that in many universities, most of the Women's Studies courses are taught by part-timers, while the decisions and co-ordination of them are under-taken solely by full-time faculty. In fact, Simon Fraser University and Mount St. Vincent University were the only places mentioned where one could get a tenured position in Women's Studies. In other universities the practice seems to be to tenure or hire full time faculty in the disciplines and then *release* them to Women's Studies. This creates a generally transient teaching corps in the subject, and one where the decisions are made by those who have the least contact with the students. That, of course, is the model of all patriarchal bureaucracies.

It also emerged at CWSA that increasing numbers of courses listed in university calendars as "Women's Studies" are being given under the aegis of other departments, and that there is little effort on the part of the Women's Studies programs to ensure that these courses, given year after year by faculty often chosen by individual departments, contain feminist content, or even content about women. The Women's Studies progams are often, it appears, afraid to ask for course outlines or for a hand in interviewing (and refusing) potential faculty in other disciplines. No wonder: their hold in the university is tenuous and rendered more so by the ease with which they give up their justifiable jurisdiction. Of course, the *real* victims here are the students who innocently sign up for the courses and then are put in the position of dropping out (and prolonging academic careers they cannot afford) or putting up and shutting up. The latter has been women's fate since the Patriarchy began: but should it be done in the name of Women's Studies?

No wonder, then, that the presenters in the session at CWSA devoted to teaching Women's Studies did not willingly bring up the issues of the patriarchal context in which they are trying to survive. I think this silence is a dangerous one, because it is a way of rendering tolerable that which we should never again tolerate: becoming institutionally invisible or, at best, tokenised.

Looking around me at CWSA, York and Laval, I was struck by the fact that many of us who have found our berths are getting on and are perhaps a bit jaded. Right behind us are younger women, many of whom did not go through the struggles of the "good old days" when it all began. I am not sure that we have fulfilled our obligations to them as feminist educators. We have not acquainted them with the early visions and critiques of the male academy; we speak of "consciousness-raising" with near contempt. Process is sacrificed to lists of books and assignments. I was surprised to hear two presenters individually saying that they would no longer "accept" papers on anorexia or rape. Why not? Because the professor is tired of it? Would one refuse to accept a paper on *Hamlet* for this reason? Of course not. We are convinced that there are subjects worth learning about and we know that one of the fates of a teacher is to have to initiate generations of students to these subjects. We, the first and second generation of Women's Studies scholars, must take care to pass on to our students the notion and examples of feminist processes as well as the validation of their own interests. Body Image and Rape are still major issues facing women today . . . and perhaps young women especially. We can leave active disconfirmation of our students' preoccupations to the rest of society.

Before we thoughtlessly mortgage off the farm to support our own little projects of self-interest, then, we academic women have an obligation to pass along our feminist alphabet. Each generation of women should not be sentenced to discover for itself the magnitude and methodology of misogyny before it can progress. Consciousness-raising, the notion of non-hierarchical process, and the concept of an on-going stuggle worth undertaking are all central to feminist education. Before we resign ourselves to an individually self-serving fatalism about current "trends of conservatism" and the weakness of individuals in the face of History, we owe ourselves and others another look at our original vision. "Where there is no vision," the Bible tells us, "the people perish." Our efforts will slowly trickle to a stop, becoming simply a "phenomenon" for future generations to study, if we do not question our standards and practices. If we are unwilling to ensure that our work is not only *about* women, but *for* them, we should at least develop the integrity to move over and make room, to give a chance to that other sessional-fractional-soon-to-beterminated tier of feminist academics to surpass us. Some of them might still have vision.

[1]CEGEP's are Québec's Collèges de l'enseignement collégial et professionel . . . or the community colleges.

[2]Julie Boivin, Martine Mercier, et Aline Vézina, "Quelques problèmes méthodologiques particuliers à la recherche étudiante féministe."

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WHERE DOES INTEGRATION FIT: THE DEVELOPMENT OF WOMEN'S STUDIES*

*Catharine Stimpson***

I want to tell you a story, which has something to do with the state of our art, about a recent development in New Jersey. If the New Jersey state legislature approves, we now have a chair in women's studies at Douglass College of Rutgers University. How this came about is, in and of itself, a parable of what you might have to do to get a balanced curriculum. Three years ago a man who had been an assemblyman, and whose mother had been helpful to Douglass College, had an attack of conscience and thought he too should be helpful. So he proposed that the state legislature set up a commission to study the possibility of getting a chair in women's studies at Douglass College of Rutgers, the state university. The legislature went along with this, thinking, why not? It was like endorsing Wheaties. They appropriated all of $1,000 for this study commission. Undaunted, an outgoing assemblywoman who had just lost the primary for governor, a woman named Barbara McConnell, set up her study commission. It was to be bi-partisan, and she appointed to it a Republican named Hazel Gluck, the heroine of my tale. The study commission said all the proper things: women's studies is a good thing; chairs are a good thing; Rutgers is a good thing. Hazel Gluck had just been appointed chair of the New Jersey State Lottery. And as she sat on this study commission, she said: "Just as the Casino money is supposed to go to the aged, the

*This manuscript was edited from a taped transcript of Catharine Stimpson's keynote address.

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lottery money is supposed to go to education. I want the lottery money to go to the chair of women's studies." So Hazel Gluck, who is just as tough and marvelous as they come, lobbied this through the governor. Now we only have to be ratified by the legislature and then we will have $75,000 a year for a balanced curriculum from the lottery. It's a real moral quandary—I'm now going to tell my students to play Lotto.

On that note of triumph and hope, I have been asked to assess the development of women's studies. What is this extraordinary intellectual endeavor that we wish to integrate, and rightly wish to integrate, into our institutions of formal knowledge and into our formal consciousness as well? I wish to frame my talk with two very disparate sources of ideas. One is poetry. And the poem I wish to evoke is Adrienne Rich's wonderful poem *From A Survivor* where she talks about how a distransformation works; how change works; how a life that is capable of renewing itself works. She says in an implicit rejection of utopianism, but an explicit acceptance of hope, that a life that is capable of transforming itself is "not a leap but a succession of brief amazing moments each one making possible the next."

My second source of discourse is from law. In 1981 the United States Court of Appeals in California, in Lynn versus the University of California, case no. 79–3384, held that it was evidence of sex discrimination if someone who taught women's studies was denied tenure; that to think of women's studies as not a part of the curriculum as a whole is now legal evidence, especially in California, of sex discrimination.

But when did our development begin? As we know, the new scholarship about women which we are using to balance the curriculum began as a systematic endeavor in 1969. Of course there were people studying women before 1969; Margaret Mead went to Samoa before 1969. But there were causes for the fact that our new understanding of women re-began systematically in 1969, and those historical causes are still operative. As we are told by Nancy Reagan and others that our enterprise is perhaps too peripheral, we must remember that the deep underlying historical forces that have brought us together in this room are going to continue to run throughout the twentieth century.

What were they, these forces that appeared so strongly in the 1960s? First, the entrance of women of all classes and races into the

public labor force. Secondly, and we can never underestimate this, the democratization of higher education. I do not mean to praise American higher education unduly, but it still is an extraordinarily democratic institution which began to admit in the 1960s new kinds of students, among them women. So if in 1965 women earned only about 10 percent of all the doctorates in the United States, in the 1960s there began a movement that meant by 1979 women were earning nearly 30 percent of all the doctorates in the United States, though, to be sure, more in the humanities than elsewhere. A third force is the partial decline, though only a partial decline, in religious definitions of masculinity and femininity and a far wider cultural acceptance of supplementary ideologies that value equality and self-realization. Fourth, a pervasive intellectual climate that tends to value scepticism over tradition, that tends to value empiricism and secularism. It was Wallace Stevens, a male poet, who in *Poems of Our Climate* told us about the never resting mind. And it was Thomas Kuhn, a male philosopher of science, and Thomas Luckmann and Peter Berger, both male sociologists, who helped to teach us in *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* and in *The Social Construction of Reality*, that, despite Plato, knowledge is not a series of absolute forms but a series of cultural constructs. Another great current was the lessening, though only a lessening, of prejudice against women in positions of public power. And finally, and so importantly in the 1960s, the presence of the Black movement. Women's studies owes in a number of ways a debt to the Black movement for an earlier challenge to the academy and to structures of knowledge.

Then there was the emergence of the new feminism in the 1960s which brought the women's question into public consciousness, into public discourse, and, moreover, brought up that question in a spirit of questioning. We must not forget in the academy how many of our central ideas come from outside of the academy, and specifically from the women's movement. It was Virginia Woolf, bitterly denied access to higher education though she was privately tutored in Greek, who in *A Room of One's Own* gave us some of our dominant ideas for the study of women's culture. It was Alice Walker who helped take some of those ideas for the study of Black women's culture. It was Susan Griffin, a west coast poet, and Susan Brownmiller, neither of them academics though college educated, who taught us to think of rape not as a fantasy on the

part of a sex-crazed, manipulative, Lillith-like woman, but as the imposition of male violence. It was Adrienne Rich who taught us to see motherhood as an institution. I review these things not only to remind us of our historical origins, but also to remind us that many of our most volatile and important ideas have come from political and social movements that the academy then adopts and sometimes defends.

Since 1969, working with ideas from within the academy and outside, we have had what I have often called the four-fold development of our overarching concepts, the kind of ideas that help us think about women in all the disciplines, the kind of ideas that I hope would be integrated into the curriculum as a whole. In the beginning, in 1969 I would say, a first and pervasive idea—perhaps less an idea than a position—was that the study of women in and of itself was important. I hate to sound like a grain-aged person spitting into the winds of historical indifference, but I remind us all how radical it was in the 1960s simply to say that the study of women mattered. And we went on from that. Here I would say that the leading article was Gayle Rubin's essay in 1974, "A Traffic in Women," where she asked: What does the study of women mean? The study of women is not simply just the study of a group, a caste, a class; the study of women is a lead into the study of what Rubin called our sex-gender systems or our sex-gender arrangements. That is, we look not simply at women as a group, but we also look at the way in which various societies and various cultures have patterned sex roles and gender arrangements. And as we heard this morning, implicit in this was an initial consensus that we could separate sex from gender: that, with the exception of hermaphrodites, all of us are born either male or female; we are born into one sex but we are taught to behave according to the rules of one gender or another. Gender patterns of behavior are not the product of God, nor the product of our hormones, nor the product of E. O. Wilson's sociobiological laws. The gender patterns—masculinity and femininity—are human and social constructs.

In the study of sex gender systems, I think what developed was a spectrum of naming for this activity; each name reflected a different political position. On one end of the spectrum the name was feminist studies in which scholars said, yes, we are interested in ideas, we are interested in the curriculum, but we must never lose

our political passion and purpose, and we must never forget that the reconstruction of gender involves the reconstruction of all systems of inequity. On the other end of the spectrum there was the name sex role or gender studies. Often in sex role or gender studies, you saw scholars deliberately saying that their work was objective and value-free and purged of any political or polemical passion or purpose. I will never forget being at a small conference where an economist whose work has been crucial for our study of women in the public labor force, said, "I'm sick of all this thinking about women's sufferings. What about men?", deliberately detaching her important investigations of gender and economic sex role behavior from any political purpose.

The second overarching idea—and again it sounds so simple now to say it—was simply that there was such a thing as *sexism*, a word that sprang up in the 1960s and was very deliberately modeled on racism. The idea of sexism, of course, was simply that sexual difference had led to sexual stratification and what we had was institutionalized discrimination against women, structures that made women secondary, marginal, second class, and comparatively (and that word comparatively is important) powerless. There was and still is, as many of you know, a quarrel about the study of sexism, and the quarrel about the study of sexism was this: Have women at all times in all places been subordinate to the men of their group and/or of their class? Is subordination universal? The great voice of this gloomy and depressing thought was Simone de Beauvoir in *The Second Sex*. As many of you know, perhaps her most influential American proponent was Sherry B. Ortner. In her essay *Is Female to Male as Nature Is to Culture?* Ortner, a brilliant anthropologist, said: "I hate what I'm about to say, I work against it, but intellectually I do believe that women, at all times, in all places, have been subordinate to the men of their group." The intellectual landscape was then challenged by historians, among them Gerda Lerner who was under the influence of Mary Beard's *Woman as Force in History*, and a group of brilliant anthropologists, often under the influence of Marx and Engels, such as Eleanor Leacock, who said there may not be primitive matriarchies, a dream of certain branches of cultural feminism, but there are societies in which there is gender equity or rough parity. I would say that the text now that most vividly argues this is a collection of Eleanor Leacock's essays symbolically entitled *Myths*

of Male Dominance. But, mind you, no one questioned the presence of subordination; the quarrel was over its universality.

Then the question in the study of sexism became, "Why do women submit to it?" In other words, what is our sociocultural and psychosexual DNA? What keeps the system going with women's complicity? Then even more vibrantly, there was the study of the questions: "Why do women resist subordination?" "What are the conditions under which the status quo of subordination seems unacceptable?" Again, the questions are still unanswered but some of the answers that are emerging are: education, of course; and in a capitalist society it will surprise none of you to know that money helps; some cultural signals from a book or from a significant other that say you can be different; and, very importantly, women's separate institutions and spaces, social spaces and institutional spaces that women at least in part controlled, whether they were a convent or a garden club. And slowly, very slowly, United States public opinion has caught up with this dominant idea that sexism exists.

The third idea or way of conceptualizing the world was, when we look at the world and we try to conceptualize the relationship of men's lives and women's lives, how should we think? How should we model the world; how should we picture it? Here, with a very strong influence of anthropology, emerged the public-private paradigm, which many of you know went this way. There is one world, consisting of men, which is the world of public activity, productive activity, formal culture. It is the domain of the father, of the son; it is the domain of the patriarchs and their terrible Oedipal struggle; and it is the domain of the representors. The second world is not male but female, the world of private and reproductive activities, the domain of the mother and daughter, the domain not of the representors but of the represented.

This public-private paradigm was investigated in a number of ways. Much of the material that emerged in the 1970s was under the rubric of this paradigm and there were many developments in the study of this paradigm. First there has been an enormous amount of work on the performance, the competence, and the success of women in the male world. I think of Judith Stiehm's book about women in the Air Force Academy. I think of Alice Kessler-Harris' recent and important new history, *Out to Work*, of

women in the United States in the world of the public labor force. I think of Rosabeth Moss Kanter's *Men and Women of the Corporation*. And recently there has been a parallel development which is: "What are men like in women's worlds?" This has given rise, I think most dominantly, to fatherhood studies, work by men like James Levine and Joe Pleck, which discusses what happens when men enter the domestic sphere and try to transform what it means to father.

The second development resulting from the public-private paradigm is the study of the family, that social unit in which men and women most intimately co-mingle. I think we saw in the 1970s two parallel developments in the study of the family. There was family history that might or might not care about women's studies, and then there was family history done from the point of view of women's studies. One of the things that distinguished them was that in women's studies, so often, the sense is that the family was the place that harmed women and children; the family was not a neutral institution. It could be good but it could also be bad. Here, for example, we had those vitally important incest studies and studies of spouse abuse, and wife battering, and what happens to women if they do marry wife batterers. And there was also the work of Nancy Chodorow in *The Reproduction of Mothering*, who working with re-visionary object relations theory tried to see, I think with *some* conceptual flaws, how the family worked to keep sexism going. Still another development has been the study of the female world itself, the study of the convent, the study of the lesbian subcultures in Paris in 1920. Under the influence of Isabel Sawhill's and Heather Ross' study of the female head of family, probably the most important work that is now going on in the study of female worlds is the study of the feminization of poverty, a phrase invented by Diane Kay Lewis. I would advise you all to read an article by the sociologist Lenore Weitzman in the *UCLA Law Review*, August, 1981, which is a study of the effects of the California no-fault divorce law. Weitzman found that one year after a divorce, under the no-fault divorce law, the average man's standard of living rose 75 percent and the average woman's standard of living dropped 42 percent.

But there was yet another development in conceptualizing the world as public and private, and that was a reaction against the

overgeneralizing quality of the public and private dichotomy. Michelle Rosaldo, the anthropologist who died last year on a field trip, had been one of the most influential proponents of the notion of looking at the world as consisting of the public male domain and the private female domain. Just before she died she published an article called "The Use and Abuse of Anthropology" in which she began to question this paradigm and said: "Why did I conceptualize the world in terms of dualities? Was I unconsciously extending Victorian habits of thought that dualized that world into male and female?" And there was a wonderful article by Diane Kay Lewis, a Black anthropologist, who said, "I respect Michelle Rosaldo, I respect Louise Lamphere, I respect the people who talk about the world consisting of two spheres—male and female, public and private—but," she said, "it simply does not work for Black women." For Black women in the United States, you cannot say of their lives that they inhabited a powerless private sphere, because it simply is not true. And what this led to, and very helpfully, was a study of differences among women that age and race and class and region and nationality and power created. It was long overdue, this recognition of how profound the differences among women were. (My grandmother, for example, was a rural farm girl and a domestic servant when she was twelve years old. And I'm obviously neither rural nor a farm girl nor a domestic servant.) What this led to was a series of independent women's studies, such as Black women's studies, with their own texts and ideas, which were important corrections to the overgeneralizing qualities of the scholarship about women in the late 1960s and 1970s.

The fourth and final idea which I think controls us is a question of sexual difference itself. What we contribute to a balanced curriculum is not simply the study of sex and gender but a reinvigorated and critical debate about the nature of sexual difference. As many of you know, I now arrange the world into the minimalists and the maximalists on this question of sex difference. For years, at least from 1969 to 1977, most of us were minimalists. And what it meant to be a minimalist in terms of the study of sex difference was this: First it meant, and still means for me, to say, of course there are differences between men and women. Obviously my brother cannot bear a child and I can. Obviously men and

women have different physiological and reproductive capacities. Only a fool or a fabulist would deny it. But most differences, we minimalists go on to say, most differences are the product of history and culture and economic conditions. So that when we study sex differences, when Annette Kolodny finds American men and women writing very differently about the American landscape, when Gerda Lerner and Juliet Mitchell and Joan Kelly-Godol say we have to reperiodize and rename history for women, when they look at differences, what they see is this: If we have created sex differences, for the most part we can de-create them; if we have been responsible for their evolution, we can de-evolve them. And so Nancy Chodorow, in *The Reproduction of Mothering*, says "I offer this analysis as one step towards the reconstruction of parenting."

And then there are the maximalists. There are two kinds of maximalists. One kind is Jerry Falwell and Phyllis Schlafly who accompany a belief in sex differences with a general subscription to civic and familial hierarchy. This I would say has been the historical pattern, a belief in profound sex differences as a ratification of familial and civic hierarchy. But there are other sorts of maximalists who, very importantly, wish to reconcile what they genuinely believe to be profound, ahistorical differences with familial and civic equality. What are the sources for the new maximalist, the maximalist as libertarian? I would say one source is the people who in the 1970s were proponents of the notion of androgyny, who said, yes, there is male and female and the point is for all of us to be both. More influentially now there is American social science and Alice Rossi who calls herself not a sociobiologist but a biosociologist. Rossi is a brilliant and formidable woman who in the early 1960s was both writing theoretical articles about women and gender and actively helping to change the sociological profession. As many of you know, in 1977 Rossi published in *Daedalus* an article called "Towards a Biosocial Perspective on Parenting" that I think is the *locus classicus* of the libertarian maximalist position. In this article Rossi simply said that, for evolutionary reasons, women are now physiologically better equipped to rear as well as to bear children. In a famous phrase, she said, "If you want men to share parenting equally, you are going to have to give them 'compensatory education' because they cannot do it by themselves." All over America men dropped the Pampers and said: "Darling, I knew I

couldn't do it, and it isn't my fault. Alice Rossi says it's in my hormones."

And now, especially since they are being translated with greater frequency, there are the new French feminists. The new French feminist theoreticians may quarrel among themselves, but theoreticians such as Julia Kristeva or Hélène Cixous agree that there are profound ahistorical differences between men and women which they believe to be historically repressed but now expressible. If I had to oversimplify and characterize the difference between the American maximalists and the French maximalists and the Americans whom they influence and parallel, it would be this. The American maximalists tend to locate sex differences in mothering and the life-cycle, while the French maximalists tend to locate sex differences in our use of language. The French maximalists are profoundly linguistic, while the Americans tend to be more concerned with the role of the mother and the general life-cycle.

As these ideas were being developed, as these concepts were being introduced, there were two other developments which I'll mention only very quickly. First, there was a shift in our image, in our picture of women. In 1969 de Beauvoir offered us a picture of women that showed them as wimps, wobbling wimps, existential turkeys, servants of socialization. Who would want to be a woman after you'd read *The Second Sex?* But now our picture of women has changed; women are heroic. We have in a sense, in the study of women, democratized the notion of heroism. Heroism now lies in everyday acts. Women have a past. Bonnie Thornton Dill has suggested, using Angela Davis, that in the United States we can look to Black women as a model of resistance and the development of strength through enduring and transcending oppression.

The second development has been the development, under a number of names, of women's studies internationally. It has many difficulties. For example, in a seminar on the Caribbean, some of the Caribbean women said: "It is hard for us, because of the taboo about public speech, to talk about sexuality." But I think this international work will offer many ideas to the ego-ridden West. It can stimulate our thinking about a number of issues such as childcare. If you look at childcare systems, formal and informal, in countries other than the United States, it makes our shame even greater.

But I have spoken so far as if our aims were largely intellectual. I

am a passionate believer in the intellectual life but, nevertheless, we seek to do other things as well. We seek to alter people's lives, to alter individual consciousness and aspirations. But we also seek—and here mainstreaming enters—institutional change. In the last fourteen years our efforts at institutional change have gone in two directions. First has been the creation and strengthening of women's institutions. By strengthening I mean that women's colleges, like Wheaton, began to resist the lemming-like rush toward coeducation of the early 1970s. There has also been the creation of journals, programs, libraries, and such new organizations as The National Council for Research on Women. So we have tried to, as I say, strengthen and create women's organizations. We have also tried to have those women's organizations, at their best, reflect a new way of behaving that would be less egocentric, less competitive, less hierarchical, more affiliative. And, again at its best, the search for a different institutional style has been a heroic effort to re-imagine group behavior; at its worst it has been sentimental twattle.

Simultaneously there has been the effort to influence established institutions. In terms of institutional governance this has meant equity and affirmative action. In terms of the curriculum this has meant what we call mainstreaming or balancing or transforming the curriculum, in which people like Betty Schmitz and Peggy McIntosh and this project at Wheaton itself have been so important. And the mainstreaming efforts, I would say, have probably taken some of the most creative energies in women's studies since the late 1970s.

What I would urge upon us all is not to feel that we have to choose one alternative or the other. Surely what we must do now is simultaneously maintain the women's institutions and work towards the balanced curriculum. We must think in both-and rather than in either-or terms. My rationalizations for this? "Mainstreaming" is a watery metaphor, but, to continue it, I think we must not prematurely dry up the tributaries or the wellsprings or the sources of the energies of the mainstream. Secondly, I am not sure that all institutions are like Wheaton. I am not sure all institutions are ready for balancing and for mainstreaming, and, until that is the case, there must be spaces in which the study of women and gender is treated sympathetically and intelligently and given a

budget line. Although the student who knows nothing about women and gender is empty and rigid, there is another danger, if we don't think in both-and terms. It is the student who has only women's studies. We're now beginning to see a generation of students who have taken primarily women's studies courses without a balance from parts of the curriculum. And to my great regret, as I see some of their papers, I think we have not always educated them well. There *are* forces in the world other than patriarchy. Again—I can't make this point strongly enough—in the search toward balance we must keep *both* the more specific women's studies activities and the wonderful efforts to mainstream, to balance, to integrate going as mutually enhancing activities.

Our final activity is that, in crass and cynical and manipulative times, we have been and must remain committed to moral values. I stand before you as an unabashed, not as a closet, Matthew Arnoldian. For I think we have tried to revivify humanism with the great gift of humanism which is the proclaiming of the worth of the individual lives. We have extended to women's lives, or we have tried to extend, the principle of egalitarianism. And we have tried to seek some balance between autonomy and communal responsibilities.

If I may have a few more minutes, let me tell you about some of our problems, some of the resistance that we face in this double activity of keeping women's institutions alive and of influencing, in terms of equity and curriculum, the other institutions simultaneously. We have not always been loved, but since 1980 there has been a sharpening of resistance even as there has been an increase in its growth. On the federal level, there is a serious loss of support. One example is the abolition of the women and minorities program of the National Science Foundation. I am not saying that federal agencies no longer fund women's projects: FIPSE still does; NEH does a little. But the national climate is no longer sympathetic, as it was in the 1970s. With that change in national climate has come a more emboldened conservative movement which has seen such things as a group of conservative religious people and their friends in the California state legislature, pressuring a branch of the California state system to drop its women's studies program on the grounds that it promoted lesbianism. They succeeded for a while; the case is now in court. There are the new conservatives, not simply the hard-shell conservatives, but such new conservatives as Midge Decter who publicly laments that we do women's studies and mainstreaming only because we are in academic life through affirmative action. We are to be pitied, as well as judged, because in our heart of hearts we know that our place in academic life is unmerited and unearned.

Another problem is tenure struggles. I think it is going to prove to be far easier to integrate the curriculum through the efforts of part-time and junior faculty than it is going to be to integrate the faculty. In California there are now several crucial cases, the Nancy Shaw case in Santa Cruz and the Estelle Freedman case at Stanford. I think it will be easier for the established academy to give us our courses and, with the help of the national disciplinary organizations, it will be easier to integrate American history and the *Norton Anthology* than it will be to give tenure particularly in difficult times.

I think too we have a generational problem. Now we have a generation of students who have grown up with what we have to say. It is a generation of students who think, if they are women, that they can go to medical school and to law school. While there have always been (and continue to be) students who found what we had to say about sex and gender threatening or embarrassing, we have a new phenomenon which is a generation of students who thinks that we are passé. It is very odd to have been working at something for the space of fourteen years and to become obsolete. It brings home what they say about America's tendency towards instant obsolescence. It is in mainstream history courses that both men and women students are probably most efficiently taught that our cause is historical, that it has deep historical roots, that it did not vanish in 1976. It is in history, I think, that perhaps some of the best justifications for our study of sex and gender will be done.

If I may go back to Adrienne Rich, we have had enough brief amazing moments to become an intellectual and institutional presence. We will grow, we will change, we will continue to influence established institutions as this gathering today shows. It is inevitable that our very success will breed hostility. For to do the new

work on sex and gender is to endorse an epic of love and to expect some hatred. But, nevertheless, our energy is there, and we are well into this rich and evolutionary process that is bringing women into consciousness and into sufficient power, I hope, to resist domination over themselves or over others.

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2. Inside the Clockwork of Male Careers

by Arlie Russell Hochschild

An offhand remark made to me years ago has haunted me more and more ever since. I was talking at lunch with an acquaintance, and the talk turned, as it often does among women academicians just before it's time to part, to "how you manage" a full teaching schedule and family and how you feel about being a woman in a world of men. My acquaintance held a marginal position as one of two women in a department of fifty-five, a situation so common that I don't fear for her anonymity here. She said in passing, "My husband took our son to the university swimming pool the other day. He got so *embarrassed* being the only man with all those faculty wives and their kids." When the talk turned to her work, she said, "I was in a department meeting yesterday, and, you know, I always feel self-conscious. It's not that people aren't friendly . . . it's just that I feel I don't fit in." She felt "uneasy" in a world of men, he "embarrassed" in a world of women. It is not only the double world of swimming pools and department meetings that has haunted me, but his embarrassment, her unease.

This conversation recurred to me when I met with the Committee on the Status of Women, a newly formed senate committee on the Berkeley campus. We met in the Men's Faculty Club, a row of male scholars framing the dark walls, the waitresses bringing in coffee and taking out dishes. The talk was about discrimination and about the Affirmative Action Plan, a reluctant, ambiguous document that, to quote from its own elephant-foot language, "recognizes the desirability of removing obstacles to the flow of ability into appropriate occupational roles."

The well-meaning biologist on the committee was apologizing for his department, the engineer reminding us that they were "looking very hard" for a woman and a black, and another reminding us that things were getting better all the time. But I

remember feeling what many of us probably sensed but didn't say: that an enormously complex problem—one world of swimming pools, children, and women, and another of men in departments and committee meetings—that an overwhelming reality was being delicately sliced into the tiny tidbits a giant bureaucracy could digest. I wondered if anything in that Affirmative Action Plan, and others like it across the country, would begin to merge these double worlds. What such plans ignore is that fact that the existing academic career subcontracts work to the family—work women perform. Without changing the structure of this career, and its imperial relation to the family, it will be impossible for married women to move up in careers and for men to move into the family.

I would like to start by asking a simple and familiar question: Why, at a public university like the University of California at Berkeley in 1972, do women compose 41 percent of the entering freshmen, 37 percent of the graduating seniors, 31 percent of the applicants for admission to graduate school, 28 percent of the graduate admissions, 24 percent of the doctoral students, 21 percent of advanced doctoral students, 12 percent of Ph.D.'s, 38 percent of instructors, 9 percent of assistant professors, 6 percent of associate professors, and 3 percent of full professors (Ervin-Tripp, 1973)? This classic pattern is typical for women at all major universities, and the situation in nearly all of them is, as in Berkeley, worse than it was in 1930 (Graham, 1971).

I have heard two standard explanations for this classic pattern, but I doubt that either gets to the bottom of the matter. One explanation is that the university discriminates against women. If only tomorrow it could halt discrimination and become an impartial meritocracy, there would be many more academic women. The second explanation is that women are trained early to avoid success and authority and, lacking good role models as well, they "cool themselves out."

Since we already have some excellent and up-to-date objective studies[1] addressed to this question, in this essay I shall try to

[1] See Alice S. Rossi and Ann Calderwood (eds.), *Academic Women on the Move* (1973); Susan Mitchell, *Women and the Doctorate* (1968); and a publication based on the recent massive survey sponsored by the Carnegie Commission: Saul Feldman, *Escape from the Doll's House: Women in Graduate and Professional School Education* (1974). See also Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, *Opportunities for Women in Higher Education* (1973).

explore my own experience, comparing it occasionally to findings in other studies, in order to explain why a third explanation rings more true to me: namely, that the classic profile of the academic career is cut to the image of the traditional man with his traditional wife. To ask why more women are not full professors, or "full" anything else in the upper reaches of the economy, we have to ask first what it means to be a male full professor—socially, morally, and humanly—and what kind of system makes them into what they become.

The academic career is founded on some peculiar assumptions about the relation between doing work and competing with others, competing with others and getting credit for work, getting credit and building a reputation, building a reputation and doing it while you're young, doing it while you're young and hoarding scarce time, hoarding scarce time and minimizing family life, minimizing family life and leaving it to your wife—the chain of experiences that seems to anchor the traditional academic career. Even if the meritocracy worked perfectly, even if women did not cool themselves out, I suspect there would remain in a system that defines careers this way only a handful of women at the top.

If Machiavelli had turned his pen, as so many modern satirists have, to how a provincial might come to the university and become a full professor, he might have the following advice: enter graduate school with the same mentality with which you think you will emerge from graduate school. Be confident, ambitious, and well-aimed. Don't waste time. Get a good research topic early and find an important but kindly and nonprejudicial benefactor from whom you actually learn something. Most important, put your all into those crucial years after you get your doctorate—in your twenties and thirties—putting nothing else first then. Take your best job offer and go there no matter what your family or social situation. Publish your first book with a well-known publisher, and cross the land to a slightly better position, if it comes up. Extend your now ambitious self broadly and deeply into research, committee work, and editorships, to make your name in your late twenties and at the latest early thirties. If somewhere along the way teaching becomes the psychic equivalent of volunteer work don't let it bother you. You are now a full professor and can guide other young fledglings along that course.

Perhaps I am caricaturing, but bear in mind that I am talking about why only 4 percent of the full professors are women at universities like Berkeley, where I think it is fair to say this describes the cardboard outline of the "ideal" career. Ideals are the measuring rods of experience. Even if, as a moral dropout, a student rejects this ideal, he or she finds himself or herself nonetheless in competition with others who rise to the top to exemplify and uphold the ideal.

But there is something hidden in the description of this academic career: the family. And at present men and women have different ties to the family. I think this is not accidental, for the university (a comparatively flexible institution at that) seeks to immunize itself against the vicissitudes of human existence that are out of its control. Some of these vicissitudes are expressed and absorbed in the family: birth at one end of the life cycle and death at the other. Lower ages at retirement handle the "problem" of death, and the exclusion of women the "problem" of birth. (If it could, the university would also guard against other human traumas, sickness, insanity, postdivorce depression, now removed from it by sabbaticals and leaves of absence.) The family is in some sense a preindustrial institution and lives in a private, more flexible time, remote from the immortal industrial clock. The family absorbs vicissitudes that the workplace discards.

It is the university's welfare agency, and women are its social workers. That is to say, the family serves a function for the university, and at present women have more to do with the family than men. As a result, Machiavelli's advice suits them less well. Women Ph.D.'s in the United States spend about 28 hours per week on household tasks (Graham, 1971). Also, the twenties and sometimes the thirties are normally a time to bear and raise children. But it is at precisely this stage that one begins to hear talk about "serious contribution to the field" and "reputation," which are always more or less promising than those of another of one's age. The result is apparent from a glance at a few crucial details cemented to her curriculum vita: How long did she take for the degree? Full-time, continuous work? Previous jobs, the best she could get? But the result shows too in how she sees herself in a career. For most academic women have been socialized at least twice, once to be women (as housewives and mothers) and once again to be like men (in traditional careers).

The second socialization raises the issue of *assimilation* to the male culture associated with academic life; the first socialization raises the issue of what women abandon in the process. The question we must unbury lies between the first socialization and the second: How much do women want careers to change them and how much do women want to change careers?

DISCRIMINATION

When I entered Berkeley as a graduate student in 1962, I sat with some fifty other incoming students that first week in a methodology course. One of the two sociology professors on the podium before us said, "We say this to every incoming class and we'll say it to you. Look to your left and look to your right. Two out of three of you will drop out before you are through, probably in the first two years." We looked blankly to right and left, and quick nervous laughter jumped out and back from the class. I wonder now, a decade later, what each of us was thinking at that moment. I remember only that I didn't hear a word during the rest of the hour, for wondering whether it would be the fellow on my left, or the one on my right, or me. A fifth of my incoming class was female, and in the three years that followed, indeed, three-quarters of the women (and half of the men) did drop out.[2] But a good many neither dropped out nor moved on, but stayed trapped between the M.A. and the orals, or the orals and the dissertation, fighting the private devil of a writing block, or even relaxing within that ambiguous passage, like those permanent "temporary buildings" still standing on the Berkeley campus since World War II. Some even developed a humor to counter the painful jokes about them: "What do you have in your briefcase there, samples?"

[2] Where did these women go? Several I knew stopped their degrees—trying to find a way to continue—to follow their men where military service, schooling, or work took them, or to have children, or to work while their husbands continued their studies. One woman dropped out of a later class more flamboyantly, writing a notice that stayed for a long time on the blackboard of the graduate student lounge, a reminder to buy her avocado and bean-sprout sandwiches at a small stall on Sproul Hall plaza.

A recent Decennial Report from the Harvard and Radcliffe College Class of 1963 contained essays about what had happened to people since their graduation, many like the following: "We have moved from NYC to the mountains above Boulder . . . a very happy change. Dan is teaching math at Colorado University and I continue slow progress on my dissertation while waiting for another baby in May, and caring for Ben, already very much with us."

This happens to men, too, but why does it happen so much more to women? According to some analysts, the women leave academe because of discrimination in such matters as getting fellowships, job offers, or promotions. Helen Astin (1969), for example, concludes that this is a major reason, citing the fact that a full third of the women Ph.D.'s she studied reported discrimination. Others, such as Jessie Bernard, suggest that "it is only when *other* grounds for rejection are missing that prejudiced discrimination *per se* is brought into play" (Bernard, 1966, p. 49). I suspect that Bernard is more on the mark. While a third of academic women reporting discrimination is a great number, it is also remarkable that two-thirds did not report it.

Much of the discrimination argument rests on how broadly we define discrimination or how trained the eye is for "seeing" it. Women have acclimatized themselves to discrimination, expect it, get it, and try to move around it. It is hard to say, since I continually re-remember those early years through different prisms, whether I experienced any discrimination myself. I don't think so, unless one counts the time I entered a professor's office to discuss my paper topic for his course. We had been assigned a reading that involved the link between a particular phenomenon and social class. Social class was measured, I had learned, by the Hollingshead and Redlich index of social class. Somewhere along in the interview, in the course of explaining the paper I was hoping to write, I was pretentious enough to mention the Hollingshead and Redlich index, which involves education, occupational prestige, and residence. The professor stopped me dead with a stony gaze. "Are you a *graduate* student?" (not an *under*graduate). It was like a punch in the stomach, and it took me a few seconds to recover.[3] The interview traveled on as if this exchange had never occurred and I left the office, with a lump in my throat, went to the women's bathroom, and cried. I blush now at my anxiety to please. But of course the problem was not that I was too pretentious, but that I did it badly. In the many

[3] Feldman's data suggest that in those fields where 30 to 50 percent of the students are female—and sociology is among these—40 percent of the males and 50 percent of the females said the professor closest to them viewed them "as a student," or else had no contact with them outside the classroom. Sixty percent of the males and 49 percent of the females said their closest professor viewed them "as a colleague," or "as an apprentice" (recomputed from Feldman, 1974, table 33, pp. 92–93).

imaginary rehearsals of second encounters (I never went back), the conversation went like this: "Hollingshead and Redlich index, mmmmmmm, it's better than the old Warner index, of course, but then it misses some of the more sophisticated indicators of the Chapin scale, dated as it is." By the time it occurred to me that the *man*'s occupation and education were taken as predictors of the social class of his wife and children, I stopped imagining conversations with this particular person.

In the recent Carnegie survey of 32,000 graduate students and faculty, 22 percent of the men and 50 percent of the women graduate students in sociology agreed that the faculty does not "take female graduate students seriously," and in fact a quarter of the male faculty and 3.6 percent of the female faculty agreed that "female graduate students are not as dedicated to the field as males" (Feldman, 1974, p. 71).

When the graduate students were asked the same question, a quarter—men and women alike—agreed that "women are not as dedicated." Only the female *faculty* refused to be recorded this way, perhaps feeling as I did when I filled out the questionnaire that there was no place to say between the yes and the no, that dedication has to be measured against the visible or felt incentives to go on, and that lack of dedication may be a defensive anticipation of being ignored.

For women in particular the line between dropping out, staying on, and moving out is a thin and fluctuating one. The Carnegie Commission study asked graduate students, "Have you ever considered in the past year quitting graduate school for good?" Only 43 percent of the women and 53 percent of the men had *not* considered it (Sells, forthcoming doctoral dissertation).[4] I considered it to the extent of interviewing at the end of my first miserable year for several jobs in New York that did not pan out. Beyond that, my uncertainty expressed itself in virtually every paper I wrote for the first two years. I can hardly read the papers now since it appears that for about a year and a half I never changed the typewriter ribbon. As one professor wrote on a paper, "Fortunately the writer's exposition and analysis are a pleasant contrast to a manuscript which in physical appearance

[4] There were more (39 percent) single women than men (29 percent), and 43 percent of the single women and 61 percent of single men did not consider dropping out in the last year.

promises the worst. A nice job of comparing Condorcet and Rousseau. . . . The writer would possibly have profited by . . . more systematically *resolving* [*sic*] at least tentatively the problem raised—for purposes of relieving her own apparent ambivalence on the issue." I am less sure now that it was Condorcet and Rousseau I was ambivalent about.

That ambivalence centered, I imagine, on a number of issues, but one of them was probably the relation between the career I might get into and the family I might have. I say "probably" because I didn't see it clearly that way, for I saw nothing very clearly then.

The categorical judgments that powerful people apply to particular women are often justified on the grounds that family comes first. Now we call these judgments "discrimination." One chairman caught in print before 1967 said what many department chairmen probably still think but no longer say:

> My own practice is to appoint women to about 50 percent of our graduate assistantships and to about 30 percent of our instructorships. My fear that this is too large a proportion of women appointees arises from the considerations: (1) that women are less likely to complete the degree programs upon which they embark; (2) that even if they do, marriage is very likely to intervene and to prevent or considerably delay their entry into the teaching profession; (3) that even when they do become full time teachers . . . their primary sense of responsibility is to their homes, so that they become professional only to a limited degree; (4) that they are far less likely than men to achieve positions of leadership in their profession (Bernard, 1966, p. 43).

Such official judgments are not completely absurd. They rest on empirical evidence of *categorical* differences between men and women, regardless of special exceptions. To ignore this fact does not make it go away. In ignoring it, we also seem tacitly to agree with university officials that the family is, after all, a private matter out of official hands. It prevents us from asking whether there isn't something about the academic system itself that perpetuates this "private" inequality.

WOMEN COOLING MSELVES OUT

The second explanation for the attrition of women in academe touches private inequality more directly: women sooner or later cool themselves out by a form of "autodiscrimination." Here, inequality is conceived not as the mark of a chairperson's pen,

but as the consequence of a whole constellation of disadvantages.

It is admittedly hard to distinguish between women who remove themselves from the university and women who are removed or who are moved *to* remove themselves. For there are innumerable aspects of graduate school that are not quite discriminatory and not quite not discriminatory either. Some things are simply *discouraging:* the invisibility of women among the teachers and writers of the books one reads or among the faces framed on the walls of the faculty club; the paucity of women at the informal gathering over beer after the seminar. Then there are the prelecture jokes (to break the ice) that refer in some way to pretty girls as a distraction, or to getting into "virginal" fields.[5] There is also the continual, semiconscious work of sensing and avoiding professors who are known to dislike or discredit women or particular types of women. Even the stress on mathematics in sociology: one professor in my department seriously suggested the adding of stiffer methodology requirements in order to reduce the number of women undergraduate majors. In addition, there is the low standing of the "female" specialties—like sociology of the family and education—which some early feminists like me scrupulously avoided for that stupid reason. The real thing to study, of course, was political sociology and general theory: those were virtually all-male classes, from which one could emerge with a "command" of the important literature.

Women are discouraged by competition and by the need to be, despite their training, unambivalent about ambition. Ambition is no static or given thing, like having blue eyes. It is more like sexuality, variable, subject to influence, and attached to past loves, deprivations, rivalries, and the many events long erased from memory. Some people would be ambitious anywhere, but competitive situations tend to drive ambition underground in women. Despite supportive mentors, for many women there still remains something intangibly frightening about a competitive environment, competitive seminar talk, even about argumentative writing. While feminists have challenged the fear of competition—both by competing successfully and by refusing to compete—and while some male dropouts crossing over the other way

[5] It is often said that feminists lack a sense of humor. Actually it's that after discovering the joke is on us, we've developed a different one.

advise against competing, the issue is hardly settled for most women. For those who cannot imagine themselves inside a competitive environment, the question becomes: How much is something wrong with me and how much is something wrong with my situation?

DELS OF PLE AND PLACES

It is often said that a good female "role model" can make up for the pervasive discouragement women find in academe. By role model I mean simply a person whom a student feels she wants to be like or could become. It is someone she may magically incorporate into herself, someone who, intentionally or not, throws her a psychic lifeline. A role model is thus highly personal and idiosyncratic, although she may nonetheless fit a social pattern. I am aware of being part of an invisible parade of models. Even as I seek a model myself, I partly am one to students who are, in turn, models to still others. Various parades of role models crisscross each other in the university, and each goes back in psychological time.

For example, I distinctly remember my mother directing me at the age of 16 toward a model of a professional woman who had followed her husband from place to place outside the United States. My mother worked hard in support of my father's work in the foreign service, and while her own situation did not permit her a career, it was something she had always admired. At one cocktail party, crowded and noisy, she whispered in my ear, "Mrs. Cohen. Go talk to Mrs. Cohen. She's a *doctor*, you know." I hesitated, not knowing what I could say or ask. My mother made eye signs and I ventured over to Mrs. Cohen. As it turned out, she was the hostess of the party. One of her three small children was complaining that he couldn't unlock his bicycle. A tray of hors d'oeuvres had spilled and Mrs. Cohen was hysterical. She was ignoring her son and the spilled hors d'oeuvres for the moment and concentrated on stuffing some eggs, every fifth one of which she ate. As I began preparing the eggs with her, she explained why practicing psychiatry outside the country was impossible, that moving every two years messed up the relations she might have had with her patients, had she any patients. She popped yet another egg into her mouth and disappeared into the crowd. Yes, Mrs. Cohen was a model of something, the best model my mother could find for me, and only now do I begin to understand her situation and my mother's.

Actually it was not so much Dr. Cohen herself as it was her whole life, as part of what Hanna Papanek (1973) calls the "two person career" that became, for me, the negative model. I imagine that 20 years from now, young women will, in the same way, scan individual models to sense the underlying situation, the little imperialisms of a man's career on his wife's life. Dr. Cohen's husband had one role and his role created two for her. Male careers in other fields, including academe, differ from this only in degree.

This is the second sense in which we can talk of models—models of *situations* that allow a woman to be who she gradually gets to want to be. Models of people and of situations, some appealing and some distressing, march silently across the university grounds. Among the inspiring leaders of this parade are also some frightening examples of women who lack the outer symbolic or material rewards for accomplishment: the degrees, the higher-level jobs, the promotions, the grants that their male counterparts have. In some cases too these women show the inner signs: a creativity that may have cramped itself into modest addenda, replications of old research, or reformations of some man's theory—research, in sum, that will not "hurt anyone's feeling." What is painful is not simply that a particular woman may have been denied a job, but rather, that she may face the daily experience of being labeled a dull or unpromising dutiful daughter in research. The human pinch for such a woman is not simply having to choose between a full-time commitment to her profession or a family, but what it means to remain single among couples, to have her sexual life an item of amused curiosity. For others it isn't simply the harried life of trying to work and raise a family at the same time; it's the premature aging around the eyes, the third drink at night, the tired resignation when she opens the door to a sparkling freshman who wants to know "all about how social science can cure the world of war and poverty."[6] There are other kinds of models, too. Especially in recent years, women have earned degrees and good jobs and with it all

[6] I do not define those women as oppressed who *think* they are or have been. Some are declaratively self-conscious and others not, and they may be variously analytical and insightful about the effects of personal and institutional sexism. On the whole, among older women academics, I think a "Protestant" cultural style of dealing with oppression prevails, according to which it is unseemly to be long-suffering or indeed to have any problems at all that show. The "Catholic" or "Jewish" cultural styles, according to which it is more legitimate to openly acknowledge pain, are at least nowadays more appropriate.

have established egalitarian arrangements at home. But I think they are likely to remain a minority because of the current tight job market, and the career system itself and because women inside academe are often constrained from lobbying for more women. It's not *professional*. Speaking only for myself, I have found it extremely hard to lobby for change, to politic while sitting in a department meeting with dozens of senior male professors, among them my mentors. I have felt like a totem or representative more than an agent of social change, discredited for being that by some professors and for not being more than that by some feminists. Of course when I do speak up, it is with all too much feeling. It is immeasurably easier, a joyous release, to go to the private turf of my classroom where I become intellectually and morally bold. If I had to locate what has been my own struggle, it would be right there in the committee room.

Women respond not simply to a psychological lifeline in the parade, but to the social ecology of survival. If we are to talk about good models we must talk about the context that produces them. To ignore this is to risk running into the problems I did when I accepted my first appointment as the first woman sociologist in a small department at the University of California at Santa Cruz. Some very strange things happened to me, but I am not so sure that anything happened to the department or university. Sprinkled thinly as women were across departments there, we created a new minority status where none had existed before, models of token women. The first week there, I began receiving Xeroxed newspaper clippings and magazine articles praising the women's movement or detailing how bad the "woman situation" was in medicine or describing Danish women dentists. These clippings that began to swell my files were invariably attached to a friendly forwarding note: "Thought you'd be interested," or "Just saw this and thought of you." I stopped an older colleague in the hall to thank him for an article he had given me and inquired what he had thought of it. He hadn't read it himself. I began to realize that I was becoming my colleagues' friendly totem, a representation of feminism. "I'm all with you people" began to seem more like "You be it for us." And sure enough. But for every paper I read on the philosophy of Charlotte Gilman, on the history of the garment union, the dual career family, or women and art, I wondered if I shouldn't poke a

copy into the mailboxes of my clipping-sending friends. I had wound myself into a feminist cocoon and left the tree standing serenely as it was. No, it takes more than this kind of "model."

THE CLOCKWORK OF THE CAREER SYSTEM

It is not easy to clip and press what I am talking about inside the square boundaries of an "administrative problem." The context has to do with the very clockwork of a career system that seems to eliminate women not so much through malevolent disobedience to good rules, but through making up rules to suit half the population in the first place.[7] For all the turmoil of the 1960s, those rules have not changed a bit. The year 1962 was an interesting one to come to Berkeley, and 1972 a depressing one. The free speech movement in 1964 and the black power and women's liberation movements following it seem framed now by the fifties and Eisenhower on one side and the seventies, Nixon, and Ford on the other. The questions that lay flat under the book in the lecture hall in 1963 stood up to declare themselves in that stubborn public square that refused to be incorporated by the city-state around it. It was like slicing the *Queen Mary* in half: from boiler room to top deck, the chains of command within, the ties to industry and the military without, in what had announced itself as an otherworldly search for Truth—all were exposed for a moment in history. And then recovered, the boat a whole again and set afloat. It was what did *not* change that was most impressive. Now FSM, black power, and women's liberation appear as dissertation topics: "FSM, a Study of Information Dissemination," "Black Power as Status Mobility," "The Changing Image of Career Women," amidst yet newer ones such as "In the Service of Light; a Sociological Essay on the Knowledge of Guru Maharaj Ji and the Experience of His Devotees." Each movement left a theater of its own, and frosted dinner-table conversations that at the end of the evening divided again by sex.

[7] In what follows, I focus on the problems for women of the career system, assuming that the virtues of academe make it worth criticizing. Perhaps I need not say that few people love their work as much as professors do, and I, too, can genuinely not imagine a more engrossing and worthwhile life than one devoted to discovering how the world works and inspiring an appreciation for culture and inquiry. But this essay is not about why women should be in the university, but an essay about why they are not.

What did not change was the career system, brilliantly described by Clark Kerr in *The Uses of the University* (Kerr, 1963). But there are some things about competition uncritically implied in that book that I must focus on here. The first is the understanding, taken for granted, that work is shaped into a "career" and that a "career" comprises a series of positions and accomplishments, each of which is tightly and competitively measured against other careers, so that even minor differences in achievement count. Universities and departments compete to get the "big names," and individuals compete to become the people who are competed for. There is competition between Berkeley and Harvard, between Stony Brook and New York University, between sociology and history, between this assistant professor and that one, the competition trickling down from level to level. The people at each level carefully inspect the relatively minor differences between a surprisingly narrow band of potential rivals for scarce but coveted rewards. This is perhaps more apparent in the almost-famous than the famous universities, and in the hard sciences, whose scientists have more to sell (and sell out), than in the soft. It is more apparent at professional conventions than in the classroom, more in graduate student talk than in undergraduate, more among males than females. The career itself is based on a series of contests, which in turn are based not so much on doing good work as on getting *credit* for doing good work.

This was explained to me by a colleague in a letter. (I had written him asking why employers are not more enthusiastic about part-time work for men and women.) Speaking about scientific and artistic creativity, he notes:

> . . . being the first to solve some problems helps you be the first to solve a problem which depends on the solution of the first (intellectual problem), *provided* that you get to work on the second problem before everybody learns how you solved the first. I think clienteles work pretty much the same way, that if you start being known as a good doctor in a certain social circle, or a good divorce lawyer, then if two of the person's friends recommend you as a good professional you are much more likely to get his business than if only one does. Where clienteles come in off the street or in response to advertisements, as in real estate, then it doesn't matter so much whether you work full time or not. . . .

"Being the first" to solve the problem is not, under the career system, the same as getting the problem solved; "getting his business" away from someone else is not the same as meeting the client's needs. In the university, this means "being the first in research and, to a much lesser extent, "getting the business" in teaching. To borrow from movement language, one can manage in this way to get a reputation in the "star system." Wanting to become a "star," or knowing you have to want to become one, or becoming even a minor one, is what women learn in man-made careers.

A reputation is measured against time—that is, against the year one is born. A number of studies have shown that, in modern times, intellectual achievements tend to come surprisingly early in life. In Harvey Lehman's massive study of eminent men in science, the arts, letters, politics, the military, and the judiciary, the average age of peak performance is early: for chemists and physicists the early thirties, in music and sculpture the late thirties, even in philosophy the late thirties and early forties. The link between age and achievement for many specialties housed in the university resembles that of athletes more than that of popes or judges. Interestingly, achievement came later in life for men before 1775—before the massive bureaucratization of work into the career system (Lehman, 1953, 1962, 1965). A reputation is an imaginary promise to the world that if one is productive young in life, one will be so later also. And the university, having little else to go on, rewards the promise of the young or fairly young.

Age discrimination is not some separate extra unfairness thoughtlessly tacked on to universities; it follows inevitably from the bottommost assumptions about university careers. If jobs are scarce and promising reputations important, who wants a 50-year-old mother of three with a dissertation almost completed? Since age is the measure of achievement, competition often takes the form of working long hours[8] and working harder than the next person. This definition of work does not refer to teaching, committee work, office hours, phone conversations with students, editing students' work, but refers more narrowly to one's

[8] Not all competition can be explained in these terms, but it may partly explain why some occupational groups work longer hours than others. For example, we find among managers, officials, and proprietors, that 27 percent of males in 1970 worked 60 hours or more per week, while only 2 percent of clerical workers worked that hard. Self-employed workers, such as farm managers, work harder than employees. In large bureaucracies, it tends to be those at or near the top who work the longest hours—the careerists.

own work. Time becomes a scarce resource that one hoards greedily, and time becomes the thing one talks about when one is wasting it. If "doing one's work" is a labor of love, love itself comes to have an economic and honorific base.

This conception of time becomes in turn an indelible part of the career-*self*.[9] Male-styled careers introduce women to a new form of time consciousness: it is not age measured against beauty, as in our "first" training, but age measured against achievement. That measure of age, as I have noted, is related to what else a person does, for example, in the family.

The career-self experiences time as linear and the career itself as a measured line, other parts of the self following along. Time is objectified in the academic vita, which grows longer with each article and book, and not with each vegetable garden, camping trip, political meeting, or child. One's multifold potential is treated much like a capital investment in an initially marginal enterprise. What is won for the garden is lost to the vita. For the career-self, casual comparisons to colleagues working on the same problem are magnified into contests: He got his article published first. His good news is my bad news. These comparisons become mental giants, while the rest of the world and self are experientially dwarfed.

If work, conceptualized as a career, becomes a measured line, the line often appears to be a rising one. Very often the rising career line is also, despite a residual cynicism about power, associated with a pleasant belief in the progress of the world. Even those who have refused to fit this profile know very well that they are measured against it by others who rise to the top and, from this top-of-the-career world view, set the prevailing standards.

SOCIAL HOLOGY CAREER TALK

The academic career creates a culture of its own, and a special sense of self. This is especially true for the elite and aspirants to it, but it holds for the stragglers and misfits as well. The marketplace is not somewhere "out there" in the great beyond of

[9] Some of the ideas presented here come from reading Dorothy Lee's *Freedom and Culture* (1965), a study of American Indians and a book that forces one to rethink the concept of the individual *versus* society, a favored antagonism of Western sociologists. The Wintu Indians, whom she describes, do not conceptualize a "self" upon which to base a career; the very concept of self does not have a meaning in their tribal configuration, and there is no word in the language corresponding to it.

supply and demand; it insinuates itself into the very fiber of human communication about things that matter.

Apart from writing, the main thing academics do is talk, and talk is perhaps the best illustration of the effects of this culture. Talk anywhere is influenced by the context in which it goes on, and I should say a little about that. If a Cuban or a Wintu Indian happened to walk down the fourth floor of Barrows Hall at Berkeley, she might get the impression of a bare mustard yellow tunnel, long and dimly lit from above, casting ghostly shadows on the under-eyes of its "trespassers." Closed doors to left and right offer a few typed notices of class meeting schedules, envelopes containing graded examinations, and one wry sign, posted several months earlier by a man who had just won tenure: THIS MACHINE IS NOT IN ORDER. It might be experienced as a place where no one lives. It's the one place professors are supposed to be available to students, but since students unwittingly block the extension of one's vita, it's the one place from which professors are curiously absent. Only instructors not yet in the tenure race and older professors on the other side of it might answer to a knock. The rest are seemingly lost between their several offices (the institute, the department, the home). Often they pick up their mail at dawn or dusk when the department office is closed. The French call them the "hurried class." On a day when the printed notice says a middle-rank professor will be in, a small society of students will assemble on the floor against one wall. They have penciled their names on a posted sheet that marks time in 15-minute pieces; and they may be rehearsing their lines.

Last term a male graduate student signed up for an office visit. On my office door, in large, bold letters he wrote: THOMPSON. That the name was larger than the others led me to expect a large, imposing figure. In fact, Thompson was 3 inches shorter than I, and I suppose he felt less imposing as well. For after he had seated himself carefully, slowly crossed his legs, and hunched down in the "student" chair, he began, without prodding on my part, to give a long, slow description of his intellectual evolution from mathematical models at the University of Michigan to historical sociology to possibly, just possibly—and this was why he was in my office—the sociology of the family. It took about half an hour to say. The remarkable thing was how slowly and deliberately he spoke, as if he were dictating a manuscript, qualifying each statement, painfully footnoting his

generalizations, and offering summaries at the appropriate places, rather like the chairman of our department. After the interview was concluded, with a fumble over who should open the door (Whose door knob was it? Is he a student or a man? Am I a woman or a professor?), I could hear THOMPSON behind me, talking with a graduate student friend, in a brisk, conversational dialogue, laughing a bit and even rambling. He was talking in a dramatically different way—normally. He wasn't selling smartness to a professor.

THOMPSON thought he was being judged in that interview against other graduate students. And he was right. Every month or two I do receive a confidential form from my department, asking me to rank from mediocre to excellent a series of 10 to 20 graduate students. Professors are the last people most students come to with an intellectual problem, and the first people they come to when they have solved it. To expose their vulnerability or confusion is to risk being marked "mediocre" on the confidential form.

The culture of the career system is not, alas, confined to the office interview. Despite the signs of otherworldliness, the Volvos and blue-jean patches and beards, the university is a market world, a world of conspicuous consumption. It is not gold brooches and Cadillacs that are conspicuously consumed; it is intellectual talk. I sometimes get the impression in the corridor outside my office, at dinner parties, and in countless meetings, that vita is talking to vita, that tenure is being won in a conversational tournament, that examinations have slipped out of their end-of-semester slots and entered the walls and ceiling and floor of talk. The intellectual dozens, Leonard Kriegel calls them in his book *Working Through*. It is academic street-corner talk at which one is informally tracked as excellent, good, fair, poor, or terrible. If you bring someone out (as women are taught to do) instead of crowding him out, you get bad marks. Not to learn to talk this way at this place is like living without a skin; it is a required language.

It is often said that women do not speak up in class as much as men do, and I have noticed it, too, occasionally even in my graduate seminar on the sociology of sex roles. The reason, I suspect, is that they are aware that they have not yet perfected the proper style.(It is often older women, not yet aware of the stylistic requirements, who speak up.) Some say also that

women are ignored in conversation because they are sex objects; I think, rather, that they are defined as conversational cheerleaders to the verbal tournament.

The verbal tournament seems also to require a socially shared negativism toward other people's work. It is often considered an evening well spent, for example, to tear down Merton's theory of anomie, or to argue that Susan Sontag is overrated, that Erving Goffman is passé, that Noam Chomsky's latest article, like most other things one has read lately, says nothing really new. It is as if from these collective wreckings of intellectual edifices the participants will emerge, in some small way, larger. But the negative talk about the stupidity of academic conversations, the drivel in the *American Sociological Review*, which one proudly claims not to have read in two years, also establishes a social floor of civility, a silent pact to be friends or associates, regardless of one's rise or fall in market value. In a sad way, it says, "Despite the gridded walls around us, you and I share *something* in common after all."

There is still another kind of talk, not in one's private office, or in the halls, and rarely at parties, but in the main office: faculty talk to secretaries. That talk generally is brief, smiley, and rich with campus gossip, news of the Xerox machine, or good places to eat. It obeys the rules of civility and obscures the irritations or jealousies that might momentarily stop work. It also tends to foster the secretaries' identification with the professorial career. We happen in my department to have a "liberated" secretarial pool, who see this kind of talk through a feminist prism as condescending and manipulative, a sort of oil and grease of the machinery that maintains a pay and status for them far below what an early estimate of potential would have predicted. Unable to change their essential condition, they jealously guard their poster of a Vietnamese woman on the wall in the main office, and have given up smiling to any who daily invade their public space, they having no private space at all. Their new model of talk is that between a union negotiator and the business representative. Here it's not vita talking to vita, but worker talking to boss, be it man or (the assimilated) woman. The administration considers the secretarial pool a "problem," but their new style is more basically a challenge not only to their inferior status, but to what about talk holds them in place.

Women compromise with the career culture in various ways. It

is as common among women as it is among men to consider market talk gauche—who got what job, was awarded what grant, or had an article accepted by which journal. On the other hand, a woman is "unserious" or fuzzy-headed if she appears to be out of it altogether. The compromise some women effect is to publicly endorse anticompetitive or noncompetitive values, while privately practicing the competitive ones. One publicly discredits the "rat race" and then, at home on weekends, climbs quietly onto the revolving wheel.

Academic talk reflects academic life and academic life reflects a marketplace. Ideas become products that are "owned" or "borrowed" or "stolen" from their owners, products that through talk and in print rise and fall in market value, and products that have become alienated from their producers. The marketplace pervades the life of conservatives and radicals alike, for whom ideas are still "products." Even if, with the growth of giant monopolies, the country *as a whole* is no longer capitalist in the old-fashioned sense, in a peculiar way the university, especially for its junior members, is.

I suspect that a different system would produce a different talk. And women trained to this career unwittingly learn to admire in others and perfect in themselves the talk that goes with the system—for it is uncompetitive, undressed, nonproduct, supportive talk that is, in the last analysis, discriminated against.

Even writing about career talk in cynical language, I find that, bizarrely enough, I don't *feel* cynical, even while I think that way; and I have tried to consider why. I think it is because I know, in a distant corner of my mind, that the very impersonality that competition creates provides the role of the "humanizer" that I so enjoy filling. I know that only in a hierarchy built on fear (it's called "respect," but that is an emotional alloy with a large part of fear in it) is there a role for those who reduce it. Only in a conservative student body is there a role for the "house radical." Only in a department with no women are you considered "really something" to be the first. A bad system ironically produces a market, on its underside, for the "good guys." I know this, but it somehow does not stop me from loving to teach. For it is from this soft spot, in the underbelly of the whale, that a counteroffensive can begin against women's second socialization to career talk and all that goes with it.

THE CAREER CULTURE AND THE FAMILY

The links between competition, career, reputation, and time consciousness extend to life that is at once outside the university but inside the career culture: that is, to the family and to the faculty wife. The university has no *formal* administrative policy toward the families of its members. I have never heard of the university equivalent to the "farming out system" in early industry, or of families being brought into the university the way they were taken into nineteenth-century factories. Certainly we do not hear of a family winning a Ford Foundation grant, aunts and uncles doing the interviewing, husband and wife the analysis and writing, leaving footnotes to the children. While books have been typed, if not partly written, by wives, the family in the university has never been the productive *unit* of it.

Nonetheless, I think we have what amounts to a tacit policy toward the family. Let us consider the following: *if all else were equal,* who would be most likely to survive under the career system—a man married to a full-time housewife and mother; or a man whose wife has a nine-to-five job and the children in day care; or a man who works part-time, as does his wife, while their children are small? I think the general principle that determines the answer is this: *To the extent that his family (1) does not positively help him in his work or (2) makes demands on his time and psychic energy that compete with those devoted to his job, they lower his chances for survival. This is true insofar as he is competing with other men whose wives either aid them or do not interfere with their work.* Other things being equal, the university rewards the married family-free man.

But intellectual productivity is sometimes discussed as if it were a gift from heaven to the chosen few, which had nothing to do with families or social environment at all. If we inspect the social context of male productivity, we often find nameless women and a few younger men feeding the "productive one" references, computer outputs, library books, and cooked dinners. Women, single or married, are in competition not simply with men, but with the *heads of small branch industries.*

A few book prefaces tell the familiar story. A book on racial oppression written in 1972:

> Finally, I would like to thank my wife _____, who suffered the inconveniences that protracted writing brought about with as much

graciousness as could be expected, and who instructed our children, _____ and _____, to respect the privacy of their father's work.

An earlier book, 1963: In many ways my wife Suzanne should be coauthor. She shared the problems of planning and carrying out the field work, and the life of a wife-mother-interviewer in another culture was more demanding than either of us might have imagined. Although she did not take part in the actual writing, she has been a patient sounding board, and her concern with individual cases provided a needed balance to my irrepressible desire to paint the broad picture.

Still one more, 1962: _____, to whom I was then married, helped in the field work, and a number of the observations in the book are hers.

These are excellent books, and they have taught me a great deal, but then so have the prefaces to them.

If this puts liberated men at a competitive disadvantage, needless to say it does the same to liberated women. It is a familiar joke in women's circles to say, "What I really need is a wife." Young women in graduate school today are, according to the 1969 Carnegie survey, much more likely (63 percent) to have husbands in academe than are men to have academic wives (14 percent). Typed page for typed page, proofread line for proofread line, soothing hour for soothing hour, I suspect that, all else being equal, a traditional male, minus a modern woman, is more likely than anyone else to end up a branch manager.

This total situation is often perceived as a "woman's problem," her role conflict, as if that conflict were detachable from the career system itself. It is her problem to choose between a few prepackaged options: being a housewife, or professor, or trying to piece together a collage of wife, mother, and *traditional* career. The option we do not hear about, one that would make it a man's problem or a university problem as well, is parenthood with a radically new sort of career. Affirmative action plans aren't talking about this.

Given the academic career as it is now, women can only improvise one or another practical solution for fitting their families to their careers. Many professional women of my generation either waited to have children until two years into their first "real" job or had them before beginning graduate school. One had her children in-between and resolved the dual

pressures by using her children as data for her books. Those who waited until they were in their late twenties or early thirties often did so precisely to avoid premature discrimination, only to discover that the real pressure point lay not behind but slightly ahead. Nearly half the women who remain in academic life solve the problem by not marrying or not rearing children at all. In a 1962 study of 21,650 men and 2,234 women scientists and engineers, women were six times more likely than men never to marry. Those women who married were less likely than their male colleagues to raise a family: 36 percent of women and 11 percent of men had no children. Those women who did have children had fewer: the families of women scientists and engineers were, compared with those of their male counterparts, one child smaller (David, 1973). Among graduate students, the proportion who consider dropping out increases for women with each new child born, but remains the same for men.[10] Another study of women who received their doctorates between 1958 and 1963 in a number of fields found that only 50 percent of the women had married by 1967. Among the men, 95 percent were married (Simon et al., 1967).

Half of the women and nearly all of the men married; it's a painful little statistic, and I say that without being derogatory to single women. It is one thing for a woman to freely *decide*

[10] According to Carnegie data, 57 percent of men with no children, 58 percent with one, 58 percent with two, and 59 percent with three considered quitting for good in the last year. For women, it was 42 percent with no children, 48 percent for one, 42 percent for two, and 57 percent for three. Three seems to be a crucial number. Among graduate students nationally between 1958 and 1963, 44 percent of men and 55 percent of women actually did drop out, but 49 percent of men with children and 74 percent of women with children did so (Sells, forthcoming doctoral dissertation).

Simon et al. (1967) found that married women without children were slightly less likely to have published a book than were married women with children. Age was not considered, and of course it might account for this otherwise unexpected finding. Forty percent of unmarried, 47 percent of married, and 37 percent of married mothers were assistant professors; 28 percent, 16 percent, 15 percent were associates; and 18 percent, 8 percent, and 8 percent were full professors (Simon et al., 1967). Fifty-eight percent of unmarried women, 33 percent of married, and 28 percent of married women with children (among those earning their degrees in 1958–59) had tenure. Another study comparing men and women showed that 20 years after getting their degrees, 90 percent of the men, 53 percent of the single women, and 41 percent of the married women had reached a full professorship (Rossi, 1970).

against marriage or children as issues on their own merits. But it is quite another matter to be forced into the choice because the career system is shaped for and by the man with a family who is family-free.[11]

ITION AND ONSCIOUS-NESS

It is for a minority of academic women with children that the contradictions exist in their full glory. My own solution may be uncommon, but not the general contours of my dilemma. When I first decided to have a child at the age of 31, my thoughts turned to the practical arrangements whereby I could continue to teach, something that means a great deal to me. Several arrangements were possible, but my experiment was a preindustrial one—to introduce the family back into the university, to take the baby with me for office hours on the fourth floor of Barrows Hall. From two to eight months, he was, for the most part, the perfect guest. I made him a little cardboard box with blankets where he napped (which he did most of the time), and I brought along an infant seat from which he kept an eye on key chains, colored notebooks, earrings, and glasses. Sometimes waiting students took him out into the hall and passed him around. He became a conversation piece with shy students, and some returned to see him rather than me. I put up a fictitious name on the appointment list every four hours and fed him alone or while on the telephone.

The baby's presence proved to be a Rorschach test, for people reacted very differently. Older men, undergraduate women, and a few younger men seemed to like him and the idea of his being there. In the next office there was a distinguished professor of 74; it was our joke that he would stop by when he heard the baby crying and say, shaking his head, "Beating the baby again, eh?" Publishers and book salesmen in trim suits and exquisite sideburns were generally shocked. Graduate student women would often inquire about him tentatively, and a few feminists were put

[11] A woman's college that has administered questionnaires each year since 1964 to entering freshmen found that 65 percent of the class of 1964 wanted to be a housewife with one or more children. In the following years, the percentage dropped steadily: 65, 61, 60, 53, 52, 46, and 31. The proportion who wanted career and marriage with children doubled, from 20 to 40 percent. The difference between Stanford women surveyed in 1965 and in 1972 is even more dramatic: in all, only 18 percent mentioned the role of wife and mother as part of their plans for the next five years (see Carnegie Commission, 1973).

off, perhaps because babies are out of fashion these days, perhaps because his presence seemed "unprofessional."

One incident brought into focus my identity and the university's bizarre power to maintain relationships in the face of change. It happened about a year ago. A male graduate student had come early for his appointment. The baby had slept longer than usual and got hungry later than I had scheduled by Barrows Hall time. I invited the student in. Since we had never met before, he introduced himself with extreme deference. He seemed acquainted with my work and tastes in the field, and as I am often tempted to do, I responded to that deference by behaving more formally than I otherwise might. He began tentatively to elaborate his interests in sociology and to broach the subject of asking me to serve on his orals committee. He had the onerous task of explaining to me that he was a clever student, a trustworthy and obedient student, but that academic fields were not organized as he wanted to study them; and of asking me, without knowing what I thought, whether he could study Marx under the rubric of the sociology of work.

In the course of this lengthy explanation, the baby began to cry. I gave him a pacifier and continued to listen all the more intently. The student went on. The baby spat out the pacifier and began to wail. Finally, trying to be casual, I began to feed him. He wailed now the strongest, most rebellious wail I had ever heard from this small armful of person.

The student uncrossed one leg and crossed the other and held a polite smile, coughing a bit as he waited for this little crisis to pass. I excused myself, and got up to walk back and forth with the baby to calm him down. "I've never done this before. It's just an experiment," I remember saying.

"I have two children of my own," he replied. "Only they're not in Berkeley. We're divorced and I miss them a lot." We exchanged a human glance of mutual support, talked of our families more, and soon the baby calmed down.

A month later when John had signed up for a second appointment, he entered the office, sat down formally. "As we were discussing last time, Professor Hochschild. . . ." Nothing further was said about the prior occasion, but more astonishing to me, nothing had changed. I was still Professor Hochschild and he was still John. Something about power lived on regardless.

In retrospect, I felt a little like one of the characters in *Dr.*

Dolittle and the Pirates, the pushme-pullyu, a horse with two heads that see and say different things. The pushme head was relieved that motherhood had not reduced me as a professional. But the pullyu wondered what the pervasive power differences were doing there in the first place. And why weren't children in offices occasionally part of the "normal" scene?

At the same time I also felt envious of the smooth choicelessness of my male colleagues who did not bring their children to Barrows Hall. I sometimes feel this keenly when I meet a male colleague jogging on the track (it's a popular academic sport because it takes little time) and then meet his wife taking their child to the YMCA kinder-gym program. I feel it too when I see wives drive up to the building in the evening, in the station wagon, elbow on the window, two children in the back, waiting for a man briskly walking down the steps, briefcase in hand. It seems a particularly pleasant moment in the day for them. It reminds me of those Friday evenings, always a great treat, when my older brother and I would pack into the back of our old Hudson, and my mother with a picnic basket would drive up from the suburbs to Washington, D.C., at five o'clock to meet my father, walking briskly down the steps of the State Department, briefcase in hand. We picnicked at the Cherry Basin surrounding the Jefferson Memorial, my parents sharing their day, and in that end-of-the-week mood, we came home.

Whenever I see similar scenes, something inside rips in half, for I am neither and both the brisk-stepping carrier of a briefcase and the mother with a packed picnic lunch. The university is designed for such men, and their homes for such women. It looks easier for them and part of me envies them for it. Beneath the envy lies a sense of my competitive disadvantage vis-à-vis the men to whom I am compared and to whom I compare myself. **Also beneath it, I am aware of the bizarreness of my experiment** with the infant box, and paradoxically aware too that I am envious of a life I would not really like to live.

The invisible half of this scene is, of course, the woman in the station wagon. She has "solved" the problem in one of the other possible ways. But if both her way and my way of solving this "problem" seem to lead to strains, it may be that the problem is not only ours. It may be the inevitable result of a public system arranged not for women with families but for family-free men.

THE WHOLE OF THE PROBLEM: THE PARTS OF THE SOLUTION

The problem for American women today is not so much going to work, since over 40 percent of women of working age are in the labor force already and nine out of ten women work some time in their lives. The problem is now one of moving *up*, and that means moving into careers. More fundamentally, the problem for women in academic or other sorts of careers is to alter the link between family and career, and more generally, between private and public life. Several alternatives seem both possible and just. First, women might adopt a relation to home and family indistinguishable from that of their male competitors. Women could marry househusbands if they can find them, or hire a substitute wife-mother in their absence. Academic women could thereby establish a two-roled life for another person (a husband), or divide such roles between husband and housekeeper. If the housekeeper were well paid and unionized, perhaps we could still talk about justice; otherwise I think not. But neither a housekeeper nor a child-care center would solve the problem completely, since tending the sick, caring for the old, writing Christmas cards, and just being there for people in their bad moments—what wives do—still need doing. In my view, even when we have eliminated the needless elaboration of a wife's role, a humanly satisfying life requires that someone do these things.

Second, academic men who want careers might give up marriage or children, just as many academic women have. If the first alternative makes women more like men, this one makes men more like academic women, in extending to them the familiar two-box choice of family or career. This would be more just, but I doubt it would be popular among men.

One can understand women who opt for the first alternative, given the absence of other choices. Insofar as it involves a ***reverse family imperialism, however, I do not see why it is any*** better than the original male one. Because I value at least the option of family life, I cannot endorse the second solution either. Since neither appeals to me as a long-range solution, I am led to a third alternative: the possibility of an egalitarian marriage with a radically different career to go with it. This means creating a different system in which to work at this different career, a system that would make egalitarian marriage *normal*.

The university makes virtually no adjustments to the family, but

the traditional family makes quite a few to the university. And it is not so much the brisk-stepping man with the briefcase as it is his wife with the picnic basket who makes the adjustments for "the family's sake" (somehow amorphously connected to his career.) I think the reason for this is that it is easier to change families than universities. But the contradictions of changing families without changing careers leads to either migraine headaches or hearty, rebellious thoughts.

Any vision of changing something as apparently implacable as the career system may seem at first ludicrous or utopian. But as Karl Mannheim (1936) once pointed out, all movements for social change need a utopia, built of parts borrowed from different or theoretical societies. This need not be a utopia for dreaming that remains separate from waking life, but a utopia that, like reading a good book, shows us where and how far we have to go, a vision that makes sense of frustration by analyzing its source. In the 1970s, when utopias already seem quaint, when public visions seem a large shadow over many small private aims, when jobs are scarce and competition magnified, now in the 1970s more than ever we need a guiding vision.

For a start, all departments of 20 full-time men could expand to departments of 40 part-time men and women. This would offer a solution to our present dilemma of trying to meet the goals of affirmative action within a "steady state" (or declining) economy. It would mean more jobs for women and men. It would democratize and thus eliminate competitive disadvantages and offer an opportunity to some of those women in the station wagon. In many fields, research would leap ahead if two people rather than one worked on problems. Teaching would certainly not be hurt by the arrangement and might benefit from the additional energies.

While administrative arrangements would be manageable, I can imagine queries about efficiency. Is it economical to train 40 Ph.D's to work part-time when 20 could do the same amount of work? And what of those who simply do not want part-time work? One can point to the new glut of Ph.D.'s and argue that if those currently teaching in universities were to divide and share their jobs, many more might gain the chance to work. The effect would not eliminate but reduce competition for university jobs.

Part-time work is very often more like three-fourths-time work, for one teaches students rather than classes. If a graduat student moves to Ecuador and sends me his paper, I read it. If former student comes around to the house, I talk to her. If ther is a meeting, I don't leave halfway through the hour. Part-tim often turns out to be a release in quantity to improve quality.

But that raises the financial issue. The sorry fact is that, fo financial reasons, most men and some women do not wan half-time work. A male professor may work long hours when h children are young and there are doctor bills, and again whe they are in college and there are tuition bills. But two part-tim workers earn two part-time salaries, and there are social di advantages to the one overworked–one underworked famil pattern.

Hearsay has it that a group of MIT male assistant professor who had worked late evenings because they were in competitio with each other for advancement while their wives took care o the children, made a pact to cut down their hours and spen more time with their young children. Maybe many private pac could lead to a larger public one, but only when those who set th standards are part of it.

While one may debate the virtues or defects of competition, is an aspect of university life that we need not take for granted that can be, and I think should be, modified. Some elements o my own utopia are borrowed from the Cuban experiment, sinc it bears on the issue of competition. The Cuban revolution mad its share of mistakes, and not all of its successes are applicable t a rich industrial country. But the basic lesson to be learned fro Cuba is that competition can be modified not only by splittin jobs (which it did not try to do), but by creating jobs to fit soci needs. This may seem a bit far afield in an essay on universitie but my analysis brings me to it. For in my view, we canno change the role of women in universities without changing th career system based on competition, and we can't change th competitive structure without also altering the economy, th larger fit of supply and demand of workers. We need thus t explore the experiments in altering that.

I visited the University of Havana in the summer of 1967 an joined some students and faculty who were working togeth doing "productive labor" (they don't think this phrase is redun dant), planting coffee plants in the belt surrounding Havana. A

we moved along the rows, people talked about the university before the revolution. It sounded in some ways like a more intense version of Berkeley in both the 1960s and 1970s.

The competition was so fierce for the few professional jobs in the cities that rich students bought grades. (That is only one step removed from the profitable cynicism of the term paper industries, like "Quality Bullshit" in Berkeley, where a student can buy a custom-written paper from some unemployed graduate students.)

At the same time, Cuban students hung around the university cafes dropping out and back in again, wondering who they were. Before 1958 there were some 3,000 students at the University of Havana trying to enter the diplomatic service, while there was only a handful of electrical engineers in the whole country. The revolution put the university in touch with economic realities, and it changed those economic realities by inventing jobs where there was a social need for them. Since the revolution, the task has not been to restrict admission, but to supply the tremendous need for doctors, dentists, teachers, and architects as clients of the poor, paid by the government. The revolution simply recognized and legitimated a need that had always been there.

Corresponding to the supply of graduates American universities turn out each year, there is, I believe, a "social need." There is, for example, a great need for teachers in crowded classrooms, and yet we speak of the teacher "surplus." Despite the AMA, and the fierce competition to enter medical school, we need doctors, especially in ghettos and in prisons. We need quality day care, community organizers, traveling artists. Yet there are, we say, "too many people" and "not enough jobs." If social need coincided with social demand for skills, if market value were coextensive with use value, we could at least in some fields eliminate *needless* competition generated outside the university, which affects what goes on inside as well. I personally do not think "education for leisure" is the answer, for it ignores all the social ills that persist even in a rich industrial country, not to mention those outside it. If we redefine what a social need is, and design jobs to meet social needs, we also reduce the exaggerated competition we see in universities, a competition that inevitably moves women out. If the division of jobs alleviates competition among academics, the creation of jobs can alleviate competition among would-be workers, including, of course, professors.[12]

There is another lesson to be learned from Cuba, too. Insofar as American career women become like career men, they become oriented toward success and competition. Just as manhood has traditionally been measured by success, so now academic womanhood is defined that way. But manhood, for the middle-class American academic man, is based *more* on "doing well" than on "doing good." Manhood in professional circles is linked to an orientation toward "success," which is kept scarce and made to seem valuable. Men are socialized to competition because they are socialized to scarcity. It is as if sexual identity, at least in the middle class, were not freely given by nature, but conserved only for those who earn it. Manhood at birth seems to be taken from men, only for them to re-win it. The bookish boy is defined as girlish and then, with a turnabout, earns his manhood as a creative scholar in the university. To fail to "do well" at this is to be robbed in degrees of manhood.

I think there is a human propensity to achieve competence, what Thorstein Veblen (1914) called simply an "instinct for workmanship," but it comes to have a secondary meaning for *manhood*. The competition that takes the form of secrecy attached to new ideas before they are in final draft for the publisher, the vita talk, the 60-hour work weeks, the station wagon wife, all are related to this secondary meaning of work, this second layer of value associated with success and manhood. It is this second meaning that women feel they must analogously adopt and compete with.

Yet the reputation so won is often totally detached from social usefulness or moral purpose. For such men, *morality* has become a *luxury*. Women who learn to aspire to this deficiency lose what was valuable from our first training—a training not only to be invisible, but, in a larger sense, to "do good" rather than simply to "do well." Insofar as women, like other marginal groups,

[12] How a nation or university "legislates" that supply meets demand for jobs without becoming authoritarian raises not simply an administrative but a serious political issue to which I have no easy answer. Here I only mean to show that dividing up old jobs and creating new ones is a possible way of alleviating competition that underlies the career system.

overconform in the attempt to gain acceptance, we find ourselves even more oriented toward success, and less toward morality, than some men.

The Cuban revolution seems to me to have solved at least this dilemma, simply by trying structurally to equate "doing well" with "doing good," achievement with moral purpose. The assimilation of Cuban women entering a male-dominated economy does not seem to mean the eclipse of morality. Cuban women have not escaped the doll's house to enter a career of "bourgeois individualism"; they have, despite other problems, escaped that as well.

SION To talk as I have about the evils of the system as they affect a handful of academic women is a little like talking about the problems of the suburb while there are people trying to escape the ghetto. But there are problems both with trying to find a meaningful career and with having one on the system's terms. The two problems are more than distantly related. Both finding an academic job and remaining humane once you have had one for a while are problems that lead ultimately to the assumptions about families that lie behind careers. At present, women are either slowly eliminated from academic life or else forced imperceptibly to acquire the moral and psychic disabilities from which male academics have had to suffer.

If we are to bring more women into the university at every level, we shall have to do something more extreme than most affirmative action plans have imagined: change the present entente between the university and its service agency, the family. If we change this, we also introduce into academe some of the values formerly the separate specialty of women. We leaven the ethos of "making it" with another ethos of caretaking and cooperation, leaven the *gesellschaft* with the values of *gemeinschaft*. It is, after all, not simply women but some feminine values that have been discriminated against. It is not simply that we lack role models who happen to be women, but that we lack exemplars of this alternative ethos.

What I am trying to say is that social justice, giving women a fair break, is a goal that speaks for itself, and a goal that calls for men doing their fair share in private life and for women getting their fair chance in public life. But there are two ways of creating this social justice. One involves fitting into the meritocracy as it

is; the other aims to change it. Insofar as we merely extend "bourgeois individualism" to women, ask for "a room of one's own," a reputation, sparring with the others, we fit in nicely with the normal distortion of the importance of success versus moral purpose, the experience of time, or quality of talk that men experience.

The very first step is to reconsider what parts in the cultural recipe of our first socialization to nurturance and caring are worth salvaging in ourselves, and the second step is to consider how to extend and institutionalize them in our place of work. The second way of creating social justice less often speaks up for itself: it is to democratize and reward that cooperative, caretaking, morally concerned, not-always-lived-up-to womanly virtue of the past. We need *that* in careers, that among our full professors of either sex. My utopian university is not a Tolstoyan peasant family, but it is also not vita talking to vita. It requires a move in the balance between competition and cooperation, doing well and doing good, taking time to teach a child to swim and taking time to vote in a department meeting. When we have made that change, surely it will show in book prefaces and office talk.

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...: A View from the Law School

— *Aleta Watlach**

The university is a transmitter of social values and class ... hostile to women. It oppresses women because it ... women's history and culture by ignoring or distorting ... is the archetypal enforcer of these social values ... interests hostile to women transmitted by the unive... follows, then, that legal education is doubly ... pre... women, because it is the study of law—the mainten... ...tion—which sanctions and authorizes, at times man... feminist social values and class interests.

I shall begin by describing the relation between legal ... and law itself and their relation to our society. Then ... consider the role of women relative to all three of these ...ons. While there are obvious parallels in the rela... between women and other professional schools and pro... and I shall allude to medicine on occasion), I choose to ... the legal education of women not only because that is ... know experientially, but mainly because the subject m... legal education, unlike other professional education ... formulation and enforcement of differential statuses fo... classes of persons. That law has effectively conferr... women, who as a class constitute over half of Unite... population, an inferior status is a curious phenomenon. Even more curious, however, is that this phenomenon ... pervasive subject in legal education and, until recently, ... ignored altogether. Where the subject of women's statu... ...ted in legal education, it is regarded as second-c... ...onessential.

* ...want here to express my abiding love and gratitude to Donald Kalv... ...en to me and to all my writings part of his life.

To: WS Committee from: Susan Jaekel

years old, some thirteen hundred recommendations were formulated to give a proper place to Canadian studies in these three areas. The number of recommendations tells the story; the Commission established no priorities and so provided no guidelines on how to allocate limited resources.

The third volume once again places Canadian studies in the broader context of the Canadian university. Sections on faculty citizenship, faculty age structure, foreign students, and the status of women up-date the data and provide a sobering commentary on our failure to respond to problems which were widely recognized years ago. As in the earlier volumes, however, the authors have shied away from priorities. The present imbalance is somehow to be corrected by reason and a sense of justice without changing the men or the structures which have created the inequities. Not surprisingly, the authors seem to believe that more data will actually change politics. Their report, however, is a useful reference book because, consistent with its underlying assumption, it does include a good deal of data provided by Statistics Canada. Among the questions of balance for the reader is the chronic underfunding which is nonetheless developing a "world class university system" (50).

The Commission on the Future Development of the Universities of Ontario has a very different perspective. It was appointed to "rationalize" the provincial system in an era of fiscal restraint. In the end it opted — to the chagrin of the Minister of Education and the relief of most academics — for gradual change instead of ruthless restructuring. The report is unequivocal, however, on the direction in which universities should evolve. Lip-service is paid to excellence in teaching and the research and scholarship related to teaching, but what is important is the "resource-intensive research" which will make Canada competitive economically. It is even necessary to introduce some degree of separation of research from instructional funding to encourage its development. The Commission then goes to the heart of the matter, from their point of view. They recommend that universities which emphasize this form of research should be rewarded by being allowed to reduce undergraduate enrolment without any loss of income. The ideal university begins to resemble a research institute.

If there is no consensus among these studies on what a university should be, there is nonetheless some agreement on the immediate future. All three volumes see the universities as underfunded and expect fiscal restraint to continue. The approved response from two out of three is to reduce enrolment. If provincial governments are true to form they will be more interested in this proposal than the objectives, and will soon be questioning the shibboleth of accessibility. Only the shibboleth of research will be left to justify university grants.

Blair Neatby,
University of Ottawa

Women Have Nothing to Gain from a Harvard of the North

THE GREAT BRAIN ROBBERY: CANADA'S UNIVERSITIES ON THE ROAD TO RUIN. David J. Bercuson, Robert Bothwell, J. L. Granatstein. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1984.

It was a special pleasure for me to participate in October 1984 in an evaluation of the progress of women's history and feminist studies over the past ten years,[1] for it had been exactly ten years since I had travelled to Radcliffe in Cambridge, Massachusetts with two students from Memorial University, to attend the second Berkshire Conference on the History of Women. It is hard to describe what a galvanizing experience that was. Until then my impression of conferences of historians was gathered from the annual meetings of the AHA and the CHA, and the former in particular had always left me with a sense of oppression. Held in large hotels in big American cities, they were dominated by men in dark suits or brown corduroy jackets and ties, men shaking hands with one another, men huddled together talking, men striding purposefully to the podium, men with briefcases, unsmiling men. Then suddenly in Cambridge in the fall of 1974 everywhere I looked there were women, colourfully attired academic women, chairing sessions, taking part in panel discussions, and giving solid scholarly papers on women's history to audiences of other women listening with critical attention. I heard Natalie Zemon Davis deliver her groundbreaking paper " 'Women's History' in Transition: The European Case"[2] and Linda Gordon, her equally trail-blazing paper on women's campaign for voluntary motherhood in nineteenth-century America.[3] The effect was exhilarating. Dare I say liberating? I went from knowing little or nothing about the history of women and the history of feminism to knowing that that's what I wanted to study and that gaining such knowledge was a legitimate enterprise.

I returned to Memorial fired with enthusiasm to begin working in the area of women's history myself. The following semester (spring 1975) the head of the department gave me permission to introduce an experimental course under the elastic rubric of one of the department's special topics courses, Contemporary Problems in Historical Perspective. My first course in women's history consequently bore the title Contemporary Problems in Historical Perspective: Feminism, and I had to explain to my students how this was a misnomer, since I did not regard feminism as a problem but rather as a solution.

Between 1975 and 1980, when I left Memorial, that course was offered twice again, once more by me and once by Jane Lewis during a summer semester, and I also had a chance during one semester to offer a fourth-year seminar in women's history. Finally, through the combined efforts of women in a number of departments and stretching over many years, a women's studies minor was instituted at Memorial in January 1983, thus securing a permanent place for a two-semester women's history course within the history department's programme: Women in Western Society and Culture, I and II.

During approximately this same period, 1974 to 1984, most universities in Canada have seen the introduction of women's history and other women's studies courses and sometimes women's studies minor and major programmes. At the most recent Berkshire Conference on the History of Women held at Smith College last summer, we were told that some 2,000 dissertations had been written in women's history since the revival of the Conference in 1972. While women's historians and graduate students in women's history are far fewer in Canada, it does seem that we too have made progress. Canadian academe supports, with government aid, a number of women's studies and feminist studies journals, among them *Resources for Feminist Research*, *Atlantis: A Journal of Women's Studies*, and *Canadian Woman Studies*. The former Liberal government allocated funding for five chairs in women's studies, one in Atlantic Canada, one in Quebec, one in Ontario, one in Western Canada, and one in British Columbia. I myself now teach at a graduate school cum research institute with a Centre for Women's Studies in Education and a lively focus in feminist studies across departmental and disciplinary lines. And enough articles have been written in Canadian women's history since *The Neglected Majority* was published in 1977[4] to persuade Susan Mann Trofimenkoff and Alison Prentice to follow up that collection with a second entitled *The Not So Neglected Majority*.

But given the reactionary tenor of the times, can we afford to feel complacent? I think not, especially in light of a recent book written by three well-established Canadian historians and bearing the sophomorically cute title *The Great Brain Robbery*. Its sub-title, *Canada's Universities on the Road to Ruin*, calls to mind other reactionary tomes crying the imminence of doomsday, like Spengler's *Decline of the West* or Anne Roche's *The*

Gates of Hell: The Struggle for the Catholic Church.[5] I most certainly have refused to buy a copy (I borrowed one for the purposes of this paper), and I would not have paid it any mind, were it not for the fact that the three authors are widely published and well respected in Canadian academe, David Bercuson at the University of Calgary, Robert Bothwell at the University of Toronto, and J. L. Granatstein at York University.

Canadian Studies bears the brunt of the authors' attack, but they also explicitly attack women's studies in a number of passages, particularly in the Chapter "Canadian and Other Useless Studies." More importantly, the entire nature of their perspective on higher education has insidious implications for women — for women's history, women's studies, women professors, and women students.

Because it is those implications I want to concentrate on, I will pass over the fact that these self-proclaimed protectors of the disinterested pursuit of truth have written their work in the inflated rhetoric of a tent evangelist, as when they speak of Canadian universities on the "Road to Hell" and needing to "regain their souls" (p. 8). I shall also pass over their even more distressing use of metaphors of disease in the tradition of the most unscrupulous demagogues and in apparent ignorance or disregard of the work of Susan Sontag.[6] The most striking example of this is their reference to a time "before the cancer of student revolt ate away at Canadian campuses in the late 1960s" (p. 51). And, because of the constraints of time and space, I will in no way be able to itemize their many abuses of reasoning. I can only suppose that they believe they have excused their lapses in judgment and logic with their open admission that their "book is a polemic" (p. 8). But how did they get the notion that polemic stands for a license to use loose language and illogic? Certainly not from the classical education that the direction of their argument would lead them to espouse.

They gleefully anticipate an angry response from many of their readers. But it is not the "polemic" that angers; it is the disingenuous nature of their "polemic." For they pose as the advocates of scholarly excellence, when what their outburst really is all about, as they at one point almost concede, is money. Well situated and well funded as the three of them are, they are upset that some public funds have been and are being allocated for research in fields in which they have no particular interest.

And that brings me to one of the most serious implications of their book for women and women's studies. Throughout they employ such terms as "the best education" (p. 7), "high-quality universities" (p. 8), the "quality of higher education" (p. 30), "excellence" in teaching and scholarship (p. 51), and "a solid foundation of essential knowledge" (p. 73), as if such expressions were unproblematic: that is, value-free and politically neutral. To do so is either naive or dishonest. Certainly, it is disheartening, as it bespeaks either willful or uninformed disregard of one of the most fundamental elements of feminist theory: the point that determining what counts as knowledge and who should be admitted to the canon is in some measure a political act. Male control of the gates of knowledge and the groves of academe has worked to exclude women from cultural recognition and intellectual discourse. This point has been made eloquently by Dorothy Smith in " 'A Peculiar Eclipsing': Women's Exclusion from Man's Culture," by Dale Spender in both *Man Made Language* and *Women of Ideas and What Men Have Done to Them from Aphra Behn to Adrienne Rich*, and most recently by Joanna Russ in *How to Suppress Women's Writing*.[7] It has been made in the present-day language, respectively, of the sociologist, the educationalist, and the literary critic. But they were not the first to raise the issue. Mary Ritter Beard did so in 1942 when she criticized the *Encyclopedia Britannica* for having an entry on pig-sticking, a locally specific but male activity, while omitting one on bread-making, an almost universal but usually female activity.[8] Indeed Christine de Pizan as far back as 1405 took issue with the male-centred nature of the exclusively male-authored history books.[9] That many of us are unaware of the centuries-long opposition to the androcentric character of institutionalized knowledge is itself an index of the male-centred education we ourselves have received.

Observe, for example, this cavalier or cunning skirting of the whole issue on the part of our three male historians in their chapter advocating a return to the basics in undergraduate education:

> A core curriculum is built on the assumption that there is a body of knowledge to which all educated persons in society should be introduced, that some subjects are more important than others, and that students should be introduced to those subjects in a logical and orderly fashion. (p. 73)

Permit me to reach back for a moment into my own educational experience to evaluate that claim.

I went to university, completing all my course requirements for a B.A., M.A., and Ph.D. before the curriculum changes which students won, according to our authors, by "holding the university to ransom" (p. 84) in the late sixties and early seventies. I majored in history as an undergraduate, and specialized in history, specifically European history, for both graduate degrees. As an undergraduate I took an advanced course, and as a graduate student a seminar, in the history of the French Revolution and Napoleon. One of the three fields I chose to be examined in for both my M.A. and my Ph.D. comprehensives was the history of the French Revolution and Napoleon. Yet after all those years and all that study, I do not remember ever hearing of Mary Wollstonecraft. Thomas Paine, to be sure, and Edmund Burke, but not Mary Wollstonecraft. In fact, by the time I had my B.A. I had read almost every work by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, but not a word by Mary Wollstonecraft. And it must be said, for the purposes of this polemic, that I earned my Ph.D., at least, at one of the consistently "high-quality institutions" (p. 112), in the estimation of our querulous threesome who repeatedly hold up Harvard, Yale and Princeton as the yardstick of excellence.

I, however, do not cast a vote of excellence for those men who educated me and who assumed that all educated persons in society should be introduced to Thomas Paine but not Mary Wollstonecraft, that the *Rights of Man* was more important than *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, and that the logical and orderly fashion in which I should be introduced to these subjects was to be given Jean-Jacques Rousseau to read but to be left to discover Mary Wollstonecraft on my own.

Perhaps the most serious implication for women and women's studies of the Bercuson, Bothwell, and Granatstein tirade is their false equation of elitism with excellence. According to our three academic aristocrats, what is now needed "in the determination of academic policy" is "a strong dose of elitism" (p. 56), for "compromise," which they associate with democracy, is, in their minds, "the destroyer of excellence" (p. 51). Make no mistake about it. Elitism in their terms would mean a thinning of the ranks of women students, the near disappearance of women from the professoriate, withdrawal of funds from research on women, and consignment of women's studies to the dust bin.

Many years ago George Rudé, in a now classic study, exposed the right-wing bias of those historians who persisted in referring to the crowds of the French Revolution as "the mob," "the rabble," "*la canaille*."[10] That lesson was either lost on Bercuson, Bothwell and Granatstein, or they felt no need to hide their contempt for students — whose increasing numbers since the 1960s they deplore as the "incoming mob" (p. 17) or "the flood of warm bodies" (p. 67). If they had their way, our professorial triumvirate would stem the tide. "There must be an end to the open accessibility that has ruined the universities" (p. 28), they cry, and in blinkered defiance of social-economic reality assert that "it is still almost true that anyone who wants to enter a Canadian university and embark on the pursuit of a degree can do

so" (p. 61). Margaret Brennan, a secretary at OISE, would not find that statement amusing, for exactly in that period (the late 60s) when, in the eyes of Bercuson, Bothwell and Granatstein, enrollments were being allowed to rise to irresponsible heights, she was forced by economic constraints to leave high school before completing grade 13 and go out to work. Because her mother, a widow, had four children to raise singlehandedly, it became necessary for Margaret, the eldest, by the time she was eighteen, to start making a major contribution to the family income. But she is only one of thousands of Canadians, then and now, for whom a university education is an impossible dream.

Nonetheless our three wise men contend that quality education requires a sharp reduction in the student populaton. And how would they limit accessibility? By abolishing enrollment-based provincial government funding and raising individual student fees. This would ensure, they seem to think, that only the best students would make it to university. They could hardly have stated more crassly their assumption that money equals brains. They deny, of course, that they want to discriminate against the working class, and call for "a vast scheme of scholarships (not bursaries or loans) so that all students of talent, rich or poor, have a chance to get all the education they can handle" (pp. 28-29).

Have they forgotten or have they never studied the history of education in twentieth-century Britain where such a scholarship system guaranteed that only in the rarest of instances and at horrendous social-personal cost could a working-class person, and then usually male, make it to Oxford or Cambridge? Although I should argue that any educated person in English-speaking society should have read Virginia Woolf's *Three Guineas*, it would appear that our trio have never heard of Arthur's Education Fund, that powerful symbol of the sacrifice in patriarchal society of the education of daughters to the education of sons.

And if Bercuson, Bothwell and Granatstein would make university education even more inaccessible to the sons of the working class and to the daughters of all but the wealthiest families, they would admit to the august company of professors only those made in their own male image. Or so one can infer from their use of gendered language. At least when speaking of students, our authors acknowledge about half of the time that they come in two sexes, male and female, he and she. Not so when speaking of professors. For Bercuson, Bothwell, and Granatstein, the professor is always masculine. They express downright nostalgia for the pre-sixties "prof" who, "bewhiskered, tyrannical, elderly, and befuddled," wore "a tweed suit, appropriately moth-eaten," "beamed over his male undergraduates," and "if unmarried," "would court desirable young females" (p. 12). Another indication of their desire to masculinize the professoriate can be found in the procedures they recommend for deciding questions of tenure and promotion. In fact, they would abolish tenure and replace it with five-year renewable contracts, one of their only suggestions worth serious consideration. The point in question is to whom they would entrust the power of review. Not to students, not to administrators, not to junior faculty, not even to faculty in the middle ranks, but only to "senior scholars, respected by all" (p. 106), or to be more precise, to "representatives of the full professor rank appointed by a committee of full professors chosen in some appropriate fashion" (p. 54). They do not say whether that would occur before or after the deadwood within the existing body of full professors has been cut away. The following passage, in which Bercuson, Bothwell and Granatstein are arguing for a restoration of an appropriately large gulf in authority between professor and student, throws into some doubt just how many female professors, particularly women who teach and research in women's studies, might get through such a screening process:

> If a university professor has come to *his* position by virtue of achieving those standards of scholarship and knowledge that have satisfied *his* peers of *his* entitlement to enter the profession..., then that professor should teach and the students should learn.
> (Emphasis mine, p. 83).

Lest someone object that our authors were obviously using the generic he/his in that passage let me stress that they avoid the sexist use of pronouns with respect to students at least some of the time, but never with respect to professors. That says something, I would argue, about their conception of an ideal professoriate.

"He who pays the piper calls the tune," quote our authors in their attack on government control through government funding of education (p. 19). But in one of their more blatant lapses in logic, while they would fund education by raising student fees, they have no intention of letting students even suggest the melody. From their point of view, student accountability is the corruption of democracy into anarchy (p. 84). Are they unaware of the general rule within professions that professionals are expected to be accountable to their clients, and that, in the case of professors, this means, or should mean, students?

Feminist academics take a rather different view of the relationship between student and teacher. Adrienne Rich, for instance, has counselled women students to refuse to be passive recipients of learning and instead to claim an education.[11] Most who teach in women's studies not only respect that claim and try to offer on the basis of our expertise what guidance and direction we can to the students' pursuits; we also know that the learning process is a two-way street and that we have learned as much from our students as they have learned from us. By contrast, in the academic world as constructed by Bercuson, Bothwell and Granatstein, equality between professors and students "Breeds Familiarity" and "Familiarity Breeds Contempt" (p. 80). A professor's teaching is kept vital, not through interaction with students but through involvement in research and publishing. They breathe not one word of the anguishing conflict many of us experience between commitment to students, their needs and interests, and the dictates of research and publication deadlines.

To whom then would Bercuson, Bothwell and Granatstein have professors be accountable? Mostly to themselves. Indeed in their best of all possible worlds, the professoriate would operate as an exclusive club of the guardians of academic excellence, accountable to no one but its own members, with the possible exception of the Department of National Defence.

Undoubtedly one of the more disingenuous aspects of their book is their pose as the defenders of independent research. This is evident in their attack on the strategic grants programme of the SSHRCC. They object on the grounds that otherwise independently motivated scholars will tailor their projects to fit the areas designated strategic and, what is even worse, that the incompetent and the opportunistic will cook up projects just to be eligible for the easy money. One might well be persuaded by that line of argumentation did it not jostle uneasily against this long and significant passage:

> Scholarly articles and books are the usual form in which academics present their research results. Those publications are assessed and reviewed by experts who can praise or condemn the methodology and the data base and style. To an academic, the praise of *his* peers is confirmation of *his* ideas and approach, and that is more satisfying than the applause of students. In many fields, the praise of reviewers is also the way to win a chance to affect or even shape public policy. An economist, for example, who can derive new ways of measuring growth or unemployment might just find the federal government interested in *his* methods; a sociologist with expertise in studying alcoholism might just find the

> Addiction Research Foundation at *his* door. And — there is no point in avoiding this implication — such success in research can often win the professor major research grants or lavish contracts from government, foundations, or public agencies. To publish widely and well, to do research in germane subjects with skill, is to open many doors to academic success.
> (Emphasis mine, p. 111)

And this from the defenders of independent research? Now it would appear that socially relevant, applied research as defined by branches of the federal government other than the SSHRCC, or by private foundations, or, by implication, by private industry, is fine, laudable in fact, and, best of all, well-paid.

What, then, is their real objection to strategic grants? That through them government is trying to redress some of the inequities and inequalities in Canadian society and channel research funds into areas where the subjects to be studied do not command sufficient power and resources to hire their own research, such as the aged, the inhabitants of Canada's north, and working women? One can only wonder, when on the one hand our authors present the strategic grants as the first step on the road to total state control of research, and on the other hand write that "In some areas, the government has the right (and, indeed, the duty) to organize and direct research — national defence-related subjects are just one example" (p. 117).

And this returns me to the false claim of Bercuson, Bothwell, and Granatstein with which I started: the claim that knowledge is impartial. Members of ethnic minorities, the poor, and almost all women know from experience that the contrary is the case, that knowledge is a social construction. The long passage just quoted is itself a confirmation of that fact. In the words of Adrienne Rich, "When you read or hear about 'great issues,' 'major texts,' 'the mainstream of Western thought,' you are hearing about what men, above all white men, in their male subjectivity, have decided is important."[12] Furthermore, as Bercuson, Bothwell and Granatstein well know, scholars in very few fields pursue truth ascetically for truth's sake. Research in most areas follows money. It follows that the funding of research is a political issue of great importance. Recognizing this, our three historians have written their political tract to persuade the government to put a stop to what they regard as the "millions of dollars being squandered by a variety of agencies, associations, and government departments on 'Canadian Studies' and on other 'Studies' programs such as native studies, northern studies, women's studies, and so on" (p. 155).

Bercuson, Bothwell and Granatstein begin their critique of higher education in Canada with the melodramatic statement "Canadians are being robbed" (p. 7). I should like to end my remarks with the counter assertion that it is they who would be the brain robbers and rob Canadians, working-class Canadians, ethnic Canadians, and female Canadians of all races and classes, of an equal chance for higher education and of any chance for a higher education on their own terms. I don't know how many Bercusons, Bothwells and Granatsteins haunt the halls of our universities; I hope not many. I also hope that provincial and federal governments, funding agencies, and publishing houses will not be taken in by their spurious reasoning and woolly social policy. I trust the public will not. But if those with power are taken in, I say we women in academe, women students and women professors, particularly in women's studies and feminist studies, have much to fear.

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NOTES

1. "Teaching and Writing Women's History: A Panel," at the Twentieth Annual Conference of the Canadian Association for American Studies, University of Ottawa, October 11-13, 1984, which took as its theme "Ten Years On: Perspectives on Women, Gender and Family — the 1970s and 1980s." It is my understanding that the Tenth Annual Conference of the Canadian Association for American Studies, University of Ottawa, October 9-12, 1974, which had "Women in North America" as its theme, had an effect on many women who attended very similar to that which the Second Berkshire Conference had on me.
2. Published in *Feminist Studies* 3, 3/4 (Spring/Summer 1976): 83-103.
3. Incorporated within Linda Gordon, *Woman's Body, Woman's Right: Birth Control in America* (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1976).
4. Susan Mann Trofimenkoff and Alison Prentice, eds., *The Neglected Majority: Essays in Canadian Women's History* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977).
5. Anne Roche, *The Gates of Hell: The Struggle for the Catholic Church* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975).
6. Susan Sontag, *Illness As Metaphor* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1978).
7. Dorothy Smith, " 'A Peculiar Eclipsing': Women's Exclusion from Man's Culture," *Women's Studies International Quarterly* 1, 4 (1978): 281-96; Dale Spender, *Man Made Language* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980), and *Women of Ideas and What Men Have Done to Them from Aphra Behn to Adrienne Rich* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982); Joanna Russ, *How to Suppress Women's Writing* (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1983).
8. Mary Ritter Beard et al., "A Study of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* in Relation to Its Treatment of Women," submitted Nov. 15, 1942, reprinted in *Mary Ritter Beard: A Source Book*, ed. Ann J. Lane (New York: Schocken Books, 1977), pp. 215-24.
9. Christine de Pizan, *The Book of the City of Ladies*, trans. Earl Jeffrey Richards (New York: Persea Books, 1982).
10. George F.E. Rudé, *The Crowd in the French Revolution* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959).
11. Adrienne Rich, "Claiming an Education (1977)," in *On Lies, Secrets, and Silence: Selected Prose 1966-1978* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1979), pp. 231-335.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 232.

Mountie versus Outlaw: Inventing the Western Hero

INVENTING BILLY THE KID: VISIONS OF THE OUTLAW IN AMERICA, 1881-1981. Stephen Tatum. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982. 242 + xii pp.

VISIONS OF ORDER: THE CANADIAN MOUNTIES IN SYMBOL AND MYTH. Keith Walden. Toronto: Butterworths, 1982. 243 + ix pp.

Everyone can identify Dudley Do-Right and Billy the Kid: each is a western hero — Do-Right a cartoon mountie "getting his man," Billy the Kid the premier American outlaw, a man "all bad." The attraction offered by the mountie and the outlaw to the society which spawned them has waxed and waned during the century or so since each entered our cultural consciousness — witness the revelations of the Macdonald Commission — but the fact remains: the red-coated mountie and snot-nosed Billy, the boy murderer, are imaginative fixtures of the North American imagination. As both Stephen Tatum and Keith Walden demonstrate in their finely-argued studies, Michael Ondaatje was right in *The Collected Works of Billy the Kid*; there, the poet presents a newspaper interview with the Kid, whose response to the question "do you think you will last in people's memories?" is "I'll be with the world till she dies."[1] The same should be said of the mountie. Whatever meaning is assigned, mountie and outlaw are compelling presences, figures that reflect the mores, anxieties, and being of their separate societies; they help to define the difference between the American and the Canadian psyche — so the popular wisdom goes. Yet do they? Taken together, Tatum's and Walden's books are complementary: as companion pieces they confirm many similarities between Canadian and American western heroes unknown to popular wisdom; the few hard distinctions that remain, therefore, are all the more salient, all the more crucial,

For and About Women: The Theory and Practice of Women's Studies in the United States

Marilyn J. Boxer

In 1977, a decade after the first women's studies courses appeared across the United States, the National Women's Studies Association was founded to promote and sustain "the educational strategy of a breakthrough in consciousness and knowledge" that would "transform" individuals, institutions, relationships, and, ultimately, the whole of society.[1] Insisting that the academic is political and the cognitive is affective, the NWSA's constitution clearly reflected the influence of the women's liberation movement on women's studies. Research and teaching at all educational levels and in all academic and community settings would be not

I would like to thank Holly Smith for assistance in locating materials for this essay and Florence Howe for helpful comments on an earlier draft. My colleagues Pat Huckle, Elyce Rotella, and Bonnie Zimmerman have provided the encouragement and constructive criticism that make a Department of Women's Studies a wonderful place for an academic feminist to work.

1. This definition is taken from the preamble to the constitution of the NWSA, drafted at the Founding Convention in San Francisco, January 13–17, 1977, and published in *Women's Studies Newsletter* 5, nos. 1–2 (Winter/Spring 1977): 6–8.

EDITORS' NOTE: *Because feminist theory finds one of its major expressions in programs of women's studies, this review essay by Marilyn J. Boxer has particular relevance here. Moreover, Boxer's descriptions of the educational methods of women's studies and of the debates among its practitioners illustrate graphically the ways in which feminist theory offers a critique of all ideology, including its own.*

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only *about* but *for* all women, guided by "a vision of a world free not only from sexism, but also from racism, class-bias, ageism, heterosexual bias—from all the ideologies and institutions that have consciously or unconsciously oppressed and exploited some for the advantage of others."[2] Women's studies, then, challenged its practitioners to think beyond the boundaries of traditional sex roles, of traditional disciplines, and of established institutions. By breaking down the divisions that limit perceptions and deny opportunities, by revising pedagogical processes as well as courses and curricula, this educational reform has itself become a social movement.

Given this mission and momentum, "women's studies is everywhere" today: in more than 300 women's studies programs, in some 30,000 courses in colleges and universities, in a dozen national and international scholarly journals as well as countless newsletters, in community groups and centers, and in conferences and programs all over the world.[3] This review essay cannot attempt to cover this phenomenon completely but will survey the literature about women's studies as a field in American higher education: its history, political issues, theories, and structures. Because of the nature of women's studies itself, these categories often overlap, and some literature will be discussed more than once. My task is complicated by the limited number of available books and monographs; most writing about women's studies has appeared as articles and notes in periodical publications. This review is therefore offered as a first step toward integrating this wealth of literature.

History

Women's studies first appeared in the last half of the 1960s when women faculty in higher education, stronger in number than ever before, began to create new courses that would facilitate more reflection on female experience and feminist aspiration.[4] Supported and sometimes led by feminist students, staff, or community women, these innovators were often political activists who sought to understand and to confront the sexism they had experienced in movements for the liberation of other oppressed groups.[5] Their efforts at organization and course development were inspired by both the free-university movement and the civil rights movement, which provided the model of black studies courses and programs.[6] The large number of early courses on women in literature can perhaps be attributed to the relative accessibility of that field to women. At the same time, a "passion for women's history" represented "more than just a desire for a female heritage"; it was also a "search for ways in which a successful female revolution might be constructed."[7]

2. Ibid. In a discussion of the psychology of women, Mary Brown Parlee makes a useful distinction concerning research centered on women: "Sexist research on women is of course still being done, but its creators do not identify themselves as being in the field of the psychology of women. Feminist psychologists' power to define and name their own field has evidently prevailed, and the psychology of women denotes and connotes research that is feminist in some very broad (and perhaps arguably so) sense of the term. Psychologists who do not want to be associated with this perspective no longer use the label for their work, even if their research is about women" ("Psychology and Women: Review Essay," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 5, no. 1 [Autumn 1979]: 121–33, esp. 121, n. 1). To a large extent this statement applies generally to women's studies, although in some cases women's studies programs must or choose to allow students credits toward women's studies degrees for any course that deals in substantial measure with women.

3. "Women's Studies Everywhere" was the title of the Second Annual Conference of the Pacific Southwest Regional Women's Studies Association held at the University of Southern California, May 19–21, 1978. A useful guide to the literature which supports research and teaching on women is Esther Stineman, *Women's Studies: A Recommended Core Bibliography* (Littleton, Colo.: Libraries, Inc., 1979).

4. In 1966 Cathy Cade and Peggy Dobbins taught a course on women at the New Orleans Free School, as did Naomi Weisstein at the University of Chicago (Sara Evans, *Personal Politics: The Roots of Women's Liberation in the Civil Rights Movement and the New Left* [New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1980], pp. 183, 185–86). The same year Annette Baxter taught women's history at Barnard College (Janice Law Trecker, "Women's Place Is in the Curriculum," *Saturday Review* [October 16, 1971], pp. 83–86, 92). Despite their larger absolute numbers, in some fields the proportion of women had decreased. Between the 1920s and 1960s, the percentage of Ph.D.s awarded to women in the social sciences declined, especially in economics, history, and philosophy (see Victoria Schuck, "Sexism and Scholarship: A Brief Overview of Women, Academia and the Disciplines," *Social Science Quarterly* 55, no. 3 [December 1974]: 563–85; on representation of women between 1960 and 1970, see Helen S. Astin, "Career Profiles of Women Doctorates," in *Academic Women on the Move*, ed. Alice S. Rossi and Ann Calderwood [New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1973], pp. 139–61).

5. Beginning in 1968 and 1969, faculty women also reacted to the discrimination they experienced by forming caucuses in academic professional organizations (Kay Klotzberger, "Political Action by Academic Women," in Rossi and Calderwood, eds., pp. 359–91).

6. According to Florence Howe, the first "political" women's studies course emerged from the student movement and was taught at the Free University of Seattle in 1965 ("Feminism and Women's Studies: Survival in the Seventies," in *Report on the West Coast Women's Studies Conference*, ed. [Joan Hoff Wilson and] Women's Studies Board at California State University, Sacramento [Pittsburgh: Know, Inc., 1974], pp. 19–20). For an excellent summary of the early development of women's studies, see Florence Howe and Carol Ahlum, "Women's Studies and Social Change," in Rossi and Calderwood, eds., pp. 393–423.

7. Trecker, p. 86. Although Sheila Tobias claimed that the feminist movement began on campuses where "the intellectual content of feminist ideology was very high and the challenge to the assumptions of the behavioral sciences significant" (Sheila Tobias, ed., *Female Studies I* [Pittsburgh: Know, Inc., 1970], p. [ii]), Jo Freeman felt that the university—"the most egalitarian environment most women will ever experience"—was not the source of the movement ("Women's Liberation and Its Impact on the Campus," *Liberal Education* 57, no. 4 [1971]: 468–78). Indeed many important works by popular writers appeared on the first women's studies syllabi, whatever the course title: Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*, trans. H. M. Parshley (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1953); Caroline Bird, *Born Female: The High Cost of Keeping Women Down* (New York: David McKay Co., 1968); Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1963); and Kate Millett, *Sexual Politics* (New York: Avon Books, 1971).

Among the pioneers, the quest for revolution was clear from the beginning. Women's studies was a necessary part of women's "struggle for self-determination"; its goal was "to understand the world and to change it."[8] The paraphrasing of Marx demonstrates the importance placed on radical change in the early years and the leading role played by veterans of the New Left in launching the new feminism as well as women's studies.

In mid-1970, in one of the first essays to discuss the neglect and distortion of women in university courses and curricula, Sheila Tobias called for a new program of "Female Studies" at Cornell University, justifying her stand with an analogy to black studies. Cornell's community had already witnessed the validity and vitality of this innovative approach at a conference on women in the winter of 1969 and in a multidisciplinary course on "female personality" team-taught to some 400 students in the spring of 1970.[9] At the same time, courses on women appeared at a number of universities, including a program of five at San Diego State College (now University). That autumn, *Female Studies I* was published, the first in a ten-volume series through which practitioners of the new teaching shared their syllabi, reading lists, and experiences. Compiled by Tobias and published by the feminist press Know, Inc., it featured outlines of sixteen courses taught or proposed during 1969 and 1970, as well as a ten-course curriculum from San Diego State, which in September 1970 became the first officially established integrated women's studies program in the nation.[10]

In December, Know published *Female Studies II*, an anthology of sixty-six course outlines and bibliographies collected by the Commission on the Status of Women of the Modern Language Association and edited by its chairperson, Florence Howe. With Howe's leadership the commission had begun to function as a "clearinghouse" for information in the new, mushrooming field she then designated as "feminist studies."[11]

8. Roberta Salper, "The Theory and Practice of Women's Studies," *Edcentric* 3, no. 7 (December 1971): 4–8, esp. 8.

9. Sheila Tobias, "Female Studies—an Immodest Proposal," mimeographed (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University, July 20, 1970); Sheila Tobias et al., eds., *Proceedings of the Cornell Conference on Women* (Pittsburgh: Know, Inc., 1969). An analogy with black studies was also developed in Salper.

10. Tobias, ed. Programs were established early also at Portland State University (Oregon), Richmond City College (New York), Sacramento State University (California), and the University of Washington.

11. Florence G. Howe, ed., *Female Studies II* (Pittsburgh: Know, Inc., 1970). The general acceptance of the name "women's studies" rather than "feminist studies" probably represents an implicit recognition that expediency favors maintenance of a token of traditional academic "objectivity." However, it is clear that women's studies means feminist studies. The presence of male bias in allegedly objective science is a fundamental assumption of women's studies and has been documented repeatedly across a wide spectrum of scholarly fields. Although the title "feminist studies" fell out of currency in the early 1970s, it was recently adopted for a new degree program at Stanford University; and the question of renaming was reopened by Susan Groag Bell and Mollie Schwartz Rosenhan, who object not only to the ungrammatical construction of "women's studies," but also to its implication that it means "the study of any topic whatever . . . performed by women" (Richard West, "Feminist Program at Stanford a First," *Los Angeles Times* [May 12, 1981], p. 3; Susan Groag Bell and Mollie Schwartz Rosenhan, "A Problem in Naming: Women Studies—Women's Studies?" *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 6, no. 3 [Spring 1981]: 540–42, esp. 541). A case for "feminology" is made by Nynne Koch in "The Why, When, How and What of Feminology," in *Feminology*, ed. Ragnhild Silfwerbrand-Ten Cate et al. (Nijmegen, Netherlands: University of Nijmegen, 1975), pp. 18–20. See also Margrit Eichler in "Discussion Forum: The Future Direction of Women's Studies," *Canadian Newsletter of Research on Women* 5, no. 3 (October 1976): 10–12; and Marilyn Webb, "A Radical Perspective on Women's Studies," *Women: A Journal of Liberation* 3, no. 2 (1973): 36–37.

The rapid growth of women's studies reflected the widely shared perception that changing what and how women (and men) study about women could and would affect the way women live. It offered a new opportunity for students and scholars to redefine themselves and their experiences in the world. Between 1970 and 1975, 150 new women's studies programs were founded, a feat that was repeated between 1975 and 1980.[12] The number of courses grew to some 30,000, offered at most of the colleges and universities in the United States. This phenomenal expansion was documented in—as well as facilitated by—the *Female Studies* series and other publications of Know, established in Pittsburgh in 1969, and of the Feminist Press, founded by Howe and Paul Lauter in Baltimore in 1970 and moved to the State University of New York (SUNY) College at Old Westbury in 1972.[13] That year also saw the birth of three cross-disciplinary journals: *Women's Studies* and *Feminist Studies* to publish scholarly articles, and the *Women's Studies*

12. "Editorial," *Women's Studies Newsletter* 5, no. 3 (Summer 1977): 2; Florence Howe and Paul Lauter, *The Impact of Women's Studies on the Campus and the Disciplines*, Women's Studies Monograph Series (Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Education, 1980), p. 4. The latest count is 330.

13. The rest of the series includes Florence Howe and Carol Ahlum, eds., *Female Studies III* (Pittsburgh: Know, Inc., 1971); Elaine Showalter and Carol Ohmann, eds., *Female Studies IV* (Pittsburgh: Know, Inc., 1971); Rae Lee Siporin, ed., *Female Studies V* (Pittsburgh: Know, Inc., 1972); Nancy Hoffman, Cynthia Secor, and Adrian Tinsley, eds., *Female Studies VI: Closer to the Ground—Women's Classes, Criticisms, Programs 1972* (Old Westbury, N.Y.: Feminist Press, 1972); Deborah S. Rosenfelt, ed., *Female Studies VII: Going Strong—New Courses, New Programs* (Old Westbury, N.Y.: Feminist Press, 1973); Sarah Slavin Schramm, ed., *Female Studies VIII: Do-It-Yourself Women's Studies* (Pittsburgh: Know, Inc., 1975); Sidonie Cassirer, ed., *Female Studies IX: Teaching about Women in the Foreign Languages—French, Spanish, German, and Russian* (Pittsburgh: Know, Inc., 1976); Deborah S. Rosenfelt, ed., *Female Studies X: Learning to Speak—Student Work* (Old Westbury, N.Y.: Feminist Press, 1976). See also Carol Ahlum and Florence Howe, *The New Guide to Current Female Studies* (Pittsburgh, Know, Inc., 1971), and *The Guide to Current Female Studies II* (Old Westbury, N.Y.: Feminist Press, 1972); Tamar Berkowitz, Jean Mangi, and Jane Williamson, eds., *Who's Who and Where in Women's Studies* (Old Westbury, N.Y.: Feminist Press, 1974); and Betty E. Chmaj and Judith A. Gustafson, *Myth and Beyond: American Women and American Studies* (Pittsburgh: Know, Inc., 1972).

Newsletter to serve as a forum for the women's studies movement in the community as well as in schools at all levels.[14] Florence Howe and Carol Ahlum described this abundance as "an intellectual feast long denied," a "classical instance of a movement without unified organization or direction" whose spread followed the geography of the new women's movement.[15] Its roots, however, lay deep in the history of American feminism and the education of American women.

Introducing a symposium on "masculine blinders in the social sciences," Victoria Schuck perceived three "rounds" in the history of the women's movement, of which only the third and present posed a challenge to the social sciences. Contemporary feminism, through women's studies, "aimed at destroying the sexual stereotypes bequeathed by nineteenth-century male academics."[16] To Howe, women's studies represented a third phase in American women's struggle for education. First, in the early and mid-nineteenth century, proponents of improving female education accepted cultural assumptions about women's nature and demanded a higher education appropriate to woman's role as a moral teacher. Next, in the late nineteenth century, they began to stress the identity of male and female intellectual capacities and to call for access to the standard courses of studies that M. Carey Thomas of Bryn Mawr College labeled the "men's curriculum." Only in the current third phase did they challenge the male hegemony over the content of college courses and the substance of knowledge itself.[17]

14. *Women's Studies*' editor Wendy Martin explained in the inaugural issue her premise that "careful and disciplined research, illuminated by a feminist perspective by both women and men, can contribute to effective social change" (*Women's Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 1, no. 1 [1972]: 2). *Feminist Studies* was founded to "encourage analytic response to feminist issues and analyses that open new areas of feminist research and critique" (*Feminist Studies* 1, no. 1 [1972], inside front cover). In addition to reporting events and promoting dialogue, the *Women's Studies Newsletter* has played an important role in raising critical issues and in suggesting solutions to common problems. In 1977, the *Newsletter* was chosen as the official organ of the NWSA: in spring 1981 it became the *Women's Studies Quarterly*, still published by the Feminist Press.

15. Howe and Ahlum, "Women's Studies and Social Change" (n. 4 above), pp. 413–14.

16. While "Round 1" from Seneca Falls to the Civil War challenged widely accepted images of femininity, "Round 2" from the Civil War to 1920 attempted no "social redefinition" of female identity, so that the new disciplines that arose in the late nineteenth century could develop and sustain a view of women derived from "moral philosophy" (Schuck [n. 4 above], p. 563).

17. Howe has developed this scheme in several essays. See "Feminism and the Education of Women," in *Frontiers of Knowledge*, ed. Judith Stiehm (Los Angeles: University of Southern California Press, 1976), pp. 79–93; "Three Missions of Higher Education for Women: Vocation, Freedom, Knowledge," *Liberal Education* 66, no. 3 (Fall 1980): 285–97; "Myths of Coeducation" (lecture delivered November 2, 1978), and "Women's Studies and Women's Work" (lecture delivered September 26, 1979), both available from Wellesley College Center for Research on Women, Wellesley, Mass. 02181.

But in its early years, women's studies remained essentially a centerless, leaderless movement, marked by diversity in aim, content, and style. As the number of courses and programs multiplied, duly noted in the national press, newcomers could begin to draw on the reflections of the pioneers who, conscious of the historical importance of women's studies and committed to the cooperative principle, continued to publish not only syllabi and reading lists but detailed accounts of their experiences, bad along with the good.[18] Essays by these early practitioners—Florence Howe, Carol Ahlum, Catharine R. Stimpson, Sheila Tobias—all raised questions without easy answers about the tensions between academic and political goals of classroom teaching, the responsibility of women's studies to the women's movement, and the implications of organizational structure and program governance for impact on the university.[19]

The double purpose of women's studies—to expose and redress the oppression of women—was reflected in widespread attempts to restructure the classroom experience of students and faculty. Circular arrangement of chairs, periodic small-group sessions, use of first names for instructors as well as students, assignments that required journal keeping, "reflection papers," cooperative projects, and collective modes of teaching with student participation all sought to transfer to women's studies the contemporary feminist criticism of authority and the validation of every woman's experience. These techniques borrowed from the women's movement also were designed to combat the institutional hierarchy and professional exclusiveness that had been used to shut out women.[20] Indeed, collectivity in teaching and in program governance

18. See "Women's Studies," *Newsweek* (October 26, 1970), p. 61; Trecker (n. 4 above); and Cheryl Fields, "Women's Studies Gain: 2,000 Courses Offered This Year," *Chronicle of Higher Education* (December 17, 1973), p. 6. For a summary of reasons for and against establishment of a women's studies program by Penn Women's Studies Planners, see *1972 Summer Project Report: A Descriptive Analysis of a National Survey* (Philadelphia: New Morning Press, 1972).

19. Howe and Ahlum examined the origins of women's studies, its relationship to educational reform and to women's education, its basic assumptions and goals, and its role as a feminist movement for change ("Women's Studies and Social Change" [n. 6 above], pp. 393–423). In "The New Feminism and Women's Studies," Stimpson analyzed her reasons for teaching a women's studies course, stressing the multicausality of social, educational, and political circumstances that favored the development of women's studies and the resulting diversity of aims, styles, and goals the movement encompassed (*Change* 5 [September 1973]: 43–48). Tobias reviewed her experiences teaching women's studies at three universities and shared her expectations for its expansion ("Women's Studies: Its Origins, Organization, and Prospects," in *The Higher Education of Women*, ed. Helen Astin [New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, 1978], pp. 80–94, also in *Women's Studies International Quarterly* 1, no. 1 [1978]: 85–97).

20. On new dynamics in early women's studies classrooms, see discussions by Florence Howe, Lillian Robinson, Maureen Greenwald, and Gerda Lerner in Howe, ed. pp. 1–4, 42–43, 70–73, and 86–88, respectively. See also descriptions of women's studies programs

has been deemed the most radical and vital contribution of the women's movement to educational innovation.[21]

Yet the adaptation of feminist principles to teaching and governance in women's studies soon led to controversy. In a widely circulated essay on the defects of the feminist ideal of "structurelessness," Jo Freeman demonstrated that the rejection of formal leadership with visible lines of responsibility favored the development of informal networks where power flowed through underground channels based on friendship, thus creating the very evil it sought to suppress: control by elites.[22] Among Freeman's readers, some hoped that women's studies would avoid the doctrinaire allegiance to ideologies that had proved so destructive in the women's liberation movement.[23]

The responsibility of women's studies to the larger feminist community also became a debated issue in the early years. At two major women's studies conferences in the early 1970s, bitter conflict developed between factions who weighed differently the political and academic aims of the campus movement. The first was a small, invitational conference held at the University of Pittsburgh in November 1971, which polarized into a "revolutionary feminist caucus" of students and political activists and a group of established academics who had come to discuss theoretical issues about women's studies.[24] The second was the West Coast Women's Studies Conference held at Sacramento State College (now University) in May 1973 on problems of "survival in the seventies." A deep cleavage developed when a highly organized group diverted

at SUNY/Buffalo, Cambridge-Goddard Graduate School for Social Change, Portland State University, City University of New York (CUNY)/Richmond College, Sacramento State College, and San Diego State College, in Howe and Ahlum, eds., *Female Studies III*, pp. 142–48, 164–73. See also essays in Showalter and Ohmann, eds., esp. Elaine Showalter, "Introduction: Teaching About Women, 1971," pp. i–xii.

21. Christine Grahl, Elizabeth Kennedy, Lillian S. Robinson, and Bonnie Zimmerman, "Women's Studies: A Case in Point," *Feminist Studies* 1, no. 2 (Fall 1972): 109–20; Sarah Slavin Schramm, *Plow Women Rather Than Reapers: An Intellectual History of Feminism in the United States* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1978); Sheila Tobias, "Teaching Women's Studies: Looking Back over Three Years," *Liberal Education* 58, no. 2 (May 1972): 264; Staff, "Teaching Collectively," *Women's Studies Program: Three Years of Struggle* (San Diego: California State University at San Diego, 1973), pp. 42–44. Despite the emphasis on cooperative and group experience, however, women's studies courses made heavy demands on students and teachers. To preclude accusations of "academic anemia," some instructors resorted to "intellectual overkill" (Wendy Martin, "Teaching Women's Studies—Some Problems and Discoveries," in Showalter and Ohmann, eds., p. 9).

22. Jo Freeman, "The Tyranny of Structurelessness," *Berkeley Journal of Sociology* 17 (1972–73): 151–64, reprinted in *Women in Politics*, ed. Jane S. Jaquette (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1974), pp. 204–14.

23. Mollie Schwartz Rosenhan, "Women's Studies and Feminism: Ideological Conflict in the Academy" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, San Francisco, December 30, 1973).

24. Rae Lee Siporin, "Introduction: Women and Education: The Conference as Catalyst," in Siporin, ed., pp. iii–xiv.

scheduled sessions from their announced purposes to discuss issues on its own agenda. Exhibiting deep distrust of conference planners and movement leaders, the group attacked "white, middle-class, heterosexual" feminists for attempting to separate women's studies from the radical women's movement. In the face of physical as well as verbal confrontation, some of the 700 participants withdrew.[25]

The *Report on the West Coast Women's Studies Conference* is a remarkable document of a period in women's studies history when difficult lessons about process and pluralism were learned. It includes proceedings as well as postconference statements from both sides. In one interpretive essay, Deborah Rosenfelt characterized "the cleavage in purpose and ideology that ran like a crack in the earth" through conference activities as a manifestation of the division within the women's movement between "socialist feminists" and "cultural feminists" ("Marxists" and "Matriarchs"), who attacked each other for, respectively, employing "male" modes of analysis and confrontation, and enjoying the rewards of apolitical, middle-class academic privilege. Rosenfelt emphasized the creative aspects of the struggle.[26]

More fearful that women's studies would be destroyed by internal conflict if not by external opposition, Catharine Stimpson analyzed the source of the internecine quarrels in a perceptive essay that remains pertinent today. In "What Matter Mind: A Critical Theory about the Practice of Women's Studies," she identified the problems as women's acceptance of cultural stereotypes of femininity and their consequent distrust of women in power, as well as ideological conflict among five categories of women's studies practitioners: "pioneers" who had taught about women before women's studies began, "ideologues" who had come to women's studies through the feminist movement, "radicals" who had been politicized by other movements, "latecomers" who became interested after women's studies began, and "bandwagoneers" who found women's studies fashionable and useful for their careers. The fiercest strife arose between the "ideologues" and "radicals." While somewhat pessimistic about the future, Stimpson saw hope for survival in the "buoyancy that comes from sensing that to work for women's studies is to belong to a historical tide." To strengthen the growing community of scholars and teachers, she suggested the establishment of a national organization.[27]

25. See Ann Forfreedom, "Whither Women's Studies?" in *Report on the West Coast Women's Studies Conference*, pp. 110–113, esp. p. 113.

26. Deborah Rosenfelt, "What Happened at Sacramento?" in Women's Studies Board at California State University, ed., pp. 78–83, also in *Women's Studies Newsletter* 5 (Fall 1973): 1, 6–7. See also Betty Chmaj, "Confrontation in Anger and in Pain," ibid., pp. 140–43, also in Chmaj and Gustafson, pp. 24–39.

27. Catharine R. Stimpson, "What Matter Mind: A Critical Theory about the Practice of Women's Studies," *Women's Studies* 1, no. 3 (1973): 293–314, also available from ERIC

The perspective that the radical feminist goals of women's studies made it incompatible with the university system led to a complete change in faculty at the earliest of programs, San Diego State, in 1974.[28] Adrienne Rich addressed this issue of women's studies' possible co-optation within the university system at another troubled conference at the University of Pennsylvania in the same year, "Women's Studies: Renaissance or Revolution?" She expressed the fear that women's studies, if integrated into male-defined and -dominated universities, might become isolated pockets of academic life where a few women could nourish a "false illusion of power."[29] More recently, in the foreword to a collection of her prose, she finds that, despite its tenuous hold on the university, women's studies continues to be a place where women may "claim" rather than "receive" an education, may demand to be taken seriously and taught what they really need to know to live as women in the world.[30] Even if staffed by "tokenists," women's studies might, Rich felt, serve as a catalyst "toward a woman-centered university."[31]

Rich envisioned a university transformed by feminist principles, with competition replaced by cooperation, fragmentation by wholeness, and even the line between campus and community shaded. It was a goal which depended on women learning to use their power constructively, as "power to change." Academic feminists would have to succeed in redesigning not only the women's studies classroom but also the

(ED 068078) 1972 and in condensed form, "A Critical View of Women's Studies," *Women's Studies Newsletter* 2 (Winter 1972): 1–4.

28. The entire faculty resigned, stating, "We have realized that professionalizing Women's Studies and the institutionalizing of this program is part of the strategy of those in power in the university. . . . A collective program like San Diego's either must develop into a traditional elitist approach to education, or the women who have maintained the collective approach will be fired and replaced by women who are not committed to student interests or needs. In either case, Women's Studies as we have known it, is incompatible with the institution and is eliminated" (Women's Studies Board, San Diego State College, *Women's Studies and Socialist Feminism* [San Diego: San Diego State College, April 20, 1974], pp. 5–7). On the early development of this program see Roberta Salper, "Women's Studies," *Ramparts* 10, no. 6 (December 1971): 56–60; later history, Marilyn J. Boxer, "Closeup: Women's Studies Department at San Diego," *Women's Studies Newsletter* 6, no. 2 (Spring 1978): 20–23.

29. Adrienne Rich, "Women's Studies—Renaissance or Revolution?" *Women's Studies* 3, no. 2 (1976): 121–26.

30. Adrienne Rich, "Claiming an Education" (lecture delivered at Douglass College, September 6, 1977), and "Taking Women Students Seriously" (lecture delivered at New Jersey College and University Coalition on Women's Education, May 7, 1978), both in Adrienne Rich, *On Lies, Secrets, and Silence: Selected Prose 1966–1978* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1979), pp. 231–35, 237–45 (hereafter cited as *On Lies*).

31. Adrienne Rich, "Toward a Woman-centered University," in *Women and the Power to Change*, ed. Florence Howe (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1975), pp. 15–46, reprinted in Rich, *On Lies*, pp. 125–55, and excerpted in *Chronicle of Higher Education* (July 21, 1975).

"clockwork of male careers" and the value structure on which the university and society were based. With the resources available now, however, much could be done, and even an activist skeptical of academic feminism could "find happiness" teaching women's studies.[32]

By mid-decade women's studies entered a "second phase," settling in for the long haul, no longer justifying itself as primarily compensatory and ultimately, if successful, self-liquidating. This new consciousness was manifested in a series of reports from the field that appeared in the *Women's Studies Newsletter* under the title, "The Future of Women's Studies."[33] One coordinator pointed out that "in order to change or add to the traditional perspectives of the disciplines, women's studies has to be of them, in them, and about them." A second considered it essential to make women's studies "part of the fundamental structure of our schools." A third gave an indication of how far the movement had come from the search for forgotten women in the suggestion that women's studies "constitutes a genuine discipline, understood as we now understand English or history or physics."[34]

To assess the state of women's studies after seven years, the National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs commissioned a study by Florence Howe of fifteen "mature" programs with line budgets; paid administrators; officially recognized curricula; and accredited majors, minors, or certificate programs. The report, *Seven Years Later: Women's Studies Programs in 1976*, stressed the successes: student interest and enrollment growth, the breadth and depth of course offerings, the vitality of women's studies scholarship, and the impact on university faculty and curricula.[35] While demonstrating how effectively women's studies programs used resources, it pointed to insufficient and unstable staffing and funding as key issues affecting the future. It said little about some problem areas, such as program governance and relations with the feminist community, but called for further study of others, including the involvement of minority women, the effectiveness of women's studies teaching, the impact of women's studies on host institutions. Although

32. Florence Howe, "Women and the Power to Change," and Arlie Russell Hochschild, "Inside the Clockwork of Male Careers," in Howe, ed., *Women and the Power to Change*, pp. 127–71, 47–80; Carol Anne Douglas, "Can A Radical Feminist Find Happiness Teaching Women's Studies?" *off our backs* 7, no. 1 (December 1977): 11, 14–15.

33. Gayle Graham Yates, "Women's Studies in Its Second Phase," *Women's Studies Newsletter* 5, nos. 1–2 (Winter/Spring 1977): 4–5; "The Future of Women's Studies," ibid., vol. 3, no. 2 (Spring 1975), ibid., vol. 3, nos. 3–4 (Summer/Fall 1975), ibid., vol. 4, no. 1 (Winter 1976).

34. Dana V. Hiller, director of Women's Studies, University of Cincinnati, *Women's Studies Newsletter* 3, no. 2 (Spring 1975): 4; Joan Geetter, acting director of Women's Studies, University of Connecticut, ibid.; and Susan Phipps-Sanger, administrative assistant-advisor, and Toni McNaron, coordinator of Women's Studies, University of Minnesota, ibid., 3, nos. 3–4 (Summer/Fall 1975): 26.

35. Florence Howe, *Seven Years Later: Women's Studies Programs in 1976* (Washington, D.C.: National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs, 1977).

the report has been seen as "women's studies dressed in her 'Sunday best,' " it captures the essential shape and spirit.[36]

Placed alongside *Female Studies I* (or *II* or *III*), *Seven Years Later* offers dramatic evidence that women's studies was higher education's success story of the decade. Despite a new era of hard times for public education, new programs continued to appear. They were established in technical institutes, Catholic and Mormon universities, anti-ERA states in the South, some high schools, and many community colleges. Women's studies was germinating in the "grass roots."[37]

With the changing cultural environment and increasing integration of women's studies into the educational establishment, a new constituency of students entered the classroom.[38] Unlike the students of the early 1970s, they were less likely to identify themselves as feminists, or sometimes even to understand such basic concepts as sexism and feminism. Susan Sniader Lanser was startled to find her students not only apolitical but still suffering the burden of traditional sex-role expectations.[39] "Consciousness raising," borrowed from women's liberation to become a teaching device in early women's studies classrooms, took place less often but continued to be perceived as a latent function of the formal educational process.[40] Cheri Register identified four stages in

36. Nancy Hoffman, "Seven Years Later: Women's Studies Programs in 1976: A Review," *Radical Teacher* 6 (December 1977): 54–56.

37. For women's studies programs in diverse settings, see, e.g., *Radical Teacher* (Special Issue on Women's Studies in the 70's: Moving Forward), vol. 6 (December 1977). On Catholic colleges, Betty Burnett, "Grass Roots in Women's Studies: Kansas City, Missouri," *Women's Studies Newsletter* 5, no. 3 (Summer 1977): 3–4; and Barbara B. Stern, "How To Establish a Women's Studies Course When the Administration Is Against It, the Students Think It's Too Hard, Your Department Is Out of Money, and You Are Probably Too Old to Be Teaching Anymore," *International Journal of Women's Studies* 2, no. 1 (January/February 1979): 100–101. On a Mormon university, see Judith Gappa and J. Nicholls Eastmond, "Gaining Support for a Women's Studies Program in a Conservative Institution," *Liberal Education* 64, no. 3 (October 1978): 278–92. On women's studies in the South, see Nancy Topping Bazin, "Expanding the Concept of Affirmative Action to Include the Curriculum," *Women's Studies Newsletter* 8, no. 4 (Fall/Winter 1980): 9–11; Mollie C. Davis, "Grass Roots Women's Studies: Piedmont, North Carolina," ibid., 4, no. 2 (Spring 1976): 1–2; and Linda Todd, "Grass Roots Women's Studies: South Carolina," ibid., 4, no. 3 (Summer 1976): 4. On community colleges, see Allana Elovson, *Women's Studies in the Community Colleges*, Women's Studies Monograph Series (Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Education, 1980).

38. From Portland State came the following dialogue, which aptly expresses some of the internal changes. Nancy: "Do you think our 'constituency' has changed? Are there fewer of us now who tend to see women's studies as coextensive with our egos?" Julie: "Not really, and that's not a good way to put it. We're pretty diverse in our needs and uses for the program. Somehow, though, we're all getting older" (Nancy Porter, Julie Allen, and Jean Maxwell, "From Portland State University—in Three Voices," *Women's Studies Newsletter* 3, no. 2 [Spring 1975]: 5).

39. Susan Sniader Lanser, "Beyond *The Bell Jar:* Women Students of the 1970s," *Radical Teacher* 6 (December 1977): 41–44.

40. Ellen Boueparth, "Evaluating Women's Studies: Academic Theory and Practice," *Social Science Journal* 14, no. 2 (April 1977): 23–31. This special issue of *Social Science Journal* (Women's Studies: Awakening Academe) was also published as Kathleen Blumhagen and Walter Johnson, eds., *Women's Studies* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978). See also Deborah Silverton Rosenfelt, "Introduction," in Rosenfelt, ed. (n. 13 above), p. viii; Barbara A. Schram, "What's the Aim of Women's Studies?" *Journal of Teacher Education* 26, no. 4 (Winter 1975): 352–53; and Schramm (n. 21 above), pp. 345–46. Ellen Morgan worried lest the consciousness-raising experience leave her students alienated from society but lacking an adequate factual and theoretical basis to live as feminists ("On Teaching Women's Studies," *University of Michigan Papers in Women's Studies* [May 1978], pp. 27–34). Blanche Hersh finds Morgan's analysis a useful guide to fulfillment of women's studies' promise to effect change in consciousness (Women's Studies Program, Northeastern Illinois University, "On Teaching Women's Studies," *Program Notes*, vol. 4, no. 1 [January/February 1979]).

41. Cheri Register, "Brief, A-mazing Movements: Dealing with Despair in the Women's Studies Classroom," *Women's Studies Newsletter* 7, no. 4 (Fall 1979): 7–10.

42. Nancy M. Potter and Margaret T. Eileenchild, *The Effectiveness of Women's Studies Teaching*, Women's Studies Monograph Series (Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Education, 1980); Marcia Guttentag, Lorelei R. Brush, Alice Ross Gold, Marnie W. Mueller, Sheila Tobias, and Marni Goldstein White, "Evaluating Women's Studies: A Decision-Theoretic Approach," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 3, no. 4 (Summer 1978): 884–90.

43. On preparation, see Elsa Greene, "The Case for a National Women's Studies Association," *Women's Studies Newsletter* 4, no. 1 (Winter 1976): 1, 3; Elsa Greene and Elaine Reuben, "Planning a National Women's Studies Association," ibid., 4, no. 2 (Spring 1976): 1, 10–11; Sybil Weir, "Planning Continues for the National Founding Convention," ibid., 4, no. 3 (Summer 1976): 1, 10–11.

both the classroom process and the development of women's studies and the women's movement. Moving from compensating, to criticizing, to collecting and constructing, and finally to conceptualizing anew, students and teacher would pass through despair to emerge with a new and positive basis for understanding and living with a feminist perspective.[41] However, after a study of the literature evaluating women's studies teaching and their own investigation of the values expressed by teachers, Nancy M. Porter and Margaret T. Eileenchild found no clear evidence of the changes in attitude and perception often reported by students and teachers. They suggested that future evaluations place the women's studies experience in a broad educational context that would encompass such variables as sex of instructor and student, political perspective and goals of the instructor, and classroom structure. Neither the necessary data nor the measurement instrument appropriate to the task are yet available, although the development by Marcia Guttentag of an evaluation method involving participants in setting objectives may prove particularly appropriate to measuring the impact of women's studies.[42]

New perceptions of women's studies were accompanied by new structures. To facilitate communications among practitioners and to enhance the development of scholarship and teaching, the National Women's Studies Association was founded at San Francisco in 1977.[43] After many months of careful preparation, it was designed to express both professional and feminist values. A complicated structure allowing equitable representation to various constituencies—regional groups,

students, staff, elementary and secondary teachers, lesbians, Third World women, community women—was designed to counter the tendency toward exclusiveness that characterizes many other professional organizations. Sliding registration fees for conventions would provide funds to equalize transportation costs for residents of nearby and distant places. Widespread participation would be encouraged by eliminating keynote speakers.

The successful outcome of the founding convention and subsequent annual conferences reflected the sensitivity of the planners to the problems that beset earlier gatherings.[44] By the end of the decade, the "room of one's own" for which feminists had fought at the beginning was becoming, in the optimistic words of the NWSA's coordinator Elaine Reuben, a "several-story building."[45] Its future remained, however, contingent on the resolution of fundamental, continuing problems.

Political Issues

In fulfillment of the commitment of women's studies to be inclusive of all women and all women's concerns, programs for the NWSA conferences at the University of Kansas in 1979, Indiana University in 1980, and the University of Connecticut, Storrs, in 1981 included more than 250 sessions. Their titles indicate that the concerns and conflicts manifested in the early 1970s in the *Female Studies* series remain alive, while some new issues have emerged. If women's studies is now established firmly enough to survive a decade that began with the accession to political power of right-wing forces clearly allied with antifeminism, it faces continuing challenges from within.[46] The most extensive debates continue to address the relationship of women's studies to the feminist movement and the integration of activist and academic goals, inside as

44. Florence Howe, "What Happened at the Convention," *Women's Studies Newsletter* 5, 1–2 (Winter/Spring 1977): 3–4; Beverly Watkins, "Feminist Educators Seek to Improve Status of Women's Studies," *Chronicle of Higher Education* (January 31, 1977), p. 8. On the 1979 conference, see *Women's Studies Newsletter* 7, no. 3 (Summer 1979): 15–28 and *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, vol. 5, no. 1 (Spring 1980): 1–70. On the 1980 conference, see *Women's Studies Newsletter* 8, no. 3 (Summer 1980): 3–24. On the 1981 conference, see *Women's Studies Quarterly* 9, no. 3 (Fall 1981): 4–22, 35–40.

45. Elaine Reuben et al., "Visions and Revisions: Women and the Power to Change," *Women's Studies Newsletter* 7, no. 3 (Summer 1979): 18–22.

46. Phyllis Schlafly considers enrollment in women's studies the worst thing a middle-aged woman can possibly do (*Power of the Positive Woman* [New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House Publishers, 1977], p. 59). See also Linda Gordon and Allen Hunter, "Sex, Family and the New Right: Anti-Feminists as a Political Force," *Radical America* 11, no. 6, and 12, no. 1 (November 1977–February 1978): 9–25. According to Catharine Stimpson, women's studies "now has the maturity to move from a defensive to a stalwart posture" ("The New Scholarship about Women: The State of the Art," *Annals of Scholarship* 1, no. 2 [1980]: 2–14).

well as outside the classroom. Although these debates serve to stimulate and to enrich women's studies, they also provide a source of potential conflict among constituent groups and require that the NWSA perform a delicate "balancing act."[47]

Present from the beginning, the old issue of women's studies' possible co-optation remains unresolved. Over the years numerous observers, pointing to the history of home economics, have expressed a fear that women's studies might be absorbed by the academy, lose its feminist thrust, and become a female ghetto with minimal impact on mainstream education and society.[48] Some programs, however, including those at SUNY/Buffalo and Portland State University in Oregon, have continued to consider the struggle against traditional hierarchical organization, in program governance as well as classroom dynamics, critical to the mission of women's studies.[49] The controversy over an early unsuccessful scheme to integrate academic women's studies into a broad spectrum of educational, social, and community services in Southern California and a current conflict over the location of a women's studies institute in West Germany also reflect this concern within the movement.[50] The Feminist Studies Program at Cambridge-Goddard, dedicated to integrating social research and social action, recently dissolved itself rather than com-

47. Barbara Hillyer Davis and Patricia A. Frech, "Diversity, Fragmentation, Integration: The NWSA Balancing Act," *Women's Studies Quarterly* 9, no. 1 (Spring 1981): 33–35.

48. Ruth Crego Benson, "Women's Studies: Theory and Practice," *AAUP Bulletin* 58, no. 3 (September 1972): 283–86; Ann Snitow and Margaret Mahoney, "Higher Education and Women," *Arts in Society* 11, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 1974): 95–96; Jill K. Conway, "Coeducation and Women's Studies: Two Approaches to the Question of Women's Place in the Contemporary University," *Daedalus* 103, no. 4 (Fall 1974): 239–49; Freeman, "Women's Liberation and Its Impact" (n. 7 above); Greene, "Case for a National Women's Studies Association"; Barbara Sicherman, "The Invisible Woman: The Case for Women's Studies," in *Women in Higher Education*, ed. W. Todd Furniss and Patricia Alberg Graham (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1974), p. 172; and Tobias, "Teaching Women's Studies" (n. 21 above), p. 263.

49. On Portland State, see Nancy Hoffman, "A Class of Our Own," in Showalter and Ohmann, eds. (n. 13 above), pp. 14–28; "Working Together: The Women's Studies Program at Portland State University," in Hoffman et al., eds. (n. 13 above), pp. 164–228; and Porter et al., p. 5. On SUNY/Buffalo, see Grahl et al. (n. 21 above); also Women's Studies College, SUNY/Buffalo, "Proposal for a College of Women's Studies" (unpublished paper, Fall 1971), "Women's Studies College Charter" (unpublished paper, October 15, 1974), "Women's Studies Struggle Continues . . ." (unpublished paper, Spring 1976); "From SUNY/Buffalo," *Women's Studies Newsletter* 3, nos. 3–4 (Summer/Fall 1975): 5–6; and Abstract 60 in "Selected Abstracts from the First National Conference of the National Women's Studies Association, May 30–June 3, 1979, Lawrence, Kansas," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 5, no. 1 (Spring 1980): 12–13.

50. For Southern California, see Salper, "Women's Studies." For West Germany, see Tobe Levin, "Women's Studies in West Germany," *Women's Studies Newsletter* 7, no. 1 (Winter 1979): 21–22; Hanna-Beate Schöpp-Schilling, "Women's Studies Research Centers: Report from West Germany," ibid., 8, no. 2 (Spring 1979): 28–29; Peggy McIntosh, "The Women's Studies Conference in Berlin: Another Chapter in the Controversy," ibid., 8, no. 4 (Fall/Winter 1980): 24–26.

promise its commitment to structural change in the education process. But revolutionary fervor cannot be maintained endlessly, and historical circumstances change. Perhaps in light of the spectacular, and to some extent unforeseen, flowering of feminist scholarship—which has created an increasingly strong foundation and justification for the movement—academic women's studies has become less directly a strategy for institutional change and more specifically an attack on sexist scholarship and teaching.

Yet the conviction remains strong that women's studies must be explicitly political, consciously an academic arm of women's liberation, and actively part of a larger social movement that envisions the transformation of society.[51] Unlike other academic pursuits, it must not separate theory from practice. Since "feminist activity made women's studies possible, women's studies must in turn make feminist activity possible."[52] At the NWSA founding convention, one group charged that university women "have taken much more from the Women's Movement than they have to date returned" and suggested ways in which "academic privilege" might benefit the women's movement.[53] Today women's studies practitioners and programs enter into innumerable community activities in many ways: teachers are taking women's studies to nursing homes and prisons, bringing together mothers and daughters, and transforming academic feminism into grass-roots theater.[54]

51. For a cogent statement of this point of view, see Linda Gordon, "A Socialist View of Women's Studies: A Reply to the Editorial, Volume 1, Number 1," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 1, no. 2 (Winter 1975): 559–66.

52. Melanie Kaye, "Closeup on Women's Studies Courses: Feminist Theory and Practice," *Women's Studies Newsletter* 6, no. 3 (Summer 1978): 20–23.

53. S. Brown, E. Hawkes, F. Klein, M. Lowe, E. B. Makrides, and R. Felberg, "Women's Studies: A Fresh Perspective," *The Longest Revolution* 1, no. 3 (February 1977): 13–14, 16. The opposite perspective was expressed by an academic feminist at the International Women's Year Conference in Houston. Noting that the resolution on education ignored women's studies, Amy Swerdlow asserted that "women's studies has supported the women's movement, now it's time for the movement to support women's studies" (quoted by Elizabeth Baer and Dora Janeway Odarenko, "The IWY Conference at Houston: Implications for Women's Studies," *Women's Studies Newsletter* 6, no. 1 [Winter 1978]: 3–6). Linda Gordon has suggested that "we should take our questions from the movement but not our answers" ("What Should Women's Historians Do: Politics, Social Theory and Women's History," *Marxist Perspectives* 1, no. 3 [Fall 1978]: 128–36).

54. Diane T. Rudnick and Sayre Phillips Sheldon, "Teaching Women's History to Men in Prison," and Dorothy Kilton, "Your Mind—Use It or Lose It: Women's Studies in a Nursing Home," *Women's Studies Newsletter* 8, no. 2 (Spring 1980): 9–12; Cynthia D. Kinnard, "Feminist Teaching in a Women's Prison" (NWSA Session Abstract, NWSA Convention, Indiana University, Bloomington, 1980); Nancy Schniedewind, "Reaching Out to the Community: The Mothers and Daughters Conference at SUNY/New Paltz," *Women's Studies Newsletter* 8, no. 1 (Winter 1980): 28–29; Carol Perkins, "Tricks of the Trade," *Radical Teacher* 14 (December 1979): 23–26. See also Catharine R. Stimpson, "Women's Studies and the Community: Some Models," *Women's Studies Newsletter* 2, no. 3 (Summer 1974): 2–3.

Individuals are experiencing and resolving their personal tensions between academics and activism in various ways. For some, it means leaving the university. Jo Freeman, whose work has contributed to both women's studies and the women's movement, has decided that feminism is compatible with scholarship but not with academic life. Mary Howell, on the other hand, has consciously compromised by applying traditional standards in her professional life and dedicating herself to community feminism and women's culture in her private life. Others seem to temper if not transcend the problem by accepting the emerging consensus that women's studies in the long run implies profound change in the structure of knowledge, the university, and society.[55]

Feminist sensitivity to social process is perhaps manifest most clearly in the ongoing, if not always successful, attempt in women's studies to fight against oppression on the basis of race, class, age, religion, and sexual preference as well as sex. A proposed amendment to the NWSA constitution states that "freedom from sexism by necessity must include a commitment to freedom from racism, national chauvinism, class and ethnic bias, ageism, heterosexual bias." The two most critical current issues involve the integration into women's studies and the NWSA of women of color and lesbians.

The NWSA as an organization has acknowledged widespread neglect of women of color in women's studies courses, materials, programs, and conferences. Although the *Women's Studies Newsletter*, the official journal of the NWSA, has during the past five years published a number of articles on research and resources pertinent to black women, considerably less work has appeared on other women of color.[56] At the found-

55. Jo Freeman, "The Feminist Scholar," *Quest* 5, no. 1 (Summer 1979): 26–36. Freeman's anthology, *Women: A Feminist Perspective* (Palo Alto, Calif.: Mayfield Publishing Co., 1975), is one of the most widely adopted texts for introductory courses, while her essays have illuminated important issues on the women's movement. See also Mary Howell, "Can We Be Feminists and Professionals?" *Women's Studies International Quarterly* 2, no. 1 (1979): 1–7, and the proceedings of women's studies conferences sponsored by the Great Lakes Colleges Association (GLCA): Beth Reed, ed., *The Structure of Knowledge: A Feminist Perspective: Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Great Lakes Colleges Association Women's Studies Conference* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Great Lakes Colleges Association Women's Studies Program, 1978) (hereafter cited as *Structure of Knowledge*), and *Toward a Feminist Transformation of the Academy: Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Great Lakes Colleges Association Women's Studies Conference* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Great Lakes Colleges Association Women's Studies Program, 1979) (hereafter cited as *Toward a Feminist Transformation*). Both are available from the GLCA Women's Studies Program, 220 Collingwood, Suite 240, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48103.

56. Barbara Smith, "Doing Research on Black Women," *Women's Studies Newsletter* 4, no. 2 (Spring 1976): 4–5, 7; Michele Russell, "Black-Eyed Blues Connections: Teaching Black Women," ibid., 4, no. 4 (Fall 1976): 6–7, and ibid., 5, nos. 1–2 (Winter/Spring 1977): 24–28; Nancy Hoffman, "White Woman, Black Women: Inventing an Adequate Pedagogy," ibid., 5, nos. 1–2 (Winter/Spring 1977): 21–24; Rita B. Dandridge, "On Novels by Black American Women: A Bibliographical Essay," ibid., 6, no. 3 (Summer 1978): 28–30;

ing NWSA conference in 1977, Third World women formed a caucus and presented a series of resolutions aimed at greater inclusion of women of color. Provisions for permanent status for the caucus and special representation on the NWSA Coordinating Council were incorporated into the initial governance plan, while other proposals (including the guarantee that any resolutions to which the caucus objected would not be passed until after review of a Third World women's position paper) were to become part of the finished constitution.[57] Reacting to complaints of inadequate Third World participation in the first and second national conventions, the NWSA selected "Women Respond to Racism" as the theme of the third annual conference in 1981.[58] By scheduling daily consciousness-raising sessions in which participants could focus on the personal as well as societal effects of racism, the association also demonstrated its intention to move beyond tokenism and abstract discussions of the interaction of sexism and racism in society. It was a way of responding to black women's charge that the more or less institutionalized women's studies of recent years has traded its "radical life-changing vision" for "acceptance, respectability and the career advancement of individuals."[59]

Pioneers of black women's studies, such as Barbara Smith, use "black women" as a metaphor for the essential revolutionary message of women's studies. A women's studies committed to research, writing, and teaching that makes the experience of black women immediately accessible to all women would necessarily "require and indicate that fundamental political and social change is taking place."[60] As Gloria T. Hull writes, the experience of working on—and with—a black female subject

T. Cross, F. Klein, Barbara Smith, and Beverly Smith, "Face-to-Face, Day-to-Day, Racism CR," ibid., 8, no. 1 (Winter 1980): 27–28; Ann Cathey Carver, "Building Coalitions between Women's Studies and Black Studies: What Are the Realities?" ibid., 8, no. 3 (Summer 1980): 16–19; Betsy Brinson, "Teaching Black Women's Heritage," ibid., 8, no. 4 (Fall/Winter 1980): 19–20. See also Angela Jorge, "Issues of Race and Class: A Puerto Rican Woman's Thoughts," ibid., 8, no. 4 (Fall/Winter 1980): 17–18.

57. *Women's Studies Newsletter* 5, nos. 1–2 (Winter/Spring 1977): 6.

58. For 1979, see Nupur Chaudhuri, "A Third World Woman's View of the Convention," Rayna Green, "American Indian Women Meet in Lawrence," Barbara Smith's comments in "Visions and Revisions: Women and the Power to Change," all in *Women's Studies Newsletter* 7, no. 3 (Summer 1979): 5–6, 6–7, and 19–20. Smith's presentation is also in *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 5, no. 1 (Spring 1980): 48–49. For 1980, see Catharine R. Stimpson, "Writing It All Down: An Overview of the Second NWSA Convention," *Women's Studies Newsletter* 8, no. 3 (Summer 1980): 5–7; and Nancy Polikoff, "Addressing Racism," *off our backs* 10, no. 7 (July 1980): 17–19.

59. Barbara Smith, comments in opening panel, in *Structure of Knowledge*, p. 14. See also Pat Miller, "Third NWSA Convention to be Held in Connecticut," *Women's Studies Quarterly* 9, no. 1 (Spring 1981): 30, and report on CR sessions at Storrs in *Women's Studies Quarterly* 9, no. 3 (Fall 1981): 13–16.

60. Smith in *Structure of Knowledge*, p. 13.

in feminist scholarship may summon a researcher to explore the tenets of her own life and work.[61]

Another group of women suffering special oppression in contemporary American society are lesbians. The paucity of literature addressing the treatment of lesbians in women's studies parallels feminists' relatively late decision to make elimination of heterosexual privilege and homosexual oppression a central aim. This commitment offers women's studies an opportunity to affirm its radical vision. However, although the NWSA constitution acknowledged the need for specific representation of lesbian women and conference planners have scheduled numerous lesbian-oriented sessions and cultural events, women's studies practitioners have produced very little relevant literature on research or teaching.[62] Toni McNaron's 1977 account of exploring lesbian experience and culture in a drug treatment center and the guidelines suggested very recently for studies of lesbianism by Peg Cruikshank, J. R. Roberts, and Bonnie Zimmerman are rare exceptions to the rule of silence, which confirms Adrienne Rich's observation that, with regard to lesbians, women's studies (and black studies) have "reinforce[d] the very silence out of which they have had to assert themselves."[63] A survey of texts used widely in introductory women's studies classes confirms the impression that "heterosexism is alive and well in the women's studies textbook market."[64] The lesbian perspective that "enforced heterosexuality is the extreme manifestation of male domination and patriarchal rule" remains largely inarticulated.[65]

61. Gloria T. Hull, "Researching Alice Dunbar-Nelson: A Personal and Literary Perspective," *Feminist Studies* 6, no. 1 (Summer 1980): 314–20, to be included in *Black Women's Studies*, ed. Gloria T. Hull, Patricia Bell Scott, and Barbara Smith (Old Westbury, N.Y.: Feminist Press, 1981). Charles P. Henry and Frances Smith Foster similarly call on black studies to include the history of black female activism and of black feminism in black studies, and they call on women's studies to make more than token efforts to include black women ("Black Women's Studies: Threat or Challenge?" *Western Journal of Black Studies*, in press).

62. Toni White, "Lesbian Studies Flourish at National Women's Studies Conference," *off our backs* 10, no. 7 (July 1980): 16–18.

63. Adrienne Rich, "It Is the Lesbian in Us," in *On Lies*, p. 201 (hereafter cited as "Lesbian in Us"). See also Toni McNaron, "Finding and Studying Lesbian Culture," *Women's Studies Newsletter* 5, no. 4 (Fall 1977): 18–20; Peg Cruikshank, "Lesbian Studies: Some Preliminary Notes," J. R. Roberts, "Black Lesbian Literature/Black Lesbian Lives: Materials for Women's Studies," and Bonnie Zimmerman, "Lesbianism 101," all in *Radical Teacher* 17 (November 1980): 11–25. Both Roberts and Cruikshank offer specific suggestions for course building. Cruikshank is editing *Lesbian Studies* (Old Westbury, N.Y.: Feminist Press, in press).

64. Bonnie Zimmerman, "One Out of Thirty: Lesbianism in Women's Studies Textbooks," in Cruikshank, ed. Zimmerman notes that neither the first (1973) nor the second (1979) edition of Freeman's widely used text, *Women: A Feminist Perspective*, includes an article on lesbianism.

65. Barbara Smith, "Racism and Women's Studies," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 5, no. 1 (Spring 1980): 48–49.

The assumption of heterosexuality both reflects and reinforces ignorance about lesbians and lesbian perspectives. As Adrienne Rich points out, even to acknowledge that "heterosexuality may not be a 'preference' at all but something that has had to be imposed, managed, organized, propagandized, and maintained by force" requires the courage to risk shattering confirmed convictions.[66]

In a recent, provocative essay, Marilyn Frye contends that even in women's studies the supposition of heterosexuality remains "so complete and ubiquitous that it cannot be perceived for lack of contrast." Presenting perhaps one pole of contemporary lesbian political thought, while Rich on the other speaks to "the lesbian in us all," she calls for lesbians to withdraw support from women's studies unless heterosexual feminists begin to examine the ground of *their* choice of sexual preference.[67] Whatever their reaction to Frye's proposal, practitioners of women's studies must by now recognize that any effort to educate about and for women must include consideration of lesbian experiences and of a range of lesbian political perspectives. For prior self-scrutiny by women's studies teachers, the CR guidelines offered by Elly Bulkin are helpful.[68] The establishment of a clearinghouse for lesbian feminist materials should also aid in remedying the current neglect.[69]

By the early 1980s, the tension between academics and activists in women's studies had been largely resolved with the answer "both/and."[70] A lingering distrust of leadership remained, as well as some resistance to scrutiny of "congenial truths."[71] Challenges from lesbians and women of color to make women's studies truly inclusive continue. Recent writings, however, suggest that the major thrust of the second decade will be toward directing the movement outward, toward "mainstreaming." Despite a decade of the new scholarship, women's studies has so far made

66. Adrienne Rich, "Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 5, no. 4 (Summer 1980): 631–60.

67. Marilyn Frye, "Assignment: NWSA—Bloomington 1980: Speak on 'Lesbian Perspectives on Women's Studies,' " *Sinister Wisdom* 14 (Summer 1980): 3–7, and "On Second Thought . . . ," *Radical Teacher* 17 (November 1980): 37–38. See also Rich, "Lesbian in Us," pp. 199–202. I am indebted to my colleague Bonnie Zimmerman for this analysis.

68. Elly Bulkin, "Heterosexism and Women's Studies," *Radical Teacher* 17 (November 1980): 28–30.

69. Sample course outlines, bibliographies, and other materials may be obtained from Coralyn Fontaine, Lesbian-Feminist Study Clearinghouse, Women's Studies Program, 1012 Cathedral of Learning, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15260.

70. This term is used by Peggy McIntosh in her discussion of the community/university conflict in Berlin (n. 50 above), p. 26.

71. Marlene Mackie suggests that because of their ideological sympathies, women's studies scholars may succumb to the "temptation to demand that science substantiate [their] values" and fail to challenge work that they find pleasing. She calls on practitioners of women's studies to "cultivate skepticism of results congruent with [their] value premises" ("On Congenial Truths: A Perspective on Women's Studies," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 14, no. 1 [February 1977]: 117–28, esp. 122).

little progress toward its "ultimate strategy" of transforming the established male-biased curriculum. The primary impact of women's studies has been the establishment of programs that make feminist scholarship visible and available, but usually only on an elective basis.[72] The failure of affirmative action to add women to existing faculties, the limited prospects for growth expected in the coming decade, and the spreading appeal of "back to basics" all suggest that fundamental change in educational institutions will come only after feminist academics insinuate women's studies into the traditional, and especially the required or general education, curriculum.[73]

In late 1979 the Fifth Annual Great Lakes College Association Women's Studies Conference adopted as its theme "Toward a Feminist Transformation of the Academy." Emphasizing the extent to which the feminist vision challenges the male-centered definition of knowledge, keynote speaker Elizabeth Kamarck Minnich compared the work of women's studies with "Copernicus shattering our geo-centricity, Darwin shattering our species-centricity."[74] While a few male administrators may follow the lead of Louis Brakeman, provost of Denison University, in facilitating the passage of new requirements for courses in women's studies or minority studies, most may be expected to resist change.[75] Feminists must therefore recognize, as Alison Bernstein points out, that "liberal education reform is a women's issue" and find ways to direct the argument.[76]

For example, Florence Howe has prepared an outline of five reasons why women's studies is particularly appropriate to the goals of liberal education: it is interdisciplinary and unifying, it teaches skills in critical analysis, it assumes a problem-solving stance, it clarifies the issue

72. See Florence Howe, "Editorial," *Women's Studies Quarterly* 9, no. 1 (Spring 1981): 2; and Howe and Lauter (n. 12 above), p. vii.

73. At a talk given at the December 1979 meeting of the Modern Language Association in San Francisco, "Writers We Still Don't Read," Howe observed that only women teachers care if women writers are taught. She suggests one strategy for change: accurate labeling of traditional courses, e.g., naming a course on Melville, Whitman, Emerson, and Thoreau "Male Writers of the Nineteenth Century in the United States." For arguments that women's studies has made few inroads into the traditional liberal arts, see Lois Banner, "Women in the College Curriculum: A Preliminary Report," mimeographed (Washington, D.C.: Department of History, George Washington University, 1978); Ann Froines, "Integrating Women into the Liberal Arts Curriculum: Some Results of 'A Modest Survey,' " *Women's Studies Newsletter* 8, no. 4 (Fall/Winter 1980): 11–12.

74. Elizabeth Kamarck Minnich, "Friends and Critics: The Feminist Academy," in *Toward a Feminist Transformation of the Academy* (n. 55 above), p. 7.

75. Louis Brakeman in closing panel, "Curriculum Reform, or What Do You Mean, 'Our College Should Have a Feminist Curriculum?' " in *Toward a Feminist Transformation*, pp. 49–52. On resistance to the elimination of sexism in academia, see remarks of Paul Lauter in closing panel, "The Feminist Critique: Plans and Prospects," in *Structure of Knowledge*, pp. 53–58.

76. Alison Bernstein, comments in closing panel, in *Toward a Feminist Transformation*, pp. 59–61.

of value judgment in education, and it promotes socially useful ends.[77] Nancy Topping Bazin, in describing her successful campaign to convince university administrators that a bias in curriculum is also subject to affirmative action measures, and Carolyn C. Lougee, in her account of general studies revision at Stanford University, agree on another reform strategy: women's studies should be integrated into general education by redefinition and expansion of basic required courses rather than offered as an alternative general education curriculum.[78] Some feminist educators may see this approach as a threat to the survival of separate women's studies courses or question whether content can be abstracted from a feminist framework or taught by faculty at large without sacrificing essential goals. Others may find classroom dynamics transformed by the presence of students seeking mainly to fulfill degree requirements.[79]

Theories

Whatever the possibilities for and implications of integration into the "core" curriculum, it seems certain that the future of women's studies will extend well beyond the five or ten years that some observers once thought its likely life span.[80] Just as many feminists found that the goals of the women's movement could not be fulfilled by the "add-women-and-stir method," so women's studies scholars discovered that academic fields could not be cured of sexism simply by accretion.[81] In one discipline after another, initial "compensatory" scholarship led to the realization that only radical reconstruction would suffice.[81] In terms of a scheme developed by Catharine Stimpson, the deconstruction of error and the reconstruction of (philosophical and scientific) reality from a feminist perspective have now led to a third stage of women's studies

77. Florence Howe, "Toward Women's Studies in the Eighties: Pt. 1," *Women's Studies Newsletter* 8, no. 4 (Fall 1979): 2.

78. Bazin (n. 37 above); and Carolyn C. Lougee, "Women, History and the Humanities: An Argument in Favor of the General Studies Curriculum," *Women's Studies Quarterly* 9, no. 1 (Spring 1980): 4–7.

79. Perhaps feminist educators could press for faculty development programs to accompany general education revision. See Elizabeth Ness and Kathryn H. Brooks, *Women's Studies as a Catalyst for Faculty Development*, Women's Studies Monograph Series (Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Education, 1980); and Boxer (n. 28 above), p. 22.

80. Florence Howe foresees a century of research ("Introduction: The First Decade of Women's Studies," *Harvard Educational Review* 49, no. 4 [November 1979]: 413–21).

81. The expression "add-women-and-stir method" was used by Charlotte Bunch in a panel, "Visions and Revisions: Women and the Power to Change" (NWSA Convention, Lawrence, Kansas, June 1979); excerpts were published in *Women's Studies Newsletter* 7, no. 3 (Summer 1979): 20–21. Bari Watkins summarizes this process of discovery in "Feminism: A Last Chance for the Humanities," in *Theories of Women's Studies*, ed. Gloria Bowles and Renate Duelli-Klein (Berkeley: Women's Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 1980), pp. 41–47.

scholarship, the construction of general theories. Feminist thinkers are now asking a question with far-reaching implications for the future: "Is women's studies a discipline?"[82] Although raised early in the movement, it was pursued little until recently.[83] While the relative lack of theorizing about women's studies may be due to a certain reluctance to engage in what is considered a traditionally male province, it may also reflect the widespread use of the ill-defined term "interdisciplinary" to describe a practice that has been for the most part multidisciplinary and interdepartmental.[84] Given also the history of women's studies; its origins in the women's movement; its dependence on faculty with marginal status in the academy; and its practical, opportunistic, and immensely successful method of growth, essential abstract questions have understandably received sustained attention only recently.

Although practice has taken precedence over theory, even those content to define women's studies as "what women's studies' students do" have, with Devra Lee Davis, called for a new perspective from which to develop questions about the "woman in the moon." Women's studies needed a new "unifying framework [to] give it functional integrity within the academy."[85] A relatively simple answer, which received little attention, was Kenneth Boulding's suggestion that women's studies constitutes the beginnings of a new science of "dimorphics," which in a hundred years might be able to explain the implications of the human gender system.[86] This seems, however, a way of institutionalizing gender differences that feminists hope to overcome.

Others, beginning with Davis, found considerable powers of explanation in Thomas Kuhn's theory of scientific revolutions.[87] Kuhn not

82. Catharine R. Stimpson, "Women's Studies: An Overview," *University of Michigan Papers in Women's Studies* (May 1978), pp. 14–26.

83. See Susan S. Sherwin, "Women's Studies as a Scholarly Discipline: Some Questions for Discussion," in Siporin, ed. (n. 13 above), pp. 114–16. Mollie Schwartz Rosenhan called for recognition of women's studies as a new discipline in "The Quiet Revolution" Xeroxed (Stanford, Calif.: Center for Research on Women, 1978).

84. Gloria Bowles and Renate Duelli-Klein, "Introduction: Creating Women's Studies Theory," in Bowles and Duelli-Klein, eds., pp. i–iv. On feminist reluctance to deal in theories, see also Charlotte Bunch, "Not by Degrees," *Quest: A Feminist Quarterly* 5, no. 1 (Summer 1979): 7–18.

85. Devra Lee Davis, "The Woman in the Moon: Prolegomenon for Women's Studies," in Siporin, ed., pp. 17–28.

86. Kenneth Boulding, "The Social Institutions of Occupational Segregation: Comment 1," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 1, no. 3, pt. 2 (Spring 1976): 75–77. Sheila Tobias sees a redefinition of women's studies as dimorphics as a means of attaining academic legitimacy at the possible cost of separation from the women's movement ("Women's Studies: Its Origins, Organization, and Prospects" [n. 19 above], p. 93). Hanna Papanek considers dimorphics useful as a "gender-blind" term to describe a type of research on women but inadequate to describe the whole. See her comments in "Discussion Forum: Future Direction of Women's Studies" (n. 11 above), pp. 18–20.

87. Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970). Analysts using the Kuhnian model include Sandra Coyner, "Wom-

only presents a model for fundamental change over time that applies even to the allegedly "objective" disciplines of the "hard" sciences, he also describes a process that at several points seems familiar to feminists challenging ideas in the humanities and social sciences. Whenever women seek to apply theories of human behavior based on men's lives to their own experience, they confront what Kuhn terms the "anomalies" that then lead to the challenge to and ultimately the reversal of "paradigms" in "normal science." The fullest feminist analysis of Kuhn, which includes an excellent discussion of the meaning and uses of the concept "discipline," is Sandra Coyner's provocative essay "Women's Studies as an Academic Discipline: Why and How to Do It." Stressing the disadvantages of interdisciplinarity—the denial of autonomy and recognition, the difficulty of transcending disciplinary thinking—Coyner advises women's studies practitioners to abandon the energy-draining and still overwhelmingly unsuccessful effort to transform the established disciplines. Instead they should continue developing the new community of feminist scholars who will eventually discover new paradigms and found a new normative science.

Viewing women's studies in the Kuhnian perspective, Coyner brings a new clarity to the massive resistance against which feminist scholars struggle. Overcoming the sexism of men and institutions is less fundamental a problem than is accomplishing a complete scientific revolution in each discipline women's studies touches. But "scientific revolutions are not simple matters of accumulating or improving the quality of explanation," she points out.[88] They require the passing of a generation. Rather than waste time and effort in battle, feminist scholars should break free and pronounce women's studies a discipline. The new staffing patterns Coyner proposes would perhaps be the most difficult part of her plan to realize; according to this scheme, one faculty member might teach "Women in American History," "Psychology of Women," and "The Family" as well as a women's studies survey or seminar. For Coyner the problem of finding such qualified persons would be solved by future generations of scholar-teachers with Ph.D.s in women's studies based on multidisciplinary graduate training. The appropriate administrative structure for such a program is, of course, a department.

The pole opposite Coyner in this debate over ideal structures is grounded in the feminist philosophy that rejects disciplinarity itself as

en's Studies as an Academic Discipline: Why and How to Do It," and Renate Duelli-Klein, "How to Do What We Want to Do: Thoughts about Feminist Methodology," in Bowles and Duelli-Klein, eds., pp. 18–40, 48–64. See also Devra Lee Davis, "Woman in the Moon," in Siporin, ed. (n. 13 above), pp. 17–28; Ginny Foster, "Women as Liberators," in Hoffman et al., eds. (n. 13 above), pp. 6–35; Ann Fitzgerald, "Teaching Interdisciplinary Women's Studies," *Great Lakes Colleges Association Faculty Newsletter* (March 1978), pp. 2–3; Rosenhan, "Quiet Revolution."

88. Coyner, pp. 18–40.

fragmentation of social experience, a male mode of analysis that cannot describe the whole of female—or human—existence. By stressing the indivisible nature of knowledge, women's studies could become a force for liberation from a dehumanizing overspecialization. Co-optation of women into the dominant culture might foreclose humanity's "last chance for radical change leading to survival," says Ginny Foster, who sees women's studies as a means through which women, the majority of the population, might derail a male-driven train to doom.[89] Many analysts have stressed the salutary function of creating totalities from the insights of several disciplines, usually using the term "interdisciplinary" in the sense of "multidisciplinary."[90]

In the first issue of *Signs*, the editors suggested several possible patterns for the new interdisciplinary scholarship: "One person, skilled in several disciplines, explores one subject; several persons, each skilled in one discipline, explore one subject together; or a group, delegates of several disciplines, publish in more or less random conjunction with each other in a single journal."[91] That the interdisciplinary promise proved difficult to fulfill was admitted several years later by Catharine Stimpson. Beyond the "fallacy of misplaced originality," she had encountered unexpected resistance, even within women's studies, to moving outside one field of expertise. She hoped to see women's studies produce "translators," persons equipped to "interpret the languages of one discipline to persons in another."[92]

Taking a middle position, Christine Garside Allen, a scholar trained in philosophy and religious studies, has argued that women's studies should combine introductory and advanced-level "interdisciplinary" courses (for which she suggests "conceptual history" as a method) with intermediate course work in the disciplines.[93] Allen's colleague in English and fine arts, Greta Hoffman Nemiroff, has described their experiences in building and teaching a thematically based introductory course that moves beyond the disciplines. In a very interesting treatment of the meaning and implications of interdisciplinarity, Nemiroff analyzes the difficulties and the value of transdisciplinary work. Because women's

89. Foster.

90. See, e.g., Christine Garside Allen, "Conceptual History as a Methodology for Women's Studies," *McGill Journal of Education* 10 (Spring 1975): 49–58; Annette K. Baxter, "Women's Studies and American Studies: The Uses of the Interdisciplinary," *American Quarterly* 26, no. 4 (October 1974): 433–39; Fitzgerald; Tobias, "Women's Studies: Its Origins, Organization, and Prospects"; Joanna S. Zangrando, "Women's Studies in the U.S.: Approaching Reality," *American Studies International* 14, no. 1 (August 1975): 15–36.

91. Catharine R. Stimpson, Joan N. Burstyn, Donna C. Stanton, and Sandra M. Whisler, "Editorial," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 1, no. 1 (Autumn 1975): v–viii, esp. v.

92. Stimpson, "Women's Studies: An Overview"; also "The Making of *Signs*," *Radical Teacher* 6 (December 1977): 23–25.

93. Allen, p. 57.

studies challenges the discipline-based categories in which the structure and economy of most universities are grounded, it cannot be easily assimilated within the academy. Despite the disadvantages and even dangers to its faculty, women's studies also offers advantages to all involved: a new inventiveness, an impetus toward fruitful collaboration, a "working model of critical thought." Although present categories of knowledge may limit women's studies in attaining "full 'disciplinehood' within its own interdisciplinarity," practitioners can advance its development by systematic efforts to examine and expand its "interface" with other disciplines.[94]

Dissatisfaction with the limits imposed by the disciplines has led others to speculate on how women's studies might transcend traditional divisions of knowledge. The change might come slowly, through the discovery of questions unanswerable by disciplinary thinking, as Diana Grossman Kahn suggested in her treatment of a hypothetical new science of "grockology." Or after a decade of small changes, the near future might bring the breakdown of currently accepted categories, a possibility foreseen by scientist Anne Fausto-Sterling, whose own interests bridge the biological aspects of development and semiotics. Florence Howe calls for women's studies to concentrate on "breaking the disciplines" so that they release their hold on women and women's studies. According to Howe, the history of the disciplines—from their origins in religious studies through the secularization and professionalization of the nineteenth century—has led to a fragmented contemporary academy that is antithetical to women's studies' holistic view and problem-solving intention. These essential characteristics of the new scholarship, along with a historical perspective, a critical approach, and an empirical practice, might pave the way to the "radical reinvention" of research, teaching, and learning which will characterize the "woman-centered university."[95]

If interdisciplinarity implies transdisciplinarity in a transformed university, what does it mean for the contemporary practice of women's studies? Gloria Bowles has said that "perhaps one day the Renaissance man will be replaced by the interdisciplinary woman," but she admits that this person does not yet exist. Meanwhile, she agrees with Catharine Stimpson that women's studies scholarship "at its best is an act of translation." Although Bowles has pioneered a course on "theories of women's studies," she cautions against the potential danger of what Mary Daly calls "methodolatry." Instead of artificially constructing a new system of thought, perhaps women's studies practitioners should find their questions in the women's movement and derive methods appropriate to women's survival needs.[96]

94. Greta Hoffman Nemiroff, "Rationale for an Interdisciplinary Approach to Women's Studies," *Canadian Women's Studies* 1, no. 1 (Fall 1978): 60–68.

95. Diana Grossman Kahn, "Interdisciplinary Studies and Women's Studies: Questioning Answers and Creating Questions," in *Structure of Knowledge*, pp. 20–24; Anne Fausto-Sterling, "Women's Studies and Science," *Women's Studies Newsletter* 8, no. 1 (Winter 1980): 4–7; Florence Howe, "Breaking the Disciplines," in *Structure of Knowledge*, pp. 1–10; and Adrienne Rich, "Toward a Woman-centered University," in Howe, ed., *Women and the Power to Change* (n. 31 above), pp. 30–31.

It is precisely this feminist effort to improve women's lives that Renate Duelli-Klein, coeditor with Bowles of the first volume of *Theories of Women's Studies*, considers central to development of women's studies' methodology. The way to avoid sexist methods such as "context stripping"[97] is to ground theory in "feminist action research." Researchers must abandon the pretext of "value-free objectivity" for a "conscious subjectivity" more appropriate to studies explicitly intended to be for as well as about women.[98]

Duelli-Klein's analysis of feminist methodology draws on Marcia Westkott's analysis of how sexist content, method, and purposes affect representations of women in the social sciences. Westkott suggests alternative ways of thinking about social reality that link rather than separate subject and object, forming what she terms an "intersubjectivity" that is expressed in a dialectical relationship of subject and object. Feminist thought characteristically replaces dichotomous with dialectical modes of analyzing self and other, person and society, consciousness and activity, past and future, knowledge and practice. It is "open, contingent and humanly compelling" in contrast to that which is "closed, categorical and human controlling." It also fortifies abstract understanding with active commitment to improve the condition of women.[99] At this stage, Westkott finds, feminist criticisms of content, method, and purpose are "strands" just beginning to emerge; they do not add up to a new discipline. But since the social creation of gender is a basic assumption of women's studies, Westkott's analysis offers more than just a criticism of established social science: it becomes a solid building block for the building of women's studies theory.

Structures

Definitions of women's studies imply relationships to structures. In practice interdisciplinarity within the academic program has led to the

96. Gloria Bowles, "Is Women's Studies an Academic Discipline?" in Bowles and Duelli-Klein, eds., pp. 1–11.

97. See Parlee (n. 2 above).

98. Duelli-Klein provides an example based on a project undertaken by sociologists in Germany who worked with battered women toward analysis of their collective experience.

99. Marcia Westkott, "Feminist Criticism of the Social Sciences," *Harvard Educational Review* 49, no. 4 (November 1979): 422–30.

formation of networks and committees staffed and supported by several disciplines, departments, divisions, or colleges. This is a structure appropriate to the aim of infiltrating the disciplines, professional schools, and other academic units. Since the committee coordinating women's studies usually has limited responsibilities for personnel and budget decisions (which are controlled by departments), it can often include staff, students, and even community women, whose presence highlights and helps to implement the feminist assumption that women's studies is for all women. From the beginning, planners feared that departmental status for women's studies might narrow its focus and limit its impact by reproducing the male model of fragmented knowledge and bureaucratized isolation; it could create a feminist ghetto far from the arena of the women's movement and threaten the implementation of feminist principles.[100]

Given the choice between establishing a separate department that could, like many black studies programs, be forgotten or perhaps eliminated in periods of retrenchment or of creating a decentralized program as a base from which to reach out, most academic feminists might have chosen the latter. The Women's Studies Planners at the University of Pennsylvania recommended against a departmental structure. At San Francisco State, the women's studies governance board opted "to *not* work towards a separate 'Women's Studies' department since our major purpose is the recognition of women's important 'place' at every level in all disciplines rather than its 'special character.' "[101] One study showed that students, who favored the departmentalization of black studies and wanted courses in women's studies, did not favor a department of women's studies.[102] In many cases, however, no deliberate choice was made. Women's studies developed along the lines of least resistance: courses here and there, according to faculty interest and administrative openness; committees composed of whoever was interested and able to participate.

Catharine Stimpson and Florence Howe, from their perspectives as editors of *Signs* and *Women's Studies Newsletter*, respectively, both observed that the opposite sides of segregation and isolation were independence and autonomy. Acknowledging the diversity of circumstances and—perhaps in light of the internal conflicts of 1973—the dangers of establishing a single model for women's studies, Stimpson declared that "each program must work out its destiny . . . that women's studies should be seen as a multiplicity of intersecting activities."[103] Howe, strongly influenced by her experience in the "free-university" movement of the 1960s and the apparent decline of black studies during the 1970s, tended to stress the pitfalls of separation or what she called "stuffing women in a corner." Fearing that "women and minority groups [would] rest content with their piece of turf rather than turn their energetic movements into strategies for changing the university as a whole," she stressed the advantages of programs maintained through nondepartmental channels.[104]

By the spring of 1974 when the *Women's Studies Newsletter* raised a series of questions about the viability of various structures, the nondepartmental pattern was already established. The following year, while noting the network structure's disadvantages to (especially untenured) faculty in allowing joint appointments and divided responsibilities, Howe still felt that the departmental alternative would render women's studies more vulnerable to excision. In her national survey, she found the fifteen "mature" programs she visited "clear about their strategic mission: not to build an empire in one small corner of the campus, but to change the curriculum throughout."[105]

Advocacy of administrative independence in the early years was rare. Although Sheila Tobias felt that departments might be able to put up a stronger fight for resources than programs would, only San Diego State and SUNY/Buffalo developed rationales that geared separation to essential feminist goals.[106] Both groups considered structure more significant than content and emphasized the need for autonomy. At San Diego State, the original women's studies program was designed as one unit in a proposed ten-part women's center that would include components for research, publication, child care, storefront operations, cultural activities, recruitment and tutorials, community outreach, campus women's liberation, and center staff operations.[107] A coordinating committee representing all components and the community would govern

100. E.g., Gerda Lerner felt that women's studies "implicitly challenges the basic assumptions underlying all of social science, all of our culture—that man is the measure. Such an all-encompassing challenge cannot be approached by a narrow disciplinary focus" ("On the Teaching and Organization of Feminist Studies," in Siporin, ed., pp. 34–37, esp. p. 34). Nancy M. Porter describes how a "shadow department" at Portland State University maintained its commitment to women's studies as action not subject in "A Nuts and Bolts View of Women's Studies," in Hoffman et al., eds., pp. 167–77.

101. Quoted by Howe and Ahlum, "Women's Studies and Social Change," in Rossi and Calderwood, eds. (n. 4 above), p. 420.

102. Michele H. Herman and William E. Sedlacek, "Student Perceptions of the Need for a Women's Studies Program," *College Student Journal* 7, no. 3 (September–October 1973): 3–6.

103. Stimpson, "The New Feminism and Women's Studies" (n. 19 above).

104. Florence Howe, "Structure and Staffing of Programs," *Women's Studies Newsletter* 3, no. 2 (Spring 1975): 1–2, and "Introduction," in Howe, ed., *Women and the Power to Change* (n. 31 above), pp. 1–14, esp. p. 9.

105. See also "Editorial," *Women's Studies Newsletter* 2, no. 2 (Spring 1974): 2; "Structure and Staffing of Programs," p. 2; and *Seven Years Later* (n. 35 above), p. 21.

106. Tobias, "Teaching Women's Studies" (n. 21 above), p. 263.

107. Salper, "Women's Studies" (n. 28 above).

the center collectively, fulfilling the founders' belief that "the actual curriculum of the university is less important than the structure of the education itself. . . . What you learn in school is how to fit into the structure of domination and power hierarchy which is the basis of all institutions of class society. . . . Women's studies, based on collective structure, exists in opposition to the structure of the university."[108] Within the college where it was established, the women's studies program was responsible directly to the dean and, until three members achieved tenure, subject to the supervision of a committee of tenured faculty. Although the program underwent a complete change in faculty in 1974, it retained its original autonomy within the college and was recognized as a full-fledged department.[109]

Autonomy at SUNY/Buffalo meant establishing a separate college within the university system set up in the 1960s to allow students to develop experimental and innovative programs. Although its faculty positions and degree-granting power were located in American studies, the Women's Studies College offered some courses exclusively for credit in women's studies, while others were cross-listed with a variety of departments. Despite a major controversy with the administration during a rechartering process in 1974 and 1975, the college continues committed above all to "organizational struggle," which its separate structure facilitates. As a "center of women's lives," it is apparently less concerned about "ghettoization" than about its ability to maintain collective governance and educational methods "which develop in our students and instructors the capabilities and assertiveness necessary to accept the active responsibility for their own educations."[110]

Given the diversity of existing academic units, the forms of women's studies may be infinite. Noteworthy uncommon types include the Department of Ethnic Studies and Women's Studies at California State University, Chico, and the consortia for women's studies organized by the Five Colleges in Western Massachusetts, the Great Lakes Colleges Association, and the Big Ten.[111] One of the most perceptive statements

108. Women's Studies Board, San Diego State College (n. 28 above), p. 8.

109. See Boxer (n. 28 above). The department now has three tenured as well as three tenure-track faculty and is no longer subject to an external advisory committee.

110. "Women's Studies College Charter," SUNY/Buffalo (n. 49 above). At present the collegiate system is being phased out. The Buffalo program is moving to combine its American studies and women's studies resources into one B.A. program which maintains as many as possible of the innovative and structural aspects of the Women's Studies College.

111. See Gayle Kimball, "From the California State University, Chico," *Women's Studies Newsletter* 3, nos. 3–4 (Summer/Fall 1975): 23; Catharine E. Portugues, "From the University of Massachusetts, Amherst," ibid., pp. 25–26; Beth Reed, "The GLCA Women's Studies Program: A Consortial Approach," ibid., 6, no. 1 (Winter 1978): 17–19; Gayle Graham Yates, "Big Ten Forms Women's Studies Permanent Consortium," ibid., 7, no. 1 (Winter 1979): 31.

on the question of structure came from the director of a women's studies department, Juanita Williams of the University of South Florida:

> The establishment of a separate program, as contrasted to the offering of courses about women in existing traditional departments . . . is and probably will continue to be an important administrative and fateful issue, one that will not be resolved soon, and perhaps never. The reason for this, as I see it, is that women's studies, more than any other part of the curriculum at the present time, are emerging in idiosyncratic ways on campuses; the forms that their establishment take are a function of the beliefs, energies, and personalities of the women promoting them, and of the character of the institution and the supporting community.[112]

Williams provides an excellent summary of the evident advantages of separation, which she feels outweigh the potential dangers of isolation: essentially a central structure provides identity, generates research, exercises relative autonomy in selection of faculty and in curriculum development, and indicates a substantial institutional commitment. Noting the many demands on women's studies faculty to sit on university committees, to present guest lectures, and to participate in public relations activities, Williams finds no evidence of insularity. On the contrary, she suggests that "a little occasional isolation would be welcome at times."[113]

Reports from the field since the mid-1970s suggest that the commitment to structural innovation declined as the early ties to community women's liberation weakened and as the practitioners of women's studies on campus began to seek the security of stable course offerings for students, tenure-track appointments for faculty, and continuing and adequate funding for programs. Research revealing both the sexism in the content, methods, and fundamental assumptions of established disciplines and the potential of women's studies for creating a renaissance in the liberal arts seems to have encouraged an ethos that emphasizes obtaining and maintaining resources for the long haul. Programs without a departmental base find this particularly hard. They depend on the "charity of departments," which they routinely have to convince to offer the courses they need. They lack the ability to hire their own faculty; those they borrow from departments often labor under double responsibilities and fear adverse tenure or promotion decisions specifically because of their work in women's studies.[114] One case of a negative

112. Juanita H. Williams, "Administering a Women's Studies Program," *Women's Studies Newsletter* 2, no. 3 (Summer 1974): 5, 11–12, esp. 11.

113. Ibid., p. 12.

114. See comments by Sybil Weir and Dana V. Hiller, *Women's Studies Newsletter* 3, no. 2 (Spring 1975): 4–6, and Greene (n. 43 above), pp. 4–5. Christa Van Daele, "Women's Studies: Time for a Grass Roots Revival," *Branching Out* 5, no. 1 (1978): 8–11, presents a

tenure decision allegedly made on this ground gained nationwide notoriety.[115]

Although it is too early to know what models will prove most enduring or effective, increasingly positive perceptions of the departmental model have appeared. Defusing earlier criticism, Dana Hiller points out that women are no more ghettoized in women's studies than in many other fields.[116] Coyner questions the validity of the home economics and black studies analogies, noting that interdisciplinary departments of biochemistry and linguistics have prospered.[117] Sarah Slavin Schramm asserts that "women's studies is worthy of separate status," which, given its collective orientation and community ties, need not produce "isolation and excision."[118]

Comparing the situation of the Women's Studies Program with that of the Department of Ethnic Studies at the University of California, Berkeley, Gloria Bowles clearly feels the latter has the stronger position. Recognizing explicitly a fact generally obscured in the debate over strategies and structures, she notes that "if Women's Studies had begun in 1969, we might be in the same position [as Ethnic Studies]."[119] For Madeleine Goodman, the key to success is the commitment made by a university when it establishes a separate unit with permanent faculty, space, and support, where women's studies can be the "central professional responsibility of a group of individuals hired and evaluated as professors of women's studies." From this secure base, they can also

gloomy picture of faculty marginality in two Ontario universities, as does R. J. Smith for the University of Michigan ("Women's Studies on Trial," *Michigan Daily* [April 13, 1980], p. 3). Howe discussed faculty problems in *Seven Years Later*, pp. 63–66. Emily Abel and Deborah Rosenfelt focus on the situation of part-time faculty in women's studies ("Women Part-Time Faculty," *Radical Teacher* 17 [November 1980]: 61).

115. On the case of Maija Blaubergs against the University of Georgia, see Lorenzo Middleton, "Academic Freedom vs. Affirmative Action: Georgia Professor Jailed in Tenure Dispute," *Chronicle of Higher Education* (September 2, 1980), p. 1.

116. Dana V. Hiller, "Women's Studies Emerging," *Journal of National Association for Women Deans and Counselors* 41, no. 1 (Fall 1977): 3–6.

117. "The problem is not just separation but continuing racism and sexism" (Coyner, p. 38). Greta Hoffman Nemiroff, however, attributes the survival of biochemistry and other science and computer-based interdisciplinary fields to infusions of money from government and industry (p. 65).

118. Schramm (n. 21 above), pp. 351–55. This analysis appeared earlier as "Women's Studies: Its Focus, Idea, Power and Promise," *Social Science Journal* 14, no. 2 (April 1977): 5–18.

119. Gloria Bowles, interviewed by Deborah Rosenfelt, "Ethnic Studies and Women's Studies at UC/Berkeley: A Collective Interview," *Radical Teacher* 14 (December 1979): 12–18. The Ethnic Studies Department had a budget of over a $1 million and fourteen ladder positions, compared with $30,000 and no regular faculty in women's studies. The autonomous programs at San Diego State, South Florida, and SUNY/Buffalo all date from the early 1970s.

reach out in many directions. Goodman describes many campus and community activities that demonstrate that the program at the University of Hawaii, though separate, "has hardly been a ghetto."[120]

In the economically troubled early 1980s, however, the opportunity to choose "either/or," department or network, may be unlikely. Some universities indeed still provide no resources beyond departmentally based courses and urge faculty "to develop devices to maintain and nurture communication with each other" on their own time.[121] Perhaps the best option will be evolution into "both/and," that is, a core of faculty devoted only to women's studies, perhaps persons trained in more than one discipline to become the "interdisciplinary women," working with interested teachers in whatever places they may dwell.[122] While it appears that by 1980 a network model had become the most common form of women's studies program, at the present time a data base adequate for assessment over time remains unavailable. In any case, clearly the organization must fit the university's existing structure and ambience.[123]

Conclusion

The greatest promise of women's studies and its most enduring problem are inextricably linked. The "exhilaration beyond exhaustion"[124] that moves women's studies flows out of the combination of personal and professional interests it allows and demands. The integration of scholarship and politics provides academic feminism with an endless supply of questions to research, courses to teach, and missions to accomplish. It affects every major issue considered here: the adaptation of feminist principles to the classroom, the conflict between political and academic aims, the attempt to transform academic structures as well as curricula, the interaction of campus and community feminism, the struggles against racism and homophobia inside and outside of women's

120. Madeleine J. Goodman, "Women's Studies: The Case for a Departmental Model," *Women's Studies Newsletter* 8, no. 4 (Fall/Winter 1980): 7–8.

121. Barrie Thorne, "Closeup: Michigan State University," *Women's Studies Newsletter* 4, no. 2 (Spring 1976): 8.

122. Some programs have developed majors which use a "core plus" model; faculty appointment may or may not follow the same plan. See, e.g., Boneparth (n. 40 above), p. 25; Hester Eisenstein, "Women's Studies at Barnard College: Alive and Well and Living in New York," *Women's Studies Newsletter* 6, no. 3 (Summer 1978): 4; Elaine Hedges, "Women's Studies at a State College," ibid., 2, no. 4 (Fall/Winter 1975): 5; Yates, "Women's Studies in its Second Phase" (n. 33 above), p. 5.

123. Howe and Lauter (n. 12 above), pp. iv, 4. Judith Gappa and J. Nicholls Eastmond describe a carefully contrived and successful campaign to fit women's studies into a most unlikely structure (n. 37 above).

124. This phrase is borrowed from Minnich (n. 74 above), p. 5.

studies, the difficulties of interdisciplinarity in a discipline-based world, the ambivalence of both autonomous and multidepartmental structures, the search for a new unifying framework and appropriate methodology.

These are all facets of the symbiotic relationship between women's studies and women's liberation, a connection that provides strength to both parts but also allows for a potentially counterproductive confusion. This is evident in the difficulties experienced by the NWSA. Committed to the feminist goal of including all oppressed and underrepresented women, it has built a structure that threatens to produce "an elite of officially-recognized caucuses."[125] Although it thereby strives to deal continuously and substantially with the effects of centuries of economic discrimination and social violence against women of color and lesbians, it nevertheless remains vulnerable to charges of racism and homophobia and to countercharges that communication is inhibited and fragmentation encouraged by pressure to pass as a "true feminist."[126] As a result, delegates at national conventions have felt obliged to promise action that the association's meager resources may not be able to sustain.[127] If inflated expectations and narrow politics combine to prevent open presentation of views deemed unacceptable, and controversy is submerged under waves of consensus, the NWSA may become representative of only a part of the women's studies constituency. The survival of the organization, the profession, and the unfulfilled mission itself requires that women's studies practitioners recognize the complexities of the relationship between education and social change, understand the limitations of their present power, and, while continuing to struggle with difficult issues of current concern, address new questions as well. The building of a discipline—and a better world—takes place through the constructive resolution of disparate ideas, interests, and aims.

While multipurpose gatherings such as the annual NWSA conventions serve many needs, the vast majority of participants who completed the evaluation questionnaire in 1979 rated networking and renewing acquaintances more important concerns than curriculum development or administrative and employment needs, which, however, more

125. Nanette Bruckner, "Dialectics or Diversity" (position paper prepared for the NWSA Coordinating Council to present to the membership, Storrs, Connecticut, Spring 1981). For a more positive view, see Deborah S. Rosenfelt, "A Time for Confrontation," *Women's Studies Quarterly* 9, no. 3 (Fall 1981): 10–12.

126. Davis and Frech (n. 48 above), pp. 33–35. On fragmentation, see also reports on the conferences in Kansas and Indiana in the *Women's Studies Newsletter* 7, no. 3 (Summer 1979): 5–9, and ibid., 8, no. 3 (Summer 1980): 3–9; and the comments of Alice Chai and Helen Stewart as reported in *off our backs* 11, no. 7 (July 1981): 20–21.

127. On the conflict between feminist goals and "fiscal responsibility," see Barbara Hillyer Davis's report on the finance committee (*Women's Studies Newsletter* 7, no. 3 [Summer 1979]: 25) and Alice Henry's report on the 1981 assembly (*off our backs* 11, no. 7 [July 1981]: 2–6).

than half considered very important.[128] Perhaps other ways to foster contemplation and communication need to be developed: shorter, simpler conferences on single issues such as integrating theory and practice in the classroom; moving students beyond the favored courses in health, psychology, and sexuality to the less popular courses on economic and political systems; finding or creating job markets for graduates; opening general education to women's studies; building a major or graduate program; implementing feminism in hiring practices; developing means to produce more women's studies teachers; pioneering cross-disciplinary Ph.D. programs; and surviving "Reaganomics" and New Right attacks on academic freedom. Published proceedings from such meetings would fulfill needs now barely touched for the most part by brief articles and notes of the type surveyed in this essay. Perhaps it is also time for *Female Studies: Series Two,* for practitioners of the second decade to reach out and share, to deliberate over strategies and contend about tactics, but also to celebrate achievements and join hands for the long struggle to reform education and society in the image and interest of us all.

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128. Patricia A. Frech and Barbara Hillyer Davis, "The NWSA Constituency: Evaluation of 1979 Conference Participation," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 5, no. 1 (Spring 1980): 68–70.

and social reproduction of male unity and group consciousness. She also argues that without reproductive autonomy, women have rarely been independent culture makers.

Vickers could perhaps elaborate on what constitutes a feminist approach to nationalism. For example, she suggests that the state, as an agent in maintaining national identity, cohesion and continuity, could perhaps supercede the more traditional patriarchal technique of social organization. This is intriguing, and is clearly an important way of proceeding to a feminist analysis of the nation-state. Is the nation-state a new technology of patriarchal control, or are these two control systems in competition and conflict? I would also like to see Vickers tackle the issue of women's relationship tomovements for national liberation – is nationalism one of patriarchy's values, and can we presume that territoriality and a defensive pronatalism are alien to female consciousness? I think we can. I think it is a question of international feminism versus chauvinistic patriarchies.

Clearly, there are difficulte political choices facing women as we emerge in the public realm, and it is likely that female emancipation and national liberation will continue to clash in the area relating to reproduction and the family. Both Beaudry and Vickers have made sophisticated and valuable contributions to, and analyses of, feminist politics in Canada.

NOTES

1. Solidarity Block, 'Farabundo Marti,' 'Mensaje de la Mujer Salvadorens,' n.n, n.d., unpaginated.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Perdita Huston, *Third World Women Speak Out* (New York: Praeger 1979) 77
5. Kay Boals and Judith Stiehm, 'The Women of Liberated Algeria,' *The Centre Magazine*, 7.3 (May-June 1974) 74-76; p.74
6. Mary O'Brien, *The Politics of Reproduction* (Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul 1981) 67
7. Rayna Rapp, 'Family and Class in Comtemporary America: Notes Toward an Understanding of Ideology,' *University of Michigan Papers in Women's Studies. Specal Issue* (May 1978) 85-110

GAETANE PAYEUR

FORTHCOMING IN "REACHING OUT: CANADIAN STUDIES, WOMEN STUDIES AND ADULT EDUCATION", PROCEEDINGS OF THE 1983 CONFERENCE OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR CANADIAN STUDIES, CANADIAN ISSUES, VOL. 6, 1984.

Women's Studies: The Search for Identity

The development of Women's Studies nowadays marks a turning point in civilisation. The creation of an Association of Women's Studies in our country is surely the sign that woman here want to change their way of life, that they want to change the course of things. However, insofar as Women's Studies in the university represent a contradiction, do we agree with the way the institution presently exists? To be here to talk to 'Learned Societies' is enough to make us wonder if we are in the real world!

Indeed, feminists agree that somewhere along the way, the university and academic societies have, from the standpoint of women, deviated. I think feminist scholars do not want to be cut off from the rest of the world, from other women, I am sure that they want to be useful, that they want their teaching and learning to be useful. There is always something to be uncomfortable about, indeed, when some students' reaction about certain topics or about a discussion on methodology is: 'Oh! this is "academic",' meaning that this is not really useful, not really necessary for life, meaning that this has something to do only with the pleasure of intellectuals. In fact, I know that historically, the academic disciplines and academic societies have not been created only for intellectual debates, but on the contrary, to find solutions to urgent problems of society, of social change, of individual shortcomings. This was the case for education, medical studies, social science, psychology, and so forth.

For a long time, however, we, women, were not there. We were excluded from the organization, from knowledge. Scholars were regrouped into circles of men who were talking and writing about men, for men. They were doing what was relevant to men. In those circles, until now, men have been listening to one another.[1] If we women scholars are here today, it is precisely because we have decided to stop being 'excluded beings.' And I dare think that we meet among ourselves, it is not because we intend Women's Studies to serve only a small elite group of female academics.

The purpose of the present paper on Women's Studies in the age of women's search for identity is to clarify some of the basic roles of Women's Studies at the university. Where are we, after fifteen or twenty years of feminist thinking and research in Canada? What can we do now? How can we take advantage of our expertise and of the institutional structure to reach the majority of women who are searching for an identity? There are here many questions to be raised, and there are solutions that have to be found.

When I talked about my topic to a feminist friend who teaches sexology at a univeristy in Québec, she said: 'Well, helping women to find or to build their identity is in fact doing "patch work." Do we have to help women solve their problems and raise their consciousness? This work should be done by women's groups and militants. It is about time that we do serious work ...' In response I cited the different conclusion of Roberta Salper in an article on the theory and practice of Women's Studies. Here is what Salper says:

> A Women s Studies Program should be geared to meet the needs of the women themselves. If it takes three or six or nine academic credits to enable a woman to uncripple herself from years of negative, self-depreciating social conditioning, then those credits are worth it. If it takes nine credits more for the same woman to understand that a complex network of economic, social and political factors has created the circumstances for her conditioning process, then those credits are worth it, too.[2]

I said to my friend that without a doubt those credits *are* necessary to solve problems women – and men – are facing today. I also reminded her that, after all, Women's Studies are rooted in the women's movement. We were born of a political and social movement, outside the walls of the university,[3] and we have reason to think that the concerns of Women's Studies are not strictly academic, think that 'its legitimacy is dependent on the acceptance by the community at large as well as by the standards of the academy.'[4]

One can argue that Women's Studies have to be practical in the sense of having not only to stimulate creative conceptual faculties but also to facilitate the application of creative thought to circumstances in the real world, in our concrete women's lives.[5] Is this serious work? What is the goal of our criticism and of our decoding of patriarchal history? What is the purpose of our building a response to male-centered and male-biased curricula, if not to make a real contribution to the improvement of women's situation and status in society?

As Margrit Eichler wrote, the objective of Women's Studies is to contribute to abolishing the sexual double standard, and this is not less, she says, than 'a program for social revolution.'[6] Can it be done at the university? This is a real question. Some militants find it paradoxical that some women dare to call themselves feminist academics. Can they be more than liberal feminists? Can they be active feminists in an institution that has often been seen as reluctant to encourage social change? Can feminist academics build and maintain more than illusory links with the community and the movement?

Some militants are afraid not. They are afraid that we are too attached to our disciplines and to the making of a distinction between higher learning and lower learning. There is another real issue here. Feminists who are questioning our feminist pedagogy think that we should 'test the value of what we do, of what our students learn, with feminists outside academia.'[7] They are afraid that 'like intellectuals in general, women of knowledge are prone to overestimate the power of ideas to effect social change, and the power of the classroom experience to redirect people's lives.'[8] There is probably much truth in this, and it is also true that if it seems obvious in theory that education and revolution should be a mutual process, it is not so obvious in practice. What kind of education? What kind of Women's Studies? And if we want some organic relation between feminist professors and the ongoing militant movement, first, there is more than one sect in the movement, and second, what kind of relationship do we want to maintain with it?

Speaking for myself, I think that in spite of the fact that Women's Studies have (are) already a body of knowledge, in spite of the fact that some of us are 'experts,' knowing a lot of facts, knowing the literature and so on, I think we still know very little about ourselves. Therefore, those of us in Women's Studies, even at the university, have to make a re-reading of who we are and what we have to contribute to the search for women's identity. As Margrit Eichler put it so well, 'One of the important aspects of liberation movements is the social network they provide for a redefinition of self at the collective as well as the individual

level.[9] For me, it means that our teaching and learning process shold not be separated from the social movement if we are to assume some responsibility in the transformation of women's identity, and therefore in the emergence of a women's culture.

At this point, I should explain why I have come to see that it is necessary to remain alert and devoted to some kinds of interventions which do not escape the difficult need and process of talking, sharing, analysing and reformulating women's daily world and experience. It is indeed necessary to dig into this feeling of emptiness in one's own reality and identity which is, I think, the common experience of an oppressed group of human beings. The reason lies in my own experience, which is diversified.

I do not work very officially in a Women's Studies Program. My most official commitment in Women's Studies at the university has been to lead, for three years, a sociology course which has been attended by classes of more than 110 students. The topic of this course is the relations between men and women in an industrial society. Sometimes the students were even more numerous in the classroom because some young women students were asking me to let them bring their mothers to the class! Why not! In fact, very often the mothers felt more concerned with women's issues than their daughters, who are still sure in their dreams that they will never be like their mothers ...

My main commitment to women clientele is at the University du Québec à Hull where I teach in Adult Education. In my field, which is andragogy, my task is to train educators for adults. More than half of the participants are women, some of them working with women. I give a course on Human Development. I have also built a re-entry course for adult students who are coming back to the university. Ninety per cent of the students in my class are women. The official title of this non-credit course is 'Introduction to the Methodology of Intellectual Work.' It becomes rapidly obvious that the first real problem of these women is not a methodological one! The central problem is their fears of the institution, of their peers, of knowledge, of their own ideas, of their emotions, of their ability to learn. Fear of failing, of ratifying the actual feeling of being nobody, of having no potency, of not being able. These women have the feeling of not knowing exactly what they like, what they could prefer, what they want, where they are going, where they want to go and where they could go. Will the university corroborate the feelings of emptiness and fear of these women from nowhere? Or will the university help them to build self-confidence, help them to be in touch with their own power and to form an identity?

I also find the same profile of women at *Nouveau Départ*, a popular education program in Québec. The participants here are women who want to change their 'enrolled' life and want to redefine themselves. I have been a resource person in this program for three years. My course is on the problem and process of the autonomy of women. I have learned a lot from this work, which does not care so much about being 'academic,' and from my ongoing commitment in popular education. I have learned that real work with real women is something new in education, learned that Women's Studies have to build a new knowledge from the basic experiences of women in their daily settings. I have learned that Women's Studies cannot only be for the service of the community of academic women. Women's Studies at university have to have effects outside of the classroom and have to lead to social and political action.[10]

One has to remember that the women's movement itself was born of an identity crisis, mainly of middle-class and intellectual women who started to question their own assimilation into a men's world.[11] The women's movement, in conjunction with Women's Studies, will generate an answer to the questions of women's identity and power. Moreover, one has to see that the women's movement is itself an instrument of struggle in what is essentially a form of women's education. We have to come to see that, fundamentally, it is the social movements that educate people and change society. The women's movement educates women by transforming their consciousness, their values and their behaviours, by leading them to re-invent their identity and to search for alternative modes of society, of social relations, and of education. To summarize, I think that not only do we have to be practical in Women's Studies, and stay connected to the women's movement, but that we have no choice but to continue for the present to remain close to the personal problems of women and to analyse and validate women's experience.

Is all this 'thinkable,' possible, at the university, given the actual constraints on Women's Studies? Enough to mention problems of organization, of credibility, of research. The question of 'separation versus integration' is presently an urgent debate. According to a recent study, a majority of French-speaking women involved in Women's Studies in Québec do not wish special programs, fearing ghettoization[12] The danger is indeed that Women's Studies will be 'contained' in a limited number of courses, while the majority of the other courses will continue to ignore women altogether, or that a few women will be grafted onto a curriculum that is basically male. It seems essential that what is conceived of as 'education,' complete education for men and women, include the study of women throughout the curriculum. Concretely, however, depending

on the context where we work and the phase that we are in, the question remains: balancing, integrating, or transforming the curriculum? Integrating is in fact transforming, for it implies a broadening of course content, and a transformation of the principles of selection and organization of the content, by giving shape and visibility to women's lives, past and present, by allowing space for connections between women, by reflecting the experiences of both sexes and therefore, providing an accurate picture of social reality.

Then, what about Women's Studies' status and credibility? Is this kind of experience-reflection and experience-sharing 'academic' work? This is an issue. Some of us say yes.[13] If we want to survive within the university, to be respected, to have our autonomy, we will have, some argue, to make a discipline of Women's Studies. And some scholars, like my sexologist friend, add to these reasons the 'seriousness' of our work. Becoming a discipline, and even a department — even better than an interdisciplinary collection of disciplinary courses — will allow us to improve the quality of Women's Studies. Not only will we not then be seen as of a lesser importance, as peripheral to the main work and as possibly temporary, but also we will have fewer coordinating problems; moreover, it would address also our need for funds and for developing basic research. Sandra Coyner thinks that we might not even have the choice not to become a discipline, for if we do not evaluate out Women's Studies, she says, others will do it, and they will use their standards, not ours. According to this way of thinking, having links with the women's movement 'pushes us to downgrade basic research.'[14] There is a need here, I think, to re-define 'basic research.' Anyway, we feel here a certain uneasiness about the pressure to produce immediate concrete results, while giving less importance to long term research.

In relation to the argument over disciplines, we also hear that feminist scholars have been too hard on traditional disciplines and their methodologies; can we not take something from them? Do we have to reinvent the wheel?[15] And there is, of course, the fear of going too far in focussing on women's ordinary problems and experience. The question here is, can we substitute experience for theory? This is surely a question in the present development of Women's Studies, especially if we acknowledge that we are now faced with an explosion of knowledge in Women's Studies. How shall we use it? One might think here of a different and opposite danger, that of the 'ivory tower,' of social isolation. Will our findings help 'to approach present-day reality'?[16] Michelle Russell, in an article in *Quest*, is unsparing in her criticism: 'Will you put your findings in a form to be of use to a woman with five shildren who

works in a night shift in a bakery?'[17] Russell insists that the academic pathway has its perils. She asks, 'How will you refuse to let the academy separate the dead from the living, and then, yourselves, declare allegiance to life? As teachers, scholars, and students, how available will you make your knowledge to others as tools of their liberation?' And this militant woman who works in popular adult education makes clear that 'this is not a call for mindless activism, but rather, for engaged scholarship.'[18]

Because of such an engagement, some women scholars might lose their jobs, they might be pushed outside the university walls. There is room here for resentment to grow. What active women outside of formal Women's Studies tell us is that they need our expertise. They work with real people, they are confronted with the daily life experiences of women. Their work is one of knowledge-sharing where fresh thinking and quick studies are requested. They work through processes of interactions where they meet the women on their own ground, not on the teacher's terms. If the non-formal Women's Studies need us, we might need them too: precisely so that we do not forget that we have to work with, to learn with, to search with our participants. Indeed, how *shall* we use our findings in our teaching? The temptation to come back to a content-centered approach will become stronger: lectures to, reading about, observations of, etc. Do we want mainly to develop cognitive skills? I assume we want to do more than this.

How shall we proceed then? As a worker in adult education and in women's Studies, I think books well-remembered and abstract declarations of solidarity won't do. The aim is to teach in the real world of women, about their real world, where there is no split between theory and practice, no strangeness between objectivity and subjectivity. Our interventions, I think, should be participant-centered. I am myself convinced, after a certain number of years, that the most effective learning takes place through an active engagement of the participants with the materials and with other students. We have to break the pattern of an assumed inferiority and dependency on the teacher as a figure of authority. The teacher has to overcome the barriers of intellectual domination and trivialization that women students have often encountered in their past education.[19] It is the way to help concretely this long step for women participants toward autonomy and power.

With such an orientation, the classroom becomes a structured page in which teachers and students learn together to connect personal experience to the substance of books and to the larger issues and analyses that lie outside the classroom. This connection, particularly in the con-

text of developing mutual trust and respect for women, is a value in itself and a means of ensuring a learning that has a context. One has to go beyond the first lost feeling of the students who are looking for an authority. In fact, the leadership in class is a shared one. Briefly, in such a setting, women learn self-expression, cooperation, integration of affective and cognitive learning, and also, integration of theory and action. This does not exclude completely the lecture-discussion format which is more a means for information-gathering than for learning and education. Such an approach is precisely in correspondence with the goals of teaching Women's Studies, which are to build new attitudes in women, to reduce stereotypic beliefs, to enable perception of sex discrimination, and to put women in touch with themselves beyond social conditioning, so that they come to wish for a non-sexist society, and to wish to work for it.

In conclusion, it might be useful to add that remaining close to women's lives will also have advantages other than the one of responding to women's needs, rhythms and processes. It will also contribute to solving some of the problems mentioned above. It will protect us from the risk of splitting knowledge and action. Indeed, we have to come to discover through our teaching that as women, we have enough in common to act together. More than that, remaining close to the daily experience of women will help us first to keep in mind that there are multiple perceptions and many forms of knowledge, and second, to identify problems that are crucial. This might be more useful than being obsessed with what Mary Daly calls 'the mystique of methodology' or better, 'methodolatry.' Daly reminds us that 'under Patriarchy, Method has wiped out women's questions,'[20] and (I would add) has wiped out our connections with our own experience. What cognitive value has been given to our experience according to the dominant ideology?

Many articles have been written on the importance for Women's Studies of going beyond criticism of existing knowledge, of developing new modes of enquiry, of building new knowledge. How can we avoid 'artificial objectification,' to use Dorothy Smith's expression, and how can we locate ourselves as 'subjects' of studies and of social relations, as 'insiders' of the world? If 'scientificity' is seen as, to use Smith's comment, 'building a place outside history in which the observer of history can locate oneself,'[21] then I don't see the interest for women of having Women's Studies that are 'scientific.' It is about time that women, researcher or researched, see themselves as a part of the whole. As Smith says, 'We are all *inside* the whale.'[22] To share, to analyse and to 'problematize' what we have and live in common, is already a large program, and a real

one. We can only start with women's experience. As Dale Spender says, 'constructing knowledge about ourselves, with ourselves as the focal point, is a high priority in the quest to end women's oppression.'[23]

Indeed, the way to build women's self-confidence is to stop subscribing to our so-called 'inadequacy,' to stop feeling that we are nobody, to create our own space in the world of ideas and, at the same time, in the material and social world. Women's search for identity is the process of validation of our view of ourselves, it is the learning of self-esteem, it is the ending of being intimidated in our autonomous women's course of thought and action.

NOTES

1. Dorothy Smith, lecture on 'Education and Women's Exclusion from our Culture,' Toronto, O.I.S.E., 1977
2. Roberta Salper, 'Returning to Study,' *Women's Studies Newsletter*, W.E.A., 14-15, n.d.
3. Paige Cousineau, 'Changing Society with Women's Studies,' lecture presented to the International Conference on Research and Teaching Related to Women, Montreal, July 1982.
4. T. Rutenberg, 'Learning Women's Studies,' in G. Bowles and Renate Duelli-Klein, *Theories of Women's Studies*, (University of California at Berkeley 1980) 14
5. Ibid.
6. Margrit Eichler, *The Double Standard* (Longon 1980) 125
7. Berenice Fisher, 'Professing Feminism: Feminist Academics and the Women's Movement,' *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 7:1, 67
8. Ibid.
9. Eichler, 125
10. Florence Howe, ed., *Women and the Power to Change* (New York 1975) 76
11. Rosiska Darcy de Oliveira, 'De l'éducation des femmes,' in *Féminin Pluriel* 1, IDAC (Geneve, n.d.) 35
12. Reymonde Villemure, *La situation de l'enseignement sur la condition feminine dans les universites du Québec* (Secretariat d'Etat, Region du Québec, Feb. 1983) 108-11
13. Sandra Coyner, 'Women's Studies as an Academic Discipline: Why and How to do it,' in *Theories of Women's Studies*, 18-40

14. C.R. Stimpson, *University of Michigan Papers in Women's Studies*, (May 1978) 15-17

15. Michelle Russell, 'An Open Letter to the Academy,' in *Building Feminist Theory: Essays from Quest* (1980) 102

16. Ibid., 107

17. Ibid

18. Berenice Fisher, 'What is Feminist Pedagogy?', *Radical Teacher*, 18, 20-3

19. Gloria Bowles, 'Is Women's Studies an Academic discipline?' in *Theories of Women's Studies*, 1-12

20. Mary Daly, *Beyond God the Father* (Boston 1973) 11-12

21. Dorothy Smith, 'The Experienced World as Problematic: A Feminist Method,' Lorokin Lectures (1981) 48

22. Ibid.

23. Dale Spender, 'Learning to Create Our Own Knowledge,' *Convergence*, 13:1-2 (1980) 15

BARBARA ROBERTS

Costs and Strategies of Program Building, or, la folie furieuse

In May of 1982 at the University of Winnipeg, four and one-half Women's Studies courses were on the books: an interdisciplinary core course, and courses in History, Sociology and Psychology. By May of 1983, there were seven full year and four one-semester (half) courses listed in the calendar. Various Departments indicated willingness to add more. In addition, a forty-page brief for a Major in Women's Studies had also been produced, to be presented to the University Senate in the summer and to the provincial Universities Grants Commission in the fall of 1983.

All of this development took place under the auspices of an ad hoc group of feminist faculty and professional staff who had been responsible for administering, and often teaching in, the officially nonexistent Women's Studies program consisting of a few scattered courses. These women and men (whom I christened the Women's Studies Working Group) had done the initial groundwork that made possible the developmental leap of 1982-83, and if the Major is approved, it will be they who will be responsible for the transformation of the courses into a full scale Program with its own administrative apparatus, goals, and resources.

I became involved with the Group in June 1982. They wanted to hire me to teach two sections of the interdisciplinary core course, which is not attached to any department. I was eager to undertake the courses. However, the administration would only allow the Group two stipends for hiring – about $7000 in total. Of course that was unacceptable, so we set out to improve the offer. We explored several alternatives. I offered to give the University one-third time gratis, if they would pay me a two-thirds salary: I would teach the courses and carry out developmental and publicity work. No one admitted to opposing the idea in principle, but everyone agreed that there was no budgetary provision for the extra funds. No one was eager to spend his scarce resources, and understandably so.

After many weeks of negotiation, the newly appointed Vice President Academic made an offer which we accepted. Compared to what we had asked for, it was not a good offer. Compared to previous offers, it was excellent. I contracted to a) teach the two sections of the interdisciplinary core course on stipend ($7000 - odd); b) spearhead and coordinate an effort to expand offerings and develop Women's Studies into a coherent program and c)research and write a brief proposing a Major in Women's Studies, to be presented to the Universities Grants Commission. For the developmental work and the brief, an extra $5000 was dredged up from someone's desk drawer. The total payment was low (about $12,000), the amount of work involved was daunting, but nonetheless we were extremely pleased, for several reasons. First, the mundane: I believed that I could survive in that sum for a year, and would thus be able to devote all my time to the project (I couldn't and wasn't). Secondly, we recognised that when the VP Academic proposed and agreed to this contract, he was setting a precedent for programming in the Women's Studies area, that could be used later by us or by Women's Studies groups at other universities. Women's Studies was recognised as a legitimate area worthy of financial support. Of course we recognised that another sort of precedent had also been followed: paying women less than equally qualified men to do a job. Getting the labour of a fully qualified academic with excellent credentials at such a bargain-basement price was an excellent deal for the University.

We were also pleased to have the visible support of a high-level administrator; the association of him and several of his colleagues with the program gave us a certain legitimacy and prestige. It also gave us some power: overworked colleagues who were slow to respond to requests for information or cooperation, when we asked, were much more responsive when the request was signed by the Associate Dean of Curriculum. Finally, there was the political aspect of the situation. I felt that it was a poor move politically to agree to teach the courses for only a stipend contract. The additional contract was symbolically important, despite its financial inadequacy. I told the administration that I would undertake this task for one year only, and would never again teach Women's Studies at that insititution on stipend. The former suited them: they were only offering a one-year contract anyway, and as for the latter, there were plenty of graduate students around who could teach the core courses later if need be (or so it seemed).

I had mixed feelings, of course, but on balance I was pleased with the deal. I felt that this one year could make all the difference to the nascent program. If I could have it a push, get it properly rooted and recognised, I thought, it would be able to survive and flourish. The other Women's Studies faculty were already overcommitted, and were unlikely to have expertise, time and energy to carry out such a comprehensive developmental task. A core person was needed; here was something concrete I could do that might make all the difference. With a recognised program, I thought, the administration would have to provide adequate pay and eventually a long-term job for someone to teach in the program. In fact during the next year we were to have implied confirmation of that presumption. But the implication never became reality, and our hopes for expanded budgetary support at this point have been revealed as a delusion.

Over the academic year of 1982-83, the Working Group (which sometimes consisted of six to eight people but often only of me) carried out a staggering array of tasks. The following is a partial list.

1) We added three full year and three one-term courses, in History, Sociology and Psychology, as well as in Religious Studies, English, and Political Studies. Some of these represented additional course by those already teaching Women's Studies, others were proposed by faculty not previously involved, Other colleagues expressed interest in additional course development in subsequent years.

2) We wrote and circulated several memos to department heads, committee members and others, explaining the rationale for Women's Studies, the programs and courses offered at other institutions, and our ideas about the shape of the proposed program at the University of Winnipeg. Most of these memos were fairly extensively researched; some were done collectively.

3) We carried out a survey of Women's Studies content in existing non-Women's Studies courses. For example, some of the history courses contained sufficient content and focus to justify designating them as cross-credit to Women's Studies, when the Major was approved. We had several aims in carrying out this inventory. First, we wanted to increase our resources by utilising existing courses for cross-credit, when appropriate, and to determine which courses might be appropriate to cross-list by special arrangement, enrichment, or feminising. All this was strictly exploratory, for until there was a Major, there were no requirements to be met, nothing to cross-list courses *to*. Secondly, we wanted to remind the departments that they ought to be including information about women in their regular courses, and to find out the extent to which they had already done so. Thirdly, we hoped our inquiries would serve as a gentle push to increase the amount of information on women in the courses. Our initial requests for information produced only scattered responses; department heads are always busy, but many departments were short staffed and under acute pressure to maintain existing programs. The Dean of Curriculum sent out a letter over his signature, and the response improved. Many departments said they would like to offer at least one Women's Studies course but could not because of faculty shortage. The inventory was left unfinished: I did not have the time and energy to develop its potential. Nonetheless, it produced useful information for the brief.

4) We explored briefly mechanisms for assigning and removing cross-credit for departmental courses to Women's Studies requirements. A variation on transfer credit practices seemed promising, but in the absence of a Major, the need for this mechanism was not urgent and we left the issue in abeyance.

5) We designed and administered a survey of student interest in Women's Studies course and a Major. The survey was administered by a student group. There were some hitches: the survey was postponed due to pressing political developments (internal and external) and the response was not as large as we had hoped. Nonetheless it was a useful exercise, and produced valuable material for the brief. It also increased student awareness of the program. I expect that subsequent cooperation with the students' Women's Centre will be most fruitful.

6) We organised a consultation with women's groups in the off-campus community. We sent out letters of invitation to over 200 groups, ranging

from occupational and career support groups, to feminist organizations, to parents' and church groups, based on the YWCA Women's Resource Centre mailing list. The response was poor, for several reasons: we had no support staff so could not follow up or record RSVP's or institute any sort of registration procedure. Still, the women who came represented organizations with over 12,000 members – everyone from the Crafts Guild to CRIAW. The consultation was extremely fruitful, and the groups had many useful suggestions. My favourite was that every degree program at the University should include a compulsory Women's Studies course. I would urge that all Women's Studies programs, existing or proposed, initiate such consultations.

7) We taped two TV talk shows on Women's Studies, on a program hosted by one of the faculty who had proposed a new Women's Studies course. The shows were broadcast on the community cable channel, and retained for further use. We should have done more systematic media work. If I had time and energy, I would have appeared in any media willing to invite me, to talk about the need for and content of Women's Studies, the existing programs and so on. I would suggest joint appearances or sequential programs outlining the different credit and non-credit programs available at all the nearby insititutions. In fact I think a regularly scheduled program on Women's Studies and women's issues would be beneficial.

8) We had a display at the annual University Open House, with books, the survey-of-interest forms to be filled out, identitication games to play, and the two videotapes and several short films to show. We received a small sum from the administration to pay for some student help in setting up the display. Similar displays at secondary schools and so on would be useful recruiting devices; Women's Studies representatives should accompany University recruiters or go separately if necessary.

9) We were individually involved in various public events that gave the program visibility, although such was not the primary aim of the involvement. For example I co-facilitated a discussion after a showing of *Not A Love Story*. Women's Studies classes visited off campus lectures and films and cultural and political events, and identified themselves as a class. I did a number of media appearances discussing women's issues (such as violence against women, or pornography). Others attended conferences.

10) At the suggestion of the new University Librarian, we expanded the library holdings in Women's Studies, and applied for and received the services of a Special Projects Librarian on a part-time basis. Others on the library staff were very helpful: one administrator had arranged for Women's Studies to be given a library budget, and she facilitated all the pruchasing. Thus I was able to say in the brief that present and incoming holdings were adequate for the commencement of the program.

11) We solicited letters of support for the proposed Major. We included the request in our letter of invitation to the consultation, had it announced at the Women's Day celebration held by the provincial government in the Legislature (as the new President of the new provincial council set up to advise the government said, she had picketed the Legislature on many occasions and was delighted to be invited in), and so on. One of the Women's Studies students wrote to the province's Lieutenant Governor, and she responded with a letter of support. We could have and should have done more to get such letters, as a flood of demonstrable support will aid the case for the Major in the eyes of the Grants Commission.

While all these and many other activities were initiated, I worked on the brief. My contract provided that I would carry out empirical research on demand for the program. Also I surveyed research on every aspect of Women's Studies, gathered reports, briefs, articles, anything in print that might help me to make a good case for the Major. When I was ready to draft the brief, I had accumulated three or four cartons of material, much of it generously shared by other feminist scholars and programs. I also relied on material not directly centered upon Women's Studies, such as reports of the Royal-Commission on the Status of Women, the Laval University Commission on the Stutus of Women, and the Michèle Jean Commission on Adult Education in Québec.

Writing up the brief was a nightmarish process. I felt faced with a multitude of dilemmas, ranging from the comic (How could I bear to omit footnotes? Which is the better choice of phrase in translation from French? How could I bear to enter my study and face the piles of paper?) to the truly gut-wrenching (What if my work was not sufficiently persuasive, and the program was refused? How could I alone speak for all of us? Was it fair to feminism and Women's Studies that we all be judged by what I did well or badly?). This was one of the most difficult tasks I have ever faced. I felt such a weight of responsibility that I could not even see it as a challenge. On the basis of my experience I would suggest that such documents ought to be produced collectively. One section of our brief (the discussion of administration selection and responsibilities was

edited by a colleague, and she and I also hand-scored several items on the student interest survey. It was a joint product, and I did get some helpful comments from friends and colleagues. But for various reasons, mainly related to the pressure of deadlines, most of the brief is the product of a single pen. I paid out of my own pocket for the typing, as there apparently was no provision in the contract for reimbursement of that expense. It was that kind of year.

How successful was our overall effort? In terms of establishing a Major at the University of Winnipeg, that question is unanswerable until the fall of 1983 when the Grants Commission makes a decision on the application. If the Commission okays and funds the program, *tant mieux*. If not, at least we will have succeeded in getting some more information on women into the male-stream curriculum, and provinding some kind of important resource for women students, with our increased number of courses. And if one of the goals of Women's Studies is to transform the skewed male-stream curriculum into a balanced curriculum representing the knowledge and experience of that half of humankind which is female, then the success or failure of an indivual program is only a tiny step in that long process. Either way, we still have a lifelong task ahead of us.

In terms of the daily survival of the Women's Studies core courses at the University of Winnipeg, we have failed dismally. Last year the Working Group had a budget of two stipends to hire faculty for 1983-83. This summer the Group has only one stipend to hire faculty for 1983-84, so they are worse off than before. All of us are depressed about it, and feeling depressed makes it harder to keep working on the program and to support each other. If the program is approved, one can only assume that there will have to be money for one full salary. If the Major is refused, I very much doubt that it will be possible to get decent pay for the core courses in the future. Moreover, I believe that stipend teaching may well violate provincial human rights legislation. If I am correct, this raises thorny issues for women's and other academic programs, which are often reduced to stipend hiring in order to survive. In the absence of adequate budgeting for Women's Studies, staffing practices may be illegal as well as immoral.

Lessons for the future? I learned some very painfully, about the physical and emotional costs of Women's Studies programming. Often, such work is done for love rather than for money, by women who are already overloaded. Or if we do it for money, it is often in circumstances such as those I've described. In either case there are severe stresses for the participants. For example, I had to take on another part-time job (flying to a mining town 750 miles north of Winnipeg to teach an extension

course on weekends) in order to survive. The developmental contract would have been a full time job in itself. Combined with all the other tasks, it was formidable. The other women in the Working Group were supportive and always willing to help if I asked, but often I couldn't provide enough lead time. Tasks needed to be done yesterday. And all of them were overworked and putting in a lot of unpaid time. Sometimes I had the feeling that all of us were teetering on the brink. Enough of us have experience with the double or triple day to know something about the implications. But I found that there were other less obvious problems that I had not foreseen. For example, I found myself feeling unappreciated and unrecognised both by my peers and by the administration. I had inadequate access to resources on and off campus, personally and professionally, and sometimes I felt as if it were I who was inadequate, rather than the resources. Because I was not paid or treated as a fully-qualified academic (my name was not listed in the faculty phone book for example, and getting office space in the overcrowded facilities was quite a feat, despite the support of the administration) I found myself not feeling like one. I also found myself feeling depressed, and then very angry, at being expolited, and at having cheerfully pushed to set up the conditions in which I was exploited. Although none of my colleagues told me this, I would bet that when they thought about the situation, they felt guilty. All of these feelings made it difficult to work effectively. My fondness for and admiration of the other women did help. So did my rock bottom determination to help Women's Studies. But exhaustion and discouragement are powerful forces. It was difficult for me to deal with these feelings and to retain a sense of purpose, enthusiasm, hope and joy in doing the work.

I have not seen discussions of Women's Studies programming that raised some of these issues in personal terms. I decided to discuss our efforts in program development in precisely this context of financial arrangements and emotional constraints, because I believe that my experience was not unique. I think we need to consider these issues when we undertake program building, and to plan how we can use our various resources to meet these needs. For example, I would suggest that nurturing program builders be an explicit part of the functions of coordinating committees. I would suggest that we make a deliberate effort to express our recognition of each others' contributions and their costs, and especially our appreciation of the value of work done. Of course situations vary, and so do needs.

We are pretty creative people, not least because we have had to learn to be. We can do more to identify and utilise material and human

resources for mutual benefit. For example, if community women's groups were more involved in Women's Studies programs, they might be willing to use their tremendous expertise in fund raising, or other work, in support of academic and other projects in Women's Studies. We may not be able to distribute money more equally when we do not have control of a budget, but then again we may be able to find more money or think of other ways to establish more equitable distribution of resources. We need to take better care of each other. This can range from supporting each others' programs (the University of Manitoba women sent us a letter of support, and we had agreed to see their Minor and our proposed Major as complementary), to sharing work, to a timely word of thanks and appreciation. Scarce resources and lack of time, and sometimes lack of caring, divide us. Particularly in Women's Studies, we need to stay together.

ARTICLES

CANADA

Veronica Strong-Boag

Mapping Women's Studies In Canada: Some Signposts

Feminist scholarship in Canada is flourishing on a number, although not all, disciplinary fronts. The majority of recent contributions reflect a certain interdisciplinarity of method, perspective or choice of evidence: few confine themselves to a traditional and narrow disciplinary approach.[1] The very abundance and variety of these new investigations make the task of considering them as a whole beyond the scope of this article. They are best appreciated in the context of more specialized reviews. By contrast the purpose of this assessment is to outline the largely institutional contours of Women's Studies as it emerged in Canada in the 1970s and 1980s. Most particularly it addresses issues of philosophy, programmes, journals and associations. The evidence for any final evaluation is yet incomplete and this assessment must be only a preliminary guide to a rich and sometimes contradictory and obscure landscape. The vantage point of this author — that of an historian and a participant in some of the processes recollected — will no doubt be challenged by observers on other mountains. Such contributions will be welcomed. The only legitimate fear for feminists is the closing of debate.[2]

In the 1960s and 1970s women joined other Canadians in debating the nature and future of their prospects. Like concerned citizens within the Company for Young Canadians, the Canadian University Service Overseas and the Committee for an Independent Canada, feminists sought to confront a reality which fell substantially short of their ideal.[3] Their critique was and is wide-ranging but education with all it implied for socialization and opportunity became an early target. Schooling at all levels was censured for not addressing female experience or needs. Like their more junior counterparts, colleges and universities failed conspicuously to provide non-sexist education. In addition, they, especially the universities, made little or no effort to develop the basis of scholarship by which all human experience, both male and female, could be better understood. The fact that women were nowhere given equal opportunity in academic employments was part and parcel of the same problem.[4]

In the 1960s the Dominion's colleges and universities were few in number and for most part bastions of conservative and liberal values. They were ripe for change. Neither their numbers nor their values satisfied young people and their parents whose aspirations had been heightened by post-war prosperity. Rapid change within a relatively small and homogeneous academic community was the result. By 1981 the country counted two hundred and sixty post-secondary institutions. Community colleges enrolled 260,827 full and part-time students and the universities another 527,614. The annual rate of increase in enrolment between 1960 and 1970 in community college was 12.9%, dropping to a still respectable 4.6% in the next decade. Corresponding university increases were 10.5% and 2.1%. Women's numbers also rose in the 1970s from 47% to 51% of community college

students and from 35% to 45% of university students. Also significant was an increase in the number of female full-time graduate students from 22% to 36% of the total; for part-timers the jump was somewhat greater, from 24% to 39%.[5] Results from the unprecedented number and diversity of students were soon felt.

Newcomers tested conventional academic scholarship, teaching and administration often to find them sorely inadequate. Questions of nationality, race, class and sex in particular seemed curiously unappreciated despite a world where they were evidently critical in distributing and withholding reward. Criticism found its most ardent champions in the nationalist, native, radical and feminist movements which voiced the discontent of these who found Canada under the direction of its liberal and white male elite wanting.[6] One result was the introduction of Canadian Studies, Native Studies, Labour Studies and Women's Studies into many, but by no means all, universities and colleges. New faculty were also hired to teach these subjects and for almost the first time research in these areas was considered, by some at least, significant and valuable. Results were also seen in the appearance of new programs, journals, publishers and associations. Not surprisingly, methods and results ranged widely. Women's Studies was no exception. By the 1980s its history was complex. To begin with it encompassed two major types of feminist inspiration, each of which could be distinguished in academe by the early 1970s.

Integration or Separation

Feminists in Canada, as elsewhere, were divided as to the best strategy for transforming the college and the university.[7] To simplify drastically, there were two tendencies within the feminist community, one which might be termed 'integrationist' and the other better characterized as 'separatist'. This distinction was influential although political and practical considerations often required a certain hybridization of approach. For the most part integrationists concentrated on transforming traditional disciplines and departments from within. Well qualified female professionals would convert, so the argument went, hidebound structures to fair-minded treatment of women. Establishing a conventional beachhead would give legitimacy, guarantee funding and reach the largest number. Essentially practical considerations influenced the choice of tactics, but many integrationists prized many of the intellectual conventions of their own disciplines and held alternate modes of viewing the truth fundamentally suspect. Not surprisingly then, integrationists tended to stress professional qualifications with a 'sound' training in the intricacies of the discipline, whatever it might be. Exponents of this view concentrated on hiring female faculty, encouraging female graduate students and introducing female subject matter into their conventional disciplines.

As might be expected, success varied extraordinarily, with some disciplines notably more receptive to 'boring from within'. Within the humanities, for example, English and History seemed especially susceptible to some revision of their traditional mandate. The fact that the former contained a larger than average proportion of female faculty and students was a substantial advantage as was the fact of a subject matter which regularly as a matter of necessity, if rarely of feminist principle, treated women. The legitimation of a greater pluralism of approach which included Marxist and pychoanalytic criticism in the 1960s also prepared the way for feminist incursions. Such critical predecessors also often provided feminists with some of their earliest allies. The development of feminist literary criticism as a recognizable genre was also of help. Ironically enough, however, the very appearance of strength could also encourage a certain indifference to the general situation

of women. The atypical female, whether as university professor or established writer, was sometimes seen to be evidence of equality. The emergence of a new and the discovery of older expression of feminist literary consciousness, however, helped to shake this complacency in the 1960s and 1970s.

The situation in History was different with fewer women involved at every level. The influence of two senior female academics who were both to return to the United States by the mid-1970s was, however, critical. Professors Jill Conway and Natalie Zemon Davis then of the University of Toronto and now of Smith College and Princeton respectively were essential champions of women's history.[8] Without them change would have come a good deal more slowly. Such historians and their sympathizers were further inspired by the advances of what has been termed the 'New Social History' which gave unaccustomed weight to the experience of anonymous and oppressed peoples of the past.[9] Women's history, its practitioners and subject-matter, in Canada as elsewhere were also closely tied to labour, family and urban history with their advocates. The appearance of these largely new specialities in conference programmes and university departments helped legitimize the study of women as well. The sympathies linking the Canadian Committee on Women's History/*Comité canadian d'histoire des femmes* with the Committee on Labour History/*Comité sur l'histoire ouvrière canadienne* are typical of this fruitful association. The result by the end of the 1970s was a substantial number of women's history courses across the country. Many concentrated on Canada but probably just as many addressed the past experience of women in other lands.[10]

Within the social sciences psychology and sociology stand out as disciplines where feminist penetration was also significant. In each case these disciplines already counted higher than normal number of female faculty and regularly encompassed subject matter such a socialization and the family which unlike history's traditional political emphasis could not easily ignore the restriction of gender. The rapid growth of these disciplines, especially sociology which really only entered Canadian universities after World War II, was also important in permitting new initiatives. Close ties with developments in the United States and a somewhat more radical orientation of much contemporary sociology helped as well.[11] Advances while considerable relative to those in political science and economics, for example, were, however, finally limited. There was little cause to challenge a 1980 conclusion that "psychology has been primarily a masculine discipline . . ."[12] The expulsion of feminists such as Doctors Marlene Dixon at McGill and Marylee Stephenson at McMaster made abundantly clear how easily gains could be lost.[13] The demand for courses on sex roles and gender could not, however, be entirely ignored, especially when student enrolment faltered in traditional disciplines. By the 1980s such courses flourished in all but the most conservative of departments. How feminist they were of course requires further inquiry.

Feminist aspirations for the sciences were still more problematic. The number of female scholars and students were fewer by far; the subject matter, whether in biology or chemistry, apparently less amenable to re-evaluation. The presence of an internationally known feminist theorist, Dr. Margaret Benston, in the Chemistry Department in B.C.'s Simon Fraser University was in fact an anomaly as her shift in 1982 to Computing Science and Women's Studies made clear. To be sure by that time too there were occasional feminist scientists in departments across the country but the situation for women remained overwhelmingly unfavourable. Typically "in 1976 the percentage of women doctoral candidates

who received degrees in engineering, mathematics, and the physical sciences was too small to be measurable."[14]

The 'boring from within' strategy of the integrationists was able to report a number of successes. Practically every history department in the country, for example, was willing at least to consider the possibility of an appointment in Women's History. Some history programmes made their first female faculty appointments in just this way. Indeed, ironically enough, such appointments were sometimes the only ones available as new hiring fell off in the hard times which hit university budgets in the 1970s and especially the 1980s. There were other gains as well. Some departments such as Sociology at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education even became 'notorious' for their recruitment of an influential number of feminist scholars. Women's experience, appeared more and more regularly as one part of departmental offerings. Naturally course additions with 'women' somewhere in the title or description cannot always be taken at face value. For like having a token female academic they can represent a similar kind of *pro forma* but essentially insubstantial recognition. At worse such a course can be used to reinforce all the old stereotypes.

For all the struggles to shift the scholarly and teaching priorities of Canada's institutions of higher learning, the 1980s still saw substantial gaps in coverage. In Arts and Sciences the weakness of political science and economics was especially evident. Philosophy, history and languages were sometimes little better served and the Sciences as a whole nearly hopeless. Statistically, by the end of the 1970s women academics were still in a situation which showed little improvement.[15] Women were always in danger of being isolated, sometimes coopted, as faculty and students. The result would be, as in the past, women who did not in fact represent women.[16] Given such a situation, it was hard to remain optimistic about the influence of even the few feminists who had managed to 'make it' according to the old criteria.[17] A steadily worsening economy still further threatened this precarious situation. Hopes for new women and new courses would evidently have to wait as they had in the past.

While many feminists put a priority on their efforts to gain acceptance within the traditional academic framework others, increasingly aided in some instances by the integrationists, looked to a more interdisciplinary model.[18] From the beginning many of this group appeared more radical, whether Marxist or Radical Feminist and generally more sceptical of conventional academic initiatives, than the integrationists who were sometimes castigated in the jargon of the day as 'careerists'. The involvement of feminist activities with great enthusiasm but limited academic credentials if considerable knowledge, such as Myrna Kostash at the University of Toronto also helped to reinforce the common perception of Women's Studies as a pursuit more political than scholarly.[19] The frequent effort at pedagogical innovation with high levels of student participation also challenged conventional notions of academic respectability. It became commonplace, at least in some circles, to dismiss the early efforts as consciousness-raising pure and simple and thus hardly worthy of a university. Certainly the appearance of greater radicalism made separatists, such as the original Women's Studies Group at the University of Toronto, less acceptable to the traditional academic and administrative hierarchies. Such innovators were thus doubly encouraged to strike out for themselves.

Women, so the separatist argument went, could not be incorporated adequately within the traditional educational structures of a capitalist patriarchal society. The personnel and

the theories which characterized all disciplines were too hostile, indifferent, inadequate or all three. On the other hand the advantages of university affiliation as opposed to setting up some kind of counter initiative with all its problems of funding and legitimation were substantial. Like exponents of Canadian Studies and Native Studies many critics interested in finding a home in higher education turned to an interdisciplinary model in Women's Studies. The possibility of acquiring a separate institutional base within universities was attractive for a host of reasons. Course content could innovate without having to win prior approval from reluctant departments and academics anxious to preserve their own turf and guarantee the 'correct' view. Teaching techniques could be similarly experimental with greater stress on cooperation rather than competition. Finally, hiring and promotion could rest in the hands of sympathizers, an important consideration for any hoping to develop careers in the area. The separatists were not wholly agreed as to the long term future of their efforts. Some hoped, much like the integrationists, that the feminist example preserved in Women's Studies programmes would eventually inspire emulation within conventional disciplines. Women's studies courses would provide a stronghold from which to campaign and finally convert the academic community. Once conversion was complete, at some unspecified date, Women's Studies could wither away. Others were less optimistic about the prospects for influence and more convinced about the independent merits of the interdisciplinary study of women. In their view, Women's Studies should remain an integral part of any comprehensive programme of higher education. In most cases the hope was both to create an interdisciplinary theory and methodology of Women's Studies and to influence traditional disciplines to reexamine old mandates.[20]

The essential division between the integrationists and the separatists remains to some extent to this day but cooperation and sympathy have largely replaced the suspicion, even competition, which characterized their early relationship. This realignment has occurred for a number of reasons. Most obviously there is the fact of increasing contact. Exponents of both strategies often taught the same students and were increasingly associated in many colleges and universities as part of a 'women's package'. A multitude of distinctions faded in importance in face of this common public perception. Moreover, even after the expansion of the 1960s and 1970s the community of feminists in Canadian higher education was sufficiently small to encourage friendship and understanding. Too ardent disagreement over methods was quite evidently costly. It was particularly hard when disputes among female academics were singled out as proof that women could not in fact work together. To a large degree 'sisterhood' then increasingly prevailed publicly among exponents of integration and separatism whatever the internal discussion which characterized their individual meetings.

Nor was it only a case of papering over fundamental disagreements. What happened in many cases was admission by both integrationists and separatists that their methods needed some reconsideration in light of the 'hard knocks' as well as success stories both had to remember. On the one hand many integrationists came to appreciate that within any discipline they would be a small band indeed. Even the most impeccable of credentials would never convert colleagues whose careers and personalities were founded on an assumption, acknowledged or not, of female inferiority. At the same time it also became evident that the methodologies and theories of the conventional disciplines were largely insufficient. Although they might be made more satisfactory by the application of feminist insight new approaches based on interdisciplinarity seemed of greater promise.[21] Identification with women's studies advocates was also encouraged in some cases at least by a lack

of collegiality even rejection by discipline traditionalists who held the final power of promotion and tenure. A growing radicalism on the part of some integrationists also favoured cooperation as they found their shifting perspective sharing much with the Marxists and Radical Feminists. The association of the historians, Mary Lynn McDougall and Veronica Strong-Boag with Simon Fraser's Women's Studies Program, and Sylvia Van Kirk with the program at the University of Toronto in the late 1970s reflected this increased community of interest.

For their part the pioneers of Women's Studies — one might think for example of the psychologist Meredith Kimball at Simon Fraser, the philosopher Kathryn Morgan at Toronto and the English specialist, Greta Neimroff at Concordia and Dawson College — came likewise to develop friendships and associations with more disciplinary-oriented feminists. It may be too that experience with colleges and universities had a sobering influence. Confrontation and a rejection of academic conventions were clearly of limited use when it came to protecting hard won gains on a permanent basis. Separatists became increasingly conscious that prospects for academic survival were substantially improved by secure bases within conventional disciplines. At the same time influence over students, curriculum and scholarship could be maximized by cross or joint appointments for example. This evolving strategy also reflected the change in the feminist movement itself within Canada. Perhaps most importantly with experience came the acknowledgement that, however fervently desired, a feminist revolution was not an immediate prospect. A long-term campaign had to be planned. The fact that feminism of various kinds had infiltrated much of the political and academic community also favoured tendencies toward cooperation, although some called it cooptation. Consciousness-raising with all the anger it engendered as such was no longer so essential within classes — students like faculty increasingly shared that experience. The broadening of the feminist movement into transition houses, rape crisis centres, research programmes, front-line politics and private homes also allowed academics to concentrate to a greater degree on what was after all their special function, scholarly inquiry. The question which so long troubled academic feminists — what is our relationship with the feminist movement — was if not completely settled at least not so divisive. The primary role of academic feminists was to serve as teachers and scholars, a reflection of the maturing and diversifying of Canadian feminism as a whole. Naturally this accommodation had its critics who saw only a descent into conservatism.

Today agreement on means is still not complete, nor is it likely that it will ever be. Many academics teaching and researching on women feel acutely uncomfortable outside of their own disciplinary boundaries. Interdisciplinary investigations and associations are still suspect in some circles, as are Marxist and Radical Feminist perspectives, for failing in scholarly rigour. The fact that, as for example, at the University of British Columbia and for that matter most junior colleges, Women's Studies appears especially vulnerable sometimes confirms the sense of arrogance. In turn, some advocates of Women's Studies cling to the days when academic politics seemed purer and scholarship less essential, days before 'careerist' allies. Some of this group have been effectively marginalized or indeed removed as they have failed to meet the more rigorous academic standards of the new Women's Studies. Others have found more congenial environments in journalism, publishing, politics and film-making. What is clear, however, is that resources in a small population scattered across an enormous landscape need to be shared if Canada's women are to be

served at all. The new Women's Studies relies on the cooperation of both separatists and integrationists if it is to prevail.

The Major Programmes

At present there are at least four major centres for Women's Studies in Canada: Mount St. Vincent University in Halifax, Concordia University in Montreal, the University of Toronto and Simon Fraser University in Burnaby. There are also significant courses in a number of other institutions, notably Dalhousie University, McGill University, the Universite de Quebec a Montreal, the University of Western Ontario, the University of Waterloo, the University of Winnipeg, and the University of British Columbia. The first four are, however, perhaps the most well established and visible.

Mount St. Vincent University, or "the Mount" as it is more familiarly known, has a long record of special interest in women. Established in 1914 by the Sisters of Charity, it is one of the few Canadian examples of an institution of higher learning founded especially for girls. For some time in the 1960s it seemed it might like so many women's colleges elsewhere — notably Radcliffe, fall to the tide of co-education. Fortunately under the presidency of Dr. Margaret Fulton it has revived its old mandate. In the words of its calendar "The University considers the educational needs of women to be a priority, and therefore remains particularly sensitive to the changing needs of women in society".[22] The 1981 move of the major Canadian Women's Studies' journal, *Atlantis*, from Acadia University to the Mount is an enormous asset. The creation one year later of the Institute for the Study of Women reaffirmed a modern feminist orientation. Its plan is fourfold: to concentrate on research, education, social policy and communication of benefit to women. These recent developments contrast curiously, at least to some observers, with the traditions of an institution which is one of the few still to offer diplomas and degrees in secretarial arts. A similar problem of reconciliation is suggested by the intention to have the Mount characterized also, this too in keeping with its roots, by a "Catholic Tradition".[23] The ability to resolve such issues will be worked out, one suspects, in the fate of the Bachelor of Arts degree in Women's Studies established in 1980. This is constituted with one interdisciplinary introductory course and others drawn from the offerings of seven departments. No faculty member is specifically appointed in Women's Studies *per se*. Recent developments at the Mount constitute an experiment unprecedented in Canada, even perhaps in North America. Its fate should tell a good deal about the larger appeal of feminism.

In many ways Maritime institutions, including the Mount, have been slow to develop momentum in the area of Women's Studies. What is now Concordia University, introduced its first interdisciplinary course on 'The Nature of Women' in 1970 long before any more eastern equivalents. This was very successfully team-taught by Christine Allen of Sir George Williams' Philosophy Department and Greta Nemiroff of Dawson College's English Programme. Courses on women were made available through departments and through the Centre for Interdisciplinary Studies. By 1977 students could register for a Minor in Women's Studies and plans existed for a Major.[24] The 1977 decision to amalgamate the non-denominational SGW and the Catholic Loyola College as Concordia prompted efforts to establish a series of Thematic Colleges or Schools built around different philosophies or functions. The first proposal coming jointly from faculty, students and staff called for the creation of a Women's College. This was realized in 1978 as the Simone de Beauvoir Institute/*Institut Simone de Beauvoir*, which did not, however, initially assume responsibility for the Women's Studies Programme which remained in the Centre for Interdisciplin-

ary Studies.† The Institute set out a broad mandate: to help improve working conditions of the university women, to serve as a resource centre on women for both the university and the general public, to establish links with women's organizations and interested groups in CEGEPS and universities, and to establish contact with the business community.[25] The Institute's founding met with considerable enthusiasm.

The efforts of Allen and Nemiroff in raising support among a broad spectrum of the university and wider community were essential. Unfortunately difficulties surfaced early. First there was dissension over the title of the Institute with a Canadian name, notably that of Thérèse Casgrain, losing out to that of the French feminist. Critics believed, among other things, that this choice reflected a certain intellectual colonialism and further still reflected at least the isolation, intellectual and otherwise, of English Montreal in Canada and indeed Quebec. This was not evidently the sentiment of the majority led by Allen and Nemiroff.[26] Ironically enough, however, their influence was not to last as Allen left for two years of research and writing and Nemiroff found herself increasingly alienated from the new elite and finally dismissed as a part-time instructor. Professor Mair Verthuy of the French Department was selected as the first principal of the Institute, in large measure due to her bilingualism and community contacts.

Bitter controversy soon erupted over governing principles. Verthuy led those, many of whom were long established faculty, who wished feminism to be downplayed and power to rest with permanent full-timers. The resulting controversy split the women's studies community badly, to the point that Allen, Nemiroff and their supporters withdrew from the Institution they had been critical in founding. This conflict was the outcome of many factors, some of which were peculiar to Concordia and its specific history. The issue of the role of part-time and untenured female faculty was, however, absolutely critical in the minds of the 'losers' in this instance. The treatment of Nemiroff and the attempt to concentrate power in the hands of a few senior faculty members seemed to promise little more than a female version of familiar hierarchical structures. The 'Queen Bee' syndrome was especially feared and there was some agreement among Allen, Nemiroff and their supporters that the feminism of Principal Verthuy and her group was fundamentally inadequate if it did not include an attempt to address directly the issue of women's marginal status in academe. They did not accept arguments from the principal and others which stressed the scholarly distinction between full and part-time faculty and believed them simply to camouflage efforts to shore up the position of a few tenured academics. The result of these debates divided not only full and part-timers but permanent faculty as well with Susan Russell of Sociology and Veronica Strong-Boag of History leaving the Institute. The subsequent fate of the Institute and the Women's Studies Programme which is now under its aegis is a matter of conjecture. Verthuy argues that little was permanently damaged. To be sure, a number of faculty careers have been furthered, in the short term at least, by its survival. Critics find the low profile of the Institute nationally — for example, its lack of significant input at the major 1981 Women's Studies Conference at the University of Toronto and the creation of the Canadian Women's Studies Association in Ottawa in 1982 — a better indication of blighted hopes. On the other hand the Institute appears to have a more favourable reputation internationally owing to its recent hosting of an international conference on Women's Studies. Nevertheless, it is tragic that such a gifted feminist scholar as Christine Allen no longer finds it possible to affiliate with her own creation. Perhaps it is too soon to make a final judgement about Concordia's fate, but certainly this

type of conflict is especially costly when times are bad for universities, especially English language institutions in Quebec.

In any case it is still possible to take both a minor and a major in Women's Studies at Concordia. Two interdisciplinery courses, one an introductory series of lectures and the second a senior seminar are required. Students draw from a range of courses offered under the aegis of various departments. There are no ongoing, full-time Women's Studies faculty as such.

The situation at the University of Toronto appears much more harmonious. Founded in 1972, it now offers Specialist, Major and Minor Programmes. Like Concordia, its core courses are interdisciplinery. Other courses concerned with women within individual departments are also cross-listed by the Women's Studies Programme. There are two core courses, one an "Introduction to Women's Studies" and the other "Scientific Perspectives on Sex and Gender". Specialists take a programme of twenty courses, of which thirteen are required. Majors have a fifteen course programme, six of which are compulsory. The Minor Programme demands three courses.

Although there were some early disagreements between the original Women's Studies Teaching Collective, founded in 1971, and integrationists teaching in disciplines such as history, reconciliation now seems largely complete. As a result and owing too to the active feminist community in Toronto, including particularly faculty, students and staff of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, the Women's Studies Programme, located within New College, has been very successful. In 1982-83 it counts five core faculty — Sylvia Van Kirk, Mary Nyquist, Kay Armitage, Paula Caplan and Kathryn Morgan — who are cross-appointed from various departments, colleges and institutes. Not surprisingly, Toronto's Women's Studies Programme also benefits as part of the country's largest university. Faculty, student, archival and library resources remain the envy of others in Canada. By the 1980s the University of Toronto group was highly visible in Women's Studies across Canada. One price of this prominence is, ironically enough, concern about being perceived as yet one more agent of Toronto's traditional attempt at cultural and intellectual hegemony.

Fortunately, Women's Studies is evident from coast to coast — all the more as places like Athabasca University and the University of Winnipeg are beginning to show promise as well. The particular strength of the West Coast lies, in great contrast to the Mount, in an institution with decidedly secular inclinations. Simon Fraser's Minor's Program dates from 1975 with first courses in place in 1976. In the early days under the guidance of Andrea Lebowitz of English, Margaret Benston of Chemistry and Honoree Newcombe of the Association of University and College Employees the emphasis tended to be somewhat segregationist, a reflection of lack of support from much of the traditional academic community. The existence of the innovative and relatively powerful Faculty of Interdisciplinary Studies which already housed such academic pioneers as Communications, Kinesiology, Criminology and Canadian Studies offered an institutional structure and base for a coordinated, central area of study on women. The 'grandmothers' of the Women's Studies Program viewed affiliation as attractive because "despite the suspicion cast on IDS in general, it was harder to push W.S. to the periphery and out the door, and we were not alone in attempting an interdisciplinary mode of inquiry".[27] The result was integrationist in the sense that it entered an already existing faculty and credited disciplinary courses but separatist in that it aimed to provide an external check on purely disciplinary initiatives

which at SFU as elsewhere are notoriously reluctant to include consideration of female experience.

Careful manoeuvering then established the Joint Appointment procedure by which long term survival was to be guaranteed. Each appointment was to become a full member of an academic department as well as an appointment in the Women's Studies Program. The employment of Meredith Kimball, a psychologist previously with U.B.C.'s Women's Studies Programme and Department of Psychology, was the first step, followed between 1976 and 1981 by appointments in Philosophy, History, the Centre for the Arts and Computing Science. In almost every case the effect of the additional disciplinary base was to favour a more integrationist approach.

The program, like that of the University of Toronto, is run cooperatively as signified by the title of coordinator rather than director or chair of the Women's Studies Programme. This may be traced to the continuing determination, in face of contrary academic tradition, to promote democratic procedures. The result, if predictably time-consuming, is progress very much determined in consultation and largely by concensus. The essential shape of this joint exercise was set early. Andrea Lebowitz recalled:

> The core program was in place right from the start. This was a very important point to us. We were advised to start with one course, but we refused to do this. We had a conception of the whole program right from the start, and we set up that basic program, because we didn't want a higgily piggily thing wandering all over the place. True, courses have been added but to offer more alternatives not change the core. Again we were very aware of the need to have a respectable integrated program for ourselves as well as for the demands of traditionalists and critics.[28]

The program itself consists of nine required credits in the first two years of study and fifteen in the last. There are two compulsory courses, one an Introduction to Women's Studies and the second a 400 level feminist theory seminar. Other required credits are made up of offerings in Women's Studies given by the joint appointments, special topics courses taught by sessional or permanent instructors and courses cross-listed from departments. An MA is being planned, contingent as always on continued funding, for 1984.

The development of four major centres for Women's Studies seems a creditable record for a nation without any substantial academic feminist tradition pre-dating 1970. The formation of the Canadian Women's Studies Association in June 1982 at the Learned Societies Meetings in Ottawa was also promising in its ambition to spread the good word still further. News of new initiatives in Women's Studies seemed to come almost weekly. There was nevertheless, a darker side to the picture. From coast to coast slashed education budgets have damaged or even eliminated courses and programmes, most evidently at the junior college level. In British Columbia for example, Women's Studies has almost ceased to exist as a coherent programme in the two-year colleges. U.B.C.'s programme has similarly experienced one difficulty after another due to insufficient funding and no permanent faculty.[29]

Solutions are, however, being sought. The founders of the Canadian Women's Studies Association hope, for example, to prepare strategies to deal with budget-tight administrations and to facilitate communication between the different feminists now operating within Women's Studies programs. The selection of Professor Frances Early of Mount St. Vincent's History Department as National Coordinator and Veronica Strong-Boag from History and Women's Studies at Simon Fraser as the 1982 Programme Coordinator like the

all-critical role played by Sylvia Van Kirk from History and Women's Studies at the University of Toronto affirms the cooperative national mandate of CWSA. The difficulty in finding a francophone coordinator is, however, a sign that efforts may be largely confined in the first instance at least to English Canada. French Canadians have their own agenda in this as other matters.

Journals

In contrast to the prominence of historians in the Canadian Women's Studies Association the original and still most significant journal in the field has beens singularly well served by sociologists. *Resources for Feminist Research*, published as the *Canadian Newsletter of Research on Women* from 1972 to 1978 has depended substantially on the labours of sociologists such as the founders, Marylee Stephenson and Margrit Eichler. Originating as rather a modest undertaking published by the University of Waterloo it proposed to:

(1) establish and/or improve communication in Canada among those who are doing research on women;
(2) list on-going research on Canadian women in particular;
(3) list selected relevant research on the international scene; and
(4) provide for an exchange of ideas on courses about sex-roles or women.[30]

In its first decade, *Resources* more than achieved its goals. Serving a broad spectrum of feminist academics and scholars it became, almost overnight, the standard work of reference for those interested in following the course of Women's Studies in Canada. In fact its very success, which continued apace after the move with Margrit Eichler to OISE in 1975, made its mandate all the more difficult to fulfill in its entirety. The fourth goal was most fully realized in *Women's Studies Canada 1977* compiled by Loretta M. French and published as a Supplement, and "Women Studies Canada 1978".[31] It is, however, in need of more regular updating than has yet proved possible. As a result there exists no regular source of information either on courses or programmes. On the other hand, *RFR* has produced a host of unexpected dividends, notably *The No-Name Newsletter* with current information on conferences, jobs, films, journals, government news and other publications. There have also been a series of special issues focusing on history (8:2, July 1979), political theory (8:1, March 1979), "Humanities: research and creativity" (7:2, July 1978), women and the politics of culture (8:3, Pt. 2, Nov. 1979), women in Canadian political science (8:1, March 1979) and women and anthropology (7:3, Nov. 1978). Other special interests have also been served by bibliographies on sexual harassment (10:4, Dec. 1981/Jan. 1982), the sociology of women (8:4, Dec. 1979) and women of Iran (9:4, Dec. 1980/Jan. 1981), an annotated index to Canadian women film-makers (8:4, Dec. 1979) and guides to Women's Studies elsewhere (9:4, Dec. 1980/Jan. 1981). *RFR* has been increasingly successful, an all too rare example in Canada's academic publications, in producing material on and from French Canada. Especially noteworthy have been Marta Danylewycz's and Jacinthe Fraser's "*Les Femmes au Québec: Quelques Récents Développements*" (7:3, Nov. 1978) and Yolande Cohen, "*La Recherche Universitaire sur les Femmes au Québec*" (10:4, Dec. 1981/Jan. 1982). Just as carefully cultivated have been contacts with feminist scholars and activists all around the world. A reading of *Women: A Bibliography of Special Periodical Issues* (August 1976) and the second volume (January 1978) both by Jennifer L. Newton and Carol Zavitz, together with the now regular updating of special issues in *RFR*, introduces Canadians to scholarship not only in English and French but other languages as well. In a host of ways *RFR* has

provided critical intellectual leadership. The development of Women's Studies in the last decade would have been incomparably more difficult without its contribution.

Yet for all its critical significance funding continues to be a major source of concern as every editorial is forced to repeat. The present economic recession has made long term prospects seem even gloomier. Indeed the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education has been increasingly tentative in discussing long term funding. A reorganization of the editorial board and increased subscription rates have been designed to deal with this emergency. In the issue announcing the recent crisis, *RFR* also editorialized more generally than has been its custom to declare

> It is not simply the case that feminist interests are seen as frills which can be trimmed when times get tough. The reaction to feminism which is the essence of New Right politics goes much deeper than that. We cannot ignore the fact that education in general and the education of women in particular are targeted as enemies of social and political stability by forces which are extremely adept at the organization of political pressure.[32]

The 'New Right' in Canada as in the United States renews old threats to feminism and all its enterprises, academic and otherwise. The battle for women's studies like that for women's rights will be fought on a broad front as the editors of RFR appreciate.

Atlantis: A Women's Studies Journal was founded in 1975, a beneficiary at least in part of *RFR's* cultivation of feminist scholarship in Canada. It devotes itself to "critical and creative writing in English or French on the topic of women",[33] feminist graphics and photographs, and more recently to the publication of "Canadian Women's Archives". Like *RFR* it too is interdisciplinary in focus. The result was, at least at the beginning, somewhat uneven, a reflection of the immaturity of the field. Over the last few years volumes have, however, been increasingly impressive. The quality on average matches that of most academic journals and in addition is a good deal more entertaining. What is quite evident is that authors who formerly might elect disciplinary publications are opting for the greater breadth and sympathy of audience found in *Atlantis's* readership. The contributions to the recent issues on "Domestic Labour and Wage Labour" (7:2, Fall 1981) illustrate the rigorous policy-oriented analysis which may be discovered regularly in the journal's pages. Meg Luxton in "Taking on the Double Day" and Ronnie Leah's "Women's Labour Force Participation and Day Care Cutbacks in Ontario", for instance, set forth the critical assessment which the female labour force rarely receives in conventional academic publications. Historical writing on Canadian women is also regularly well-represented, to a much greater degree than is evident in the *Canadian Historical Review* or even *Histoire sociale/Social History* for example. The result introduces non-specialists as well as experts to new thinking on women in fields as diverse as economics, anthropology, political theory and literary criticism. Like *RFR* there is a special quality to *Atlantis* which springs from enthusiastic participation in a common cause. The poetry, the drawings, the fiction, the editorials and the more traditional academic material combine to produce volumes of wide appeal. In reading *Atlantis* it is difficult to ignore evidence of the interlocking dependence of the feminist community, artistic, literary and academic in Canada. Thanks in large part to the efforts of *RFR* and *Atlantis* communication among feminists exists on a wide and deep front. This eases immensely the isolation which inevitably afflicts feminists in higher education across the country.

Unfortunately for all the excitement and loyalty it inspires *Atlantis* is also constantly facing hard times. Its five year tenure at Acadia University under the careful direction of

Margaret Conrad, Susan Clark and Donna E. Smyth was troubled by continual insecurity of tenure and lack of wide faculty acceptance. Financing by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council too seemed always in jeopardy. Happily Atlantis's move to Mount St. Vincent University and the Institute for the Study of Women should offer it greater stability of funding as well as more harmonious surroundings. Certainly the Mount is singularly fortunate to have in association a major journal which so aptly reflects its own concerns.

The third major addition to the periodical literature focusing on women is *Canadian Women Studies*. First published in the fall of 1978, its origins in Toronto's Centennial College help explain its closer attention to the needs of the feminist community working in high schools and junior colleges in particular. It also set out to serve and support feminists working in a wide range of public and private enterprises. Its shift to York University in 1980 does not appear to have changed this fundamental orientation. The decidedly activist orientation was outlined very precisely in the first issue:

> C.W.S. is a magazine encouraging change and requiring action. If a scholar has a theory that can help women it will remain just that unless it can be converted into action. This is why C.W.S. needs academic articles that have gone the extra step and been demystified.[34]

An editorial board member defined the projected agenda in more detail:

> We want to help to break down the barriers between the education of women in the classroom, in the community, and in the workforce. We believe this will unite women and give them power. By raising consciousness, by sharing knowledge, we will help each other to understand why we have been in a dependent and powerless state. In doing so we will create a structure and a process to conducive to political action and social change, that there will be no turning back.[35]

Implicit within this statement is the suggestion that *CWS*, even more so than *RFR* and *Atlantis*, is formally committed to no single interpretation of feminism. A preliminary reading of its pages also indicates that socialist feminism is less well represented here than in the other periodicals. This essentially liberal orientation would seem in keeping with the broadening out strategy advocated by the founders.

CWS's explicit intention to pursue consciousness-raising, a task which *RFR* and *Atlantis* largely presume to have occurred among their readers has lead to a spelling out of basic critical issues. *CWS* is the only one of the three, for example, to introduce right at the beginning a discussion of the character of Women's Studies and the whole concept of interdisciplinarity *per se*.[36] The same attention to form and method was evident in articles on Concordia's first course on French women writers[37] on "Women Studies in an Alternate Setting", [38] and "On Teaching 'Women and Literature' to Grade 13 Students".[39] The strong community orientation of *CWS* was also visible early with contributions on feminist career counselling[40], on an association of household workers[41], female painters[42] and wife battering.[43] As this last section illustrates *CWS* has also been notably successful in drawing forth French-Canadian contributors. This high participation rate owes a good deal to Mair Verthuy, Principal of Concordia's Institut Simone de Beauvoir and also an editor for *CWS*. The result is probably a higher level of bilingualism and biculturalism than that achieved by either *RFR* or *Atlantis*. This constitutes probably the greatest contribution of Concordia's Women's Studies to the national scene. In contrast the others — the Mount, Toronto and Simon Fraser — are more visible in the more scholarly journals.

For all its more popular orientation *CWS* has made a number of significant contributions to the body of knowledge in women's studies. In particular its special issues are worth

systematic attention, as for example with that on "Photographie/*la photographie*", "Law and Politics/*La Loi et la politique*", and "Women, Nation Builder/*Femme, batisseuse de la nation*".[44] The particularly effective use of photographs which characterize this journal also makes it especially valuable and accessible to a broader range of readers.

The mandates of these three publications are rather different but in unison they serve the feminist community very well. Their approach, which can be characterized as broadly non-sectarian, ranging in their contributions from radical to marxist to liberal feminism, enables them to draw widely on academics, archivists, activists, students, housewives, artists, and unionists for material. Other, more specialized publications also contribute to the body of Canadian women's studies. One thinks, for instance, of the literary magazine, *Room of One's Own*. Very little of what is happening in the field at large, however, escapes the attention of *RFR*, *Atlantis* or *CWS*. To understand them is in many ways to appreciate the direction, substance and arguments of women's studies in Canada.

Organizing for Change

In the 1970s a number of groups emerged to press for a greater recognition of women in teaching, research and staffing. A good many attempted to work within disciplines as with the Canadian Committee on Women's History/*Le Comité canadien d'histoire des femmes*, the Interest Group on Women and Psychology and the Society of Women in Philosophy. There are also such interdisciplinary groups as the Society for Women in Science and the Canadian Women's Studies Association. The success of these groups varies tremendously but they are essential in building morale and support for members isolated in a wide range of institutions. Their efforts also provide an essential resource for the Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women. Founded in April 1976 in response to International Women's Year and at the beginning of International Women's Decade CRIAW focused on the near absence of research on Canadian women. Its objectives include:

- To promote the advancement of women through feminist research
- To encourage and facilitate communication and information exchange among academic women, community workers, women's groups, and concerned individuals
- To disseminate research results through the CRIAW Papers, and eventually, through a computerized bibliographic retrieval system
- To sponsor and assist research into areas of vital interest to Canadian women.[45]

CRIAW has sought to fulfill its mandate in a number of ways. It established the CRIAW Bank of Researchers as a computerized record of feminist scholars in all disciplines. Research Grants-In-Aid have also been made available to assist projects promoting the advancement of women. The CRIAW Papers were inaugurated in the fall of 1981 to facilitate the publication of research. A quarterly newsletter offers up-to-the-month information on opportunities for the feminist research community. There are also two annual prizes. The Marion Porter Prize is awarded for the best feminist article and the Muriel Duckworth Prize to the Canadian woman or women who best communicates feminist goals through any medium. Finally there are annual conferences bringing together feminist researchers and activists across the country.[46] In the works is a proposal to computerize the abstracts of all current literature on Canadian women. The potential for this activity is obviously tremendous and the conferences and papers have demonstrated a quality comparable to that of other academic gatherings and publications. Although it has encountered the problems familiar to any feminist organization in raising funds, CRIAW shows every sign of becoming an influential lobbyist at the national level. A good deal of this influence

stems from that fact that there is at long last emerging a vital group of relatively established female academics. These feminists are sufficiently senior to be able to devote valuable time to an interdisciplinary national enterprise. The presidents — Pauline Jewett (1976-78), Elizabeth Percival (1978-79), Muriel Duckworth (1979-80), Ann Hall (1980-81), Margrit Eichler (1981-82), and Corinne Gallant (1982-83) — provide practically a roll-call of senior female activists and scholars.

Nor is CRIAW alone. Of clear importance for the emergence of Women's Studies within institutions of higher education are the Canadian Council on Learning Opportunities for Women, the National Action Committee, and the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women. The latter in particular with its recently strengthened research arm should bring valuable new additions to the material currently available on the experience of Canadian women.

For all these groups finances remain problematic. In face of mounting budgetary crises and a conservative backlash there is no reason to believe this will soon change for the better. Despite this dilemma they remain energetic, a reflection of the strength of feminist activity. Recently too there are also promising new prospects for research. In particular, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council has identified two strategic grant areas of special importance to feminists: the 'Family and the Socialization of Children' and 'Women and Work'. The existence of such funding sources may be essential to the survival of feminist scholars in the coming decade.

Also promising in the 1970s was the emergence of significant feminist presses. Press Gang Publishers began in Vancouver about 1970 as a leftist print shop for both sexes but the men soon left. The result today is a feminist publishing collective. In 1972 Women's Press emerged in Toronto and publishes today from a socialist feminist perspective. In Quebec *Les Editions du remue-ménage* has been offering feminists the chance to publish since 1976. There is also *les Editions de la pleine lune* but little is known about its activities. Eden Press of Montreal was founded in 1977 as an independent publishing house for scholarly Women's Studies. Women's Press and Press Gang have been the most influential in supplying books to be used in universities and colleges. All are essential counters to the conservatism of bigger conventional presses.[47]

Conclusion

The 1970s saw the emergence of feminist scholarship on an unparalleled scale in Canada. Very little existed in any field before this time. The change in universities, while sometimes disappointing in light of high hopes, has nevertheless been dramatic. Women and their study have become highly visible in a variety of settings from coast to coast. This is not to suggest that gains are necessarily permanent. The disappearance of courses and the loss of jobs still threaten in many areas. Hiring freezes and budget cutbacks pose real, sometimes monumental, problems. The strength of the New Right now evident in attacks on hospital abortion committees and demands for religious instruction looms far too great to give any feminist peace of mind. Anti-feminism can also still be retailed by some academics as respectable, fair-minded scholarship. Yet for all this gloom there is a generation and more of feminists who will not easily give up hard-won gains, in women's studies or elsewhere. The next decade will test just how far they have been able to convince their contemporaries of the merits of women's cause. The future of Women's Studies and academic feminism in general will depend on that support.

Notes

*My thanks to Meredith Kimball, Andrea Lebowitz and Mary Lynn McDougall for reading an earlier draft of this article.

† Editor's Note: Dr. Elizabeth J. Saccha, the recently appointed Principal of the Simone de Beauvoir Institute, has indicated misgivings of the interpretation of events because there is a suggestion that the program at the Institute is somewhat moribund; rather, the opposite is the case. A description of the Program will be included in the December 1983 issue of this Journal.

[1] Notable recent examples include Sylvia Van Kirk, *"Many Tender Ties": Women in Fur Trade Society in Western Canada, 1700-1850* (Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer, 1980), Meg Luxton, *More Than a Labour of Love. Three Generations of Women's Work in the Home* (Toronto: Women's Educational Press, 1980), Mary O'Brien, *The Politics of Reproduction* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981), Pat and Hugh Armstrong, *The Double Ghetto* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1978), Barbara Latham and Cathy Kess, eds. *In Her Own Right: Selected Essays on Women's History in British Columbia* (Victoria: Camosun College, 1980), L. Kealey, ed. *A Not Unreasonable Claim, Women and Reform in Canada 1880s-1920s* (Toronto: Canadian Women's Educational Press, 1979) and Lorenne Clark and Debra Lewis, *Rape: The Price of Coercive Sexuality* (Toronto: The Women's Press, 1977).

[2] Regarding the need for self-criticism see the useful reminder by Marlene Mackie, "On Congenial Truths: A Perspective on Women's Studies", *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 14:1 1977, 117-128.

[3] There is as yet no comprehensive guide to the dissent of these decades. To be sure a recent volume, *Canada Since 1945. Power, Politics, and Provincialism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981) by Robert Bothwell, Ian Drummond and John English does take up the issue, only to treat protest movements of all kinds, including that of women, in a superficial, patronizing and essentially ahistorical manner.

[4] For an indication of some of the problems facing academic women see Anne-Marie Henshel, *Sex Structure* (Toronto: Longman Canada Ltd., 1973), chapter 5, "A Case Study of Status Differential: Women in Academia".

[5] See *Education in Canada. A Statistical Review for 1980-81* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1981) passim.

[6] For an insider's view of some of the issue Myrna Kotash, *Long Way Home* (Toronto: James Korimer & Co.: 1980).

[7] On the variety of opinion in the United States see Marilyn J. Boxer, "For and About Women: The Theory and Practice of Women's Studies in the United States", *Signs* 7(3) 1982, 661-695.

[8] For a brief indication of their influence see Strong-Boag, "Graduating into Women's History", *Resources for Feminist Research* (henceforth *RFR*) 8:2, July 1979, 10-11.

[9] On the New Social History see Strong-Boag, "Raising Clio's Consciousness: Women's History and Archives in Canada", *Archivaria* 6, Summer 1978, pp. 70-1. For a very useful appraisal of Canadian women's history see Alison Prentice, "Women's History in Canada: A Project in Process", Paper presented on the Colloquium on Social History, Carleton University, June 1982.

[10] See the course listed in Loretta M. French, compiler, *Women's Studies Canada 1977, Canadian Newsletter of Research on Women* (henceforth *CNRW*), May 1977 supplement and "Women's Studies Canada 1978", *CNRW* 7:4.

[11] For a useful, although somewhat dated, assessment of sociology see Lorne Tepperman, "Sociology in English-Speaking Canada: The Last Five Years", *Canadian Historical Review* 49:4, December 1978, 435-46.

[12] Tannis McBeth Williams; Merle L. Zabrack; Linda F. Harrison: "Some Factors Affecting Women's Participation in Psychology in Canada", *Canadian Psychology/Psychologie Canadiene* 21, July 1980 p. 98.

[13] Regarding Dixon see Margaret Gillet, *We Walked Very Warily. A History of Women at McGill* (Montreal: Eden's Press, 1981), Chapter 9.

[14] "Introduction", *Who Turns the Wheel?* (Ottawa: Science Council of Canada, 1981), p. 7. For a similarly bleak appraisal see Janine Pinet, "La Femme et La Science", *Atlantis* 3:2, Part II, Spring 1978, 96-115.

[15] C. Tausig, "Women Academics: Little Change in Status Over Past Decade", *University Affairs* 9, 1979:2-3.

[16] On the lack of representation see T. McCormack, "The Professional Ethic and the Spirit of Sexism", *Atlantis* 5:1, Fall 1979, 132-40 and Maureen Baker, "Academic Queen Bees", *Atlantis* 1:2, Spring 1976, 84-93.

[17] On the dangers see D. Smith, "An Analysis of Ideological Structures and How Women are Excluded: Considerations for Academic Women", *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 2, Part 1, November 1975: 353-69 and Nicole Lawin-Frenette, "Les femmes dans la sociologie", *Sociologie et societes* 13:2:3-18.

[18] For a description of the interdisciplinary initiatives at Concordia or Sir George Williams University as it was in 1970-1 see Greta Hoffman Nemiroff, "Rationale for an Interdisciplinery Approach to Women's Studies", *Canadian Women's Studies* (henceforth *CWS*) 1:1 1978, 60-68.

[19] For brief and provocative indication of the character of some early initiatives see Donna E. Smyth, "Interview with Myrna Kostash — "A Western, Ukrainian, Regionalist, Feminist, Socialist Writer", *Atlantis* 6:2, Spring 1981, especially pp. 181-2. Kostash was involved as student and teacher in the first Women's Studies courses at the University of Toronto.

[20] On this dual mandate see Nemiroff, "Rationale".

[21] The need to reevaluate the university curriculum through the application of interdisciplinary methodologies and insights was felt widely as the special issue, "Thoughts on Interdisciplinarity" of the *Journal of Canadian Studies* 15:3, Fall 1980 made clear. Curiously, however, the significance of interdisciplinarity for the study of Canadian women was nowhere acknowledged.

[22] Mount St. Vincent University, *Calendar* 1980-1, p. 9.

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] See Nemiroff, "Rationale".

[25] *First Annual Report of the Simone de Beauvoir Institute of Concordia University, Montreal,* May 1979, submitted by Mair Verthuy, pp. 4-5.

[26] It should be noted that the author was a critic of Allen and Nemiroff on the issue of the name and their supporter in the debates which saw Nemiroff's departure.

[27] Andrea Lebowitz to Strong-Boag, December 1982.

[28] *Ibid.*

[29] For an appraisal of the UBC situation see Kathy Ford and Muriel Draaisma, "Women's Studies Slip and Slide", *The Conventioner*, June 30, 1982, p. 13.

[30] "Editorial", *Canadian Newsletter of Research on Women* (henceforth *CNRW*) 1:1, May 1972, p. 1.

[31] *CNRW*, 6:2, May 1977 and *CNRW* 7:4, 1978.

[32] "Editorial", *RFR* 10:4, Dec. 1981/Jan. 1982.

[33] *Atlantis* 1:1, Fall 1975, back of front cover.

[34] "Editorial", *CWS* 1:1, 1978 p. 3.

[35] Marion Colby, "Women's Studies: an Inclusive Concept for an Inclusive Field", *CWS* 1:1, 1978, p. 6.

[36] See, for example, Nemiroff, "Rationale".

[37] Mair Verthuy, "Y a-t-il une specificité de l'écriture au feminin?", *CWS* 1:1, 1978, pp. 73-7.

[38] Kathy Waters, *CWS* 1:1, 1978, pp. 78-9.

[39] Ann B. Shteir, *CWS* 1:1, 1978, pp. 80-1.

[40] Helen Doyon and Pat Hacker, "Feminist Career Counselling — An Account of One Successful Experience", *CWS* 1:2, 1979, pp. 12-13.

[41] Danielle Bouchard, "Association du personnel domestique", *CWS* 1:2, 1979, pp. 38-40.

[42] J. Doris Hunt, "Annora Brown of Fort Macleod", *CWS* 1:3, 1979, pp. 91-3.

[43] Michele Chardourne, "Mon Vécu", *CWS* 1:2, 1979, pp. 49-51.

[44] *CWS* 2:3, 1980; 2:4, 1980; 3:1, 1981.

[45] *CRIAW*, publicity brochure.

[46] April 8-9, 1976, CRIAW Founding Meeting, Ottawa.
November 10-12, 1977, "Whys and Wherefores of Research on Women", Winnipeg.
November 9-11, 1978, "Women's Health — Physical, Emotional and Social", Quebec City.
November 9-11, 1979, "Women as Persons", Edmonton.
November 14-16, 1980, "Women and Power during the Eighties", Toronto.
November 13-15, 1981, "Women and Culture", Halifax.
November 19-21, "Sexism in Research and Its Policy Implications", Ottawa.
November 11-13, "Feminism in Action: New Knowledge, New Education, New Society", Vancouver.

[47] On the feminist press in general see Margie Wolfe, "Feminist Publishing in Canada", *CWS* 2:2, 1980, pp. 9-11; Joan Hind Smith, "Women's Press", *Status of Women News*, Spring 1982, 19-21; Doris Anderson, "Women's Magazines in the 1970s", *CWS* 2:2, pp. 15-16; and Penny Kome, "Homemakers", *CWS* 2:2, 1980, 17.