

The Women's Center
101 Barnard

FEMALE

Siporin

Education
Women's Studies

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101 Barnard

FEMALE STUDIES V

Edited by
Rae Lee Siporin

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FEMALE STUDIES V

Proceedings of the Conference

Women and Education:

A Feminist Perspective

Edited By

Rae Lee Siporin

A conference co-sponsored by the
College of Arts and Sciences,
University of Pittsburgh and the
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Commission on the Status of Women

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WOMEN AND EDUCATION: THE CONFERENCE AS CATALYST

On November 5-7, 1971, the University of Pittsburgh hosted a national conference--"Women and Education: A Feminist Perspective." The conference was the result of several months of planning, discussion, and hard work by dedicated members of the university community of women interested in women's studies. Very few of the participants in the conference know of the background which supported the weekend; very few know firsthand of the questions asked and problems met in creating such a weekend. To try to address these issues, to answer some requests that I prepare a "How to prepare a Conference" guide and to attempt some evaluation of the conference, I write this introductory paper.

Although we envisioned the results of the conference being directly related to the structure, long and careful thought has led me to the conclusion that the difficulties of both describing the structure and evaluating the results stem from a much greater interrelatedness between the structure and the outcome than I had believed existed. The conference structure was designed with several models in mind. We considered having formal readings of a few prepared papers, a panel presentation, structured group discussions, workshops, little free or unscheduled time, tape recording sessions, in short, models which presented a more highly structured and less flexible framework than that adopted. It was specifically created to provide a comfortable environment which would in turn facilitate the greatest amount of personal interaction. Thus it is necessary to understand the planning and thought behind the meetings themselves in order to understand some of the behavior during the meetings and to weigh the value of the sessions and the period as a whole. What follows will attempt to clarify the relationship of the conference form to the results.

The primary impetus for "Women and Education" came from a negative reaction by a 'token woman' at a Spring 1970 symposium of college and university educators interested in educational innovation. During the weekend period of that symposium, the women (both graduate students and faculty) felt systematically and individually ignored, disregarded, and discredited in professional and psychological terms. The most profitable aspect of that entire session was a period during which five or six women met over breakfast and for extended conversation where we discussed both the symposium and the problems of teaching. To a woman, we had experienced a sense of frustration that our male colleagues were not only disregarding the problems of female students but also that we were not taken seriously, a situation we as females have been long familiar with.

The ease with which this small group was able to discuss educational philosophy and innovation, and the shared sense of responsibility, respect, and support among these women during this conversation suggested that a conference comprised solely of female participants would immediately provide a more positive atmosphere in which to discuss education. Our common concerns about the declining value of higher education, our interest in and awareness of teaching methods, an increased focus on the role of affect in both teaching and learning, and a vital dedication to the importance of process as well as content in classes provided a series of topics for discussion which clearly could encompass a full conference instead of a few hours of conversation. We were so encouraged by our brief session, by

the enthusiasm we found among each other once freed from participation as tokens and excited by the sense that we had so much more to say, the tentative suggestion that another conference might be in order was reinforced.

The College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Pittsburgh has been fortunate enough to have a dean interested in actively supporting teaching and curricular innovation. New programs, new interdisciplinary courses, and courses offered by professional school faculty for arts and sciences students have been instituted here. In addition, by the spring of 1970 several of us at Pitt were interested in the problems of women including equal rights, child care, women's studies, and professional opportunities. Several women's studies courses had been offered through College sponsoring. At least two university wide committees concerned with women were functioning. The climate in the university and in the College (the undergraduate body of arts and sciences), my own commitment to women, student enthusiasm, and support from a community of women merged to create an atmosphere conducive to holding a conference on education for women. The proposal for such a conference was met with encouragement and enthusiasm with initial funds granted by the College. Espousing interest in women's right and opportunities, the Chancellor's office also agreed to supply a minimal amount to fund the conference. Ultimately, the College funds were set aside at my request for a later effort on behalf of women but support was granted in the form of office personnel and supplies.

The perspective of the conference began to merge when the Modern Language Association Commission on the Status of Women agreed to cosponsor the conference and an ensuing meeting in New York set forth the basic criteria. The perspective was clearly feminist, specifically that of the women teaching female studies courses and also interested in innovative education. Additionally, we agreed that an interdisciplinary approach was necessary. Since most of the women on the Commission and a number of the women at Pitt were in the humanities and more specifically in English literature, we strongly believed on the basis of personal experience that time had come for those actively engaged in teaching women's studies to meet with women in other disciplines, with particular emphasis in the social sciences, for serious discussion about the problems of women's studies. The last of the criteria was implicit--candidates for the conference would be invited from as wide a geographical area as possible. We succeeded in attracting eleven women from the west coast as well as the fifty or so from the rest of the country.

One of the first concerns which we faced in New York was who the participants were to be. We decided almost immediately that the vital concern of undergraduate students had to be represented. Further, we unanimously insisted on as broad an undergraduate representation as possible from among students involved in women's studies courses. Their selection would come from recommendations by the faculty invited or by existing women's groups and female student organizations on campus and would be determined in part by geographical location. (Four came from as far as the west coast.) We settled upon the criteria of having either taught or taken women studies courses, having shown an expressed interest in developing more viable methods of teaching, being interested in an exchange of views with women of similar teaching backgrounds in women studies but from different disciplines. Since the greatest portion of work has been done in the area of literature, since the majority of women faculty at Pitt and

the Commission members were in literature, we felt it imperative to find women in natural and social sciences for a balanced interdisciplinary mix. The final concern became paramount soon after initiation of planning meetings in Pittsburgh--some undergraduates currently enrolled in a women's studies course, all Pitt faculty meeting the criteria for conference participation were invited to work on the planning committee--was that we were crucially underrepresented by third world women. We thus determined to search for third world representation.

One of the primary lessons many of us have learned from attending conferences of all kinds is that they tend to be impersonal and foreboding. People do not get to meet others; conversation is highly formalized, and the really interesting exchanges take place out of the arena of the conference proper. Understanding and recognizing this at the outset, we planned an environment which we hoped would facilitate as much positive interchange as possible. We attempted to offset the impersonality and largeness by written introductory statements prepared by each woman about her personal and professional interests. These were submitted in advance to serve as immediate identifiers of those women who were not already known, and they were included in the conference workbook which also contained the working papers. The impersonality associated with large numbers of people was not as great as might be expected since almost one third of the group came from Pitt.

An additional feature of the conference designed to promote interpersonal communication was the avoidance of public housing. Each of the Pitt participants with facilities agreed to host from one to three participants. This contact provided for greater exchange during the free evenings and morning hours. To encourage maximum exchange of ideas, guests and hostesses were combined according to disciplines; thus, whenever possible, a mixture of humanities with the natural and social sciences was established. The one exception was the case of the undergraduate students all of whom were housed with the undergraduates from Pitt (by demand of the Pitt undergraduate students). (So close was the feeling among these women, Pitt women who lived off campus moved onto campus in the dorms where the other women were staying.)

Our original goal of a small conference of forty participants half from Pitt, half from outside, was far exceeded. The response to our invitations was overwhelmingly enthusiastic. Although not all of those asked were able to participate, many wrote me lengthy letters explaining in detail the nature of prior commitments and indicating continued interest. Those who were able to come often wrote full page letters expressing their excitement. We ended with about ninety women. Not only did the women want to come, but in response to our inquiry about student recommendations, they recommended three and four students each. Some even went ahead and invited students themselves. Keeping track of the number of participants became a harrowing task. Our final count included 67 faculty and graduate students (all of whom were and are doing research on women and most of whom had taught a women's studies course) and 21 undergraduates. We also had participation from six black women. The majority of women came from literature, sociology, history, psychology. A substantial but lesser number of participants represented such disciplines as Hispanic, German, French, and classics, biology, comparative literature, fine arts, education and law.

Discussions in New York with the MLA Commission and in Pittsburgh with the planning committee for the conference were around the basic and general question: Women studies--where is it going? The women who were invited to attend were asked to submit specific questions relating to women's studies which could narrow the focus of the discussion during the actual meetings. Three areas emerged: The rationale for women's studies programs; the curriculum in such a program; the strategies for teaching women's studies. Incorporated into these were considerations of the role of the female teacher and the problems of teaching female students. Recognizing the generality of the three topics, we nevertheless felt that they provided the focus of three group meetings.

To allow for maximum involvement and discussion, conference sessions were designed to be both small and interdisciplinary. Groups were no larger than ten, insuring that everyone who had comments would be in a situation flexible enough to permit contributions. This structure would also increase personal contact among participants. The formality and impersonality of large meetings and lectures were thus avoided. By delaying the plenary until after two and possibly three group meetings, a greater cohesion was hoped for in the plenary itself.

Each potential participant was invited to prepare a working paper--a document to center on one of the three areas and to add depth and specificity to the discussion. We had expected during the June New York meeting that the pressures of preparing a paper for an October or November conference made it unlikely that there would be much response. What we found was the opposite. Women who were interested in the conference and who responded immediately wanted to bring working documents.

Although not stated in the invitation letter, the implication was clear that in requesting conference working papers to focus small groups, there would be no single resource person, no expert available to supply answers. The first premise of the conference was that each woman came with her own expertise to share with others having relatively the same commitment to women's studies. The criteria of experience in and exposure to women's studies insured that all would have had a minimal amount of consciousness, and would then be able to progress to the immediately more rewarding tasks of exchanging pertinent data, feelings, perceptions, ideas. The conference was determined to be democratic from the start--each participant would arrive on an equal plane, interest and experience in women's studies. Though without teaching experience in many cases, the students would focus attention on the learning aspect of education.

Apparently the appeal of the shared responsibility, leaderless, type of conference appealed to many who felt that they could and would contribute working statements. We ended with nineteen contributions, far more than anticipated. Some were fully developed papers which took as their theme issues not specifically outlined by us but issues inherent to women's studies. Some were geared directly to one of the three topics--a particular approach to curriculum or a treatment of a given or developing course. The papers ranged from a series of notes to a fully developed editorial to a published article.* In constituting the small groups--thirty in all--we put one to two women who had submitted papers in each. At the rate of ten groups per period, we were able to place each participant in three totally new groups. Maximum exposure to other participants was achieved

in this way. The papers themselves would serve as catalysts and the authors could facilitate additional discussion. Since each group had two authors, the burden on any single person was also mitigated.

Unfortunately hindsight is often a far better teacher than all the pre-planning and forethought combined. The workbook had been planned for early distribution but the papers came in up to and including the literal last minute. The last paper was typed and distributed the second day of the conference. Consequently, many participants were unable or unwilling to read the papers before the sessions. Even the carefully prepared personal introductions were not read although participants commented favorably on the value of the workbook. This obviously left the 'leaders' in an awkward and unenviable position. Considerable time went into personal introductions: "we all came with a certain level of consciousness of the problems of women and it seemed to me we spent too much time trying to make sure that everybody else had achieved the same point rather than starting with some in depth and fairly sophisticated discussions about our common problems." The workbook might have been more useful had it been ready and distributed as originally planned, ten days before the conference. The lesson was learned the hard way. Getting eighteen contributors to submit their work by a given deadline takes more than a gentle letter of reminder with a rational plea for cooperation.

The catalyst for the second group session was not specifically the papers but the film "Growing Up Female" shown immediately following lunch and proceeding the afternoon session. The disturbing nature of the film and the questions it raised about sexual stereotyping and teaching were expected to pose enough problems for the session to be unified around the film. The schedule for the final day was to have been a short meeting of special interest groups followed by a plenary session which would theoretically summarize the discussions of the previous day, the special interest sessions and finally point our directions which could focus a final small group discussion that afternoon. The period was totally given over to these special groups with the plenary delayed to the last afternoon meeting.

Since each group had two and sometimes three people from Pitt, since each Pitt participant was asked to take notes of the session, we felt that our notes could be collated and later presented to all participants. The efforts of the last group were not dismissed nor would they be ignored. Frequently, plenary sessions bring to light issues which did not receive enough attention or which deserve further discussion. Our last small meeting was reserved for just that prospect.

While the group sessions were limited to nine or ten women, the special interest groups ranged from six to thirty or forty. The group which identified itself as the revolutionary caucus met with the largest number of women, including most of the undergraduates and younger academics. The history caucus included most of the women in history. Two other groups met--the more established, more published women to discuss the possibilities of foundation funding and to establish priorities; another group to define women's studies since it is a new field and since it produces such hostility in traditional academic ranks. Each of these groups was to present a report during the plenary.

This account of the structure may give the impression that conference participants were busy every minute of the day. However, considerable time was purposely left unscheduled. The conference officially began the night before the group sessions with a dinner. The original thought was to have a short, small group session that night; however, with women arriving from all over the country, this was determined to be impractical. The better solution was to allow for as much informal exchange as possible and to allow Pitt people to meet with and get to know their guests. During the remainder of the conference breakfasts were informal gatherings of the entire group for coffee and danish thus permitting free mingling again. Lunches were more formalized--sit-down affairs but without seating assignments. The second night was completely free. A quick accounting reveals that only eight to ten hours during the weekend were actually scheduled conference sessions. The rest of the time was available for whatever use the women wanted to make of it.

The film had been highly recommended and obviously made a significant impression, at least on the Pitt people. Almost every instructor from Pitt used the film in her class within that very week, attesting to its strength. However, reports of the afternoon sessions indicate that the film was basically ignored. A few groups tried to discuss some of the issues raised by it but the most general reaction was avoidance. We had thought that enough stimulus would be contained to motivate that discussion from a single vantage point. Informal conversation with participants revealed that they had been deeply moved but none of this feeling and thought was utilized constructively that afternoon. Apparently the participants found the film too disturbing to discuss it constructively. The afternoon sessions were generally regarded to be depressed and somewhat demoralized.

Some time during the second evening, discontent began to narrow. This discontent stemmed from what the undergraduates and from the younger faculty/graduate students regarded as systematic exclusion from discussions by the more established women. These feelings of discontent were labelled alienation. More acutely than any group, the undergraduates felt that their voices were not being heard, that their contributions were not acceptable. They sensed a kind of professional snobbishness, an elitism among the established women and a competitiveness among the younger women trying to impress the others. They reacted with a sense of betrayal and a stronger alliance among themselves. Staying together in a large group, and feeling oppressed, the undergraduates were able to develop and sustain a more cordial sense of community than others. Some of the 'less established' but relatively well known politically active women joined this group of students and formed themselves into a Revolutionary Feminist Caucus. The Caucus then demanded that time be allotted the next (and last) morning for a meeting in which they could discuss among themselves and with any other participants interested in continuing a discussion of the 'real' issues of the conference. The structure was altered and Sunday morning became another "small group" session. This time however the composition of the group was determined by choice.

The original planning of the Conference, as has been mentioned, sought to mix women by discipline, interest, and educational background and level. No attempt was made to combine women of similar ideological persuasion. No attempt was made to combine women who are what the undergraduates called

'the heavies' the well-known, self-styled leaders and acknowledged names in women's studies. However, the structure of the conference allowed enough free time for women to come together and meet outside of the formalities of group sessions. Women 'found' others who shared their basic commitments to the women's movement and to women's studies. Our first reactions to the formal meetings were that the time might not be right for interdisciplinary meetings, and clearly, more communication within disciplines is necessary. A more considered position accounts for the fact that a primary need existed for women to feel comfortable together--comfortable in the sense of commitment, of similar ideology, intellect, perception. Once this need was met, interdisciplinary discussion began. Still more interesting and somewhat surprising is the fact that the original factionalizing began along age differences rather than along political or ideological lines. The young, feeling excluded by the old, reacted intensely. Their cohesiveness was increased and they were ready to demand equal time. The political radicals and lefts (including faculty) joined the young and the issues grew from exclusion and 'alienation' to more political themes.

A basic attitude exhibited by the Revolutionary feminists was the primacy of feeling and personal perception even to the rejection of those few who were interested in and capable of continuing into intense intellectual discussion about the abstract nature of women's studies. Their position was inimicable to highly abstract discussion as they focused on more pragmatic concerns. For them, the main goal of women's studies is primarily that of serving the women's movement. They believe in the necessity of connection between women's centers (the community) and women's studies (the university) and they insist that the community be an integral part of any women's studies program. For them women's studies is an action oriented program, directly in opposition to research and academic interests of university people. The Revolutionary Feminists indicated great mistrust of the academic women, those more oriented toward research and university involvement, claiming that these women and the 'heavies' were making women's studies a haven for professional careers. Women's studies to the Revolutionary Feminists must contribute to building a mass movement and thus must teach women the skills necessary to survive in a sexist world. While little overt distinction was made between the 'heavies' and the academics, more hostility was aimed at the 'heavies' who were characterized as being coopted and coopting in their efforts. All association with foundations was disavowed despite the potentiality of funding. The conference itself came under attack for being too small, too elitist, and not including enough radicals. The group proposed a conference of radical women for the next summer. When the meeting broke for lunch, three smaller task forces met to continue discussion of issues raised. These smaller groups prepared statements and positions to present that afternoon at the plenary illustrating an ability to delegate work and continue even during the more formalities of the difficult lunch period.

When the Revolutionary Feminists spokeswoman rose Sunday morning to announce the objectives of their group, a certain hostility was generated within the ranks of the academically oriented women who wanted to know what was meant by the designation, 'revolutionary.' A second group, the social scientists, comprised largely of historians, decided to meet. This group included some of the most highly respected academic women at the conference. Those who went to meet in this group were from later accounts conflicted about whether or not to go with this group and to stay with it. Many had

gone, including undergraduates, with the expressed intention of staying only a short time in order to join the radical group. Significantly, none of the women in this group left. In fact, when the other groups broke up to go to lunch, the historians were still meeting and discussing problems of the discipline. From reactions reported later by letter, the majority of historians (and some sociologists) found this meeting of social scientists the most profitable during the conference.

The undergraduates were asked to comment on their feelings in this group of social scientists and at least one said that her sense of alienation came from not exclusion by others but from exclusion by topic--the questions dealt with did not cover her own classroom experiences. Faculty felt frustrated at not being able to discuss crucial matters, specific details, strategies, and justifications for women's studies programs. (These were the original problems posed by conference planners!) Questions raised and discussed by this group included the following: What is women's history; what conceptual frameworks exist and are needed for the scholarly study of women; can a theoretical basis be built which relates all women; what are the crucial questions to ask in dealing with women's history; what data are available to shed light on these questions; how should this data be translated and taught in the classroom. The suggestion was made and generally agreed to that a conference would be useful and productive for just those people interested in women's history, thus avoiding some of the diversity of a general conference and allowing for brainstorming on theories and research possibilities. Apparently, unlike the other planned small group sessions, there was general satisfaction with this meeting. All participated and none left despite original intentions to join the Revolutionary Feminist group. "The group I found most beneficial was the group meeting of historians. The group spelled out the problems encountered by the Feminist Historian, offered suggestions on how to find the necessary materials now lacking on women in history, and presented ideas on how to change the framework of history itself."

A third 'interest group' met Sunday morning. While the Revolutionary Feminists strongly believed that one of the general conference topics was redundant, the rationale for women's studies, this group posed as its major problem the examination of women's studies, in its relation to the university, to society, to other disciplines. So far women's studies courses have been treated as a subjective experience by each instructor. While to some it is a way to raise feminist consciousness, to others a way to transmit information, to still others, a way to know women, what is lacking is an objective definition, a frame of reference common to all. This group attempted to create the larger frame of reference which would subsume all of these by examining and understanding women's studies in its broadest possible context. The group was very small and included those women who had attempted to discuss the problems of women's studies along the most abstract and theoretical levels treated during the conference. These women too felt the hostility of the revolutionary feminists whose starting place was with 'feelings,' whose concern was action, and who refused to allow abstract or theoretical discussion in the small groups since they did not deal with the university as either a potential for radical change or as a reflection of other structures in society thus denying the connection between the university and other institutions. Distinct and considerable anti-intellectualism among the Revolutionary Feminists was recognized and identified as such by some participants who had expected intense dialogue

to emerge from the meetings. In rejecting most theorizing, the revolutionary feminists perpetuated the split between themselves and their 'academic' sisters. Little to no mutual respect existed between these two largest groups, at least, not enough to allow for cooperative discussion. Yet as one of the participants wrote:

"True scholarship is connected with activism; it is connected with politics; it is connected with reality. True politics is connected with theory. People who are engaged in a revolutionary movement for social change, whether they are consciously activists or theoreticians, must be able to respect those modes as they occur in others."

The final group to meet that morning was also a relatively small group. This consisted of those labelled the 'heavies', those who are the most nationally visible and in some instances who are widely published in the more widely known journals and periodicals. These women are obviously the political figures of the women's studies branch of the women's movement. They are in direct contact with many of the national 'leaders' of the women's movement (despite the tendency in the movement to deny that any woman is a leader). These women have made their careers in the women's movement rather than in the traditional academic ways of the more scholarly women in the social sciences. Because of the size, number, content, and weight of their publications, they were viewed with suspicion by the young and by the revolutionary feminists. The main concerns of this group were to determine priorities in the educational tasks of the women's movement. Some of the women in this group had been invited to discuss the women's movement by foundation people who had funds and were contemplating places to invest these funds. These connections alone made these women suspect to the revolutionaries; however, the fact remained that these women hoped to find a consensus around which to seek funding. The priorities they established during the conference meeting listed curricular models and new materials, development of human resources, development of non-university feminist groups, and finally communications. This last need, as directly related to women's studies programs, was to be answered in part by the establishment of a women's studies newsletter coordinated at Pitt but edited by a 'neutral' woman who was outside the university system.

Part of the hostility towards this group may be accounted for by the fact that these women had been meeting throughout the conference unscheduled periods. They had formed a working alliance long before the conference, and for them, the conference was a vehicle to meet again, thus when they invited others in an open invitation to join them at this meeting, the general reaction was one of disbelief and mistrust. No students met with this group, unlike with the historians. During the plenary which followed in the afternoon, the most overt hostility displayed was aimed at them and their spokeswoman.

The reports in the plenary session emphasized the undergraduate's perceived alienation. Some even said they would never attend another conference. They specifically attacked the lack of open communication between themselves and the "Establishment" women. In fact, a general sense of alienation was admitted by many members of the conference during the plenary. The more recognized and published women admitted a sense of frustration at the lack of cooperation and the inability or unwillingness of some to

I personally had my vision of what a Women's Studies program might be greatly expanded. . . And my respect for Women's Studies as a discipline went up because of contact with the many first-rate people in the field.

I learned much I could not have gotten from written sources and I came away with renewed confidence of the value of Women's Studies.

While the value of the planned group sessions is highly questionable, the value of the personal contact is unmistakable. Several women are now in regular correspondence; several have planned projects for the future; several are or have already served as resource persons for both other participants and for friends of participants. Finally, a considerable sharing of materials and friends have put women in direct contact with many others who were not at the conference but who are interested in women's studies and in research. Many new friendships were begun during the week-end.

Results less tangible than resolutions and papers but more important to the success of women and education, to women's studies, and to the women's movement itself have come from the catalytic nature of the conference even at Pitt. Several women here who participated in the conference continue to meet with a desire towards establishing an ongoing community. A few of the participants have themselves helped form additional groups of other women in the university, some as informal rap groups, some as formal departmental caucuses of women, to work together. Out of this has come ready-made pressure groups to work for women, and changes have occurred as a result of these efforts. Finally, the conference has served as an educational process for most of the women at Pitt, a third of the participants. Recently, the Pittsburgh Council on Higher Education formed a sub-committee on Women's Studies chaired by a conference participant and involving six colleges and universities in the city. By their own accounts, women left the conference with a broadened viewpoint, renewed energy and enthusiasm; new contacts in other disciplines; an increased awareness of materials and research in progress; greater respect for the field of Women's Studies; recognition that we are well on the way to offer solutions; information about programs at other schools, philosophies behind various programs; tips on finding new resources and new strategies for teaching; belief in the necessity of trust and community; awareness of goal differences of various groups within the movement; recognition of the kinds of struggles which must be dealt with inside the women's movement and in Women's Studies programs. Obviously we only touched upon many of these issues. Most participants felt a distinct need to learn more about other Women's Studies programs, centers, and offerings. To this end, the idea of starting a Women's Studies Newsletter was proposed and some effort was made to coordinate several women and prepare the newsletter within the next few months.

Perhaps the greatest lesson of the conference though the most costly in emotional energy, was that of learning to work together, of learning to express unpopular feelings that make one group feel oppressed or uncomfortable but force the rest of the group to attend to these problems. The experience of the weekend offered several examples illustrating the need to overcome the handicaps imposed on women through years of systematic oppression. Community does not magically take place with the exclusion of men. Cooperation is more than rhetoric about working in harmony. The workings

of the conference presented the struggles of the women's movement in microcosm. The heartening sense that open discussion did occur and consequent dialogue followed vindicates all of the rhetoric about cooperation and community. The willingness was there. We need only to find the way.

Rae Lee Siporin
Director: "Women and Education: A
Feminist Perspective"

*Every attempt was made to include in this volume as many papers used during the conference as possible to illustrate the depth and breadth of working material submitted. (Two papers were, of course, written in response to the conference.) All papers are included with permission of the author.

A FEMINIST IN EVERY CLASSROOM

Agate Nesaule Krouse

While we are drawing up special courses in Women's Studies and thinking about the day when we will be able to devote much of our attention to those, we have to teach composition, introduction to literature, or advanced courses which have little to do with women and feminism as such. We feel alternately guilty and frustrated academically: if we select extensive material by and about women, for example, are we giving a distorted view of a particular period of literary history? If we do not, are we merely perpetuating an equally distorted view developed by male critics and historians? Are we sacrificing human responsibility, intellectual standards, loyalty to women? Whether I should exclude Edna St. Vincent Millay or E. E. Cummings from the overcrowded syllabus of an advanced survey course in modern poetry produced a minor crisis similar to choosing between a thesis on the formal structural elements in the fiction of Doris Lessing, my present topic (The Feminism of Doris Lessing), and having a baby. Women teachers have divided loyalties and responsibilities academically, just as they do in the rest of their lives.

The selection of materials is a large problem, which I hope other participants will discuss in detail. I would like to offer some suggestions on introducing feminist issues in courses where we are limited by required texts, or in which we can only include so much material by and about women in spite of agonizing decisions. Most of my remarks will relate to teaching literature and composition since my suggestions are drawn from my own teaching experience. However, some may be adapted to other disciplines. All of them, I hope, are ways in which women teachers can destroy prejudice or simple ignorance. At the very least, they are ways of alleviating our own frustration until we get all the courses in Women's Studies we need.

1. Discovering and reacting to prejudices of our students.

Women teachers have disadvantages. On the first day of class, some students look disappointed when we walk in. What we say is not always accepted as authoritative: essay exams written by our students may be fuller of qualifying statements (e.g., "you said," "supposedly," etc.) than those of our male colleagues. But in another sense we have great authority when we deal with women's issues. Being able to say, "I know from personal experience that sexual discrimination exists," is important. Anyone who has ever tried to convince students that poems and stories written in the first person are not necessarily about the experiences of the author knows that students often prefer the personal to the artistic or the objective. Whenever I try to explain to my composition classes that a single personal experience is not adequate logical evidence for a large generalization, I meet disbelief. Without being aware of it, students are neo-romantics who prize individual experience; they are receptive to the self-expression of great American writers like Emily Dickinson, and they are entranced by confessional poets like Sylvia Plath.

As women teachers we can take advantage of student preference for the personal. Since we are aware of sexual roles, absurdities, and injustices, we have an opportunity to remark on them. We are more likely to be believed than our male colleagues who may mention women's issues from a more distant perspective.

Early in the semester it is possible to shock students into a discovery about their own assumptions about women and men. I did that accidentally last year as I was teaching Irwin Shaw's short story, "The Eighty Yard Run" to freshmen. The story presents a marriage in which Louise, the wife, outgrows her husband intellectually and professionally. Students roundly condemned her for being selfish, for calling her husband "baby," for keeping her job which made him feel less successful. I asked if they would react the same way if Christian was the one to hold the successful job, to have professional friends with whom Louise had little in common. They readily admitted that would have been different: men should not be held back if they outgrew their wives; they knew lots of marriages in which the husband was more successful and no longer had common interests with the wife. Not all of them were convinced, of course, by my argument that women should be allowed equal self-realization, but most of them did agree that they had different assumptions about the rights of women and men.

A few years ago, I asked several of my students the well-known feminist riddle. A man and his son have an accident; the father is killed, the son is taken to a hospital. He urgently needs an operation to save his life, but the brain surgeon says, "I'm sorry, I can't operate. This boy is my son." Ingenious answers were given: the "father" mentioned in the first part is a priest; one of the fathers is a natural father, the other has adopted the boy or has been the victim of infidelity. Even in a freshman honors class with extremely bright students, no one thought that the brain surgeon could be the mother. The only cheering experience I had with the riddle was when I told it to my nine-year old son, who gave the right answer and looked puzzled, as if that were not a riddle at all since the answer was so obvious. (He later told it to his class, and about half of them got it immediately. That either means that the future of women is great, or it simply means that children have not yet learned one prejudice, or that they know little about the realities of hospital staffing.) This riddle is probably too well known by now to be equally effective, but it may serve as an illustration when one tells students that preconceptions determine how we think.

Shocking students into seeing their own assumptions is possible only early in the course. I find it both impossible and ineffective to pretend that feminist issues do not concern me. Unless war with students is a normal state and unexpected attacks necessary, surprises are best given up. Inevitably my students become conscious of some feminist issues and do not talk themselves into such obvious corners. A friend of mine described them as becoming wary of my enthusiasms, although a more optimistic interpretation is that they become more aware of their own prejudices. Letting students know about one's feminism has the advantage that occasionally they will bring up women's issues themselves. However, prejudices continue to appear anyway. Last week, for example, as I was discussing imagery in poems by Frost and Dickinson, I found that most of them knew no other flowers than roses and tulips. A male

student volunteered the opinion that flowers were a female concern. In another class, a female student said she could sympathize with the dissatisfaction of Tennyson's Ulysses: he was "matched with an aged wife."

Whenever students do reveal their prejudices, we should act on it. To comment briefly does not necessarily lead away from the subject matter. None of us hesitates to correct other fuzzy thinking. However, since we already have an authority in this area which students recognize, we should probably use the same methods and manner we do normally. Extreme indignation or a great deal of time spent exhorting students makes them hostile, a disaster I have not always avoided. They do dismiss personal experience if they come to see it as a personal obsession.

2. Use of examples.

The easiest and most natural method of familiarizing students with feminist issues is to select examples carefully. All of us use examples daily in defining terms and clarifying our generalizations. Many of them can serve the additional purpose of introducing the concerns of women. In discussing connotations, for example, the contrast between bachelor, old maid, and spinster is useful; so is career women and its relationship to Betty Friedan's "mistaken choice." Changing connotations and pejoration can be illustrated by references to mistress now and "To His Coy Mistress," or moll and hussy now and in previous centuries. The functions of allusion can be explained by Born Female in the same five minutes it takes to describe the convincing thesis of the book. That "clever" little saying on the billboard of a local merchant- "The best home appliance is made from a rib" could work for someone less prone to indignation than I am. A theory of comedy may become more clear to students by asking why they laugh at the determinedly lecherous Grandma in Playboy or at one of the basic types of jokes in the same magazine. (The most efficient type combines the stupidity and promiscuity of women: The "sweet young thing" calls the doctor and asks if she left her panties in his office; when he tells her she didn't, she says she'll try the dentist's office next.)

The possibilities in exemplification are endless in teaching English, but other disciplines probably provide opportunities to do the same: in discussing statistics, studies about the relative opportunities of women and men might be used; in describing a historically important idea, a female proponent might be mentioned, at the very least, in passing back essay exams and discussing the need for details to support generalizations, an entertaining passage from a feminist work might be read in addition to successful student papers. All of us have a repertoire of examples anyway, and it might as well include some that are consciously feminist.

3. Selecting reading material which has a feminist content to illustrate general principles.

Teaching composition is a good opportunity, although with ingenuity this method might work elsewhere. In 1964, I successfully used the paperback edition of The Feminine Mystique in an advanced composition course to discuss logic, evidence, and argument. Brief passages to illustrate methods of organization, or virtues of style can be mimeographed. For example, since a frequent motif in feminist writing is comparison of

the relative opportunities of women and men, passages from Virginia Woolf or Caroline Bird might work well, even those somewhat overworked analogies of women and blacks can illustrate the organization of a comparison. Use of specific detail can be demonstrated by passages from Doris Lessing's The Golden Notebook.

4. Relating the past to present attitudes toward women.

Almost any literature course is likely to touch on Eve and Adam. It's a good idea to mention Eve's intelligence and to suggest that since she was created last, she is superior: God practiced on Adam and then did it right. Most students won't believe it, but some of them will file it away with the rest of some rather peculiar information about the Bible. Discussion of customs or conditions in another century provides ample opportunities for more responsible statements. For instance, explaining "kennel's edge" in Swift's "Description of the Morning" can lead to a brief note on the original reason for men walking on the street side, or to other foolish conventions for which the reasons have disappeared or have been forgotten, but which cause difficulties for women nevertheless.

The relationship of the past to the present, however, has to be treated tactfully. Years of taking essay exams have made us all artists of the transitional sentence. In one of my classes we went from outlived conventions, to outlived laws, to abortion as reasonably prohibited when all surgery was highly dangerous, to a highly emotional outburst by a male student about the rights of the father of the fetus. It was a lively fifteen minutes, but we never did finish discussing the poem.

5. Endorsing values which we would like to see exercised in the treatment of women.

In basic literature courses, moral questions inevitably come up even if one concentrates primarily on such formal elements as point of view, figurative language, or irony. Students condemn or praise characters on moral grounds, even if they are asked to comment on the methods of characterization. Characters suffer if they lack fairness, honesty, consideration of individual worth; they are objects of satire if they are snobs or lechers. We may as well endorse some values as worth having generally.

In particular, students need to be reminded that besides responsibility to others, human beings are also responsible to themselves. In practice, students are probably a bit more altruistic than others, and they often condemn characters for placing the responsibility to themselves first: Tennyson's Ulysses was "irresponsible" for leaving his people, his son, and last of all, his wife. Tom Wingfield, in Glass Menagerie, should have stayed with Laura and Amanda. If we introduce the responsibility to self in various contexts, perhaps some students will not be so surprised when we argue that self-development and self-realization are the right of Louise in "Eighty-Yard Run," or when their own mothers go back to school instead of sending them pay-checks earned by long hours in the dime-store.

Even in composition courses and advanced courses, moral values are implied in writing, discussion, and argument. Teaching students to avoid

hasty generalizations, unexamined cliches, or mistakes in cause and effect is potentially moral training: perhaps one student will some day stop before he tells his wife that she shouldn't work because that will turn their children into dope addicts.

6. Asking at least occasionally what is the attitude toward women in a particular work.

It is easier and probably more responsible to raise that question about the work itself, rather than about the writer generally, although the temptations to do otherwise are immense when one teaches Light in August or For Whom the Bell Tolls. The question is interesting in itself it allows students to see the individual characteristics of a particular work, and it can lead naturally to other literary concerns. For example, what kind of woman is Donne's "Valediction: Forbidding Mourning" addressed to? How does she differ from the kind of woman Burns' "My Love is Like a Red, Red Rose" would appeal to? Having established that Donne's woman can feel and think, one can progress naturally to Eliot's "dissociation of sensibility," or to differences in imagery or meter in the two poems.

If the wish to digress is intense, one can also take various easy shots at male critics. Dryden's objection to Donne perplexing "the fair sex with philosophy when he should engage their hearts and entertain them with the softness of love," or C. S. Lewis's question, "What can any sensible woman make of such lovemaking?" can be related to "Valediction." In fact, the bias of male critics can almost always be mentioned naturally after the attitude toward women in a particular work has been established. After a discussion of Doris Lessing's treatment of pregnancy, childbirth, and motherhood in A Proper Marriage, one male critic's objection to those sections as excessively dull and long can be introduced. Such male experiences as hunting, war, or sexual initiation, commonplace as they are, and extensively treated as they have been, are seldom condemned as dull per se.

7. Working seriously to establish relationships between concerns of women and the formal elements in a discipline.

Not only the future of Women's Studies, but of all teaching is here. I have only a few preliminary observations about the teaching of literature, but I hope to hear of possibilities from other participants in other fields. Once feminist concerns have been shown as inextricably linked to various formal elements in a literary work, other methods for introducing them will be superfluous. I am currently finishing up my dissertation, The Feminism of Doris Lessing, and have thought about the relationship of feminist concepts to such matters as imagery, figurative language methods of characterization, selection of literary materials, structure, methods of establishing the universal or the ideal in a fictional world. In the case of this one writer at least, isolation of feminist concepts leads naturally and efficiently to discoveries about formal characteristics. That is true even though I have discovered that Ms. Lessing's feminism is far more limited than her popular reputation would lead one to believe. Feminism is also not as central in her work as it is in Virginia Woolf's, for example. This suggests to me that even negative results of a search for feminist concepts in a literary work may be a fruitful beginning for a literary analysis.

So far I have used the basic procedure of my dissertation once in teaching. Since Doll's House was not in our text, I read the students Shaw's summary, and began a discussion of Hedda Gabler by asking whether they thought Ibsen was a feminist still or if he had changed his mind. Definitions of feminism, its historical and contemporary importance, true and superficial emancipation, alternatives open to women, all followed naturally, as did the discussion of characters. But the structure of the play, specifically the carefully contrasted and balanced characters, became clear as we tried to answer the original question. Feminism was a way of arriving at the effectiveness of the work itself, and the work made feminism understandable.

I am not sure how effectively other works can be taught this way, nor what specific relationships can be found. I am excited that other women are working on this problem in various ways. If writing useful to other women comes out of this conference, I hope some of it deals with the relationship of feminism to literature and other disciplines. I would be very interested in hearing of the projects others are working on. I would also be interested in helping to collect or write down the experiences of women who are too busy on other valuable work to do so themselves.

WOMEN AS SCAPEGOATS

Catharine Stimpson

A job for women's studies is to design new modes of perception and models of persons. A way of grasping action and character is to regard women as scapegoats.

Like many new feminists, I often test my theories against experience. The hazards are clear. Memory, like some tick sucking blood, grows bloated enough to englut reality itself. Emotion outshouts reason, confession governs study, any audience gets bored.

Nevertheless, let me talk about myself for a moment. For several years I had a classmate named Norma. Like every other child in my class, I loathed her. Physically, she was fat and ugly. She had gold-rimmed glasses and scabs on her legs. Mentally, she was tedious and sluggish. Emotionally, she was a clinger and a whiner. And legally, she was adopted. Everyone has at least one Norma hanging around--a person who represents everything that we hope we are not, but everything that we fear we might be.

The class treated Norma offensively. We tried to expel her from our games, our parties, our secrets, even from the class itself. Individually or in groups, we went to our teachers--in kindergarten, in the first grade, in the second grade--to demand that Norma be transferred to another, less classy, school. No rebuff ever discouraged us.

Or, if we were angry, or frustrated, or guilty about some hidden sin, we attacked poor Norma. Sometimes we simply yelled at her. Sometimes we beat her up. To use an inept metaphor, she was our hipping boy. Denigrating and belittling her, we displaced our wretched feelings.¹

The world has many scapegoats other than women. Literature does, too. For example, three novels with the title Scapegoat, their authors as diverse as Strindberg (1906), the English Jocelyn Brooke (1948), and Daphne duMaurier (1957), all have male protagonists. Yet I suggest that the way in which my schoolmates and I tormented Norma is a microcosm of the way in which society often treats women and writers a woman character.

Ironically, no matter how hard a group tries, it can never physically scourge women as a class. Even monasteries and male prisons must admit to the actual presence of women on the earth. The best one can do is to expel a woman from a community or to condemn every woman rhetorically. Ideology and the imagination, especially among misogynists, may flourish where pragmatism falters. The refractory daughters of Eve live on, but Eve, or Pandora, or that new viper, the modern mother, may be held culpable for the moral sins and physical evils humanity endures.

The vain effort to expel women wholly has one redeeming social virtue. Failure guarantees a sure supply of women to transmogrify into scapegoats.

No doubt the English had scapegoats before they had the word, which William Tindale gave to the language in 1530 in his translation of the Bible. Leviticus outlines the austere ritual of the Day of Atonement. Aaron, the brother of Moses, well washed, clad in linen, is to conduct a rite of purification. After presenting two goats to the Lord, he is to cast lots upon them.

. . .the goat, on which the lot fell to be the scapegoat, shall be presented live before the Lord, to make an atonement with him. ²

Then, Aaron, both hands upon the head of the animal, is to confess over him the iniquities of the children of Israel before he is led into the wilderness. The goat will magically bear with him the transgressions and sins of the tribe, which will once again be fit, pure, and free, its moral ecology restored. As such, the story of the scapegoat, except for the beast, is a comic one.

Sir James Frazer, in The Golden Bough, has several rollicking anecdotes about scapegoating. He claims that the presence upon which sins may be discharged, as if they were some unwholesome fluid, may be an animal, a person, or a thing. A human scapegoat is often disfigured, theoretically a sign from god. The ritual of expulsion may be sporadic or periodical.

One of Frazer's examples is a gypsy tribe in Southern Europe. On Easter Sunday evening, its members put herbs and the carcass of a snake which everyone has touched into a wooden vessel wrapped in red and white wool. The eldest man in the tribe carries the dish from tent to tent until all the members of the tribe spit into it. After a sorceress has uttered some spells, the old man throws the vessel into running water. Not only does the village believe that it has dispelled the ills which otherwise would have afflicted it, but it assumes that anyone who does find and open the vessel will suffer the maladies which the tribe itself has so cleverly evaded.

Frazer also describes a Siamese practice: to single out a particularly lascivious woman, to carry her through the streets, to assault her verbally and to pelt her physically, and then to throw her on a dunghill, the symbol of expelled filth, or on a hedge of thorns, a symbol of sterile waste. The woman, who is both feminine and sexually excessive, is then forbidden ever to enter the city again.³

Many, of course, commonly think of Jesus Christ as most radiant of scapegoats. For all men he suffers all sins. Any character in Western literature, such as Cordelia, who emanates Christ-like virtue, who endures Christ-like suffering, and who then breeds a Christ-like redemption, takes on the guise of the divine scapegoat. However, Christ has chosen his pain. The quotidian scapegoat has little or no choice in the matter. The choice that does matter is that of the community.

Shirley Jackson's "The Lottery," (1948) is perhaps the most succinct American fiction about human scapegoats, as well as a tale of human sacrifice. The narrative tersely describes the morning of June 27th in a little New England village. Mr. Summers, a civic leader, and Mr. Graves,

a postman, are conducting a lottery. Their surnames warn us of the alliance between seasonal fertility and necessary death.

Two drawings are held. The first for heads of families, the second for members of the family whose head has inadvertently drawn the marked ballot. The villagers have forgotten the source of their custom. Their children are happy and playful. However, as soon as they see that Mrs. Hutchinson is to be this year's victim they all know what to do. As she cries, "It isn't fair, it isn't fair," they stone her to death. Even her little son throws pebbles.

Mr. Hutchinson might have drawn the slip as easily as his wife. Jackson uses a woman, not because she is making a sexual point, but because she is shocking a large audience. Our tender notions about motherhood, frail feminine flesh, and women's need for protection make us extremely vulnerable to the story of a women's execution. Other books reveal a society in which women must be the scapegoats. Among them is Stephen Crane, Maggie: A Girl of the Streets (1893).

Crane, the compassionate moralist, who makes Maggie a victim, and Crane, the caustic realist, whose characters make Maggie a scapegoat, are separate voices. Crane, the craftsman, pulls them together. He sets the novel on the grim, scruffy Bowery in New York. His first scene is a rock fight between the urchins of Rum Alley and Devil's Row, the heirs of drunkards, brutes, and louts.

Maggie's family is no more ugly than any other: her mother a demon, her father a churl, both of them alcoholics, who let their anger fly at their children. The children, as weak and as dependent as many women, must submit to such abuse. Maggie, miraculously, eventually becomes a pretty young woman. She falls in love with Pete, a smug bartender, and begins to live with him. She acts, not out of greed, but out of need. For a young slum girl, a Pete is the only imaginable romantic escape from economic and emotional poverty.

In response, Maggie's family, or what is left of it, throws her out of their tenement home. She becomes a family scapegoat. Her mother calls her a "devil." Her brother, despite private doubts, publicly damns her so that "he might appear on a higher social plane." Maggie expiates, not only their sins, but their hopeless proletarianism.

Then Pete leaves Maggie for a bolder, flashier woman--who happens to be a whore. In order to live, Maggie must herself become a whore. So doing, she exemplifies a large theme: the prostitute as scapegoat, whose fall from chastity makes the same arc as the push out of the communal circle. Crane, however, knows how little vocational choice his women have. Either they sew, or else they sell themselves so that men may sow wild oats.

Maggie suffers two more expulsions. First her neighbors, scoffing, yelling, as if they were players in a cruel, primitive rite, reject her. Crane, his language at once concise and charged, describes the scene:

Through the open doors curious eyes stared in at Maggie.
Children ventured into the room and ogled her as if they formed

the front row at a theatre. Women, without, bent toward each other and whispered, nodding their head with airs of profound philosophy.

A baby, overcome with curiosity concerning this object at which all were looking, sidled forward and touched her dress, cautiously, as if investigating a red-hot stove. Its mother's voice rang out like a warning trumpet. She rushed forward and grabbed the child, casting a terrible look of indignation at the girl.⁴

Women, their loyalty to a particular culture rather than to other women, easily turn on another woman. But then Maggie, now "this object," has been reduced to the status of a thing which retains only the power to contaminate and to symbolize sexual contamination. Ironically, Crane manipulates the Christian imagery which runs throughout the novella. Maggie's dress, like a "red-hot stove," links her to hell. The mother's voice, ringing out "like a warning trumpet," links her to heaven. However, Crane ultimately links the community to hell and heaven to its inane garble.

Next, men as a class reject Maggie. A series of them refuse to sleep with her. In a brilliant, hallucinatory scene, she commits suicide. Taking her own life becomes her only mode of survival.

Even more clearly than a good novel, a pop novel, because of its vulgar simplicity, may anatomize our attitudes for us. Zane Grey's anti-classic, The Code of the West (1934), is such a book. A formula novel which praises conservative values, it also points to the common mutual defense treaty drawn up between archaic forms and old-hat attitudes.

Mary Stockwell, a teacher, has immigrated to Tonto, Arizona. Boarding with the Thurmans, some rugged ranchers, who personify the Code of the West in technicolor, she has secretly fallen for Enoch Thurman, a budding patriarch. Then Mary's younger sister Georgiana, her name as redolent of feminine skittishness as Mary's of feminine stability, arrives in Tonto to fight off a well-deserved case of tuberculosis.

Cal Thurman, gulping and blushing takes a yen to Georgiana. Unfortunately, she proves to be a hussy and a flirt. The tormented Cal hits her over the head, knocks her out, forces her to marry him, and locks her away in a remote, homemade mountain cabin. He does keep from raping her. Eventually, she repents and discovers that she loves Cal madly. Her moral and emotional growth find their climactic symbol, in a narrative otherwise somewhat short on climaxes, in her feeling of being one with nature--trees, mountains, purple sunsets, and all.

Grey nails the coonskin of every modern sin to Georgiana. This moral burden helps to make her a scapegoat rather than a meddling alien. An Easterner, she carries the virus of urban life. A sexual adventurer in lipstick, skimpy dresses, and rolled-down stockings, she challenges puritan mores. A materialist, she scrawls the graffiti of religious skepticism on faith's rock of ages. A feminist, she defends women's rights. She even says:

. . .we kids have got it figured out. We're wise. We see how our sisters and mothers and grandmothers have been buncoed by the lords of creation. By men! And we're not going to stand for it, see? We're going to do as we damn please, and if they don't like us they can lump us. But good night--the proof is they like us better, if they don't know it.⁵

The leaders of the community plan to kick Georgiana out, to send her back East. The only thing that saves her is that she expels the old bad Georgiana herself. In a passage some might call obsequious, she vows to become a good new Georgiana:

She had been more than vain, selfish, thoughtless, cruel. She had been blind, weak, wicked. . .in Georgiana formed the nucleus of a revolt. It was not a pity that Cal Thurman had the character to fight for her. The world was a better place when men fought for women, even if it was a matter of possession. The pity was that she, and all her kind, were not worth it. . . She knew she would never rest, never have any peace, until she had corrected what was wrong.⁶

Being a scapegoat is hardly the only fate our common imagination gives to women. Very different is that of the ideal, the pure, the good. Except for gestures of maternity and mercy, she remains a still center of benign being. How much can any figure move on top of a pedestal?

Very different, too, is the mad, bad, dangerous woman, the siren, the witch, the vampire, the Medusa, a Lilith, La Belle Dame Sans Mercy, Dolores Our Lady of Sensual Pain. This romantic figure, whom brave men must approach, even at their doom, surges out of control. The scapegoat is not only out of control, but a way to control the uncontrollable.

Despite all this, despite the fact that Americans have despised the blacks, the Jews, the Orientals, and the poor more than women, the latter are popular scapegoats. One explanation may be the fact that women and scapegoats share two attributes: mystery (that they should serve the community as they do verges on the miraculous) and passivity (that they do serve the community as they should shows real weakness). We often thriftily dole out the same treatment to similar characters.

Another explanation is the fact that so many women have so often had so little legal, economic, political, cultural, and physical power. One woman has been unable to turn back any group intent on making her a scapegoat. Held inferior to men, they have been easier to despise than equals or superiors. If they are dependent upon men, they arouse resentment, because they are a burden, or anxiety, because they may be too much of a burden. If they are independent of men, they may arouse ostility of both men and women, because they have broken away from acceptable roles. In brief, getting rid of women often means getting hold of a little peace.

If a man wishes to turn a woman into his private scapegoat, the public, which might condemn him, never has to know what is going on.

Domestic bowers conceal bullies, and traditional husbands have free rein. It is interesting to recall that in old English common law, a woman who murdered her husband was charged with treason, petty treason to be sure, but treason nevertheless. Moreover, as John Stuart Mill pointed out:

. . . everyone who desires power, desires it most over those who are nearest to him, with whom his life is passed, with whom he has most concerns in common, and in whom any independence of his authority is oftenest likely to interfere with his individual preferences.⁷

Of course women are written about in debasing ways because of the demands of ideology (for example, the writings of Patristic fathers); of genre (for example, the Medieval *débats* about women); and of theme (for example, the shrew). Even when every allowance is made for the ways in which literature shapes literature, and unsavory truth remains: women are scapegoats in art because they are easily scapegoated in life.

The iconoclastic twentieth-century has left the image of the scapegoated woman unbroken. Modern psychology makes much of the alleged masochism of women. Freud theorizes:

The suppression of women's aggressiveness which is prescribed for them constitutionally and imposed on them socially favours the development of powerful masochistic impulses, which succeed, as we know, in binding erotically the destructive trends which have been diverted inwards.⁸

Marie Bonaparte, heir to both Freud and Helene Deutsch, writes:

. . . woman, above all, remains always more or less dominated by her positive, passive, masochistic Oedipus complex.⁹

She even believes the sperm's penetration of the ovum to be a sadistic act perpetrated upon a wounded, masochistic egg. Perhaps her most vulgar moment is to cite, as evidence of women's masochism, the popular saying that women like to be beaten. Mickey Spillane lives on in academic drag.

The effect of such pseudo-scientists as Bonaparte is to encourage women to keep on accepting suffering--their own and that of others.

Modern writing may speak only for modern writers. An alien, an exile, even a Cain, the modern writer's values may be his, and his alone. Yet he often makes a woman his scapegoat with a joyous vitriol an older, more socially comfortable, writer may lack. Living apart from his culture himself, he can hardly expel women from it. What he can do is to cast her away from the pantheon of his art, the temple of his moral scheme, the elect group of his soul's society.

An example of this pattern is The Great Gatsby (1925). Fitzgerald, through his narrator Nick Carraway, asks us to see Daisy clearly. Gatsby reveres her as his vision incarnate, even after her marriage to Tom Buchanan, Ur Fascist. When Gatsby is shot, Daisy is morally responsible for his death. Society protects her. The privilege of class and the power of wealth shelter her from a just retribution. Yet Fitzgerald

unmasks her. He makes her a symbol of modern corruption and destructiveness, a character whom Nick Carraway abandons.

An earlier, more complex study of the struggle between the artist and society over the feminine scapegoat is The Scarlet Letter (1850). Hawthorne first deliberately makes himself a scapegoat. Writing about seventeenth-century, Puritan New England, he mentions that his ancestors had been among its most rigid rulers. One had persecuted the Quakers, especially the Quaker woman Anne Hutchinson. Another had persecuted the witches of Salem. Hawthorne concludes that their crimes have hurt the family. For the sake of the family, he declares:

. . . (I) hereby take shame upon myself for their sakes and pray that any curse incurred by them--as I have heard. . . may be now and henceforth removed.¹⁰

Then Hawthorne takes as his heroine Hester Prynne, a community scapegoat. The citizens of Boston have expelled her from their town. She has broken the laws of the land, of sexual restraint, and femininity. Women, perhaps because Hester will carry with her the sins which they might commit, are among her most gleeful tormentors. The ugliest, the most pitiless, of them shouts:

This woman has brought shame upon us all, and ought to die. Is there not law for it? Truly, there is, both in the Scripture and the statute-book.¹¹

Hester, who even lives in a little hut outside of town, diligently works at being a scapegoat. So doing, she works out her salvation.

Hawthorne is as clearly for Hester as he is against Boston. He exculpates the one scapegoat, who accepts her error, to accuse the many scapegoaters, who evade theirs. They, of course, pay the price of spiritual corruption and psychological misery. Hester never becomes a perfect woman. Hawthorne finds her too aggressive, meddlesome, and earthy for that. Yet his preference for her is more than a moral choice. The Scarlet A symbolizes craft and beauty. Made of fine red cloth, it is "surrounded with an elaborate embroidery and fantastic flourishes of gold thread." Praising Hester, the artful sinner, Hawthorne praises Hawthorne, the artist who takes on sin, perhaps because he fears his art itself may be a sin.

A powerful modern voice will have none of this. D. H. Lawrence, in Studies in Classic American Literature (1923) dissects Hawthorne and denounces Hester, whom he regards as some cross between Everywoman and an octopus. Hawthorne, Lawrence says, secretly hates Hester. Certainly Lawrence does. On to her fictive presence he projects all that he finds horrible and diabolic about women. His language, as he speaks of humanity's survival, is that of a man in extremis.

According to Lawrence, Hester, disguised as a meek saint, is a murderess. Thought to be pure, she is filthy. Flaunting "understanding," she will really thrust Lawrence's fabled blood-consciousness into an iron coffin and keep in there. In fierce, colloquial, paranoid prose, Lawrence roars:

Hester lives on, poised as pie, being a public nurse. She becomes at last an acknowledged saint. . . She would, being a woman. She has had her triumph over the individual man, so she quite loves subscribing to the whole spiritual life of society. . . Woman is a strange and rather terrible phenomenon, to man. When the subconscious soul of woman recoils from its creative union with man, it becomes a destructive force. . . The devil is in her.

The very women who are most busy saving the bodies of men, and saving the children: these women-doctors, these nurses, these educationalists, these public-spirited women, these female saviours: they are all, from the inside, sending out waves of destructive malevolence which eat out the inner life of a man, like a cancer.¹²

Lawrence, who would be chilling if he were not so childish, steps being a prosecuting attorney to become the hanging judge. Men, he asserts, must beat women back into a deep submission. "Give her a slap," he urges.

Give her the great slap. . . just when she is being most angelic. . . you've got to fight her, and never give in. She's a devil. . . But in the long run she is conquerable. And just a tiny bit of her wants to be conquered. You've got to fight three-quarters of her, in absolute hell, to get at that final quarter of her that wants a release, at last, from the hell of her own revenge.¹³

Lawrence sums up much modern literary advice to those in search of a scapegoat. Take women/ blame them; try to get rid of the, and since you can't do that, smash them to bits.

Like the plangent Norman Mailer, like the surly Frederick Exley, he also dramatizes an odd twist in modern literature. Male writers tend to transfer to women both those things which they most fear, which they believe will most harm them, and those ideals which they most crave, which they believe will most redeem them. In The Second Sex Simone deBeauvoir discusses this brilliantly.¹⁴

The more they have sought the spirit and an ascetic ideal, the more they have made women both virgin angels and whorish devils who indulge nature, the flesh, and the delights of sex. A Medieval priest compares women to a painted tombstone which conceals a rotting corpse. Saul Bellow, in Mr. Sammler's Planet (1970), atavistically denounces women's sensuality. However, most modern male writers, seemingly caught in an iron dialectic, now blame women for being insufficiently sexual, for having deserted nature and the flesh. Men cry out that such a betrayal has left them naked before an ominous technology, a mechanical age advancing as coldly, as surely, as the ancient glaciers themselves. They forget that women have had very little to do with inventing that technology.

Scapegoating is often irresistible. Most reasonable people will agree that it is morally irresponsible and emotionally primitive. It too easily permits us to shuck off the load of our own inadequacies and

guilt. To be a woman, and to think about women as scapegoats, is provoking. It stimulates outrage, as unjustly being made a victim and tedium, at having once again to trace a pattern of victimization. Seeing women as scapegoats is a critical method which I hope will organize some of the literature of the past, but which we must all hope will disappear from the literature of the future.

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1. Gordon W. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice, abridged ed. (Garden City, New York: Doubleday Anchor Book, 1958), makes suggestive, but scattered, comments about women as scapegoats and anti-feminism as a prejudice.
 2. Chapter 16, Verse 10 King James Version. The New English Bible (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), does not use the work. Instead, it says:

He (Aaron) shall cast lots over the two goats, one to be for the LORD and the other for the Precipice. He Shall present the goat on which the lot for the LORD has fallen and deal with it as a sin-offering; but the goat on which the lot for the Precipice has fallen shall be made to stand alive before the LORD for expiation to be made over it before it is driven away into the wilderness to the Precipice.

The New English Bible seems to correct a false, if deeply rooted, derivation from the Hebrew. Tyndale's erroneous use of the notion of a departing goat can be traced back to Luther, to Jerome, and others. For more detail, see Ernest Klein, A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of The English Language, Vol. II (Amsterdam: Elsevier Publishing Co., 1967) p. 1392.

3. For Frazer's full discussion, See The Golden Bough (London: MacMillan and Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Library, 1957), abridged edition, Vol. II, pp. 706-768.
4. Maggie: A Girl of the Streets, intro. by Van Wyck Brooks (Greenwich, Connecticut: Fawcett Premier Book), pp. 73-74.
5. Code of the West (New York: Pocket Books, 1970), pp. 73-74.
6. Ibid., p. 220.
7. The Subjection of Women, Essays on Sex Equality, ed. Alice S. Rossi (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), p. 136.
8. "Femininity," New Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis, trans. and ed. by James Strachey (New York: W. W. Norton, 1965), p. 116. Italics mine.
9. Female Sexuality (New York: Grove Press, Evergreen Black Cat Book, reprinted from 1953 edition), p. 83.

10. In The Complete Novels and Selected Tales of Nathaneal Hawthorne, ed. Norman Holmes Pearson (New York: Modern Library, 1937), p. 89.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 114.
12. Studies (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1955), pp. 102-03.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 104-05.
14. In Second Sex, trans. and ed. H. M. Parshley (New York: Bantam Books edition, 1968), pp. xi-xxix, 129-185.

THE WOMAN IN THE MOON¹: PROLEGOMENON FOR WOMEN'S STUDIES

Devra Lee Davis

Quod Est Ergo Tempus? Si Nemo Ex Me Quaerat Scio. Si
Quaerenti Explicare Velim, Nescio.²

With the above paradox, Augustine pointed out the nature of assumptions about time. "What therefore is time? If no one asks me, I know. If I am asked to explain, I do not know." Part of the difficulty for a student of women's studies comes from a comparable problem. As soon as an explanation of women's studies is attempted taken-for-granted, assumptions become apparent. While advocates of women's studies doubt women's studies as little as they doubt time, their beliefs about both may be comparably unarticulated because they are comparably regarded as self-evident and in need of no elaboration. In fact, women's studies presently comprises a cook's tour of women in society, literature, art, political economy, and various other academic disciplines. A paraphrase of Russell's dictum about philosophy rings uncomfortably true: Women's studies is what women's studies' students do.

If part of the problem of the field is the relatively new academic status of women's studies, this problem itself merely reflects the fact that no idea escapes the marketplace.³ As Giambattista Vico put it, the laws of physics, the equality of full citizens and the inferiority of women, children and slaves, originated in the marketplace of Athens.⁴ Given the nexus of ideas and the marketplace, it is important to consider women's studies in light of the prevailing academic marketplace. Of course, the present importance of women's studies derives from its previous absence in the academy. The reasons for the traditional neglect of women's studies are well-known.⁵ What remains to be critically investigated are the circumstances under which women's studies can emerge as a viable academic area now associated with the very structures which previously denied women's studies the right to exist.

Presently, women's studies has no fixed relationship to academia. Within the past two years, some universities have been legitimating women's studies, making niches within their structures which provide some self-justification for area studies relating to women in a general way. These accommodating universities often include women's studies as but another special interest matter. The overriding feeling is that it is, after all, necessary to include women as a special academic topic, since other special interest groups are so designated within academic institutions. The impending brown outs of some of these special academic programs, like Black Studies at Yale University, augurs poorly for women's studies programs. Either women's studies must learn from the failures of these programs or it will follow a similar pattern to such structural neutralization.

While the structure of the academic marketplace partially accounts for the vague situation of Black Studies in many universities today, this is certainly not the whole story. The fact that authentic interests in special area studies are being neutralized suggests something about the ideological articulation of these interests. It is possible that the supplantation of these interests is part of these very interests.⁶ In other words, the accommodating structural niches for women's studies require that they have a low level impact on these structures. If they made too much impact, they would change the structure which contains them. Thus, even before women's studies becomes a part of academic institutions, its images are pre-censored in an affirmation of the public judgment that it can, in fact, become a part of academia.

This essential relatedness of images themselves with commonsense judgment does not necessitate surrendering all hope^{7A} of clarifying such images or such judgment. Rather it requires critical awareness of this relatedness, along lines developed by the Frankfurt Institute. As Theodor W. Adorno noted in his Negative Dialektik:

Knowledge no sooner starts from scratch, by way of a stabilizing objectification, than it will distort the objects. Knowledge as such, even in a form detached from substance, takes part in tradition as unconscious remembrance. There is no question which we might simply ask, without knowing of past things that are preserved in the question and spur it.^{7B}

More recently Jürgen Habermas has been augmenting Adorno's analysis with a theory of communicative competence that attempts hermeneutic understanding of acts and utterances.⁸ According to these critical theorists, the pre-censorship of images (in our case of women's studies) can be overcome self-reflectively. Articulation of this pre-censorship constitutes an important part of the effort to transcend these commonsense images.

Of course, women's studies is possible only insofar as it meshes with certain images of the academic marketplace. Insofar as this marketplace rests on sexist,^{9A} bourgeois modes of construction and sustenance, women's studies must be radical in its critique of the academy, in order to maintain its integrity. To mention, but one incredibly cumbersome and important radical tack, consider the role of language in women's studies. By adopting the insidious sexist modes of categorization of our prevailing languages, even the best-intentioned reformer strengthens the very order she is trying to break.^{9B}

To avoid becoming accommodated and neutralized within the academic marketplace, women's studies needs to develop a unifying framework that will give it functional integrity within the academy. The nature of this unifying framework is rather complicated. On the one hand, as a potpourri of infuriating trivia, women's studies affirms academia's judgement that women's studies are actually insignificant and can be easily fit into existing departments and disciplines. Thus, an integrating framework is needed to gainsay this attitude that women's studies are not legitimate scholarly areas. On the other hand, women's studies cannot simply accommodate itself to the academy and thus lose much of its impact. Instead, an integrated women's studies should remain marginal to the

university, bound primarily to its resources but not to its directives, and thus more effectively stimulate change than it would as a simple part of the universities.

Women's studies reflects the women's movement which is itself very diverse, ranging from the National Organization of Women to the Radical Feminists and Lesbians. Both for the development of a diverse movement and for the integration of numerous academic disciplines, it is strategically prudent not to write out any perspectives, by systematizing women's studies in a doctrinaire manner. An important first step for women's studies thus becomes the development of a special unifying framework. This framework should not so strictly conform to the academic marketplace that women's studies loses its integrity; and it should not so deviate from the marketplace that women's studies has no impact.

Toward this end of integrating women's studies, analysis can now proceed. Until very recently, there were relatively few analyses of women per se. Charlotte Gilman Perkins' provocative analysis of Women and Economics, 1898, stands almost alone as an early economic study of women.^{9C} Recent publications in the disciplines of psychology, political economy, sociology and literature are rapidly filling the academic void.¹⁰ But all of these studies require a unifying matrix for integrating them both with disciplines from which they initially derive and with other disciplinary studies of women.

One important way that the diverse disciplines comprising women's studies can establish a common grounding is to demand that the studies demonstrate more than the uniqueness of the women or events that they discuss. To ensure its academic integrity, women's studies has an especial obligation to indicate the role of socio-cultural mechanisms. This demand that women's studies look especially for systematic social influences and avoid merely unique or individual matters harks back to a nineteenth century controversy about whether a scientific social inquiry was possible. The old debate whether social inquiry could not yield lawlike, causal statements, literally nomotheses, or whether those were solely possible in the natural sciences. The ideographic view that social inquiry yields only unique characterizations of particular events at particular times.¹¹ Actually this controversy can be resolved by qualitatively differentiating the socio-historical sciences and the natural sciences. Even granting that social inquiry may not be as exact as that of natural science¹² social inquiry requires a system of organized knowledge and not a simple compilation of unrelated matters.

To argue that women's studies has to point to nomothetic explanations is not especially innovative, since there are presently nomothetic explanations of women's traditional roles. However, precisely because of these current nomotheses about women's traditional roles, it is not sufficient if women's studies merely points to some exceptions to these prevailing nomotheses. It is necessary to arrive at fundamentally different nomotheses, which are not based on the present ideology of women. These new nomotheses will emerge within a historical dialectic, the practical dimension of which gives rise to theories of new hypothetical nomotheses.

A better appreciation of the importance of nomothetic analyses for women's studies can be gained by considering how these analyses might be

specifically applied to historical explanations. A not unusual defense of the lack of significant numbers of women in history is this anquished apologia to historiography for the dearth of women giants on whose shoulders women might stand.¹³

Our history has been stolen from us. Our heroes died in childbirth, from peritonitis, overwork, oppression, from bottled up rage. Our geniuses were never taught to read or write. We must invent a past adequate to our ambitions. We must create a future adequate to our needs.¹⁴

Such an apologia assumes that women's history has been stolen and that there is consequently a need to invent a history in order to create realistic role models for women who presently wish to break out of traditional, female roles.

Whatever clarifications are developed about this question of the dearth of outstanding women intellectuals--and the likely direction of these clarifications is not yet so apparent--one thing is clear about the kinds of evidence which will be of value: evidence on a socio-cultural level which looks for larger patterns. Of course, the intricacies of Germain de Stael's publishing and translating of Kantian works are important for an understanding of the dissemination of Kantian philosophy in France in the early nineteenth century, as the collaborator role of Harriet Taylor is important for any assessment of some of John Stuart Mill's works. But these facts are primarily of interest to women's studies insofar as they constitute part of a larger class of behaviours which comparable women have experienced.

To be sure "normal" history¹⁵ lacks many significant women figures because women have been oppressed, yet history does not merely need to be invented on that account. Rather it needs to be discovered and interpreted from a new perspective which fully considers the extent of women's oppression. And the search for historical women giants need not be so desperate, once two related factors are noted. First of all like all science history follows basic paradigms or styles of analysis.¹⁶ Thus, the search for giants and heroes^{17A} is itself part of a particular paradigm. While paradigms generally refer to the history of the sciences, there is no reason not to apply the concept to the history of history as well. In fact the notion of the paradigm seems peculiarly suited to the study of women in history: "like an accepted judicial decision in the common law, it is an object for further articulation and specification under new or more stringent conditions."^{17B} In both the sciences and history once a paradigm becomes the basis for research it serves to organize and interpret subsequent investigations.

The insignificance of women as intellectual and socio-political forces in history may be regarded as part of a historical paradigm of normal historical research. Historians have generally noted that women are not significant intellectual figures or forces in history (a corollary part of this paradigm is the emphasis on women's ascribed statuses and the disinterest in women's achieved statuses). Given the previously mentioned circular nature of scientific paradigms it is possible to confront the dearth of women giants in history as well as the related paucity of analyses of women as forces in history. Insofar as historians as a

community share a modus operandi or paradigm, their paradigm regards women as insignificant. In some sense, then, to be a historian is to share this paradigm. Robert K. Merton has observed that this paradigm of women in history retrodicts the self-fulfilling prophecy.^{18A} To wit, are women insignificant in history, because they are paradigmatically perceived as insignificant; or are women paradigmatically perceived as insignificant because they are in fact insignificant?

The self-perpetuating persistence of paradigms relates to a second order explanation of the dearth of women giants: namely, the normal historical paradigm of women's insignificance makes it easy to overlook those women who do not conform to the paradigm; and paradoxically it makes those who deviate from the paradigm visible in peculiar ways. In effect those who deviate reinforce the paradigm, much as deviance in society serves to define what is normal.^{18B} Paradigms are not only pronunciamento ex cathedra; they derive from cumulated, shared research of a (scientific) community; and they point out problem areas for subsequent analysis. "Inevitably they restrict the phenomenological field accessible for scientific investigation at any given time."¹⁹

There is thus resistance to changing paradigms: facts which do not fit a paradigm tend to be lost easily or explained away. The profound scepticism confronting scientific revolutions is well known. Within normal science, unexpected facts are easily lost. For instance, evidence for the existence of the planet Neptune was actually observed as early as 1690 by Flamsteed. Yet not until 1781 did William Herschel suggest the possibility that the planet Neptune occupied a planetary orbit beyond Uranus. After its discovery, it was later found to have been observed at least twenty times before. But it had been mistaken for a star.²⁰

To take a lesson from the history of science's paradigmatic myopia, in order to begin discovering women's history as a lawlike nomothetic process, it is necessary that individually significant figures be viewed from a larger socio-cultural perspective. Women's studies has to avoid seeing stars where a series of planets can be discerned, and losing the masses in starlight. Unless interest in significant women figures is couched in a larger perspective, this interest can be detrimental to a systematic appraisal of women in history. As Linda Gordon warns in her essay in this volume, it is crucial to learn something from the experiences of black history courses about the treatment of significant figures:

Many of them have become primarily courses in black biographies, giving very little attention to the masses of black people and almost none to black women. This is distorted history and it is directly misleading. It reinforces the false individualist assumptions that peoples' lives are largely within the control of their own will and talent. It fails to give the students any familiarity with the tools of historical analysis that might enable them to understand the world in a critical way, . . .²¹

In this light the prevailing normal paradigm catches significant women figures in a peculiar trap. Since most women conform to the prevailing paradigm as they are insignificant, those few women who deviate from this paradigm by being significant only affirm the accuracy of the prevailing paradigm.

Historical study of women in this respect, points to the paradoxical functions of myths. On the one hand, a myth functions simply to oppress-- as is the case when the myth of female inferiority and in consequent dearth of women giants, is internalized both by the oppressed and the oppressors. On the other hand, the articulation of the myth raises the subjective consciousness about these oppressions, and leads to enlightenment-- as is the case when women become conscious of their oppressing inferiority myths as myths.

In their Dialektik der Aufklärung, Horkheimer and Adorno give a stunning critique of enlightenment, or rather of what appears to be enlightenment. They offer two dialectical theses: myth is already enlightenment; and enlightenment reverts to mythology:

Just as myths already realize enlightenment, so enlightenment with every step becomes more deeply engulfed in mythology. It receives all its matter from the myths, in order to destroy them; and even as a judge it comes under the mythic curse. It wishes to extricate itself from the process of date and retribution, while exercising retribution on that process.²²

Women's studies generally, and the history of women in particular, can make good use of the paradoxical functions of myth. By articulating dominant myths and paradigms about women in history, the latent lie becomes manifestly acknowledged. Once the lie wills out, it can be attacked and confronted as a lie. Of course, there is no guarantee that the articulation of the latent myth into the manifest myth (or as Gendlin might say, the formulation of the 'not yet formulated'), will itself lead to enlightenment. There is, however, every guarantee that the failure to articulate the latent myth, leads to continuation of the myth.²³ An important job for women's studies is thus to enable men and women to hear the unheard and see the unseen.²⁴ While modern post industrial society makes it extremely difficult to get either a good sighting or a good hearing about these oppressing myths, it obviously does not make it impossible to do so. Otherwise, there could not exist even those few critics who characterize post-industrial society as one-dimensional.²⁵

On account of the peculiar trap that renders significant women exceptions to the paradigm, it is important for women's studies to avoid variations on the Crispus Attucks Phenomenon. Crispus Attucks became an overnight hero of the American Revolution, when historians began desperately trying to forge a black history appropriate for emerging demands. Apparently Attucks was among those shot at the 'shot heard round the world'; and he happened to be of Negro blood. Black history eagerly domesticated Attucks into something of a superstar. There were school holidays on his birthdate in New York and storybooks were created about this great black hero of the American Revolution. Leaving aside the fact that the Boston Massacre may have been for the American Revolution what the Bay of Tonkin was to the present war in Southeast Asia, the effect of this lionization of Attucks was to divert attention from the problems of the masses for whom no easy historical record could be contrived.

Instead of subjectively mediating the objective class consciousness of Black Americans, what this celebration of Attucks did was precisely the opposite: Namely the lionization of Attucks perpetuated the belief that

in fact the prevailing subjective understanding of Blacks as generally insignificant historical forces was an accurate reflection of their objective role. Otherwise there would be many more Crispus Attucks; occurrence. In this case, then, the exception quite literally proves the rule. If Blacks or women really were capable of more important historical roles, there would be more of them. Since there are only a few exceptions, these exceptions only affirm the incompetence of the majority.

It is time to stop looking for the gloriously unique in women as a defensive reaction to accusations of women's inferiority. Now is the time to start looking for the gloriously common, for that which unites women as parts of history. The search for the unusual and the special can easily become just one more form of cooptation. Consistent with the normal paradigm of women's insignificance in history, individual women who excel are freaks. Blinded to their socio-cultural role, normal historians see these women as magical creatures whenever they occur outside their traditional roles. Normal historians need a new vision.

Many people have seen the man in the moon. But few have seen the woman in the moon.²⁷ Of course only those with eyes to see her would see her. Persons generally see the man in the moon in the configuration of markings on the moon's face or on its profile at quarter moon. From a different perspective the woman on the moon is visible. Like all other human activity seeing requires paradigmatic learning. If this seems absurd, imagine how the blind see space. "The ideas of space possessed by the blind differ in character from those of the sighted."²⁶ Once they acquire vision, however, the formerly blind learn to see as the sighted do.

At first it seems outlandish and preposterous to make an analogy between the blind and the sighted and normal historians and new historians of women. Yet there is a sense in which normal historians see a different reality than new historians. And new historians may be able to give normal historians a new vision. Now is a time for seemingly outlandish and preposterous analogies. If the future history of women happens to turn out to be different from the past history of women, if only in a limited way, it is better to adopt the principle that it is. And if it turns out not to be so, it may be better for having made that assumption; and it will certainly be no worse.

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1. The title of this article recollects one of the first science fiction silent films, Die Frau im Mond (The Woman in the Moon). This thea von Harbou and Fritz Lang film of the 1920s employed its own science advisor. For their excellent advice on methodical self-reflexivity I am indebted to the ICN group; for mother, mother; and, for ennobling criticism, Eike Gebhardt.
 2. Cited, R.A.R. Tricker, The Assessment of Scientific Speculation (New York: American Elsevier Publishing Company, Inc., 1965)
 3. "Dem Markt Entgeht Keine Theorie Mehr," Theodore W. Adorno, Negative Dialektik (Frankfurt Am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1966), p. 14.

4. "It is this unity of the collectivity and domination and not direct social universality, solidarity, which is expressed in thought forms. By virtue of the claim to universal validity, the philosophic concepts with which Plato and Aristotle represented the world, elevated the conditions they were used to substantiate to the level of true reality." Mentioned in Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, Dialektik Der Aufklärung (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1969), p. 48.
5. Vide, Articles in this volume by Pauline Bart, Marcia Landy, and Marilyn Salzman-Webb. An excellent discussion of this issue is Juliet Mitchell, Woman's Estate (New York: Pantheon Books of Random House, 1971) pp. 19-29.
6. Vide, Jürgen Habermas, "Erkenntnis und Interesse" Technik und Wissenschaft Als 'Ideologie' (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1968), p. 154. "Dass das Interesse Verdrängt Wird Gehört Noch Zu Diesem.
- 7A. Adorno, Negative Dialektik, p. 60, Another interesting attempt to increase critical awareness of the bases of knowledge is Eugene Gendlin's little known discussion of linguistic analysis and phenomenology. Gendlin considers the implicit knowledge on which both linguistic analysis and phenomenology are based, by calling attention to "The question of how formulations may be related to directly had, not yet formulated experiencing," Eugene Gendlin, "What are the grounds of explication?: A basic problem in linguistic analysis and in phenomenology," The Monist (1965) 49: 1, 161.
- Quite possible things which have been experienced and "are not yet formulated" themselves derive from the nature of the particular marketplace in which they occur. In other words, the particular political economy influences which things are "not yet formulated." The formulations of women's studies must be viewed with critical awareness of their relationship to the marketplaces in which they occur.
- 7B. Nur um der Hoffnungslosen willen ist uns die Hoffnung gegeben. "It is only for the sake of those without hope that hope is given to us." --Walter Benjamin.
8. Jürgen Habermas, "On systematically distorted communication," Inquiry, 13 (1970), No. 3; and, "Towards a Theory of Communicative Competence," Inquiry, 13 (1970), No. 4.
- 9A. There have been a few efforts to delimit the term "sexist," which is variously used as both a noun and an adjective. Jessie Bernard calls sexism "The naive, unconscious, taken-for-granted, unexamined acceptance by sociologists of that idea that. . .sociology as developed by man is the one and only sociology worth bothering with. . ." Letter to the American Sociologist, Nov., 1970, 374-75. In this volume, Bart portrays "sexism in sociology" "as an institutionalization of female's invisibility not only metaphorically but literally, . . ." p. (14 in conf. bk.) And Mary Anne Ferguson defines the sexist image of women in literature as the "Portrayal of women in their biological roles," p. (42 in conference book)

Actually the term 'sexist' is equally applicable to male and female matters. 'Sexist' refers to any attempt to understand, explain or predict a social phenomenon as naturally determined by the sex of the participants. The key word here is 'naturally,' for it implies necessity and inevitability. An immediate implication of the above delimitation of 'sexist' is that glorifications of natural female or male characteristics are equally culpable.

- 9B. "False clarity is only another name for myth; and myth has always been obscure and enlightening at one and the same time; always using the devices of familiarity and straightforward dismissal to avoid the labor of conceptualization." Horkheimer and Adorno, Dialektik der Aufklärung, pp. 10-11.
- 9C. Marxist scholarship includes other treatises which analyze the political economy of women, such as August Bebel's Die Frau unter Sozialismus, 1883, trans. H. B. Adams Walter, as Woman in the Past, Present and Future, 1885, more recently trans. by Daniel De Leon, as Woman Under Socialism (New York: Schocken Books, 1971). These works are not necessarily free from sexist analysis. Bebel describes woman in the future as follows: "her education is the same as that of man, with such exceptions as the difference of sex and sexual functions demand." p. 343, 1971. The sexism of other Marxist works is discussed in Juliet Mitchell's Woman's Estate, (New York:, 1971), pp. 65-96.
10. There are several excellent bibliographies: Robin Morgan (ed.), Sisterhood is Powerful (New York: Vintage Books, 1970); Nancy Reeves, Womankind (Chicago and New York: Aldine, Atherton, 1971); Florence Howe, (ed.), Female Studies II (New York: Modern Language Association, 1971); Wendy Martin (ed.), The American Sisterhood (New York: Harper and Row, 1972).
11. There are many variations of this view that social inquiry is qualitatively differentiated from that of natural science. Wilhelm Dilthey, Einleitung in die Geisteswissenschaften (Berlin: 1833), Argued that understanding in social inquiry was necessarily individual and subjective. Wilhelm Windelband, Geschichte und Naturwissenschaft (Strassburg, 1894), considered that social inquiry confronted unique matters. Heinrich Rickert, Die Grenzen der Naturwissenschaftlichen Begriffsbildung (Tubingen: 1921), noted that the focus on psychology required a fundamentally different mode of analysis for social inquiry. A. D. Xenopol, Les Principes Fondamentaux de L'Histoire (Paris: 1894), distinguished between social inquiry and natural science on the basis of their subject matter and Benedetto Croce, Teoria E Storia Della Storiografia (Baria: 1917), proposed that as an act of the spirit social inquiry was more certain than spiritless acts of nature.
12. Even in the realm of human biology, socio-cultural evidence is significant. Recent ethological studies indicate that the three processes of reproduction, namely fertilization, incubation and nurturance, are all subject to varied social forces. The new genetic technology renders all three of these processes socially modifiable, apart from the individuals producing the gametes for these processes. Vide, Ethel Tobach, "Some Evolutionary Aspects of Human Gender," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry 41 (1971), 714-15.

13. This metaphor is commonly associated with Isaac Newton: "If I have seen farther, it is by standing on the shoulders of giants." Robert K. Merton's On the Shoulders of Giants: A Shandean Postscript (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1965), mentions that one of the earliest references to this metaphor appears in Robert Burton's The Anatomy of Melancholy on the eighth page of the introduction entitled "Democritus Junior to the Reader," in an 1867 reprint of the 1651/52 edition. My own investigation has disclosed that, in fact, this reference appears on page twelve in another, earlier edition of The Anatomy, published in two volumes in 1800 by Vernor and Hood, Poultry. In both editions of The Anatomy, Didacus Stella, Luc. 10, Tom. 2., is indicated as the author of the Latin aphorism: "Pigmei Gigantum Humeris Impositi Plusquam Ipsi Gigantes Vident."

In an incredible exercise of the anatomic of palimpsestic syndrome, Merton charges Burton with the grave scholarly crime of misquoting the Latin original of Didacus Stella. In any event, Merton argues contingent anachronistically that the earliest originator of the metaphor is no other than Bernard of Chartres; this indicates that it is simply not the case that post Burtonum, ergo propter Burtonum; nor for that matter is it post Mertonum, ergo propter Mertonum.

14. Women, Journal of Liberation, 1970.
15. In this essay, "normal" history means research based upon past acknowledged foundations of historical inquiry, inquiry that some particular academic community acknowledges for a time as supplying the foundation for its further practice. At present such modes of inquiry are found in historical textbooks, both elementary and advanced. "These textbooks expound the body of accepted theory, illustrate many of all of its successful applications, and compare these applications with exemplary observations and experiments," Vide, Thomas S. Kuhn, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions 2nd ed., enlarged (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), p. 10.
16. Ibid., pp. 19-20
17. Tricker, The Assessment of Scientific Speculation, p. 188.
- 17A. The word 'hero' of course traditionally refers to a male person; however, the word 'heroine' is not simply the female counterpart of 'hero,' having a feminine, passive and romantic connotation, in addition of the connotation of leadership and significance which it shares with 'hero.'
- 17B. B. Kuhn, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, p. 23.
18. Ibid., p. 176.
- 18A. Personal communication. With an eloquence and economy rare for sociologists, Robert K. Merton elaborated Dorothy Swaine Thomas' and W. I. Thomas' self-fulfilling prophecy: If a person perceives situations as real, they are real in their consequences, Social Theory and Social Structure (New York: Free Press, 1949), p. 179.

Elsewhere Merton notes anticipations and adumbrations of the Thomas Theorem, including George Herbert Mead's "If a thing is not recognized as true, then it does not function as true in the community," Movements of Thought in the Nineteenth Century (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936), p. 29, as cited in Robert K. Merton, On Theoretical Sociology (New York: Free Press, 1967), p. 19 n.

- 18B. What is 'deviance' and what is 'normal' mutually constitute and interpret each other. This leitmotif of sociological theory was well put by Emile Durkheim, Les Regles de la methods sociologique (1895), esp. Ch. III.
19. Kuhn, Structure of Scientific Revolutions, p. 60.
20. Tricker, The Assessment of Scientific Speculation, pp. 50-51.
21. Linda Gordon, "Why Women's History," (p. 49 of conference book)
22. Dialektik der Aufklärung, p. 29.
23. This problem is a crucial one which cannot be further discusses here and which touches upon any analysis of the mainifest and latent. Elsewhere the question has been raised of what happens to latent myths when they are articulated: Do sociological critics also act as sociological constructors of reality by engaging in myth and ideology criticism? Vide, Devra Lee Davis, "Socio Control and Deviance: or 'if it weren't for him you'd be out of a job,'" paper given to C.U.N.Y. sociologists, January, 1972.
24. Vide, Horkheimer and Adorno, Dialektik der Aufklärung, p. 72, "The regression of the masses today is their inability to hear the unheard of with their own ears."
25. Herbert Marcuse portrays the emergence of one-dimensional 'man' in his writings, including recently, Essay on Liberation (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969),

In the advanced capitalist countries, the radicalization of the working classes is counteracted by a socially engineered arrest of consciousness, and by the development and satisfaction of needs which perpetuate the servitude of the exploited. It follows that the radical change which is to transform the existing society into a free society must reach into a dimension of the human existence hardly considered in Marxian Theory-- the 'biological' dimension in which the vital, imperative needs and satisfactions of man assert themselves. Inasmuch as these needs and satisfactions reproduce a life in servitude, liberation presupposes changes in this biological dimension, that is to say, different instinctual needs; different reactions of the body as well as the mind. (pp. 16-17).

In an earlier work, One-Dimensional Man, Marcuse admits the limits of his particular approach to critical theory: "the critical theory

of society possesses no concepts which could bridge the gap between the present and its future. . ." (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964), p. 257.

26. Tricker, The Rise of Scientific Speculation, p. 121.
27. Of course, in Greek and Roman mythology, Artemis and Diana are goddesses of the moon; however, the dominant association in western, contemporary society is with the man in the moon, probably emanating from the mother goos rhyme: hey didle diddle the cat in the fiddle, the cow jumped over the moon.

SEXISM IN EDUCATION

Dolores Schmidt

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal," men, of course, includes women, or does it? Do women have equal rights and equal representation in education? Is each individual in the educational system in the United States today being encouraged to develop to her or his full potential? Education includes not only skills and knowledge but a sense of self, the development of a self-image. It is important that each student come to an understanding of her or his full worth in an atmosphere which is free from bias, which does not classify without regard to individual preference and aptitude, which does not assume restrictions without providing opportunities. No educator would dispute these goals, yet study after study indicates that the female student at every age-level is being pre-judged, routed into a stereotyped sex role without ever being given a chance to discover who she really is, what she is really capable of. Thus the Dean of the School of Nursing at the University of Pittsburgh recently bemoaned the fact that in each entering class of nurses, there are always two or three women who, by every criteria of testing, counseling, and past performance should have been encouraged to go to medical school. Inevitably, a little girl interested in medicine is encouraged to play nurse, not doctor. Society encourages the attitude that marriage is her true destiny, why waste years of work and all that money educating a girl to be a doctor? And last, but not least, the books she is exposed to from nursery school through college do not encourage free development of her potential, but insist on her subordinate, dependent role, taking orders, advice, leadership from a strong male figure. Here are the results of several recent studies, any one of which can explain why our potential doctor ends up being a nurse, probably a not very happy one, under-utilized as she will be.

1. The dictionary editors at American Heritage and Houghton Mifflin undertook a study of all the words-five million of them-in the textbooks used by American school children in grades three through nine. Census figures place women at between 51 and 53% of the total population, so we may assume that in the average classroom of a coeducational school, women and men will be about equally divided. According to the word count, "the word boy or boys appears 4,700 times versus 2,200 for girl or girls. Of the 20 given names most frequently used 13 were male, headed by John, and only 7 were female, led by, of course, Mary. And in all family relationships-brother-sister, son-daughter, uncle-aunt, grandfather-grandmother-the male word was dominant except in two cases. Wife and mother appeared more often than husband and father." In essence, grades 3 through 9 are taught quite clearly that it is a man's world despite the persistence in reality of a majority of females. Note that wife and mother appear more often than husband and father, for men are too busy being doctors, engineers, aviators to be seen much at home assuming responsible domestic relationships. Women, however, are wives and mothers, period. They are not wives, mothers and doctors; wives, mothers, and architects; wives, mothers, and teachers, though, again, the facts indicate that working mothers are by no means uncommon in our society.

2. FEMINISTS ON CHILDREN'S MEDIA conducted an analysis of books from the 15 most widely-used series of elementary school readers. In a total of 144 readers, there are 881 boy-centered stories (72%) as compared with 344 girl-centered stories. Another 282 stories center on adult males, as against 127 about adult females. There are 131 biographies of famous men, 23 of famous women. The study continues

In the early grade readers the oldest child in a family is always a boy. Boys make things, earn, learn, play active games, romp with dogs, and help their fathers. Girls help their mothers or brothers, play with kittens, get into minor forms of trouble and are helped out by their brothers, and generally exhibit dependence, passivity, and domesticity. . . . Although at the fourth, fifth, and sixth grade levels boys in all series begin to look forward to manhood, girls are never found planning for their futures. Men are shown working at a variety of jobs, women are usually housewives. . . . They have no activities of their own apart from the family, and are never shown coming back home after some personal expedition.

3. A study of highly-regarded children's fiction, the works on the list of "Notable Children's Books of 1969" issued by the American Library Association, the Child Study Association's recommendations for the same year, and all the winners of the Newbery Medal, an award given annually to the best children's book of the year reveals similar role channeling. Since librarians rely heavily on these guides in purchasing books and recommending books to teachers and students, they can be assumed to be primary influences in determining what will be read in addition to textbooks. Boys outnumber girls by approximately 3 to 1 in the 49 Newbery Medal winners; 2 to 1 on the ASA list; the CSA list provided a similar ration.

4. A study of eighty children's books representing the winners and runner-ups of the Caldecott Award, an annual award presented by the Children's Service Committee of the American Library Association for the most distinguished picture book of the year, indicates that in the titles, fourteen males but only four females were listed by name. Of the characters pictured in illustrations, there were 386 females and 579 males. Of the eighty books, there was not a single one that did not have a male (human or animal), but there were six books in which females were completely absent. In one-fourth of the entire sample there were only token females, mothers who sewed on the buttons and packed the lunches so that, for example, "The Fool of the World," could go away on his "flying ship," and Si could get a job as "Skipper John's Cook." As Aileen Nilsen, who conducted this study states

I expected this but I was surprised to notice how often women and girls were pictured looking out at the action. They stand in doorways, . . . they look through windows, . . . and they sit on the porch in rocking chairs. . . . Most of the token females were very unobtrusive, such as the princess who is only mentioned as a marriage objective. . . . There is one book in this group that I think is the epitome of male chauvinism. It is an alphabet book called Ape in a Cape. It is dedicated to Timmy and it pictures thirty-six male animals and two females.

5. A count of the Random House Landmark books, which are described as "colorful and dramatic chapters in American history," reveals that of the 165 books in print by 1970, only five were about individual American women.

6. A fourth-grade text book on the history of Pennsylvania contains reference to only one women--Betsy Ross. Another fourth grade text, Your Pennsylvania, mentions only two actual women by name: Deborah Read, whose one claim to fame was that Benjamin Franklin married her, and Marian Anderson, a supremely talented black women, whose inclusion is probably an indication of PDE's Intergroup and Civil Rights Education sector pressure.

7. A study of women in a dozen of the most popular United States history textbooks presently being used at the high school level reveals a "curious pattern of inclusions and neglects, a pattern which presents the stereotyped picture of the American woman--passive, incapable of sustained organization or work, satisfied with her role in society, and well supplied with material blessings." Granted that history texts are necessarily selective, this study calls into question what that basis of selection might be when it applies to the history of women in America. Who decides and why that Carrie Nation is more important than Margaret Sanger? That women whose reforms were in the field of nursing care-- Clara Barton, Dorothea Dix--are more important than those who campaigned for labor reforms? As Janice Law Trecker reasonably concludes

Although it is tempting to imagine some historical autocrat sternly decreeing who's in and who's out--giving space to Harriet Beecher Stowe but not to Marianne Moore; to Dorothea Dix but not Mary Bickerdyke; to Pocohontas but not Margaret Brent; to Susan B. Anthony but not Abigail Duniway--the omission of many significant women is probably not a sign of intentional bias. The treatment of women simply reflects the attitudes and prejudices of society. Male activities in our society are considered the more important; therefore male activities are given primacy in the texts. There is a definite image of women in our society, and women in history who conform to this image are more apt to be included.

8. In a study of 27 top-selling textbooks designed for college survey courses in American history representing 4-5 million dollars a year in sales, of the sixty authors listed, only 1 is a woman--and that book is now out of print! The study tabulated all references to women, comparing the total number of pages of each text to the number of pages devoted to women and the total number of illustrations in each text to the number depicting women. In the survey texts, ranging from 400 to over 2000 pages, the space devoted to women and the total number of illustrations in each text devoted to women varies from a high of 2% to an infinitesimal 5/100ths of 1%. Predictably, in illustrated texts, women are seen far more frequently than they are written about, claiming as much as 6% of the total number of illustrations. Thus, in one book, only 6 of the 1830 pages discuss women (1/3 of 1%) but 4 of 76 pictures (over 5%) are of women, those insignificant but decorative creatures, 15 times more appealing to the eye than to the mind. Nor is it the lack of female

historical figures that is responsible for this. One text, for example, mentions reform of insane asylums in the first half of the 19th century without reference to Dorothea Dix, muck-raking with no word of Ida Tarbell, and the Montgomery bus system boycott totally omitting Rosa Parks. In the 27 books, the only mention made of Martha Washington describes her shock, after a presidential reception, at finding a greasy mark on the wallpaper--an image of American womanhood surely better suited to T. V. commercials than to college classrooms. 89% of the texts, however, do mention Peggy Eaton and Harriet Beecher Stowe, making these two women the most important female in American history! It is interesting, indeed, when one considers the role of textbooks in reinforcing female stereotypes, that the women most likely to be discussed are those deemed responsible for bringing on the Civil War --unintentionally, of course! Eve, Helen, and our very own Peggy Eaton, a beauty of questionable reputation whose social ambitions supposedly fired sectional strife, and Harriet Beecher Stowe, one of the "mob of scribbling women" immortalized by Abraham Lincoln as "the little lady who started the big war." What of those women who really changed the quality of life in America, women who could serve as positive role models for college undergraduates? What of Margaret Sanger, whose efforts to free the American wife from the bondage of annual child-bearing caused her to be reviled and jailed? What of Jeanette Rankin, who first made women visible in the operations of the federal government, a female voice for peace heard in this country from the first World War to Viet Nam? What of Eleanor Roosevelt, a staunch advocate of civil rights, a woman who proved that marriage to a very important man does not prevent one from maintaining a separate identity? They are, for the most part, absent from the history textbooks. Eleanor Roosevelt, mentioned, if at all, as an asset to her husband, her humanitarian instincts and activities reduced to political machinations calculated to get her husband votes. And though she continued to be a significant voice for the civil rights movement and for keeping the Democratic Party on its toes regarding its obligations to minorities for many years after FDR's death, she disappears from the history texts long before he does. Nor are women credited for bringing about dramatic changes in standards of living. One text states, "High school education for the children of workers became common. . .class differentiation in clothing was reduced as mass-produced garments improved in quality, declined in price, and closely imitated the simplified fashions of the wealthy. Foreign observers were deeply impressed by the rarity of "class-consciousness". . .among American workers. The writers are speaking of the 1920's by which time both elementary and secondary school systems had long been staffed almost entirely by educated, dedicated, underpaid women, and it was their less educated, less fortunate sisters who had made the triumph of the American ready-to-wear clothing, industry possible. The authors fail to mention these latter facts, a failure shared by the authors of 95% of the other texts in this study.

9. The college curriculum in literature and composition is equally male-oriented. According to Elaine Showalter, in the 21 courses beyond the freshman level offered by the English department of a women's college, there were listed 313 male writers and 17 women writers. A check of some standard two-volume anthologies reveals a similar imbalance; the Norton Anthology, for example, includes 169 men and 6 women; American Poetry and Prose lists 86 men and 10 women, a freshman anthology with the title Representative Men: Cult Heroes of Our Time discusses 33 men and two women. Though the men represent a broad range of achievements, the two

women are Elizabeth Taylor and Jacqueline Onassis, one a sex symbol, the other defined largely in terms of the men she married.

The implications of these studies are clear, the implications of the texts themselves even clearer. They are teaching women, girls from the age they first start looking at picture-books to the time they graduate from college, that women don't do things. They don't do important things; they don't do exciting things/ they are present only to make it possible for men to do such things. A woman doesn't write poetry, she inspires a man to write it. She doesn't participate in major sports, she cheers the men on to victory. She doesn't make decisions leading to significant social changes, she accidentally starts wars. And, of course, she doesn't perform an operation, she hands a surgeon the scalpel. It may seem rather far-fetched to blame the under-achievement of women on a book looked at by a child who doesn't even read yet, but the following true anecdote recounted by Alleen Nilsen, cute and naive as it may sound, indicates how early the concept of limited opportunities for women is absorbed, how difficult a problem countering it will be, and what a magnificent challenge to aware educators it offers:

Last summer. . .my sister was accepted into medical school. Naturally, there were congratulations and comments from neighbors, friends, and relatives. After a few days of this, she found her son (age six) and her daughter (age five) crying real tears for no apparent reason. When she at last got to the cause of their grief, she found that they thought, if she were going to become a doctor, she would first have to turn into a man and they wouldn't have a mother.

Educators undoubtedly are key figures in the shaping of the aspirations of the young, and textbooks define much of what will and what will not be taught in the classroom. It is, therefore, imperative, if we truly want to make equal education and opportunity for women a reality, that we review textbooks and curricula for sexist bias.

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1. Feminist on Children's Media. "A Feminist Look at Children's Books," School Library Journal, January 1971, pp. 19-24.
 2. Andrew H. Malcolm, "Most Common Verb in Schools, Study Finds, Is...Is," New York Times, September 4, 1971
 3. Alleen Pace Nilsen, "Women in Children's Literature," College English, May 1971, pp. 918-926.
 4. Dolores Barracano and Earl Robert Schmidt, "The Invisible Women: The Historian as Professional Magician," American Women and American Studies, ed. Betty Chmaj, American Studies Association, 1971.
 5. Elaine Showalter, "Women and the Literary Curriculum," College English, May, 1971, pp. 855-862.
 6. Janice Law Trecker, "Women in U. S. History High School Textbooks," Social Education, March, 1971, pp. 249-260, 338.

ON THE TEACHING AND ORGANIZATION OF FEMINIST STUDIES

Gerda Lerner

There are two characteristics which make Feminist Studies different from other academic subjects. One is that Feminist Studies cannot properly be approached other than on an interdisciplinary basis, and second, that Feminist Studies must involve not just the mind and intellect of the student, but her whole being, philosophy, and emotional attitude toward herself and her feminity.

The interdisciplinary aspect of Feminist Studies. The organization of a Feminist Studies program 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. To take history as an example, as long as we are asking the question, "What have women contributed to the development of history?", we come up with the wrong answers. The only answer to that question is an enumeration of the various "contributions" women made to an essentially male-oriented culture. Thus we find this or that extraordinary women who appeared in an otherwise male-dominated field; we find pioneers who raised demands for women's emancipation in a period when the culture was hostile and indifferent to such ideas; we find this or that organization or group of women struggling to win "equality" in a male-dominated society. But when all is said and done, we have only found that women "also ran" in a race in which men define the rules, the goals, and the pace. A true feminist approach must challenge the underlying assumption that man is the measure. But when this challenge is brought forward and new questions are asked, we find that there are no appropriate tools or categories available to us for securing answers. If we approach history by saying, "What actually was the historical experience of women, what were their lives, what were their roles, what were their goals and functions in the past?", then we find that very little data is available. There is not sufficient primary and secondary material; we do not have the monographs from which to draw generalizations. That is so because up to now, no one has really approached history from such a point of view. In order to provide us with the material necessary for answering the questions we want answered, we have to create a new history. We have to create a history in which men and women are the measure, and such a history will of necessity have to be interdisciplinary.

In their inquiry the easiest and most obvious approach which feminists have usually taken is to reason from the present into the past. Women are now in a subordinate status; therefore, in order to undo the damage done by male-dominated history and to find our past, we start seeing history as the history of the "oppression of women." While, at first glance, this sounds like a revolutionary question, it is the wrong question to ask from history. If historians ask, "How and in what way were women oppressed?", we will find only part of the answer. The answer to this question will supply us with an important part of feminist history which we must know. But we will not find the whole answer, because the whole answer is that women were not only oppressed. Women

lived, and functioned, and created history, but they created it differently from men. They created it the female way. Women's collective past constitutes actually a different culture, in the sense that the culture of black people and white people living in the same country is a joint culture insofar as they have a separate and different experience in life. So it is with men and women.

Since historians have asked few questions concerning women's history and have not collected the materials with which to answer such questions, we must take the insights of other disciplines, such as psychology, anthropology, sociology, and learn to use them in history. To give one or two examples: women's liberation theoreticians have called our attention to the importance of sex role socialization in our contemporary society. We need to find out how such socialization took place in the past, and when and under what circumstances changes in the socialization process took place. The insights and tools of anthropology and sociology can be useful for dealing with this problem. Similarly, anthropology has given us great insights into the cultural variations of child-rearing practices and family structure, yet we have not shown any sensitivity to this in our historical research. Here again, using an interdisciplinary approach will enrich historical knowledge and is actually the only way we can come to some of the information we need to know about women's lives, women's experiences and women's role in the past.

On the teaching of Women's History. Although the teaching of all subjects benefits by showing relevancy to student concerns and by an approach which brings theory and practice into close conjunction, women's history offers unique opportunities in this regard. For women, studying women's history means dealing with a subject that is very close to themselves, and which directly involves their sense of identity and their adjustment to their own feminity. We have hitherto grossly underestimated the damaging impact of sexist indoctrination on the intellectual functioning of women. We have blithely assumed that because we send boys and girls into the same classrooms and present them with the same materials for learning, that their learning will proceed along the same lines. We have been as blind to the subtle effects on performance of discrimination against women as we have some time earlier to the same effects on performance of discrimination against black children. We have assumed that equality of opportunity was sufficient, and have disregarded the heritage of injury to self-esteem and the stress of conflicting demands made by the girl upon herself and by society upon the girl. We have learned in these past years that the damage to girls has been great indeed, but we have not yet fully realized to what an extent it has adversely affected the performance of college students. Girl students, in the crucial years from 18 to 22, enter college with all the tensions and conflicts which sexual role indoctrination has imposed upon them, and the battlefield on which their conflicts are fought out is their intellectual performance in the classroom. Most girls, by the time they reach college, have been quite accustomed to "failure," to subordinating their curiosity, initiative and particularly their own female reactions and feminine insights, to the standards imposed by the dominant culture. They actually "turn off" the essential parts of their personality and force upon themselves a separation of feelings and thoughts, of intellectual performance and being. This alienation is true to some extent for all people in our culture, but it is particularly true for girls and young women. Feminist Studies

must attack this division of self at its roots. This is simply a fancy way of saying that consciousness-raising is an integral part of teaching Feminist Studies. Before women can study Feminist Studies with any effectiveness, they must come to grips with their own deep-seated anxieties, tensions and uncertainties in regard to their femininity. They can do this only by learning that what they have considered to be personal agony and traumas are really societally conditioned problems, shared by most of their female contemporaries. Once they have experienced this insight, they are able to approach the subject with an excitement, creativity and enthusiasm unlike their approach to any other "intellectual subject."

How is this achieved in practice? I have found it necessary to structure my course in such a way as to allow time for the development of this first consciousness-raising process. Classes must be kept small enough intimate contact. It is essential that students be able to talk amongst each other freely about matters which may not strictly be able to talk amongst each other freely about matters which may not strictly be academic subject matter. I have found an assignment which I gave to the class very early in the term to be very useful. I ask each student to write an essay on the subject "I am a woman - how I feel about it." These essays force students, many of them for the first times in their lives, to deal intellectually with their attitude toward their own femininity. I have found it very effective to have some of the essays read in class and discussed. Such a discussion can become the foundation for close group feeling, for a sense of sisterhood. Rigorous academic work is combined with this approach, and sets up a kind of tension in the student, which I believe is conducive to genuine learning. (I have used the same approach effectively and found it working in a similar way in classes I have taught on the history of racism, which became in effect workshops for working out interpersonal relations while studying a problem in history intellectually.) While not everyone may be able to arrange such ideal teaching conditions, or have such close control over the kind of classes they teach, I suggest that any teaching of Feminist Studies must allow for small groups to function in one form or another, whether it be as a seminar proper, or in conjunction with lectures or in student-directed groups that function parallel to the main program.

Feminist Studies is ideally suited for breaking the artificial separation between theory and practice, learning and being. If what we are teaching really means, "all women are sisters," then we must teach it in a classroom environment, where competition is minimized and cooperation is rewarded. We should encourage anything that will detract from the homogeneity of the usual classroom and encourage a diversity of ages and educational levels among the students. The sharing of thoughts and questions among students of different age levels, among the single girls, the young married and even the older woman and mother, is in itself educational. When dealing with this subject, assignments might be planned in such a way as to encourage the cooperation of two or more students in carrying them out. This has a marvelous effect on learning, and in no way impairs the stress on solid work and academic rigor; on the contrary, students become authentically involved and have much more motivation for solid work than they usually do. Faculty members, who participate in an interdisciplinary Feminist Studies program, can con-

tribute to breaking down the artificial hierarchies and vertical slots of the usual academic structure. Sessions in which faculty members from different disciplines openly discuss and challenge each other's premises, involving students in the debate, can be most educational. I believe it is useful to give very careful thought to the way disciplines interact in such a program. It is important not to fall into the trap of providing simply material for mutual reinforcement. It is much more challenging for the student to be confronted with conflicting interpretations and to be forced to resolve the tensions that such conflicts create. This leads to more truly original and significant work.

The following example might illustrate what I mean by this. It readily occurs to those planning Feminist Studies to deal with the image of women in the literature of a given period, and to parallel this with some historical information. It is tempting, especially for non-historians, to use history as a sort of illustrative background. One reads perhaps Willa Cather or Ellen Glasgow and parallels this with autobiographical material pertaining to women's life on the prairie, and a little background about the western frontier. This is fine as far as it goes, but it becomes much more interesting indeed, and much more truly challenging, to juxtapose the actual lives of women of a given period, the status of women in a given period, with the image in the mind of the writer of that period. The moment one does this, one discovers a strange gap between reality and imagination, one discovers in fact a romanticizing and myth-making at work, and one becomes aware of the use of ideology in order to shape and direct the lives of women into ways in which they do not naturally seem to go. Thus the literature of domesticity occurs precisely at the moment when women are beginning to leave the home to work in the early factories of industrial America. The romantic fiction of the Southern lady appears at a period where the plantation has been destroyed and industry begins to encroach upon the South, and so on.

I am suggesting that other such confrontations between the insights of the various departments of academia can lead to an enlarged vision and can force the student to do some real thinking.

Finally, we must try to avoid the most obvious fallacy -- that of misusing our knowledge to bolster an ideology. The object of Feminist Studies is a creative and exciting re-examination of the past and of all fields of knowledge in the light of a revolutionary new insight. This is not the same thing as hunting through the fields of knowledge in order to find material, arguments, weapons and intellectual support for one's currently held beliefs and ideology. We do not need to fall into this trap. We do not need to replace the old myths with new ones. Yet, from much of the work that has been done up to now, I feel that this is indeed a temptation, especially for those who recently, and with great excitement, discovered that the world could be different than it is, and that the world of the mind can have other frontiers than those we have been taught. This is indeed a heady discovery, but it will turn sour if we allow ourselves to misuse it. Feminist Studies can and must be an immensely challenging, academically rigorous exploration. If we can imbue our students with a sense of responsibility for their work, with respect for their own findings regardless of whether those findings may support current beliefs or not, then we will be able to do justice to the challenge of a new world view. Nothing less will do, if we are serious about defining an androgynous world view in which men and women are the measure.

WOMEN AND THE VISUAL ARTS

Gretel Chapman

I will address myself particularly to the question of curriculum. I feel that women's studies must include, as an essential aspect of our cultural and intellectual history, an investigation of the visual tradition. To consider the negative aspects first: women form concepts of themselves largely on the basis of what images are available to them in the popular culture in which they live. The images of women which have been most consistently projected in Western European culture are reflections of male conceptions, preoccupations, fears, and fantasies. This can be ascertained by a study of the visual tradition, focusing on the depiction of women as seen in portraiture and genre scenes, for example, or the allegorical significance of women (especially where the connotations are negative, as in most erotic art), or on certain themes, such as the Fall of Man, or the many and various renditions of such polar images as Eve and Mary, etc. In no case, to my knowledge, has there ever been a portrayal of the woman as a self-determining, independent, creative, self-assertive individual. Women should be made aware of this distorted image of themselves in order to deal with it critically and intelligently.

The more positive aspect of the problem of curriculum is, however, my main focus here. It seems to me that there are a number of ways in which a truer perspective of ourselves, and hence, of humanity, might be arrived at. I suggest them briefly as follows:

1. A reassessment should be made of women artists today and in the past, so that their cultural and aesthetic significance can be considered in human terms rather than in male terms.
2. Studies should be begun of the role of sex differences (which are culturally determined) in questions of taste. Do women consistently have certain kinds of esthetic preferences? One way to approach this question might be to investigate the nature of the works of art bought or commissioned by women, and to study the role of women as patrons of the arts.
3. Studies should be begun of the social acceptance of and esteem for contemporary women artists in comparison with their male colleagues. (Ms. Margaret Klitzke, undergraduate at Goucher College, intends to carry out such a study.)
4. Studies should be begun of cultures in which all forms of art are produced primarily by women, or androgynously, i.e., by both sexes. I think we would find that our concepts of artistic creativity as limited to the male sex will appear to be extremely culture-bound.
5. We should begin to make analyses of the use of sex terms in art theory and criticism. What is meant, for example, by a "masculine" art? A "feminist period"?

It is obvious that few of these studies will fit into the present fossilized art historical curriculum, which is limited to study of the art of a particular, arbitrarily delimited, period of time. What is imperative, then, if any new insights are to ensue from women's studies in the visual arts, is a complete transformation and revitalization of the curriculum, so that topical courses, such as The History of Art Patronage, Problems in Art Theory and Criticism, Concepts of Creativity, etc., might be offered, as well as direct studies such as Women Artists in the Western European Tradition, etc.

WOMEN IN ACADEME: THE MEASURE OF THEIR COMMITMENT

Joan E. Hartman

The standards by which women in the academic profession are measured are not quite the same as those by which men are measured: a woman, to be good, must be very good indeed. But there are differences in kind as well as differences in degree, notably as regards standards of professional commitment. A man may have a variety of interests outside his profession, all with claims on his time, and still be considered committed. A woman may have but one, her husband and family, and they immediately call the seriousness of her commitment in doubt: at best she is considered committed in spite of, not along with, their claims on her time.

These different standards of commitment I suspect emerged from another generation of academic women. My experience of them is bound in space to the New England women's colleges, though I am sure they were to be found elsewhere, and in time to the late 40's and early 50's, when I was a student at one of them, and to the late 50's and early 60's, when I taught at two others. They are now a vanishing if not a vanished breed, even at the women's colleges that were their natural habitat; I encountered more of them as teachers than as colleagues. Their commitment I once thought I was free to reject. As it turned out, I was not: it persists as the standard by which others measure us and perhaps even as the standard by which we measure ourselves. Their commitment thus bears scrutiny; what was its nature, and why is it inappropriate as the measure of ours?

The commitment of these women was total: they were not only committed to their various disciplines but also committed to the life of the colleges at which they taught, much like dons at Oxford before they were permitted to marry. As an undergraduate I found them austere impressive, not pathetic or comic. It was perhaps arrogant of me to assume they had no life apart from the life of the colleges. Yet my lack of curiosity concerning the cost of their commitment was, I think, the appropriate response to the life I saw. And as an undergraduate I too experienced commitment to intellectual discipline as commitment to the life of an institution and found it rewarding.

When I chose to go to graduate school, however, I rejected their commitment because it implied the sacrifice of personal life as I conceived of it. Like my contemporaries, I expected to marry, though as it happened I did not. I undertook to commit myself to a discipline without committing myself to an institution, and I expected my commitment, though less than theirs, to be sufficient. My education did not prepare me for the constraints imposed upon women. It was an excellent education because it imposed no constraints upon us, but it was also misleading because it overlooked their existence. The battles for equality between the sexes had been won, it seemed to us, because the life of the mind as we experienced it was essentially sexless.

The women who taught me belonged to an earlier generation of feminists. They had won their right to the same higher education that men received and they taught at an institution founded to secure it; they celebrated the

intentions of its founders and kept them alive for us. But they did not encourage us to think of ourselves as women nor did they encourage us to consider the treatment of women in literature and to explore connections between women in literature and our own lives. They were not themselves feminist critics, and feminist criticism was not among the kinds of criticism I knew and felt competent to perform when I went to graduate school. There I took suggestions that I write on women in this or that as patronizing, as I think they were; they implied that women could compensate for inferior ability by drawing on the feminine and domestic competences peculiar to them. But I resisted such suggestions: my undergraduate education had prepared me to perform the same kinds of criticism that men perform, and to perform them well.

I acquired a fuller sense of the commitment of the generation of women who taught me when I became their colleague, for I no longer felt free to reject their commitment to the life of the college and needed to understand why they accepted and indeed rejoiced in a commitment that I was unable to make. They did so, I think, because they committed themselves at a time when the options open to them were more clearly and realistically defined than the options open to us. They did their graduate work before 1940, we did ours after; they entered a closed profession, we an expanding one. As graduate students they were admitted to fewer institutions and, except for Bryn Mawr, the only women's college to offer its own doctorate, they were admitted in small numbers; we were admitted to more institutions and in greater numbers. Many of them expected to teach at the women's colleges, for with rare exceptions, that was where women taught; we simply expected to teach, sure that we would be needed. They committed themselves to a known situation with considerable clarity of purpose; we committed ourselves to an unknown one.

They committed themselves, I think, prepared to give up feminine roles for more masculine ones. And at the women's colleges, in the company of like-minded colleagues, they created a collective life much to their taste. Some lived in complexes of small apartments with a common dining room, others shared houses and hired domestic help; all rejoiced in their liberation from household routines. Few of them lived alone; rather they were companionably bound to each other and enjoyed each other's company. Their commitment to the life of the college thus strengthened them, for it spared them the enforced solitude of single life.

Our expectations varied, but few of us were prepared to choose between feminine roles and more masculine ones. We had not understood professional commitment as commitment to masculine roles; we expected to commit ourselves without sacrificing our personal lives. Instead we discovered that the life of the mind, at least as we encountered it in our professional lives, is not sexless: academic institutions accept cultural assumptions concerning sexual roles and rigidly enforce them. Women who married found they had committed themselves to feminine roles that were regarded as professionally disabling. Those who did not, except for the few who committed themselves to the club-like life of the women's colleges, found themselves without personal lives: the personal satisfactions of the profession were partial and other satisfactions, hard to come by, were often regarded as professionally disabling. We expected a variety of choices as professional women; we found our choices limited by a sexist society and a sexist profession.

The women who taught me accepted sexist assumptions and proved themselves the professional equals of men by giving up feminine roles and adopting more masculine ones. Their commitment, turned against us, persists as the standard by which women are measured. Married women, in spite of their qualifications and achievements, are presumed to be insufficiently committed because distracted by family obligations and responsibilities. Unmarried women, unless their qualifications and achievements are extraordinary, are presumed to be insufficiently committed because not distracted by family obligations and responsibilities: the standard that weighs heavily upon married women weighs peculiarly upon unmarried women, for their distractions easily seem irresponsible and frivolous. The feminism of an earlier generation failed to liberate academic women: most of them are over-educated and under-employed, over-educated by an affluent society and under-employed by a profession that discriminates against them in hiring, promotion, and tenure.

The feminism of the current generation offers promise of genuine liberation: it challenges assumptions concerning sexual roles themselves, masculine as well as feminine, and it also challenges the ways an affluent society limits personal satisfactions to familial ones. In point of fact, distinctions between masculine and feminine roles are becoming blurred for many men in the academic profession. Some, if we are to believe what they write in prefaces and acknowledgments, remain undistracted by family obligations and responsibilities: their wives manage to take care of domestic chores keep the children at a distance--and type, proofread, advise, consult, and love. Others--many, I think--share responsibility for chores and children, if only because their wives work. As more of them share responsibility, the standard of commitment by which women are measured will become increasingly inappropriate. Women in the profession are beginning to challenge the standards by which others measure them and are demanding equality on grounds of qualifications and achievements alone; the women's movement seems significantly to have altered our sense of ourselves. Whether it will alter the profession's sense of us remains to be seen. I doubt that it will, in and of itself, not because consciousness changes slowly behind the ivy-covered walls of academe but because the perquisites of job, promotion, and tenure are jealously guarded by those who judge us.

WOMAN'S STUDIES AT A COMMUNITY COLLEGE

A Personal View

Judith P. Stelboun

What has come to be known as the woman's liberation movement developed as an answer to certain needs, for self-expression, productive labor, left unfulfilled by our culture's sexist structure. These needs are directly related to the roles that women either choose or are forced to play in our society. Traditionally in our society, these roles define women as the weaker sex--dependent on men, illogical, unscientific. As Janis Joplin sang it, "Women is losers." What seems necessary, then is a re-evaluation of the historical identity of women in the culture, a re-evaluation leading hopefully to a reformation on the deepest level of women's characters, intellects, and life goals. Obviously a large part of this re-education must take place in universities and colleges.

The problem of re-education is more complicated given the conditions that exist at a community college, a two year institution serving an essentially working class population. Charles Reich's Greening of America presents a profile of the typical American college student, but that kind of student is the exception and not the average in the community college where I teach English literature.¹ At Staten Island Community College, I simply do not feel that that rebellion, that rejection of traditional values that Reich speaks of as so characteristic of today's college students has begun to develop. Rather I sense a student body that for the most part is politically and socially passive, ignorant of other life styles than the ones patterned for them by their parents. Here in this suburban school, the students remind me of those of my own college days in the fifties, a singularly conformist and unimaginative decade. Whereas a revolution in life style is afoot elsewhere (according to Reich), here the men quite willingly fall into and defend the roles laid out for them by their parents, the neighborhood, and the Catholic church; and the women, for their part, passively support these roles. Thus the problem of presenting to these students a radical view of the culture,--students with little intellectual background, poor verbal facility, low self image, and limited self-expectation--is compounded by their innate insecurity and conservatism. Under these circumstances, one must, first of all, try to give these students a missing sense of self-importance and self worth, basic preconditions to benign human development.

Our students here learn not to take themselves seriously. They come from homes where they are not encouraged to continue their education, where parents, sometimes, are so hostile to the college son (and especially to the college daughter) that they may even destroy the student's textbooks and forbid him or her (especially her) to take liberal arts courses since they "don't lead anywhere." One of my students, a twenty-eight year old woman, having decided to come to college after working as a secretary for ten years, lies to her parents and friends about her reasons for leaving her job; she tells them she is studying business skills, but she is actually taking courses in philosophy and psychology. She is convinced that her parents will not permit her to attend college if they know that she has no

intention of returning to her secretarial job and wants to become a psychologist. The parents of another student of mine, a brilliant girl of nineteen, refuse her the financial support she will need to attend a senior college, though they could well afford the expense, because they feel that money spent on a woman's education is a waste.

The students then, for the most part, come from non-radical homes and environments hostile to change. Like their parents, they too fall into the delicately balanced life plans laid out for them. Life at a commuter college is for many of them a continuation of high school as well as home-life. The college has no dormitories, and the students never have the feeling that they are on their own, away from home and away from the close supervision of their parents. Many of the students come from Catholic parochial schools; they come with little enthusiasm or curiosity, and with little confidence in their ability to learn anything truly new. Ironically and sadly, the male students drafted into the army experience the most profound changes. Many of these returning veterans, especially those who were in Vietnam, feel a deep guilt about their association with the army. Most of them, as a consequence, undergo dramatic reassessments of their values and beings. The disparity between the idealistic preachings of the Catholic church and the real war experience forces them to confront a hypocrisy too fundamental to ignore. Many of these veterans are bitter and cynical about their past acceptance of "the right way of life." The war experience in itself was sufficient to convince them that they must have the will as individuals to recognize and to change the patterns that have been imposed upon them by a remote and archaic value system. One of the most moving moments in many of my classes has been that exchange between the twenty-three year old veteran and the freshman fresh from high school. Because of their similar backgrounds, the veteran is able to reach his classmate with new ideas and opinions without evoking the usual hostile reaction to them. Thus the veteran serves as a model for the other male students as he presents them with the reality of the possibility of change.

Women students lack models of protest. They do not have figures of resistance to identify with, except feminist teachers. The women at Staten Island Community College, coming from the same non-intellectual, low expectancy background as the men, do not even have the negative recourse of the army. The opportunities for them to experience a change in life style and the models for them to emulate are virtually non-existent. Worse, their goals are even more limited than those of the men. Perhaps they will get a job after graduation, but it will only be a stop gap until they marry and get on with the proper function of their lives. Passively they wait for a man, the husband to be, to appear so that their lives may begin. It is he who will guide them in matters of how to dress, what to cook, how many children to have, where to live, how and what to think. It is as if all their life, until the moment of marriage, had no meaning other than as a preparatory period for that moment--as if, until the real money game began, they were playing with fake money. Without even considering that there might be another alternative to their present lives, they accept the traditional pattern and plans laid out for them as do the men. One woman, a student in a Freshman English class, told me she would like to study landscape architecture, but she was quick to add that what she really wanted was to get married and be happy. In her mind happiness in marriage was possible, but happiness as a landscape architect was an

unlikely fantasy. Another woman, a student in the nursing program, achieved the highest academic average recorded at the college and was honored by being chosen class valedictorian. Had she been a man she most certainly would have been given every encouragement to continue her studies in medicine, but as a woman she automatically continued in the nursing program. When I asked her why she didn't transfer to a pre-medical program, she replied that she didn't think she was "smart" enough to be a doctor and that nursing was a good job for a woman! What she was really saying to me, by her attitude, was that changing bed pans, giving back rubs, and presenting a cheery disposition was real woman's work, work she would feel comfortable doing.

For such a nursing student, the woman's movement has not brought an awareness which revalues her expectations. What is manifest to me, but not to her, is the oppressive nature of the lives most of the men and women at the college lead. Because the woman's movement is truly revolutionary, creating awareness and causing change, I find it impossible not to want to create awareness and cause change in as many women as possible at the college. Two years is not a very long time in which to deal with a life's oppression, especially when most of these students do not consider college as the central experience of these years. Interestingly enough, perhaps the very disadvantages of a commuter community college become advantages in a woman's course, when one considers that the students who live at home, who go to jobs after class, will be able to see more vividly how their daily lives are affected and shaped by the simple fact of their sexual identity. These students will not have the reinforcement of an exclusive academic environment; they will have to deal with the recognition of their oppression by family and friends while subjected to that oppression, in the same house and at the same job where once they so docilely accepted those sex determined life roles.

In this spring term I am team teaching, with a colleague, the first woman's course to be offered at S.I.C.C., Women in Literature. The course meets three times a week for two hour block periods. We hope that the course will be the central experience for the women for this term. Predictably, not everyone, our departmental colleagues no less than others, appreciated our initiative in introducing such a course. Members of the English Department reacted with skepticism. The English Department employs ten women in a department of forty-two people. Not one of those ten women is a full professor and only two women are associate professors. One male colleague wondered if the course would meet monthly. Some of the women asked if there was really enough material to sustain a full term's work. A common comment was that it was a "nice" idea, timely and cute, and weren't we two cute women to go ahead and teach such a course. The college curriculum committee seemed unduly concerned about finding a number for the course which would appear in the new catalogue. They finally settled on English 58 which would appear listed in the catalogue after English 57, Black Writers.

What exactly does one want to do in a woman's studies course? The point of a woman's course is to analyze the nature and conditions of woman's oppression, and finally to succeed in bringing about a personal liberation of as many members of the class as possible. Ideally the college should not offer just one isolated course but a full program of woman's studies covering all the disciplines from Biology to English. The way the course

functions--content, operation aims--all should be colored by an abiding recognition of the sexist structure of the culture. One may begin such a course, no matter what the discipline by attempting to overcome the reluctance of most women to express their feelings. In fact, consciousness raising begins by convincing the student of the primary importance of her feelings which, with or without her awareness, determine her life. Each of the students in the class must achieve an awareness of her individual identity as a person and as a woman. Each student must see that there are many options open to her for a happy and interesting life. Each woman must emerge from that course as an individual with a strong sense of self, but also as a woman who feels, perhaps for the first time, a great sense of solidarity and community with other women.

Sharing similar experiences is not the average classroom, where communities of students rarely exist. When I think back to my undergraduate and graduate education at urban commuter colleges, the only thing I remember is an indistinguishable blur of ten years of lectures. The anonymous professor, almost always a man, spoke to us the groundlings, the uneducated, with the authority of his Ph.D., his numerous articles, and his two books. In graduate school, the scholar-professor lectured in his "special" field to the non-experts. I recall very little class discussion and certainly no ideas ever generated from the students themselves. In fact, if a student deigned to make a comment or to interject an opinion, I would become very angry--I hadn't paid my tuition to listen to some silly student. I had come to hear the authority. In those classes, then, there was no feeling of a community of students. Quite the contrary, students competed with each other for the approval of the professor; they competed with each other for grades. There were even some classes where the competition was stepped up by the fact that grades were determined on the basis of a curve. Intellectual superiority was the yardstick by which each student was measured and judged to be either a success or a failure. My experience as a student and now as a teacher leads me to believe that to encourage competition, to support intellectual elitism, is antithetical to everything that one wants to achieve in a successful woman's course. A woman's class must try to create a sense of common cause in every student. It is essential that women listen to and begin to respect the feelings and ideas of other women. It is important for women to learn to trust other women and to feel that solidarity of shared experiences. Competition among women, generally for the attentions of a man, is so much a part of a woman's experience that to reinforce this feeling through intellectual competition would be disastrous. Further there should be very little lecturing in a woman's course. Since nothing pertaining to women is irrelevant in a woman's course, discussions should be allowed to grow organically and to become somewhat personal, though without the class becoming a group therapy session. The teacher should participate in the discussions as well, since this helps to break down the passivity and docility that so many women feel towards authority, and helps the students to see that the teacher is also a person, a woman. Moreover, the teacher, recounting her personal experiences, may provide some women with a model analogous to the model many of the men find in the returning veteran. Intellectual elitism, again, should not be encouraged, because one does not want to emphasize the difference between the ones who "have the information and the answers," and those who come "seeking the information and the answers." To continue to practice such a hierarchy is to continue to encourage the divisiveness among women that has existed unchallenged in the past, where the college woman felt superior

to the non-college woman, the secretary felt superior to the housecleaner, and so on. To continue such an elitism based on class and intellect is to destroy the sense of solidarity that is necessary for the women's movement if it is to succeed in changing our society, in a personal and social sense, for women and inevitably for men too.

I have talked a great deal of the atmosphere that must prevail in any woman's studies course if one really wants the women in that course to come away with a feeling that they can truly change their lives. A real effort must be made by the teacher to allow the women to explore and develop areas in which they want to work and to encourage the women to do all of the work themselves, with only supportive guidance on the part of the teacher. There should be a lot of "doing" in a woman's course--students developing their own projects, working together with other women in the class, making their own surveys of women in the community, asking questions of other women faculty and students, interviewing nurses and housewives and secretaries at the college and in the surrounding community. The students may decide to write and print a newsletter to be distributed to the college community. Some students may decide to look into the various texts used in other departments to see whether the texts either overtly discriminate against women, or if they simply ignore women altogether. Some of these projects might not seem to fit the traditional academic mold, but they are important for two reasons. First, they allow the women to know the problems and situations within their own environment and background; second, the projects give the women some actual sense of accomplishment in their own non-academic world. There is much more at stake in a woman's course than merely the possible failure of the teacher to make known to the students a certain body of information. There is much more to be lost if the women in the class do not finally take on, or are not permitted to take on, an active life role.

I have discussed the structure and aims of the course before the content of the course because, since the aim of the course is to change women, the content used to bring about this change is secondary. The content may be seen as simply another element which may be used to support the aims and ultimate goals of the course. Whatever materials are used--texts, tapes, films, speakers--should all be chosen with the ultimate goal in mind.

In any woman's course, even one with the acceptable academic title of Women in Literature, the emphasis is on the women; the literature is secondary. Teaching a woman's literature course as one would teach the Victorian novel or a course in Medieval English writers is a mistake. For after reading and discussing all the female literary types--from Hildeburh to the patient Griselda, from the wife of Bath to Anna Karenina, from Madame Bovary to Molly Bloom--the student would still come away from just another literature class, the term would be just another passive classroom experience rather than an active personal experience. I do believe that students should be aware of the literature, but the reading and discussing of it need not occupy all of the class time. Rather the teacher could provide an annotated bibliography for the student's future reading.

The methods and goals of a woman's course, it seems to me, should inform every course, every classroom, but they are particularly important for a woman's course. The competitive dislike and distrust so many women

feel towards their own sex, the passive acceptance of authority and life roles are so much more a part of a woman's experience than a man's, that unless a woman can overcome these feelings, all other education will fail. If the course is to be a success each woman must emerge from that course as a distinct individual, aware of the forces that have shaped her and able to move on in directions which for women still remain uncharted and unexplored.

So many classes exist in a vacuum, I sometimes feel. Especially in a community college, not enough information is conveyed to the student which she can use after the bell has signaled the end of the class period. It is a clichè to restate the obvious truth that students learn because they know they are going to be tested and not because they particularly feel that they want to know what we think they should know. If the women in a woman's course could feel that what they are doing is real and is of value to them in a very personal way; if they could believe that what takes place in the contrived and artificial classroom is important to their lives outside of that classroom, then maybe they can begin to examine their lives in a truly critical way. Perhaps these women will begin to look at themselves in a new and different light. Perhaps they will begin to see that the possibility for change does exist. Perhaps, finally, they will see that, in a real sense, we are all victims, men and women, of emotional backgrounds that have left their marks on us, in some cases too deeply ingrained in our unconscious to be even recognized; that unknowingly we all walk along precarious paths regrettably pre-ordained by custom, environment, and practice.

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1. Charles Reich, Greening of America (New York: Bantam Books, 1971), p. 240-241. "Among today's youth the phenomenon of "conversion" is increasingly common. It is surprising that so little has been written about these conversions, for they are a striking aspect of contemporary life. Always before, young people felt themselves tied more to their families, to their schools, and to their immediate situations than to a "generation."

TOWARDS A FEMINIST HISTORY

Linda Gordon

I think we need a women's history, but I also think it will be impossible to create one without a radical transformation of the whole historical discipline and profession--a radical feminist perspective on all of history.

The clearest way that I know to explain what I mean by that is to describe how I myself came to that conclusion.

To know that we need a history of women you need only try, as I have done, to find out about the situation of women in various historical periods from the existing materials. Take a sampling of textbooks, and look up women in the index, for example. Or take some monographs and try to find any analysis of women's roles. Being foiled here, you would go, as I have, to those works categorized as "social history," or to histories of manners. With some fine exceptions, these discuss cuisine, costume, recreation, and women, sometimes in about that order of importance. These subjects are separated out from the real meat of history--politics, diplomacy, and intellectual developments--and treated, all too frequently, as oddities. Often there is no analysis at all of the historical significance of these social "trends."

It is not a chronicle of women's life styles that we need. We need an analytic history about women because, as historians, our understanding of entire societies is warped without it. For example, only after studying women in the 16th and 17th century did I realize that the standard textbook interpretations of Puritanism were very distorted because of their ignorance of the situation of Puritan women. Similarly with interpretations of the 18th century, when changes in women's lives, at least in the upper classes, were contributing to a deep transformation of the whole society.

Recently some "real" historians (as opposed to social historians, that is) have written about the feminist movement. Their new focus is a response to the new feminist movement of the 1960's, and the renewed interest among women in our past. (History is, after all, a commodity dependent on the market like any other in capitalist society.) These new books are welcome, but on the whole they are unsatisfactory. Most of the historians in question were presumably attracted to the feminist movement because it was an occasion on which women "made history" in the usual sense of that phrase. Women on these occasions became more visible in terms of historical sources as well as more noticeable because they became public figures. Since these are the criteria that are applied, the histories of feminism are largely the histories of feminist leaders--of individual and highly exceptional women. Women, furthermore, who frequently acted more like men are expected to act than like women. They were aggressive, free of wifely and motherly obligations, brave, articulate, elitist, competitive--that is, they were very like men, for good and for bad. Using their lives as examples can often leave us further than ever from understanding the conditions of most women's lives and personalities.

It seems to me that one simply cannot write an honest history of women in the present professional concept of the discipline. The prevailing notion of what makes things historically noteworthy excludes women by definition. To put it another way, the things that have usually been considered to constitute femininity, and which women are pressed so hard to conform to are precisely those things that remove women from the political arena. Although the image of femininity has changed significantly in some ways, in one dimension it has remained the same: what is feminine is almost antithetical to what is powerful. Yet history is made, after all, by the powerful. Since women have had neither political nor economic nor military power, obviously they did not make history and obviously they are not in the history books.

If this suggests similar conclusions about the history of black people, brown people, and working class people, please feel free to draw them.

How can we get out of this dilemma? How can we write the history of women who accomplished nothing and left no records besides? For centuries women's lives were played out inside parlors and bedrooms, or in unskilled or unrecognized drudgery; their energies sapped by endless births and suckling and tending of children; their talents and aspirations thwarted by the fathers or husbands or brothers-in-law upon whom they were entirely dependent, and by a powerful ideology which bade them find their fulfillment in acceptance of their lot. What is there to say about such women?

The search for a solution to that problem has led to pressures for distortion. It is tempting for us women to want to seek out the glowing exceptions to our limited past. It is understandable that we should want to teach our daughters about those few whose circumstances or singularly dauntless characters made them heroes of culture or politics. But what we can learn from these women is very limited. To study the reasons for the imprisonment of the masses of women will be more productive for us now. And most rewarding would be to look for and identify those aspects of popular women's culture which we want to keep.

We can learn something here from the experience of the black history courses that now appear in most colleges. Many of them have become primarily courses in black biographies, giving very little attention to the masses of black people and almost none to black women. This is distorted history and it is directly misleading. It reinforces the false individualist assumptions that peoples' lives are largely within the control of their own will and talent. It fails to give the students any familiarity with the tools of historical analysis that might enable them to understand the world in a critical way, so as to be able to help change it.

But why should black history be taught any differently than white history? Or women's history any differently than men's history? Ultimately almost all the history that is taught in our colleges is misleading because it is written from the point of view of the powerful. Almost none of it ever really expresses the near total powerlessness of the great majority of the world's people.

This is not to say that we should not study the powerful, those who "made history." On the contrary, we need more than ever to do so. We cannot, for example, understand women's subordinate situation without understanding the men who put them there and how they did it. But we must not study them from their own point of view, accepting their own standards, Victorian gentlemen writing biographies of other Victorian gentlemen. We must analyze the sources of their power and their means of manipulating it from the only standpoint that provides the necessary line of vision--the standpoint of those oppressed by that power.

There is no such thing as history written without a point of view, "objective history." Point of view is a much deeper thing than bias. Point of view sets up the fundamental categories of analysis through which the historian tries to understand and explain a phenomenon. Some male colleagues of mine have asked, "Now that you're teaching women's history, when will we have a course in men's history?" The point I am making is that all our courses teach men's history (and white men's history, and ruling class men's history at that).

Imagine, if you can, the story of the court of Louis XIV as told by one of his scullery maids, based on kitchen rumors and occasional glimpses of the lower edges of the court hierarchy. The story of Othello as told by Desdemona, Periclean Athens as described by a female slave. Do these suggestions sound sensationalistic? They did to me at first, and I suggest that that reaction reveals how thoroughly we are imbued with conventional historical standards.

We probably cannot create books like these suggestions, for we have no sources. But if we know that this is our goal we can begin to look for the right sources. And there are many things we could do in the meantime.

We need histories of many social phenomena for which there are sources available, but of which historians have not before seen the importance: a history of birth control, of sexual reform movements, of child-raising, of women's work in their homes, of courtship; but above all we need histories of general economic, political and cultural developments from a feminist point of view. We need an analysis of medieval chivalry and court society that will show how the objectification of women was related to the rest of the culture, and to the economic base of the society. We need an analysis of how the attitudes toward women and towards sexuality fit into the rest of Nazi culture. The women's liberation movement has produced some good work on the economic function of women in modern capitalist society--as a reserve labor force, for example; we need to know how and when this function emerged out of earlier economic functions. We need a feminist analysis of Russian culture. We need an analysis of black slavery in the U.S. from the points of view of black and white women. We need a feminist analysis of Stalinism. We need a history of the United States from the point of view of women. In fact, we need a history of civilization from a feminist point of view.

What I mean by radical feminist history, in more theoretical terms, is the attempt to understand any given situation from the point of view of the most oppressed group concerned. When there are women present, this group will always be female. When there are race differences, it will be black women. When there are class differences, it will be poor

women. There is nothing innately superior about the women's viewpoint. It is just that, like all groups who have been on the bottom, we have learned to survive by being very observant.

One last point: it seems to me very unlikely that this kind of scholarship can come out of our current university system that systematically excludes the oppressed and, when it does admit them, carefully trains them in the ideology of the dominant groups? Our privilege--and the tenuousness of our privilege--makes us timid and malleable. Secondly, the competitiveness that the university rests on, only slightly exacerbated by the current depression, is uncondusive to to the kind of scholarship I am talking about. I think we should consider it as our goal to begin to build up a community of feminist scholars that does not depend so exclusively on the established universities for financial, political, and intellectual support.

WOMEN, EDUCATION, AND SOCIAL POWER

Marcia Landy

No discussion of revolutionary movements is possible without a confrontation of the meaning and nature of power. Political theorists from Marx to C. Wright Mills to Amitai Etzioni have attempted to formulate the role power plays in society, who holds that power and how it is transmitted and perpetuated by particular groups. We are all aware of the powerlessness of minority groups and with the battle cries "Power to the People" and "Black Power" as part of the process of redefining social reality and social roles.

The women's movement, involved as it is with the examination of social roles, is in the mainstream of formulating concepts of power in its reaction against the white male-dominated power elite. And we, in the academic profession, are concerned with formulations of political power and with modes of translating a feminist politic into the reality of the classroom. Questions about the role of women as teachers and students and about the role of curriculum thus force us to continue the academic dialogue which has been active in all universities for the past decade and a half, a dialogue which has centered on the nature of professional roles, the authority role of the professor, the objectivity of the information which is discussed and written about, and the students' problems in assimilating that information and acquiring knowledge.

If radical men have been vitally concerned with restructuring academic life, what is our role as women in evaluating traditional attitudes while also evaluating the male critique of those attitudes? Are notions of power ingrained so deeply in our culture that it is impossible to reevaluate them thoroughly and so free ourselves from the "nightmare of history?" If not, where does one begin?

For our purposes, let us begin with basic attitudes toward power and then let us evaluate even the best critique of social power in order to determine whether they respond to the new consciousness of women.

A basic primer for such a discussion is the language and mythology of western culture. Those of us who teach literature see repeated endlessly a mythology of male dominance. If we open the Bible to the Book of Genesis, read Hesiod's Theogony or Milton's Paradise Lost, we see how the creation myths firmly establish the notion of male Godhead and its consequences for male dominance in the prevailing social order. Aeschylus' Oresteia further dramatizes the supremacy of male rights over the female.¹ In the evolution from chaos, the establishment of cosmic boundaries is accomplished by a male figure. Given divine sanction by the supreme male god, he imposes power over nature. He also imposes his power over other males, just as the male gods have subdued other unruly gods and demi-gods and forced them to acknowledge the one supreme male godhead. And some men, emulating the divine paradigm, have subdued rebellious competitors in the name of justice, law and order. Hesiod explains the rule of Zeus thus in the Theogony:

When the Olympian gods had brought their struggle to a successful end and had forcibly vindicated their rights against the Titans, Mother Earth advised them to invite Zeus, with his far-sighted ken, to be king and lord over the gods. Zeus in return distributed rights and privileges among them.²

We are all familiar also with the domestic roles of the gods in the Theogony and the relationship of male to female in the Bible: "And thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee" (Gen. I:16).³ The human institution of marriage is patterned on the divine model and thus the power of the male over the female is sanctioned by the gods. In Paradise Lost, echoing the language of classical mythology, Milton sets forth the marital relationship expressly in terms of government and rule:

Was shee thy God, that her thou didst obey
 Before his Voice, or was shee made thy Guide
 Superior, or but equal, that to her
 Thou didst resign thy Manhood, and Place
 Wherein God set thee above her made of thee,
 And for thee, whose perfection far excell'd
 Hers in real dignity: adorn'd
 She was indeed, and lovely to attract
 Thy Love, not thy Subjection, and her Gifts
 Were such as under Government well seem'd,
 Unseemly to bear rule, which was thy part
 And person, hadst thou known thyself aright.

(Paradise Lost, X, 145-156)⁴

And so from the cosmic level to political institutions to the institution of marriage, the male right was to rule over women. And political rule in government, like domestic rule in the family, has come down to the power of the ruler and the necessary subordination of the ruled, centering in the mythology of the ruler's superiority over the subject. One writer describes the nature of political power thus:

In addition to the great advantage accruing to them from the fact of being organized, ruling minorities are usually so constituted that the individuals who make them up are distinguished from the mass of the governed by qualities that give them a certain material, intellectual, or even moral superiority; or else they are the heirs of individuals who possess such qualities. In other words, members of a ruling minority have some attribute, real or apparent, which is highly esteemed and very influential in the society in which they live.⁵

We are told furthermore that in order to accomplish goals within a society some kind of power is necessary:

The realization of most societal goals, even in situations in which the actor's commitment and knowledge are considerable, requires the application of power. That is, under most circumstances, societal goals and decisions not supported by at least some degree of some kind of power will not be implemented. Hence, powerless actors are passive actors. The realization of a societal goal requires introducing a change

into societal relations, either in the societal environment or among the member units, and, as a rule, attempts to introduce changes (as distinct from changes that occur "anyhow," which do not constitute the realization of a goal), encounter some resistance. Unless this resistance is reduced, a course of action set will not be a course of action followed. Power is a capacity to overcome part or all of the resistance, to introduce changes in the face of opposition (this includes sustaining a course of action or preserving a status quo that would otherwise have been discontinued or altered.)

Power is always relational and relative. An actor by himself is not powerful or weak; he may be powerful in relation to some actors in regard to some matters and weak in relation to other actors on other matters. Here, we are interested chiefly in the macroscopic consequences of the application of power; hence, we are concerned with societal power and not with the power of individuals or small groups, although several of the following statements and propositions apply to these units as well.⁶

Although power may have negative associations, particularly being associated with conflict, there are many positive examples of the application of power in cooperative terms:

The tendency to associate power with conflict rather than with cooperation are part of a more general tendency to view power negatively. Hence, it should be emphasized that at least in macroscopic social structures, the realization of many values depend on a "proper" power constellation rather than on the elimination of the role of power. Thus for instance, democratic processes presuppose a plurality of power centers, each strong enough to compete with the others but not so strong as to be able to undermine the societal framework in which the democratic competition takes place. And in societies in which the law prescribes civil and human rights for its members, the effective safeguard of these rights only in part rests with societal education and in the identification of various members with these values they need also to be supported by at least a latent capacity for any group of citizens whose rights are denied to exert sufficient power to activate the societal mechanisms necessary to restore their rights. The same holds for "free enterprise" and "free" markets; they may exist between units similar in economic power but not between oil companies and gasoline stations or between automobile manufacturers and automobile dealers. To put it differently, the power relations among the member-units of a society and between that society and other societies are a major determinant of the degree to which that societal structure will be consonant or in conflict with the values to which the members "individually" and as a collective unit are committed. In short, effective universalism is not to be expected without an appropriate power distribution.⁷

The concern in the women's movement for woman's power grows out of the awareness that women have had both a limited and an indirect share in the control over human destiny and their own destinies. Thus we confront

again the problem of sex roles and their relationship to politics as formulated by Kate Millett:

In introducing the term "sexual politics," one must first answer the inevitable question "Can the relationship between the sexes be viewed in a political light at all?" The answer depends on how one defines politics. This essay does not define the political as that relatively narrow and exclusive world of meetings, chairmen, and parties. The term "politics" shall refer to power-structured relationships, arrangements whereby one group of persons is controlled by another. By way of parenthesis one might add that although an ideal politics might simply be conceived of as the arrangement of human life on agreeable and rational principles from whence the entire notion of power over others should be banished, one must confess that this is not what constitutes the political as we know it, and it is to this that we must address ourselves.⁸

Millett, however, wisely does not discount the necessity for power arrangements, but refers here rather to power "as we know it," thus implying like Etzioni that power need not be conflictual, that it can be cooperative. But the problem is how to translate or transform power--male-dominated, elitist--into a system of more equitable social relations, which recognizes the interests of historically subordinated and deprived groups, and particularly one which avoids, if at all possible, the replacement of one dominant, controlling group by another modelled on the same pattern. This raises the fundamental question of whether women are going to adopt the same patterns of control over men that men have historically adopted over women. Have we no choice but to retain the structure that has caused suffering not only for women but for Blacks and the economically oppressed? In other words, will it be possible to reconstitute our roles, all social roles, without a thoroughgoing alteration of the social structure with its unequal distribution of power?

It is unfortunate but inevitable that in a state of transition many of us must act on the basis of half-formed ideas and existing models of gaining power; however, we must constantly be aware of the consequences of certain present actions. Let me be concrete about this. In an attempt to make room for more women, the patriarchal institutions open up "room at the top" for a few. Always there has been room for one or two "trusties," to use prison terminology, in order to mediate the stark differences between those who are in power and those who are out. And the intense conflict for women who have a genuine concern about social change becomes whether their acceptance of the position will be another instance of assimilationism or a real possibility for changing attitudes within the institution. After all, isn't it better to be on the inside in order to help others who are dependent, from a position of strength? Better a sympathetic person in that position than another unsympathetic male bureaucrat. It would be too simple to say that power corrupts only when the individual is corruptible, because we all know that we have a human tendency to postpone the pain of change through perpetuating the familiar pain of habit. The isolation of the position at the top is a great price to pay and few of us, if we are honest, can or need admit that we have the currency. Heroism, too, is most often defined in terms of self-sacrifice for which everyone must guiltily pay.

The woman's movement in its need to limit male power is seeking to open opportunities for women in all areas of society. It seeks to provide more opportunities for women in government, in the work world, in education, in the arts. And it seeks to reduce the domestic bondage which has kept women isolated in the home by developing new structures for child care. But subsuming all of these arrangements has been its abiding concern for solidarity, for defining pragmatic concerns in relation to a vision of social reality which allows for women to become human and thereby for everyone to assert their humanity. The competitive, conflictual mode of power as we have known it is to reduce and dehumanize the competitor in order to justify the necessity for control.

I am not arguing against or for rapprochement with men but rather several precedent concerns. Most immediately we have to resist the blandishment of full cooperation with men as being premature because we are still very active in the enterprise of articulating the nature of our experience of history and of questioning existing social structures. We have by no means uncovered male myths about women nor have we done more than begin to discover what inhabiting our own space can mean. Thus, group solidarity, not only for effective political ends but also for enhancing our self-perceptions and our perceptions of society, is more crucial than ever. Still extremely relevant to this issue of group solidarity is Stokely Carmichael's and Charles V. Hamilton's idea of group solidarity as a bridge to human solidarity:

Black Power recognizes-it must recognize-the ethnic basis of American politics as well as the power-oriented nature of American politics. Black Power therefore calls for black people to consolidate behind their own, so that they can bargain from a position of strength. But while we endorse the procedure of group solidarity and identity for the purpose of attaining certain goals in the body politic, this does not mean that black people should strive for the same kind of rewards (i.e., end results) obtained by the white society. The ultimate values and goals are not domination or exploitation of other groups, but rather an effective share in the total power of the society.⁹

The "position of strength" to which they refer resides in the group's awareness of common goals which cannot be violated by the divisive methods of those in power in their attempt to retain their dominance. Furthermore, those particular goals are a negation of the prevalent modes of exploitation and dehumanization. When the group is strong in its identification of its common concerns and when its members are mutually supportive and share in the process of defining the group's aims, none will get lost and the chances of failure in attaining the ends are much less real.

How do all of these ideas apply specifically to concepts of education and to the structure of our educational institutions? The connection between education, power, and social change lies precisely in education's concern with analyzing human institutions, understanding human creativity, the nature of language, and the problems of history, and in its concern with applying that knowledge to actual situations both within and without the school. The school--for our purposes it is most fruitful to look particularly at the university--is another major institution that feeds into

the power structure as it now exists. It is a major vehicle in the "production" of technocrats, and we should wish to see it rather as an essential vehicle for change. This means that we do not wish merely for it to assimilate more women, but we want that accommodation to make itself felt in the way the university is run, the way the teaching reflects altered perceptions about the world, the way the curriculum reflects a concern for the appropriation of knowledge, not mere fact or imitation of another, and the way research becomes responsive to human problems, mirroring profound needs for altering the social system of which the university is a significant part.

Since there is a pattern in American society--in the history of labor unions and of social welfare--of making concessions to the agitators for the express purpose of keeping things intact, it is crucial that the proponents of change agitate equally for participation in the implementing and directing of changes, as well as in decision-making, rather than leaving the implementation in the hands of existing authorities. The president, his advisors, the deans, are not those best suited for either understanding or effectively and fully carrying out educational and structural changes in the university. There are many reasons for a healthy mistrust of the bureaucratic hierarchy, the most significant being that it perpetuates in a mystifying way the power of one group over another. Although the university is supposed to be a teaching institution, it looks more like a corporation involved in productivity, profit and loss, and its "managers," the men who run the business, will not relinquish the power which they perceive as working in the best interests of the institution without an organized effort on the part of the now supine faculties and students to reappropriate their right to make decisions. The question of decision-making is vital to the woman's movement, because we have rarely been in the position of making decisions. However, we will neither get the programs we want nor be able to expand existing programs without organizing for our own ends and supporting all efforts to democratize decision-making.

How is it impossible, however, to have democratic participation in the process of running a university, given the size of the institution? Furthermore, how is it possible to maintain a sense of the appropriate directions to take, when the major tendency in a technological society is toward numerical reality, toward more abstract and theoretical forms of knowledge, which create an ever-widening distance between specialists and between lay person and expert? Some social scientists are working to focus technology in a more human direction:

And, with the growing sophistication of computer-based simulation procedures--simulations of economic systems, of social behavior, of decision problems--we have the possibility, for the first time, of large-scale "controlled experiments" in the social sciences. These, in turn, will allow us to plot "alternative futures," thus greatly increasing the extent to which we can choose and control matters that affect our lives.

In all this, the university, which is the place where theoretical knowledge is sought, tested, and codified in a disinterested way, becomes the primary institution of the new society. Perhaps it is not too much to say that if the business firm was the key institution of the past hundred years, because of its role in

organizing production for the mass creation of products, the university will become the central institution of the next hundred years because of its role as the new source of innovation and knowledge.

To say that the primary institutions of the new age will be intellectual is not to say that the majority of persons will be scientists, engineers, technicians, or intellectuals. The majority of individuals in contemporary society are not businessmen, yet one can say that this has been a "business civilization." The basic values of society have been focused on business institutions, the largest rewards have been found in business, and the strongest power has been held by the business community.¹⁰

Perhaps as this writer indicates, it will be possible to redirect technological research toward alternative goals and toward creating greater possibilities for human choice and democratic action. The problem remains, however, in the articulation of the analogy of business corporations and the university. Thus far, technological research has tended to produce an alienation in the university similar to that of the large corporation.

Because of the nature of the alienation women have experienced, barred as they have been for all but a few of the professions and therefore kept in ignorance, they are perhaps equipped to use their past experiences to expose the fraudulence of the language of mystification which specialization breeds, to underline the connection between control and ignorance, and also to insist that the tough-minded, energetic, male objectivity, which has bred so much research destructive to the general society, must give way to more personal, human kinds of interaction. Rather than seeking to emulate, therefore, the "tough-minded" male, we can be very instrumental in breaking down the frustrating impersonality which masks a basic unconcern for human needs. We can also explore how collectivities in a mass society can function to the benefit of individuals. Collectivities can be either tyrannical or not, depending on the responsiveness of their subgroupings and depending on how they make available appropriate kinds of information and make possible democratic structures of decision-making. Instead of letting the department chairman or the dean make the decision, of leaving all government in the hands of the father and the husband, we can examine new ways of organizing so as to share responsibility for decisions. The dangers and possibilities of group organization have been described thus by one writer:

In general, formal organizations are to be identified as mass organizations, not by their size, but when they lack intermediate units which have some autonomy from the central leadership. In the absence of a structure of smaller groups, formal organizations themselves become remote from their members. That is, they get beyond the reach of their members, and as a result cannot deeply influence them nor command their allegiance in the face of competition for member loyalties. Consequently, members of excessively bureaucratized organizations may become mobilized by totalitarian elites. This is illustrated by the Nazi success in capturing many youth groups in Germany during the 1920's. . .

Large-scale organizations that fail to develop or sustain independent subgroups tend to be characterized by low levels of membership participation, mass organizations engender widespread apathy. Furthermore, the lack of a pluralist structure within organizations, like its absence in the larger society, not only discourages membership participation. It also discourages the formation of an informed membership, the development of new leadership, and the spread of responsibility and authority, so that the wide gap between the top and the bottom of mass organizations tends to be bridged by manipulation.¹¹

In an attempt to remove "the wide gap between the top and bottom", women can insist that in the university barriers be broken down between specialist and generalist. They can place greater emphasis on interdisciplinary kinds of study, which explore ways of mediating between specialized terminology and concepts and structures which organize, synthesize, and clarify common interests, and thus help mitigate the tendency, which exists both within and without the university, toward incapacitating people from forming judgements because of their inability to understand the problem. The paralysis of action due to the fear of insufficient technical data is one of the major causes of inertia and over-dependence on the authority figure. This problem takes on significant meaning for women when one considers that the distance between expert and lay person mirrors the ancient distance between the male decision-maker and the female subordinate. In a sense, we have been lay persons historically, excluded as we have been from the sciences, from the sources of male power in business, government, and the academy. We can, I suppose, now become technologists too, but I suppose that it is more to our advantage and to the advantage of society to become something other than what men have been, just as we want men to become what they have not been. This is not to say that women should not learn specializations, become professionals, avail themselves of all available information, but a healthy mistrust of mere specialization is necessary. Our support of interdisciplinary studies therefore a recognition that the separation of disciplines must fuse with the unity of human knowledge. We would not want to abrogate but rather to translate special information and make it generally accessible in order not to perpetuate the power elite's monopoly on information and ideas. It follows, therefore, that we should not succumb to the temptation to model ourselves in the image of the male technocrat. The kinds of questions raised by Robert Merton in Social Theory and Social Structure should be the kind of questions we explore as we intensify our examination of our attitudes towards learning and the bureaucracy:

We should like to know the class location of intellectuals who find their way into these bureaucracies. Concretely, at what points do alternatives emerge in the intellectual's career line? What pressures lead him to prefer public to private bureaucracies? To what extent does alienation from and repudiation of business-class values play a part in such choices? What are the sources of such estrangement? Can we thus throw light on the common pattern of intellectuals divorcing themselves from the nominally sovereign values to identify themselves with the fate of potential power-centers? Does the flow of intellectuals into public bureaucracy serve as a barometric reading of actual or impending shifts in

power? What anticipations are common among intellectuals who expect to find their spiritual home in a state bureaucracy? Data on questions such as these constitute a first step in determining the later effects of bureaucratic life upon the intellectual. Only when this information is assembled can we test the hypothesis that bureaucracies provoke gradual transformations of the alienated intellectual into the a-political technician, whose role is to serve whatever strata happen to be in power.¹²

Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann posit also a focus for the social sciences which can be extended as a model for learning in general:

More generally, we would contend that the analysis of the role of knowledge in the dialectic of individual and society, of personal identity and social structure, provides a crucial complementary perspective for all areas of sociology. This is certainly not to deny that purely structural analyses of social phenomena are fully adequate for wide areas of sociological inquiry, ranging from the study of small groups to that of large institutional complexes, such as the economy of politics. Nothing is further from our intentions than the suggestion that a sociology-of-knowledge "angle" ought somehow to be injected into all such analyses. In many cases this would be unnecessary for the cognitive goal at which these studies aim. We are suggesting, however, that the integration of the findings of such analyses into the body of sociological theory requires more than the casual obeisance that might be paid to the "human factor" behind the uncovered structural data. Such integration requires a systematic accounting of the dialectical relation between the structural realities and the human enterprise of constructing reality--in history.¹³

Such a perspective inevitably alters content, curriculum, and learning styles in the university. It alters research patterns too, by stressing relations, syntheses, and comparison. It stresses, furthermore, a human center for intellectual concerns.

The change of content also brings with it questions about a change in the process of learning. Earlier I suggested that the governing patterns in universities should be changed to reflect the changing consciousness in the social order. But how do these changed attitudes come into existence? Can there be an open democratic structure at all if there is no change at the grass roots of the classroom? If individuals and smaller groups have not assimilated democratic procedures, how is it possible to transform the larger group? The classroom should be the basic arena for the exchange of information. If, for example, students feel that they are incapable of formulating appropriate questions and of locating the knowledge they receive, there seems to be little likelihood of their being able to break out of authoritarian modes of behavior. If the presentation of the content by an authority figure is the image they receive of the learning situation, this already sets up a passivity which no amount of good will seems to eradicate. The teacher can cajole, plead, ask leading questions, but the possibility of lively and involved discussion becomes limited to

the few brave souls who are either foolhardy, well advanced beyond the others, or not damaged by the fear of failure. Furthermore, the imposing image of the authority absorbs the attention and energy of the group to the extent that interaction with others in the class is considered inferior and irrelevant. It is true that some teachers manage to convey more of a sense of the personal while lecturing or leading class discussion, and this often goes part of the way toward breaking down some of the intimidating aspects of involvement in discussion and questioning. But nothing takes the place of actually having the students experience themselves as an integral part of that group situation through creative and meaningful interchanges of questions and ideas. The authority of information given by the one individual, while personalizing that information because it is spoken rather than read, still does not have that much advantage over the experience of the open library--at least in the library one can experience diverse points of view, while too often the student is victimized in the classroom by only one. (Again, I should note that there are of course many exceptions to this uni-dimensional framework. Many professor genuinely try to present several points of view.)

For the purposes of this discussion of the connection between the social manifestations of bureaucratic power and the classroom, I would wish to assert that the role of the teacher as a negative power image is one which women in the profession should question, because it is part of the system which perpetuates authoritarian political and patriarchal control. We should resist the temptation to do this and we should strive constantly to experiment with and evaluate new styles for learning. This means allowing students greater freedom in designing their own study programs, in structuring the way information is presented, in actually directing discussions, and in developing projects which reflect creative approaches in internalizing ideas. This means also using the teacher in a different way than in the past, as a clarifier, a translator, a resource for uncovering source of new information, and as an interpreter.

The hardest element to describe is the personal element. The group experience in the classroom should lead away from alienation and toward vital and personal involvement. I am not advocating, as some critics of classroom innovation have often implied about new learning processes, turning the classroom into an encounter group or a sensitivity session, although I am advocating a therapeutic approach in healing the disjunction between objective knowledge and self-knowledge. In the Middle Ages and in the Renaissance, knowledge--at least for men--was rooted in a human and ethical experience. Even the physical space designed for learning should reflect the uniqueness and importance of the learning experience, not the "hard times" of the factory and the grimness of the work ethic. We must also, therefore, agitate for more humane settings in which learning can better take place.

We need to learn more about how groups function, who leads groups, where the ideas of a single leader has its limitations, what kinds of things open up creative possibilities for the group and which create a closed, silent, and uncooperative entity. For many teachers, especially those devoted to the transmission of mere fact and to "tough-minded" scholarly enterprise, this discussion may indeed seem like the final destruction of the university; it may indeed be the destruction of the university as we have known it for the past two hundred years. Yet it is

ironic that the liberation of the classroom and of research has such tremendous potential for being truly scholarly, for learning and transmitting ideas in a more creative way.

And learning which we truly appropriate gives us a different kind of power than that which leads to managing and controlling others. Internalized learning should lead to inner strength and power because it informs and gives meaning to our own behavior and to social reality. It frees us to make choices and accept the consequences of those choices. It enables us to resist the destructive attempts by others to control and enables us to work with rather than against each other.

Thus, for the sake of reconstituting our self image as women, but also for the sake of reconstituting society, and woman's movement needs to look very closely at the new roles of women.

In this way we can contribute immeasurably to women's liberation and to cultural liberation to the alteration of power relations in a very conflicted, threatened, and dangerous society.

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FEMINIST STUDIES: FRILL OR NECESSITY?

Marilyn Salzman-Webb

I. Why Feminist Studies Anyway?

When I think about feminist studies I think more about "feminist" than I do about "studies." Although this may be a false way of saying it, I think feminist studies programs should be more closely tuned to an on-going feminist movement than to the university proper. What has come to be considered the operating assumptions of American universities seems greatly divergent from the aims of a feminist movement, although this means more of a necessity for consciousness of our own situation than for splitting with established universities right now.

Each of us has her own theory of what feminism is, but somehow we hope they all can mesh. In mine I assume that the prime goal of a feminist revolution is the elimination of patriarchal rule. Although other sisters have already written books on the subject, I consider patriarchy the first class division between people, giving one group by birth-right, the authority to rule over another. Historically, once this authority was acknowledged, the groundwork was laid for groups to split into further refined rulers and ruled. So we saw the development of a slave class, then serfs, then an industrial working class, and more currently, colonized nations. We have alternately called this same power dynamic racism, sexism and imperialism, but what is basic to all is the right of hierarchal rule. This is the basic challenge of a feminist movement.

In formulating this challenge we need to do two things: 1) learn about our condition and recapture an identity out of our colonized state, and 2) avoid hierarchal distinctions between us as an example of a new society we plan to create. Some call this last part the development of female collectivity. I would agree, but stress that implicit in collective action is the development of each individual's strengths and potential, and this is where feminist studies fits in.

As part of a feminist movement, the goals of a feminist studies program should be for each women to learn as deeply and as broadly as possible the historical, literary, biological and psychological roots of our collective colonization and to formulate theoretical perspectives of what female nature is and could be. Implicit in intellectual learning, should be the development of a process of collective thought, study and action: form and content. One of these goals is no more important than the other.

Now this is precisely the antithesis of what universities are all about. Rather than building collectivity, they divide by competitiveness and grade hierarchies. Rather than creating group solidarity, they create an intellectual elite whose social status, but not power, is meant to be above those who have never received a higher education. This is not done

by accident or through faulty educational theory, but to serve a society that demands a highly technical yet compliant working class.

If we are not careful, rather than making any dent in a patriarchal class system, we will instead create careers in academic studies on women and have no relationship with the great majority of women to whom we will become like overseers. So divided, we will all fail to change so pervasive a power dynamic.

So we need to clarify two things! What is it we teach and how. I think the two are not separable. What I hope to "teach" my students is that they can develop a solid core of themselves, they can learn their past history in connection with women of all times, and that they can work and learn better together than they can apart.

But I have reached the end of my thought process too quickly. Let me go back. I was trained at a very scholarly institution. When we learned history, we learned only from authorities who had done the finest research and who lectured on their findings. When they spoke of other times and cultures, they traced intricate threads through the causes of national or international conflicts that led to wars. The more enlightened told of changes that industrialism wrought in moving populations from rural areas to cities.

Their stories were always those of the most powerful in a society; the rationalizations the powerful used to stay in power, or when the hands of power changed (say from land rich to merchant wealth), the reasons for the decline of one class and the rise of another. Their stories left huge gaps? What was it that there were classes anyway? What were those not in the ruling classes doing? If there were struggles what were they about?

Since women have never been in power, of course it is never the history of women we learn. We rarely know how a woman's day was spent in 1600. We have little idea how industrialism profoundly changed her relationship with the world or with her husband and kids. We don't know how her life changed at the movement of industry away from her home. We have no histories of the development of the "modern" nuclear family through the eyes of women who lived through these changes. And thus we have no view of how those not in the ruling class--the common people--say their own struggles for survival.

Furthermore, the way whatever information we were given was presented (i.e. lectures by only the most knowledgeable experts), reinforced in form what was being taught in content. We learned that there has always been a system of authority in the world, and that those at the top must remain unchallenged, while those at the bottom must consider themselves insignificant at the feet of those enlightened few.

Now most of us know all this, since we have all been educated this way. But often we are not alert to the ways in which we incorporate this manner of thinking into the changes we are trying to make ourselves. When we teach about sexual politics, it's a class hierarchy we are attacking. If we recreate this class division within our teaching, our analysis is devoid of form. That's why as feminist teachers, it's just as important for us to look at how we teach as to look at what we teach.

As an example of how our own intellectual mutilation continues to shape our studies in old ways, let's look at one sister's work. Yesterday I visited the class of a very knowledgeable colleague in another college. She taught a class on women's labor history. She had done extensive research but when she presented this information, she was unapproachable. She fielded questions expertly, after she finished a two-hour lecture, and in the process insulted people's intelligence for not having done the research she had, for wasting her time with meaningless questions, etc. When pressed to understand what her presentation might mean for our movement, she refused comment. This is scholarly research about women, but it is done in the aristocratic tradition of a class society, one of whose ceremonies involves humiliating those in a lower class. This is not what one would hope would be the uses of knowledge in a feminist studies program, yet we all tend, most likely, to fall into that trap.

Or consider another trap, the one of objectivity. Another colleague at a different college from mine teaches a course on Greek mythology. Hoping to be very objective in her presentation, she only had people read the myths, all of which are extremely patriarchal. She hoped, without saying so, that students would see how patriarchy was the basis of all the myths, but her course failed because it was hardly noticed because it was no different than modern America. Because she failed to clarify her own biases against patriarchy, the sheer weight of its all-pervasiveness left it unquestioned. All she was left with was the highly intellectual debate we are all familiar with in school settings. Her students had some understanding of women's condition classically, but saw no basis for its cause and had no passion for change in any particular direction.

This is the classic trap of all intellectuals; that there should never be any analysis taught, although implicitly, what ends up being taught is a basic acceptance of what is and an understanding of why it is. Again, this is not what we would hope would come out of a feminist studies program. Not that we want to produce blinded advocates of any particular line, but we should at least consider that the reason we are learning at all is to act on the world, and that the direction of our action as feminists should be toward getting to the root of the problem and eliminating it.

II. Feminism as a Philosophy of Knowledge

We come from a different place than most "departments" or "programs" within universities. We have an analysis and a direction in which we feel change should occur. By university definitions, we are hardly "objective" (read: willing to take what is as immutable). But we shouldn't crumble before this charge, because we are doing profound and scholarly thinking in areas touched by most university scholars, only we have a context in which to fit our research. It is the fact of having this context that makes what we are doing so vital.

Feminism is a philosophy of knowledge. It is the intellectual understanding of the historical struggle between domination and submission; between what Kate Millett calls that group of people born to rule and that born to be ruled. Questions such as: "What is the psychological dynamic that accepts submission?" "What are the forms of passive and active resistance used to combat a colonized state?" "What are the basic units of

of social organization that develop systems of authoritarianism?", are as current today as they were in prehistory.

As a philosophy of knowledge, feminism is concerned with the forms and functions of power and how it has been wielded. Such a philosophy cuts across so-called "disciplines" to include psychology (both of the individual and in groups; the colonizer and the colonized); sociology (social forms of power and class development); economics (uses of power with varied economic bases in history); biology (is there such a thing as biological inferiority?); and of course the study of history, literature and the arts. But this study is from a wholly different context: it is the history of what was created both by the dominated and the dominator to sustain or struggle against that domination.

Feminism is also a dialectical understanding, in the Marxist sense of dialectic. Among any colonized group a dynamic develops between those aspects of their situation produced by the colonized state and those aspects inherent in their collective identity, and produced out of struggle against colonization. In black history we have some good examples because scholars have been focusing longer on this dialectic. For example, much of what we call slave culture was created in response to captivity (e.g., Uncle Tomism as a survival tactic; which Bruno Bettelheim has demonstrated also occurred in German concentration camps). But a large portion of so-called slave culture is actually part of a religious and social heritage created in Africa and developed for resistance purposes. This is part of a larger black-African identity that has been successfully hidden from white observers for centuries, mainly through secret societies throught the Americas.

Likewise, we have no sense yet what part of feminist cultural identity is created by captivity, and what part is indeed created out of some notion of female principle strengthen by collective resistance. (Empathy, for example, as a female trait). We really don't know what the true nature of the female experience is outside of the colonized situation, and this can never be known until patriarchy ends, but what we can attempt to understand is what body of knowledge has been created out of the female experience, and leave it to later scholars to sort out.

I keep having to leave this work to do other things. For instance, it is hard for me to sit and write for long periods of time. I notice dust on the floor and have to get out the vacuum cleaner and clean it up because it makes me nervous to work if the room isn't clean. My desk is a wreck since my little girl likes to scribble on my equally important notes to myself. She comes home from nursery school in a little while, so half my mind is on whether her father or I will pick her up today, and so on. Now I can hardly imagine what my writing would be like were these things not on my mind. If I had a house slave, as most male writers do, to do all these small services, I might be able to pay attention to more lofty thoughts, and so my work would be totally different, probably more rarified. But is that a work of true human nature, or just the work of one group of humans who manages to so stiltify thought by having a slave class that they are out of touch with the nitty gritty of life in their works. Who is to say that work is more valid?

In our cultural history research, art and literature that is called great stems from a tradition that rests on a slave class. Look at any book

on your bookshelf. Most say, "And last but not least, I am grateful to my wife who protected me from any intrusions and suffered alone with the incantations of this budding author." Now we all know what that means! He stayed locked in his study thinking, while she took care of the kids, made him meals, shopped, kept his house and study cleaned, took abuse from him when he felt unable to work, and perhaps even did all his transcribing, typing and editing, as well as mailed his manuscripts and corresponded with publishers. Terrific of him to thank her! But this is just the surface. How can such a situation not effect the work he produces? He rarely ever experiences life, or if he does, he knows only a narrow portion of it. So his reality is blinded by his position.

Now were his wife to get some time to herself to write we might see a totally different version of what life is, of what the universe is, of her thoughts in relation to other life forms, etc. Or she might not think about that at all. In any case, her writing, both in form (since she presumably would only have a few minutes to scratch something out here and there) and content, would be in another dimension. Now supposing both of them were equally in touch with the nitty gritty of life as well as with the philosophy of it. We have no idea what would come out of either of their works, since there are hardly any societies as examples. Kenneth Pichford, husband of feminist Robin Morgan, writes of this in his poetry. He has found that his poems, once long, now can only be written on one page --that is all the time he has for concentration, and their young son would rip up what he laid down as quickly as he could type a second page. I remember a line in one of his poems on this subject: (and this is only paraphrased) "How can these men claim to speak of life when they have never, not even once, been in touch with shit on a Pamper?" Ah men!

III. What Do We Teach?

But this still leaves unanswered the question of what it is we teach. When I think about my own education I can hardly remember a single fact I learned, although I have many blue books still at hand to affirm that I did indeed know some, and even got high grades on them. They have slipped away, along with my images of the lofty professors who told me them. But I have more vivid memories of the less lofty professors who bothered to show me how they were going about learning whatever they were doing; these were the ones who taught me just a little about how to think and about the importance of having a reason for learning anything, a framework to fit whatever it is I wanted to learn into. Usually the framework that helped me learn most coherently was one that I was trying to act on. For instance, when I was working in a community school some years back, I read everything I could about welfare, educational theories and philosophies, poverty, inner city sociology and so on. I was trying to do something, and all I needed was someone to tell me where to look to learn.

Most universities are not structured with this premise in mind. Instead the working premise seems to be that it is good (for inner peace or something) to know certain bodies of knowledge. Therefore they promptly forget, sometimes even before the ink dries on their B.A.'s. Or maybe they are not so sterile as that. Maybe in fact what university students learn is how to develop the self-confidence and chutzpa to bluff through what they don't know, i.e., to put on a good show. For it is this very skill

which allows them to function as a class above those who have not been to college.

But as feminists it is not this skill, or the sterile body of information we are trying to teach. Or at least I don't believe we should be. Instead, we should be attempting to develop each women's abilities to sort out a situation, to develop a solid core of herself enough to determine a direction that she can take seriously, and to learn how to find whatever information she needs to do what she has set her mind on doing.

This is not to say that our entire program is all therapy and no information. Just the opposite. Therapy often allows people to cope with what they shouldn't put up with. Instead what we teach should be chock full of information, but information that's useful to personal growth. The only caution I feel is that if a teacher is not always conscious of both aspects of her teaching, she will lapse back into the styles of our own training and forget the purpose of a feminist education.

And this is so very vague, what did I mean, you ask. Well I think all that we teach should have intrinsic to it and understanding of the power dynamic of patriarchy, and a purpose that is constantly up front about action against this dynamic. I mean it's more how we look at whatever body of information we have. Say we are studying history. We read many letters and diaries of women who have lived in different times and places before us. What do we want to know from this history? We want to ask what their objective situation was, what were the cultural myths that bound them there, what intersections were there between them as individuals and the historical events and conditions surrounding their lives, how might they have changed their situation (i.e., what were the dimensions they could have moved in and why didn't they?) We don't want to stop here.

To answer any of these questions a student would have to look more in depth at a time period of the life of one woman than just her own writings. She would have to learn the historian's craft of how to do research: what laws were passed to see what many women were doing that threatened male authorities, what did other observers think of the same historical moment, from what position were they speaking, what were the physical boundaries of life at that time, etc.

To make any of this research mean something to our struggle today, intrinsic to this course should be personal autobiography or written statement about the student's own life. What are the intersections of the individual and the historical moment there, what are the mythologies that blind us, what are the boundaries of action. Asking these questions of history moves us further along in our struggle, gives us depth to look at our own condition, and gives us more of an idea how sisters long dead dealt with similar questions. History becomes a breathing body of our collective consciousness, and not a work of fact to be buried between the covers of some journal.

This is to say I don't particularly feel any body of knowledge is more or less relevant to feminist curricula, but it is how we look at that knowledge, what questions we ask of it, and how it is useful for an understanding of our own struggle that makes it relevant or not.

Which leads me again to the question of objectivity in teaching. A lot of times colleagues will criticize us for not upholding the scientific doctrine of objectivity. I think there is no such thing as objectivity. There is only honest admission of biases and dishonesty (or ignorance, not to impute motives of malice). Let's look again, not at the friend who teaches Greek mythology but another who teaches economics. Most economists teaching in the U. S. teach only the intricacies of Capitalist economics. My friend maintains that this is useful for the student trying to function in the real world and if he were to do otherwise he would be teaching philosophy at best, but ideology most likely. His assumption of the continued existence of this economic system never is mentioned. And so we have trained economists who only can function within a certain context and not think outside of it or even see what it's assumptions for how human beings lives are. The same with law, medicine and most other disciplines.

Objectivity assumes that it is fair to represent all sides, but we know that all sides are never given equal weight. Without an understanding of what basic assumptions someone makes in teaching, students may not be aware that some sides are excluded before the discussion even begins (e.g., does an objective history of the settling of America ever question the right of settlers to import the notions of private property or nuclear family?) Rather than teaching any fallacious objective approach, feminist teaching does and should have a point of view. We as teachers must be up front about our assumptions, not that we become preaching ideologies, but that we make clear our rejection of a system that insists on scientism as a way of obscuring that there may be numerous explanations or descriptions of any occurrence, but any explanation is based on where that observer is coming from.

IV. How Do We Teach?

Classically the purpose of public education in the U. S. was to create a more sophisticated manner of rule by intellectual and psychological indoctrination. To this purpose today has been added the need for a technically knowledgeable working class. Until recently education for the elite was very different. It has included knowledge of their own traditional roots (Greek and Roman antiquity as historical examples of refined upper class rule). Today education continues this historical tradition and channels people in a class society. Because of this it has always been conducted in the style of hierarchical rule ("Teach the kids respect," they've called it.)

But what we're trying to do should be for different purposes. We are not trying to internalize the need for authority hierarchies. Nor are we terribly respectful of traditions based on slave classes or imperialist ventures as in ancient Greece or Rome. Nor, I believe, are we the least concerned with the creation of a technical troop of workers to make for the smooth running of a war society. Feminism, instead is based on the elimination of all domination/submission relationships, and these are inherent in a class based society. Therefore we must look carefully both at how we teaching as intrinsic to what we teach.

It is true that some people have more skill or knowledge than others. They have this not by having birth right, but because they have spent some

time acquiring it. Those who become students want to learn this knowledge or skill, so the main question for every feminist teacher is how to teach without imposing authoritarian structures. Coupled with this is the need for building a consciousness of an alternative, e.g., collective learning and action. So how to teach what one has learned to those who have not but want to is indeed worthy of some attention. In addition, most students coming through our public school systems have already developed a set of responses to those called teachers, so acting differently in one's role as teacher is not easy.

First off, students taking feminist courses in college are not apt to see this as you do. For the teacher feminism is a way of viewing everything else one is learning, doing, seeing. It is a philosophy, a politic and a life view . . . an analysis of the world. For the student it may be that, but it is usually just another course, on a equal par with pottery, dance technique and French. Furthermore, a feminism is quickly becoming a fad, so even the normal class expectation of seriousness may not apply. So the teacher is faced with a double job: helping people to understand the seriousness of a feminist philosophy and teaching so that students feel a strength of collective learning rather than hierarchal control.

Since it is the strength of each student we hope to build, how best can we do this? Most women have had neither experience in the world nor real reinforcement and support in doing a thing well. Any skill women have is usually taken as a hobby. So what is the role of the teacher? Because there are set responses to things called schools, feminist classes should try to be as different as possible from such settings. They must try to include actual experiences of what we are talking about in our teaching so real conclusions can be made (not unthought out acceptance of ideas.)

Here are some examples. Many schools now include in classes on mental illness days of work at mental hospitals. This is one example of a real setting to look at what is happening to women. Suppose a class were trying to understand the uses of mental illness in the oppression of women. Students might spend time interviewing female patients (most people in mental hospitals are female) to see what common case histories they have. Studies might be made of admission statistics that would include reason for admission and time of life large numbers of patients are admitted. For sure students would discover most women are admitted in late adolescence when adult roles are supposed to develop, after childbirth, and during menopause. Who could fail to understand that these are stress points when the prevailing ideology might not take hold.

In addition, large portions of time could be arranged away from school (see for example programs at Goddard, Antioch, and Northeastern University where integral to education are both resident and non-resident semesters.) In my experience, the most real learning occurs in reflecting about what was happening in the real world as opposed to the school world of pure ideas.

And what about doing something well, being proud of ones own work? Part of the education of people in Cuba is that whatever work is created, whatever idea proposed by students is used in one or another area of Cuban society. Say if a student is studying workers at a particular factory his ideas are taken seriously and his suggestions may be put into practice.

Now in most areas of our society, there is no room for taking any student work seriously. We have experts for that. All is an exercise in thinking, so no wonder students so rarely put any more than papers than that. But we have a rare opportunity in feminist studies. No real work has been done by anyone in the history and lives of women as an underclass. Only among socialists in the 1930's and with the rise of Black Studies has any serious work been done on studies of how the common people lived. Women everywhere can begin to piece together oral histories of grandmothers, diaries from antique stores, letters buried in attics and obscure family mementoes to develop a history of the people. Popular views of what happened in specific time periods may be dispelled by such research. For example, the usual response people give when asked what they think about when you mention the 1920's is flappers. But in fact, there were more Wobblies in the 20's than flappers, although there were probably more flappers in the upper classes. And most people were neither. So there is ample opportunity for doing real research.

Likewise, most women keep journals and little writings of their own, but it is usually secretly and carefully hidden away. These writings are sources of understanding our own culture. Shared literary works of students that reflect the female experience and seek to communicate those reflections to others are the beginnings of building our collective identity. In both these examples the works of teacher and students are fundamentally equal in importance as work that contributes both to individual and collective self-esteem and to eliminating useless, competitive and hierarchal scholarship.

And what is done with these works in class is of equal importance to the fact that the work is done at all. Traditionally creative works are given to teacher to grade, then are passed back to student so she can ponder her successes and failures. Such a system only makes sense if classification is at issue; not that students (or anyone) shouldn't learn to improve their work. A better method might be for a whole group in the sense of how a work could be improved and how each work contributes to the work and understanding of everyone in the group. Whereas grades reduce all but a few to feelings of failure, criticism done with this attitude works to make all feel good about their work, positive about improving it and strong about working together.

To push further, we are teaching not in isolation, but in relation to a revolutionary movement, and by this I mean in relation to all groups nationally and internationally who are also struggling with the submission/domination syndrome (colonization), and with the dialectic raised by finding an identity emerging out of the colonized position. We are not teaching just facts, or just knowledge, or just thought processes, or at least we shouldn't be. Our teaching is preparation for depth of action that actually attempts to change the colonized situation of women. In this regard, feminism is not entirely an academic discipline, and we shouldn't be embarrassed that it is not. It is one area in universities that's not an isolated enclave of intelligentia.

Cuban universities are places where the most advanced thought on the social, economic and technical direction of the country occur. In our country this is far from the case; big business is, while academia is synonymous either with ivory tower, or government supported laboratories

for research in social control. As feminists we should see our most intimate connections with a movement outside the government or business. Our research and thought must begin to feed directly into the movement's actions so that our studies of patriarchy don't stop there, but actually develop strategies and directions for ending it.

V. Do People Learn in Schools?

Here we enter the foggy zone of the relation of a university to learning and to revolution. A decade ago the most revolutionary segment of our society was in the universities. Now we know they are no longer there, or whoever is left there has been quieted either by a knowledge that universities are not going to bend to student demands or that even if they could, they have no power in the larger society anyhow. So we are finding larger and larger numbers of young people not in schools anymore. But does this mean they aren't learning?

Just the opposite. I think they are learning lots more than they would have in schools and that what is learned is profoundly of more relevance to building the society we envision than their stay-in-school friends. That's a pretty sweeping statement. For the last two years until coming to Goddard, I was part of a woman's collective. We published a newspaper called Off Our Backs, and then later some of us began to build a living collective as well. Women in the collective ranged in age from 17 to 32, but hierarchies were not defined by age. In publishing a newspaper, one must of necessity think about what is being printed, particularly since we were attempting to create a feminist philosophy in the content of what we printed. At its best time the collective functioned by printing nothing that had not had a thorough group discussion that at least clarified differences, if it did not reach a consensus of framework and theoretical content. To do this each member had to learn about those issues up for discussion: current news, the legal system, the history of the family, the role of romance in western civilization, etc. As collective members pushed themselves further intellectually, by necessity they challenged the foundations of their own lives, forcing change on many levels. This led many to leave monogamous marriages, join living collectives, begin lesbian relationships and so on.

Now I doubt that intellectual work done in the context of schools produced the profound intellectual and personal growth such a collective experience does, or at least I have never witnessed it. School is institutionalized with prescribed sets of responses. It's like a supermarket: You enter, choose brownies, milk and fruit, pay, go through prescribed mazes to get out and hardly a quarter of your mind need work once you learn the ritual. In my year of teaching at Goddard, I've found that students learn the most through personal relationships with each other (either as couples or in the small, collective type cooking dorms we have), and not in classes. Every teacher knows this.

Now what can we do as feminists who hope our teaching means more than this? Well, the common threads through the times when one learns seem to be (1) when one wants to, and (2) when one's whole being is called into question and one is challenged to face the operating assumptions of daily life. In my own teaching I've tried to incorporate as many of these thinkings into our feminist studies program as possible.

If learning occurs through being together, why not have collectives while in school: living and learning together. A woman would have to choose to spend one semester at a minimum in a collective that planned its work together. As a group they all might study some basic theoretical works, but then they could split off and do separate work depending on interest, maybe in teams, but with constant discussion of what they are doing.

If exposure to the realities of women's lives outside the more equalitarian, but entirely mythological settings of school means a greater understanding, then much time should be planned in settings with other women: e.g., mental hospitals, prisons, around welfare offices, at Planned Parenthood, at health clinics, at employment agencies, looking at where women work. This time could be incorporated into classes, but it might be better to spend extended periods of time, so maybe it's important to encourage women to leave school for awhile to work in a factory or at the telephone company, or interviewing other women--old and young. Goddard has a work period so this is easier. Women who are still in the confines of school have less of the anger that women who are out in the real world feel. If it could be felt before graduation, maybe as teachers we could help each woman discover some inner core of herself that will tide her through a life-long struggle against patriarchal odds.

VI. Do Survival Skills Belong in College?

College is a time of false equality. We all remember feeling very confident that we would never fall into the boring housewife or secretarial routines of our mothers and older sisters when we were students and out to teach truth to the world. But most women, despite this dream, end up like that, B. A. or not. As feminist teachers one of our prime responsibilities should be to dispel this myth so women can begin to combat it.

The education of men and women, even in co-ed schools has always been different. Most men think about what they are learning, which women spend their time thinking about who they are spending time with. Somehow, although on the surface public education seems the same for men and women, men develop a core of self and women don't. One of the most important tasks of a feminist teacher in college is to help women develop this core as solidly as possible. I know of no better way of doing it than to help a woman feel confident about being able to do something herself, most especially those skills that involve freeing her from dependence in surviving.

For this reason courses in manual survival are essential to the education of women, though they may not be to that of men. Self-confidence, auto mechanics and carpentry are three I particularly recommend as quick confidence builders and as useful immediately for getting around. Most men have these skills from early childhood, so consider this training for college women like remedial reading given to black students in some college programs. It's necessary to advance further. In the case of women, this advancement is towards that core of self-confidence that's based on real skill and not on female wiles, etc.

It's easier to see the teacher role I've been describing in relation to skills courses. Take auto mechanics. There's a person who knows how to fix cars. She sets up a learning sequence and explains the function and working of each engine part. Then people begin to work on the part under discussion, say they clean spark plugs. Students ask questions as they arise, and the teacher occasionally looks over a shoulder or two to see what's happening. That's all; complete respect for the learner, group work together, sometimes in teams of two or three around each car, and a spirit of all growing stronger.

What about survival skills in relation to health and birth control on campus? In past years most college health clinics stayed miles away from even mentioning that there was such a thing as intercourse, let alone birth control. When forced to deal with it by increasing college pregnancies and by student demand, often there has been a shift in just the reverse direction. A few weeks ago some students at Goddard (which has a campus based, student run contraceptive counseling clinic for birth control, including abortion) met to discuss virgin oppression. They felt, virgins and non-virgins alike, that part of hip culture is that women are now all public fucks and the clinics were helping it along, although not consciously. Because of the social pressure to do it, they wanted to rediscuss the role of sex on campus. One of the primary concerns was that in introductory lectures, in counseling, and in all its activities, the contraceptive clinic should try to talk about the pressures involved in being hip sexually. Again this question of objectivity arises. One can't just dispense birth control information in a society where the sexual revolution means not only more freedom for women, but more pressure, in this case to further the system of male authority. This pressure must be talked about to some degree. In addition, what about the pressure toward heterosexuality? Although this has not yet been included as part of the contraceptive counseling clinic's program, it would seem appropriate for them to have some information on lesbian sexuality.

These are examples the assumptions of which are that all that helps women survive and grow stronger are suitable for inclusion in a feminist studies program.

VII. How Does the Campus Relate to the Community?

Part of the American mobility mythology is that via education all who work hard can gain access to the upper classes, and therefore, to power. This is one of the reasons why most reform movements in this country have begun by agitating for education first (see women, blacks and immigrants). The basic assumption of those making this struggle is that either there are merits in the class system or that it is immutable. But as feminists, one of our primary struggles is against the existence of a class system, no matter who is on top.

So what does higher education for women mean in this regard? That some women are being trained as a separate class, a class above, those women who are not being trained. Furthermore, intellectual acrobatics and the mystification of knowledge are just the tools used to make those who have not been given a higher education feel they are inferior and therefore deserve to be ruled. Most often these acrobatics pass for nothing more than rhetoric and glibness ascribed to class polish.

Because of this double edged sword called higher education, we must be particularly attuned to the uses of our knowledge to oppress other women. Programs, beginning at the freshman level, of campus women working with community women in areas of learning which teach real skills rather than skills to class climb (although skills which make more money for women are not necessarily useless!) are a step in the right direction. Aside from medical skills, knowledge of women's history, the struggles of blacks and workers, communication skills like writing or graphics, all seem vital.

VIII. And What is the Point of Feminist Studies in Schools?

With all I've talked about, you can see that this is the most difficult question to deal with. Consciousness of our shaky position is hardly enough. We need models, and there are some from that past--workers schools of the 1930's. Many of these schools were set up by socialists involved in labor organizing. There were schools that spoke both to the needs of worker's intellectual and artistic development as people with a cultural identity to share, as well as to the need for organizing a working class opposition to a capitalist economy. So such schools contained both courses in writing children's stories and in printing posters and leaflets. Of course there were many theory and history courses as well.

These schools were rarely part of established universities, at first, although there were some. Where they were, they were noticeably different. Those fun colleges (Bryn Mawr had one) taught some facts and skills, but not the content behind the whole thing. They left out any analysis of a system that depended on wage laborers for pro its for those who owned the corporations, and they excluded any consciousness of a worker identity or solidarity. Those that included these aspects as central to their curricula were separate from universities, were constantly in financial difficulties and most finally closed. And so the whole worker education movement was soon coopted by universities anxious to cash in on the struggle but not to challenge the system that fed its scholars.

This same cooptation could happen with the women's movement if we are not conscious of what we are all about. We are part of a revolutionary movement whose goal is to end patriarchal rule, and included in that, class divisions in society. Our intellectual work is to understand our collective history, to join us closer in solidarity with all women, and to create a new order out of the depth of understanding from our studies. I think this still is possible within universities, but only if we don't lose sight of what we're about.

Lastly, I like to think that the point of Feminist Studies is to build strong women five healthy ways: in body, in skills, in depth of collective history, in need of each other to grow, and in practicality and energy to struggle against great odds. We will succeed as teachers if we reach only some of that.

SEXIST IMAGES OF WOMEN IN LITERATURE

Mary Anne Ferguson

The course I am teaching at the University of Massachusetts/Boston is called Images of Women in Literature; by adding the adjective "sexist" to the title for this paper, I was not trying to be sensational but merely attempting to limit the topic. Many portraits of women in literature cannot be called sexist--a term which I will define shortly; one thinks immediately of characters in Chaucer, Shakespeare, Henry James, Ibsen, Chekhov. Nor is the sexist image the vision of male authors only; Jane Austen, Willa Cather, George Eliot present women as feminine stereotypes. Discussing the image of women in literature involves one in questions of the relation of art to reality, of the significance of genre and mode such as comedy and tragedy for interpretation, of the shaping force of literary tradition. By discussing only the sexist image, I hope to show how a feminist approach to literature can throw light on larger problems of values in literature.

In her book Thinking about Women Mary Ellman has described the stereotypes of women which literature presents. Women have been considered, first of all, to be formless; their minds, like their bodies, are thought of as soft, incapable of coherent thought and speech, but adequate to follow routines. Women have been labelled passive; they are, like Nature itself, waiting to be conquered by men. When aroused from this passivity, women are seen as unstable, unpredictable, hysterical; these characteristics too are, paradoxically, seen to be natural, innate. Since women are incapable of understanding abstractions, they are thought to be practical, materialistic. They are likely to be pious, but only in observing rituals; they are not capable of inventing religions or philosophical systems. As long as they remain virgin, they are thought to be pure and spiritual; once deflowered, they quite properly turn from heavenly contemplation and dedicate themselves to serving their husbands; in a wife, passivity and practicality become virtues.

These contradictory characteristics reflect age-old ambivalence about women; they are damned if they do and damned if they don't. Throughout Western literature these and other characteristics connected with them--talkativeness, nagging, deceitfulness, pettiness, lust--have been clustered around characters taken by readers to reflect reality. These stereotypes also create reality by serving as models of what real women should become. Especially in the 20th century, the images of our most "serious," avant-garde literature filter down into popular art with very little cultural lag; they pervade children's literature, are exploited by the media, and help to shape reality.

One common aspect of almost all the stereotypes is that women are seen primarily in their relationships to men, to such an extent that these relationships define women. Behind most of the stereotypes, as Ellman points out, is the persistent association of men with art, women with nature. Men are capable of making something of themselves, of their experience, of nature; like Pygmalion, they may even create a woman. But women remain defined by their natural roles; they are presented as wives, mistresses, mothers, daughters. Men of course have natural roles; but

in literature they are seldom defined by them. In Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, for example the Knight is presented in terms of what he as a knight, has done; it is mentioned that he is the father of the Squire but nothing is made of this point. The Wife of Bath, on the other hand, though she is a member of a guild of skilled workers, is never shown at work, even in her own narration of her life story; she characterizes herself almost entirely in terms of her role as the dominating wife of five men.

We might define the sexist image of women in literature as this portrayal of women in their biological roles. According to the sexist view, for women and only for women anatomy is destiny. When women sin, it is seldom because of the truly human fault of pride or hubris; their sins are almost entirely against chastity--so much so that the very word virtue, derived from the Latin word vir meaning man--has come to mean the particular goodness of women, that is chastity. Long before Kate Millett pointed out the patriarchal structure of Western society, Dr. Samuel Johnson observed that "The chastity of women is of the utmost importance, as all property depends upon it." In a book called Pamela's Daughters, Utter and Needham have shown that chastity viewed as a commodity has been one of the main themes of the novel since the 18th century. Since until very recently women have in real life been regarded as chattels, without rights to their own bodies or to their children, it is not surprising to find that in literature they are seldom seen as fully human beings, the equals of men. Because they are childlike, silly--like Ibsen's Nora--they are seen as rightfully in need of masculine guidance and control, rightfully kept in their place. Paradoxically, because they are also seen as too good to be true--as the guardians of morality and society, as the inspiration and salvation of men--they are likewise kept in their place. The kitchen and the pedestal serve equally to isolate women from men; only in the bedroom do they share fully in human life. Women who object to this limitation are seen as aggressive, irrational, perverse; the discontentment of the upper middle-class housewife idolized by her husband elicited from Freud the petulant question, "What do women want?"

In literature there have been many variations of the sexist image of women. One of the most persistent has been that of the submissive wife who not only knows her place but is happy in it, with the result that everyone around her is happy too. The classic image of this ray of sunshine is that of the Patient Griselda, a legendary figure written about during the Middle Ages by Boccaccio, Petrarch, and Chaucer. Griselda, the daughter of a serf--dressed in rags but very beautiful--is overwhelmed at the honor done to her when Count Walter asks her to marry him. She happily promises to obey him absolutely, delighted, even awed, by his condescension in raising her to the status of his wife. Later, even when Walter commands her to give him their children to be killed and, after he has put her aside, to become a servant for his new wife, she obeys without question and, according to the story, without reservation. Chaucer's celibate clerk who tells the tale and his male audience find in Griselda their ideal; they bemoan the fact that the good old days are gone and there are no more Griseldas around. Even though it is obvious to them that there are no real women like Griselda, they hold her up as a model of what women ought to be, indeed of what all humanity ought to be, indeed of what all humanity ought to be in relation to God. Not only as analogous to cosmic order but also as a means of preserving the social order, this image of the true woman as the docile subserviant wife has persisted to the present day.

Shakespeare added to the power of this image by satirizing it in *The Taming of the Shrew*. Although no one seriously believes that the shrewish Kate has totally changed at the end of the play, her speech describing the ideal wife is the last word, part of the comic happy ending. Having won a bet for her husband by demonstrating her obedience, Kate recommends her behavior to less subservient wives, saying

Thy husband is thy lord, thy life, thy keeper,
Thy head, thy sovereign . . .
Who craves no other tribute at thy hands
But love, fair looks, and true obedience.

To rebel against one's husband, she says, is tantamount to committing treason. Since they have soft bodies, women should be soft and yielding. The popularity of the modern version Kiss Me, Kate, is an indication of the persistence of this idea, however much it may be recognized as fantasy. Its prevalence in real life is exemplified in what Betty Friedan has labelled the "feminine mystique," the idea that by being secondary to and supportive of their husbands, women will find fulfillment. The recent bestseller and movie, Sue Kaufman's Dairy of a Mad Housewife, shows an educated wife so bored by domestic routine that she seeks escape through a dead-end love affair; but when she realizes that her boredom stems from her failure to understand her husband's problems and his need for her, she is reconverted to her role of faithful domesticity. Her insight about the naturalness of this role has come through psychoanalysis. Because of its role as the opiate of the housewife, Freudian psychoanalysis is under attack in real life; feminists view the end of The Dairy of a Mad Housewife as a realistic description of Freudian "adjustment." In a recent popular English novel, Nina Bawden's *A Woman of My Age*, a middle-aged wife whose children have grown up and left, faces the sterility of her life by having an affair; but her escape is only temporary and she is happy at the end of the story because she is going to remain with her husband but bear her lover's child. Once again, anatomy is destiny--and the only prescription for happiness.

Simone de Beauvoir has pointed out that modern Western man doesn't want a totally passive partner; he prefers a struggle before domination, but "in his heart of hearts he wants this struggle to be a game for him, while for woman it involves her very destiny." Perhaps a recent statement by Norman Mailer represents the ultimate expression of what men want from women: Mailer deplors the use of contraceptives because it removes the risk of childbirth and death for the woman and so makes sex less exciting, less existential. The image of woman as willing sex object, the fantasy of pornography such as The Story of O as well as of such writers as Mailer, D. H. Lawrence, and Henry Miller, is but an extension of the *Griselda* fantasy. All three authors, as Kate Millett has shown, no matter how much they disguise their ideas in mysticism or doctrines of sex as salvation from society and nihilism, see women primarily as means of men's liberation. According to Norman Mailer, who asks a question almost as petulantly as Freud did--"Who should wash the dishes?"--the woman should, so that a man of genius will be free to give his all to the world. Similarly, in Segal's *Love Story*, the heroine and her husband are equally sure that her fellowship to study music in Paris is secondary to his need to be independent of his father. Jenny's death at 25 serves to reconcile father and son--a sacrifice which beatifies her. One wonders why Mailer's

four ex-wives have not been willing to achieve similar sainthood by merely washing the dishes.

The sexism of the Griselda image has been shown in some literature in its true light. Dorothy Parker in a short story called "Big Blonde" shows the pathos of a woman who spends her life as the "good sport," the complaisant drinking and sexual partner of a series of men, all of whom are repulsed when she reveals her true melancholy self. In Chekhov's short story "The Darling," a woman who finds her identity only through men is shown as stupid and silly. Olga's absurdity is revealed when she happily parrots the opinions of Husband No. 2 even though they are diametrically opposed to those of Husband No. 1 which she had previously parroted. The full measure of her inferiority is shown when, widowed again, she repeats as her own the opinions of a schoolboy she is taking care of. But in spite of her shallowness, Olga elicits from the reader more pity than laughter. It is the townspeople whom Chekhov is satirizing; it is a society which calls her "the darling," which approves of her total submission, that Chekhov asks us to laugh at. One of the values of a feminist approach to literature is illustrated in this interpretation of the story. Critics including Tolstoi who have interpreted it as a character study miss its added dimension as social satire. Sometimes such a limited interpretation stems from the naive assumption that literary characters are like case histories; Olga's life story does read like the case history of a submissive wife, but understanding the significance of the title and the tone of the story prevents oversimplification and prohibits our seeing Chekhov as a misogynist.

The value of a feminist approach which sees the limitations of sexist stereotypes can be further illustrated in connection with a short story of Doris Lessing's entitled "To Room Nineteen." The protagonist Susan marries because it seems the thing to do, gladly giving up her job as a commercial artist to devote herself to husband, four children, big house. She deliberately plays the role of perfect wife, exulting even in doing all the housework herself. Susan thinks that once the children are "off her hands," she will be able to lead a life of her own; but when she is finally free from domestic duties, she finds she doesn't know what to do with her freedom. Even after she has rented a room in a hotel so that she can be completely away from any claims on her time and attention, all she can do five days a week is to sit in a chair or lie on a bed and idly day-dream. She finally realizes that her role-playing as wife-mother-housekeeper has been so thorough that she has no other identity and she commits suicide. Although her husband has not achieved perfect happiness by working in a fairly mundane and static job, he is saved by his contacts with other adults from insanity and suicide. The story shows that the role of submissive wife demands from women their identity as human beings and in extreme cases leads beyond a vague discontent--Betty Friedan's "the problem that has no name"--to neurosis, psychosis, suicide. Yet readers without perspective on the pervasiveness of the stereotype on which Susan modeled her life, are likely to see her suicide as idiosyncratic, instead of as an aspect of the insanity of a sick society. Like Chekhov, Doris Lessing does not in this story or elsewhere demonstrate the peculiarities of women but the blindness of mankind and the limitations of rational thought. Similarly, Flaubert in *Madame Bovary* is showing not merely the shallowness of a foolish woman but the falseness of an entire society which accepts the romantic view of woman and of life.

Along with the image of the ideal wife and sex object has gone that of the dominating woman, the aggressive, shrewish bitch who is a threat not only to a man's happiness but to his integrity and even his life. Chaucer's Wife of Bath is the medieval type of the bad wife because she dominates her husbands by being sexually insatiable, materialistic, selfish, deceitful; however much Chaucer lets the reader see the Wife as attractive because of her love of life, her vigor, her honesty, her self-knowledge, the other characters see her as the embodiment of everything a man would like to avoid. She needs to be tamed, like Shakespeare's Kate. Her modern descendants are legion: she is the wife of Walter Mitty, of Caspar Milquetoast. Even in a comedy like Thurber's story she is seen as dangerous; by making her husband unmanly she diminishes him so that he is laughable. In tragedy, she drives her husband to murder as in Macbeth and Mailer's An American Dream. She may even become the murderess of her husband, as does the wife in Hemingway's "The Short Happy Life of Francis Macomber." Martha, the cruel bitch in "Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf," destroys the happiness of all around her; we are asked to have some sympathy for her because her bitchiness is partially the result of her childlessness: she has not been able to fill her "inner space" as Erick Erickson would advise as the means of mental health for women. Such an aggressive, nagging woman is seen by authors and psychologists alike as sexually frustrated and hence neurotic, unnatural. Through aggressiveness and self-assertion, women are shown to make men their slaves, especially economically: they serve as ball-and-chain. Mailer and Lawrence identify women with the conservative forces of society; these men see society as the enemy of their self-development and as responsible for the sterility and anguish of modern life--as do Chekhov and Lessing. But the cure suggested by Mailer and Lawrence: to revert to a primitive asocial acceptance of sexuality as life's supreme value--is as romantic as Love Story's suggestion for solving life's problems by dying young.

Not only by refusing to submit to men but simply by existing, women in literature have been shown to destroy men. In one of the first novels ever written, Chretien de Troyes' 12th century Erec and Enide, even the most submissive wife is shown to have a negative effect. Erec is so enthralled by his bride's beauty that he neglects his male duties as knight and king; his courtiers begin to talk about how he has changed. He can redeem his honor only by humiliating his wife and embarking on a long series of new adventures. Erec's refusal to see his uxoriousness as his own fault results in his blaming Enide, and we are on the way to the stereotype of woman as the dangerous sex which diverts men from their true selves. To explain why women have such power, they are pictured as supernatural; this logically removes the necessity for men to be able to resist. In Keats' poem "La Belle Dame Sans Merci," for example, the knight is seduced, perhaps to his death, by wild, unnatural beauty, and by magical foods; his complete lack of resistance requires no explanation. Similarly in Robert Frost's poem "Two Witches" the husband of the Witch of Grafton need not be ashamed when his wife says "He enjoyed everything I made him do," even though he is foolish enough to hunt in the dark, in midwinter for berries she craves. The fairy mistress, the witch--are male fantasies created to avoid confronting male faults.

A woman who is unobtainable is also imbued with supernatural powers; romantic heroines such as Guenevere and Isolde who can never be completely possessed by their lovers cause the downfall of the noblest of men and

indeed of entire kingdoms. Their beauty is irresistible because it is a mystery--in many versions of the Tristan and Isolde story, the great passion is the result of a magic drink. In great passions men worship their beloved. When Lancelot enters Guenevere's bedroom in a French version of the story, he kneels before her, "holding her more dear than the relic of any saint"; after going to bed with her, "he bows and acts precisely as if he were before a shrine." Dante's Beatrice and Petrarch's Laura become more inspirational when translated into sainthood; a dead mistress is no threat! In much Victorian and American literature, the beautiful heroine, usually blonde, serves as her husband's inspiration while he goes off to conquer the wilderness or to war or to his office; as long as she remains in her proper sphere--the sacrosanct home and boudoir--he is free to achieve greatness. But her purity, her exalted position, whether as Victorian lady or Southern belle like Daisy Buchanan in Fitzgerald's The Great Gatsby, are countered by the lust of the dark beauty, the loose woman or the prostitute, who caters to men's less-exalted needs and is despised for doing so. The goddess herself pays a heavy price for her role-playing, as Arthur Miller's portrait of Marilyn Monroe in After the Fall demonstrates.

Why have these and other sexist images of women prevailed for so long? One answer is that they reflect reality; the Orthodox Jew who each morning thanks God that he was not created a woman is simply being realistic. Since a patriarchal society promulgates a secondary role for women and women do in fact play such roles, literature shows women as the second sex. Another answer is that literature presents these images precisely because they do not represent reality; they may represent either dreams or nightmares--symbolically they may stand for what is either better or worse than man. Literature shows women as submissive or dominant because such images are useful to establish contrast and conflict; woman as the Other is dynamic, a center of motivation. Helen of Troy and Ann Karenina refuse to play the role of devoted wife; thus we have long powerful stories. Their refusal is central not only to plot but to theme; they accept their tragedy as inevitable in large measure as a result of recognizing their role as anti-men, anti-society, anti-God. Without woman as antagonist, the author must resort to another source of conflict such as nature. This has been, according to Leslie Fielder, one of the primary devices of American literature, in which isolated heroes fight against nature, or woo her as if she were a woman; women characters are mere props.

Literature which viewed men as heroic when they overcame the temptations symbolized by women was the only tradition open when in the 19th century women authors began to be published significantly. Women writers who attempted to write about the experience of women had to write about them "in their place"; that is, they wrote domestic novels or novels of manners. Such works were often viewed condescendingly, as Carol Ohman has recently shown in a paper on the reception of Emily Bronte's Wuthering Heights. When the book appeared under a masculine pseudonym, it received great critical acclaim; as soon as the author's identity was revealed, the criticism became derogatory: virtues became defects. Margaret Mead has pointed out that in every society, whatever women do lacks status; this view is corroborated by Mary Ellman's chapter on phallic criticism. No wonder Georges Sand and George Eliot continued to hide their identities under male pseudonyms as long as they could

Modern awareness of the sexism of much of our literature is beginning to alter the image of women in literature. Women writers of the 1960's and 70's are writing freely of their experience as female human beings. Women characters are being shown as fallible human beings--like men, making mistakes about politics as do Anna in Doris Lessing's The Golden Notebook and Miss Jean Brodie in Muriel Spark's novel; like men, going mad because of the pressures of society and weakness of soul instead of from the monthly menstrual flow. Such authors are creating a new literary tradition which may someday produce a female Shakespeare--capable of creating men and women characters in all their complexity rather than reduced to stereotypes.

FEMININE SUBCULTURE AND FEMALE MIND

Nancy Reeves

Introduction

More than a century ago, Sarah Grimké set out passionately to prove "that intellect is not sexed."¹ But there is a sense in which it is. Growing up female implies the internalization of a set of values, perceptions, codes, and qualities that subvert the reasoning faculties. Anatomy is not destiny, but biography may be--for we are programmed by our pre-occupations. And women, encased in the feminine subculture, with its tribal duties and hedonistic imperatives, with the seduction of creature comforts and the terrible temptations of vicarious living are programmed in a system antithetical to rigor and reflection. The female mind thus becomes a discrete phenomenon. Specialized to sex and to service, it is the product of what women do and what they do not do in the matrix of their assigned place. For although the second sex is unique among underprivileged entities in that it lives within the pale of the power elite, it still remains a sex apart--outside the mainstream of the society.

Feminine Subculture

In anthropological usage, according to Oscar Lewis, "the term culture implies, essentially, a design for living which is passed down from generation to generation."² Certainly the design for living passed down from generations of mothers to generations of daughters comes within this definition and so I postulate a specific feminine subculture within which women conduct their lives and which determines their reality level. For every pattern in the human condition becomes a form of ethnocentrism; external phenomena are then viewed through the special lenses it provides. In consequence, even the best minds, submerged in a given context, tend to subordinate their critical faculties to the range of established possibilities. For females, the stress in the range of these established possibilities is on "the intimate, the sensory, the detailed, and the personal."³ Modish ignorance is applauded; intellectual endeavor and introspection have no place.

Jean Rostand has written: "A person too early cut off from the common interest of men is exposed to inner impoverishment." I believe that to live in the feminine subculture is to be cut off from the common interests of the race and that females, as a sex, are therefore the victims of inner impoverishment, deflected from the habit of consciousness, and in continuous flight from wonder.

The Theory

Contemporary scholars agree that the process of sex-typing develops rapidly in the early years and is firmly established by age 3-4. Thus most female individuals enter the sexual ghetto at an early age and remain in it for the rest of their lives. This means, adopting an insight of Karl Mannheim, that ". . .it would be false to deduce. . .that all ideas and sentiments which motivate an individual have their origin in him alone, and can be adequately explained solely on the basis of his own life-experience. . ."4 Rather, the individual, in this case woman, finds herself in an inherited situation complete with preformed patterns of concept and conduct. In a sense, the psyche itself becomes a segment of the given, the knowledge "which it acquires presupposing a finished picture of reality, an ontology."5 This picture is composed of crystallizations of meaning derived not from the individual alone acting as an independent agency, but from the view of the world held by the group to which she belongs. And, in that group, "Every concept represents a sort of taboo against other possible sources of meaning. . ."6 so that the individual becomes impervious to implications derived from such other sources. Or, in Adorno's formulation, "Sanctioned illusions allow a dispensation from comparison with reality." Thus error creates a reality of its own, for the very act of contemplation is colored by the norms of conduct imposed on the contemplator: cultural values are intricately related to intellectual activity, interest is inevitably reflected in the intersection of ideas. Cognition itself must in consequence be viewed sociologically, each subculture promoting a particular and limited image of the social whole from which its inhabitants derive interpretations and meanings. For this reason, ". . .the products of the cognitive process are. . .differentiated. . .(for) not every possible aspect of the world comes within the purview of the members of a group. . ."7

Neo-Feminism and Consciousness-Raising

The first level of activity in any challenge to institutional verities involves the process of unmasking. Thus neo-feminists begin with a bill of particulars relative to the unjust and the insupportable. Raising the consciousness of adherents then includes an examination of given codifications of reality. In the realm of the psyche, this has meant a scrutiny of non-genetic conditioning parameters, an analysis of the weight of social expectation that burdens women to become feminine pawns rather than female persons. The intellectual, emotional, character, interest profile imposed by the feminine subculture are documented, the tools of socialization, the systems of persuasion and coercion that ensure results are dissected out. From this has come the rediscovery that woman, in the words of Judith Murray, "experiences a mortifying consciousness of inferiority which embitters every enjoyment."8 But there seems in this process to be an underlying assumption that awareness, in itself, can transform determinantal nurturance, that contemporary women have only to bite into the apple of feminism, have only to "know" to be free.

The difficulty in such an approach is that "What the human mind makes of the sense data, and thinks about, is always a created thing." (Jacob Bronowski) Each of us looks at the total spectrum of possible perception through a particular window. This means our various intellectual landscapes

are framed into patterns with invisible boundaries. Moreover, women, like other disadvantaged groups, internalize a skewed reality. Such group norms then "not only determine to a large extent the avenues of approach to the surrounding world, but they also show, at the same time, from which angle and in which context of activity objects have hitherto been perceptible and accessible. . ."9 Looking at life through the window of the feminine subculture consequently implies the acquisition of a perspective not only contrived and partial but even deformed. This then becomes second nature. Without doubt, the unused aptitudes and capacities of first nature continue to exist--but awareness alone is not likely to release them. Too many layers of indoctrination insulate new consciousness from old custom. Beyond techniques for discovering the issues and focusing on the institutions that determine them, there still remains the challenge of how newly conscious women can overthrow the fifth column in their heads. Heightened awareness does not in itself alter the geography of the mind--even after the grid of the world has changed. Countless aspects of reality continue to be programmed by the prior condition.

Cognition and the Subculture

What then are these programmings and how do they function? They are a complex of proffered patterns which, once internalized, produce correlative perceptions and proclivities. Style of life relates to style of cognition: humans not only create their environments, they are created by them. In the language of George Steiner, ". . .an organism adapts its hereditary potential to the demands and opportunities of the environment."10 It is my position that the ecological inequality of women relative to the social environment stunts their hereditary potential: that beyond the deflection of biography, that occurs in the context of the feminine subculture, there is a contamination of psyche, an impact on sensibility, that distorts attitudes and processes requisite for first-rate reflection. It might even be maintained that all too often there follows a "trained incapacity to deal with problems of the mind."11

Caroline Bird has remarked that women are the only underprivileged group that lives with the elite. But, in the framework of the sociology of knowledge, women do not share a common world with that elite--either in terms of social experience or of individual cognition. Indeed, the functional differentiation imposed by the society assumes a polarity in qualities and a dichotomy in tasks that would debar women from achieving what Mannheim has called the intellectual mastery of life problems--not only in that segment of reality preempted by the elite, but even in women's own allotted segment: the sexual ghetto. For we have been conditioned to the division of the world into the sex that thinks and the sex that feels. "Woman's whole soul," it has been affirmed, "conscious and unconscious, is best conceived as a magnificent organ of heredity and to its laws all her psychic activities, if unperverted, are true."

It does not follow from the fact that human beings are different from other objects," observed Louis Wirth, "that there is nothing determinate about them."12 It is my thesis that the complex of social ideas designated as appropriate for women, and the subculture which functions as the medium through which these ideas are diffused, put a premium on irrationality, depreciate the value of thought. In consequence, the inexact mode has come to characterize the female mind. On the other hand, ". . .

opportunity for relative emancipation from social determination increases proportionately with insight into this determinism."¹³ An analysis of the qualities, activities, and areas of awareness developed in the feminine subculture may illuminate the extent of social determinism in the patterns of female thought and prefigure the arc of new directions.

Thought as Inappropriate

First there is, as already suggested, the inappropriateness of thought itself. In the old language, it addled woman's feeble brain. Not long ago, maidens were urged not to worry their pretty little heads about that. And today, the better half is pressed to use her "pacific instincts" to save a world made unliveable by the sophisticated reasoning of the sex in power.* Whether the denial of cognitive ability is voiced with positive or negative valence is not material to my thesis that the social model for woman implies no capacity for clear thought. "My words in her mind," wrote James Joyce, "cold polished stones sinking through a quigmire."¹⁴

This is ratified by philosophers, as for example, Hegel:

"Women may be educated, true, but they are not created for the higher sciences, philosophy and certain branches of art. . ." He goes on, "When a woman stands at the head of a state that state finds itself in danger. They act. . .according to chance whim and chance fancy."¹⁵

And it is ratified by psychologists, as for example, Helene Deutsch in her major work, The Psychology of Woman:

"For intuition is God's gift to the feminine woman; everything relating to exploration and cognition, all the forms and kinds of human cultural aspiration that require a strictly objective approach, are. . .the domain of the masculine intellect, . . .against which woman can rarely compete."¹⁶

And it is ratified, with primary certitude, by the popular culture:

"Women are irrational
That's all there is to that.
Their heads are full of cotton, hay and rags."¹⁷

The Pattern of the Private

But the model does not only project an image; it imposes a pattern: the pattern of the private. It is moreover a pattern of exclusion for the traditional model, which assigns the private world of limited familial reality to women, is part of a dichotomy that assigns the public world of

* Virginia Woolf, reacting to this kind of reasoning, wrote: "But a desire to worship woman as a higher moral influence tends, in real life, to restrict her freedom almost as much as a conviction of her inferiority." Herbert Marder, Feminism and Art (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), p. 14.

work and politics to man. This is extremely significant in relation to cognition for, in the words of Hannah Arendt:

"To live an entirely private life means above all to be deprived of things essential to a truly human life: to be deprived of the reality that comes from being seen and heard by others, to be deprived of an 'objective' relationship with them that comes from being related to and separated from them through the intermediary of a common world of things, to be deprived of the possibility of achieving something more permanent than life itself. The privation of privacy lies in the absence of others; . . .it is as though he did not exist."¹⁸

She also notes that those living in such social isolation "are all imprisoned in the subjectivity of their own singular experience, which does not cease to be singular if the same experience is multiplied innumerable times."¹⁹ What the private person does remains without significance or consequence to others. Women in the private hemisphere are socially invisible and socially irrelevant. This bears on intellectual capacity for, according to Harry Stack Sullivan, the self is composed of the reflected appraisals of others, and, in the formulation of Ruth Benedict, no individual can arrive even at the threshold of potential ability without a culture in which to participate. Women are thus led to the feminine subculture and to the development of those potentialities which are viable there--its rules being encoded in the very circuitry of their nervous systems. As I have suggested previously, these traits are, by the same token, those which the wider culture does not value. And conversely, women, as products of the feminine subculture, tend to depreciate the traits prized by the wider culture: "perseverance, the ability to work under pressure, ambition, competitiveness, physical stamina and realism."* In this sense, women remain socially disenfranchised and psychologically deviant.

Moreover, the pattern of the private is relevant to the female mind not only in terms of traits developed, but also in terms of activities imposed. These involve an agenda of buying and bedecking, of preening and procuring, of gracing and garnering, of focusing on what Richard Howard has called the "fatal etcetera of things" and Edith Wharton a "life-long mastery over trifles."

In contrast, thinking, according to Buckminster Fuller, "is the result of removing irrelevancies, a few at a time, selectively, until only the relevant remains."²⁰ In the same vein, Arthur Koestler notes in The Act of Creation, "The principle of parsimony seems to be an essential factor in mental progress."²¹ Most women however are socially directed to "the

* This is reported in relation to a study of female-role ideology in an article entitled "How Ideology Shapes Women's Lives" by Jean Lipman-Blumen. The women subjects were divided into two categories: those with a contemporary sex-role ideology and those with a traditional ideology. It is not without significance for my thesis that these usually divergent groups shared the deprecation of the traits quoted above. Scientific American, January, 1972.

mechanical encrusted on the living"* a style of being which comes, in Koestler's view, from protracted confinement to the Trivial Plane.²² Thus higher levels of consciousness are not freed for more challenging tasks and the grammar of existence, narrow and final, is tethered to the inessential and the self-evident.

Distraction and Discontinuity

The feminine subculture also majors in distraction and discontinuity. Now it need scarcely be noted that in creative thought the problem one seeks to solve must be continually in focus and reflection concerning it must be intense and concentrated.

Melville writes:

". . .to most of the great works of humanity, their authors had given not weeks and months, not years and years, but their wholly surrendered dedicated lives."

And Rilke:

"Without duties, almost without external communication, unconfined solitude which takes every day like a life, a spaciousness which puts no limit to vision. . ."

These are conditions precedent, prerequisites, to the art of meditation,**yet what woman's life can achieve such an "undistracted center of being?"***

Tillie Olsen, citing the above, and pointing to the circumstances of women's lives which are antithetical to the needs of creation, observes:

"But women are traditionally trained to place other's needs first, to feel these needs as their own. . .their sphere their satisfaction to be in making it possible for others to use their abilities." And she concludes: "Unused capacities atrophy, cease to be."²³

Rigor, Science, and the Sexual Ghetto

But, to be sure, it is necessary to have solid input, to have something to intensely reflect upon. Here the narrow range of feminine learn-

*. The phrase is from Henri Bergson.

** "Why," asks Henry Higgins in My Fair Lady, "is thinking something women never do?/ Why is logic never tried?/ Straightening up their hair is all they ever do./ Why don't they straighten up the mess that's inside?"

*** The phrase is from Paul Valéry.

ing (differential enculturation) which has kept women outside the rigorous disciplines and confined them to the sexual ghetto of the "humanities" means that they are often "Without the hard little bits of marble which are called 'facts' or 'data'" necessary to compose a mosaic.²⁴ To be an original thinker means to bridge two matrices, to span two orders of ideas not formerly connected. Intuition certainly comes into this process, but information is prerequisite: one cannot join matrices one does not know. This is singularly significant in relation to the tradition that has kept women isolated from scientific method and scientific thought for we live in a world which, in Bronowski's formulation, "is penetrated through and through by science. . ." ²⁵ Woman's place in the academic milieu sets her apart from such study connected with the objective and the verifiable. There is, in consequence, little corrective to the world of private consciousness to which the sex has traditionally been relegated, and a gap is created both in awareness and in methodology between the intuitive leap and the corrected concept.

This is not to say that those disciplines which approach the subjective-emotional are less valuable than the others. Only that strict thought, tethered to unyielding data, offers a window on the world that differs in kind from the more malleable, semantic fields. For truth must not merely be attained by reason; it must be framed with the highest degree of precision. To have no comprehension of science in a civilization powered by it, in the philosophical as well as the technological sense, is to be debarred from its reality. Ours is "the only living species which has altered its ecological patterning in the history of life on earth."²⁶ We have moved, reports Buckminster Fuller, "from a sweepout of perhaps a 24 mile radius to interstellar space."²⁷ Yet, in an intellectual sense, most women, even academic women, are scientifically illiterate, symbolically still living in terms of the craft concepts of the individual naked in the wilderness, conceptually still roaming in terms of a narrow geography.

William James once wrote to his brother Henry, "I have to forge every sentence in the teeth of irreducible and stubborn facts."²⁸ The scientific perspective has, according to Whitehead, recolored our mentality. "This new tinge to modern minds is a vehement and passionate interest in the relation of general principles to irreducible and stubborn facts."²⁹ But the assumed irrationality of women has separated them from this vital manifestation of reason, from the imaginative content and the exquisite knowledge extensions that have altered the grid of the world. In this sense, they are socially and intellectually signed off from their civilization. For it has been said, "Our older theories contribute no more to predictive power than astrology." The perceptions they foster are tied essentially to "myth and totem" consolidated by tradition.^{30*} George Steiner once wrote, "A scientific revolution is an act of motion. The mind leaves one major door of perception, one great window, and turns to another."³¹ Women are still programmed, I believe, to look at the universe through the pre-scientific window of an earlier age.

* I should make it clear that in deploring the fact that women are outsiders in the scientific disciplines I am not referring either to scientism (a mechanical mania for quantification and idiot experiment without concern for content) or technology (the application or misapplication of scientific information.) I refer to the scientific method and the vantage of scientific inquiry.

Conservatism and Docility

Further, the conservatism and docility engrained in women (confidence in the expert, insufficient skepticism) incapacitates them for another prerequisite of significant thought, that boldness which dares to transpose given, accepted patterns of ideas.

"Of all forms of mental activity, the most difficult to induce, even in the minds of the young, who may be presumed not to have lost their flexibility, is the art of handling the same bundle of data as before, but placing them in a new system of relations with one another by giving them a different framework, all of which virtually means putting on a different kind of thinking cap for the moment."³²

Women are invited to engage in patient effort at the expense of originality. Imitation tends to eclipse innovation as received models are dutifully internalized. Thus, maintained in ego uncertainty* by the sub-culture, women walk forward in the tried shoes of familiar forms. And yet, the foundation of new thought is skepticism.

Changing the Reality Level

Fresh effort to make women aware of their matrix and its snares and delusions, is, as I have suggested, a first step. But the prejudices and impurities incorporated in the feminine universe cannot be excised by consciousness alone; it is necessary to shift the frame of that universe. After patterning is recognized, programming must be altered. The process is a challenging one--but it can be achieved.

Marshall McLuhan suggests one technique:

". . .one has to get outside the environment or sensory models of one's culture in order to understand anything at any time. . .because the natural form of culture is to brainwash all the members of that culture. Anybody who is adjusted to any culture is brainwashed. . .One of the quickest ways of discovering the nature of your own little prison or trap is the speed of succession as you move from one (culture) to another, almost like the frames of a film; then you suddenly become aware of the fact that the world you are living in has very definite ground rules, and that you can get outside them."³³

* "I noticed in those fellow-students of the liberal arts that they never learned enough about anything to be certain about it. They finished as they went in: doubtful, insecure, still not knowing where to go. But I had chemistry. Chemistry is not a skill--it is a point of view, it's a citadel, it's a whole intellectual structure against which one can measure other intellectual structures. This is a home from which a man can have a view of the world." I. I. Rabi, Center Diary #18, May-June 1967, Center for The Study of Democratic Institutions, Santa Barbara, California.

More profoundly, Karl Mannheim writes:

"Perhaps it is precisely when the hitherto concealed dependence of thought on group existence and its rootedness in action becomes visible that it really becomes possible for the first time, through becoming aware of them, to attain a new mode of control over previously uncontrolled factors of thought."³⁴

After consciousness raising comes consciousness changing. And prerequisite to that process is the recognition that "We too, like the generations before us, are the cracked, the battered, the malformed products of remoter chisels shaping the most obstinate substance in the universe," the human species.³⁵ Having perceived this determinism, it becomes imperative to carve out a new cognitive pattern, a new female mind, freed from the biographical destiny imposed by the feminine subculture.

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27. Ibid.
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31. George Steiner, The New Yorker, March 6, 1971.
32. Arthur Koestler, The Act of Creation, quoting Butterfield in his History of the Scientific Revolution, p. 235.
33. "Dialogue with Marshall McLuhan," Bulletin of the Society for Social Responsibility in Science, February, 1966.
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WHY WOMEN'S STUDIES?

Pauline B. Bart

It is not the consciousness of men that determine their existence. Rather it is their existence that determines their consciousness.

-Karl Marx, Critique of Political Economy

It is no accident that women faculty are excluded whenever possible from universities. When the criteria for appropriate professional behaviour, as well as for what is "important" research are made by men, we should not be surprised when such criteria mean that few women "make the grade" (meet their criteria). This statement should not be understood to mean that I believe that there are biological differences between men and women such that women cannot function in an intellectual capacity or cannot work with graduate students or cannot do vital research. What I am saying is that how you see the world, what your values are, is related to where you are located in the social structure. Because gender is one factor, as is class, and ethnicity in placing us structurally, there tend to be certain differences in style between women and men.

The \$100 dollar Misunderstanding is a brilliant exercise in the sociology of knowledge. It is the story of a weekend encounter between a fourteen year old black prostitute and an upper middle-class, arrogant, up-tight white college boy. Each chapter is written twice-once from his perspective and once from hers. Any relation between the two is purely coincidental. They see different facets of "reality" and interpret these facets from different frames of reference. Perhaps the difference between males and females of similar class and ethnicity is not so great. But differences there are. And since men have the power, they confuse their own world view with "reality" (resulting in what has been called "our hairy-chested foreign policy") and in terms of their standards and their values, we just don't make it. As Jesse Bernard put it:

It (sexism) is the naive, unconscious, taken-for-granted, unexamined acceptance by sociologists of the idea that. . .sociology as developed by man is the one and only sociology worth bothering with . . .that society as men experience it is the only society worth researching, that the topics men sociologists are concerned about--especially power, mobility, conflict--are the only kinds worth pursuing (1970).

And Alice Rossi (1970) notes that "passion is the second typically neglected component in sociology"

To read the works of most sociologists of any generation. . .is to gain an image of bloodless insensates looking down at human behavior from some cognitive height of detachment.

She points out the emphasis on rationality, systems analysis, and game theory, and suspects "that there have been three dozen studies of achievement motivation to every one study on affiliation need." And I

should point out that in the most famous of these studies, that of McClelland, only men are studied. Women in the academic world are not only metaphorically invisible; they are often in fact and in research invisible.

I will discuss five areas in which the male perspective works to the detriment of women. I should point out that some women share this perspective. They have this "false consciousness" because in order to "make it" they introjected male values and standards and so to speak became "more Catholic than the Pope." But some of them are now confronting the fact that they have been discriminated against for many years, and their position is changing. I should also add that the difference in perspective on research is more obvious in fields such as sociology and psychology than in, say, mathematics. But the criteria of what is professional demeanor (that of an English lord running the gamut of emotions from A to A-) are similar in law, medicine (where there are only three countries with lower percentages of women physicians than ours—South Vietnam, Madagascar and Spain) accounting and the academic world from Astronomy to Zoology. And I will discuss the implications of this for teaching not only women's courses but for teaching in general.

1. Contraception:

With the exception of the condom and the vasectomy, the bulk of research and the focus of birth control has been on the female. One male M.D. couldn't understand why this was an issue. As he put it, "After all, women are the ones that get pregnant." And here I thought belief in immaculate conception was limited to certain religious groups. This is not a moot point, since although the condom can diminish male sex enjoyment, it does not have dangerous side effects that the two most recent female contraceptives, the "pill" and the IUD do. (How many of you knew that anemia was a common side effect of the latter?) The brilliant satire, "How to Hold a Wife: A Bridegroom's Guide" (MacLeod, 1971) makes this point effectively in the following passage:

Assuming that you, like most modern couples, want to limit and space the growth of your family, your wife and you should decide together what method of contraception you wish to employ. Most likely, you will choose one of the fine methods available to the modern husband. Consult a qualified urologist. She will explain to you several methods. . . One widely used method is the insertion of sperm-killing liquid into the urethra before intercourse. She (your doctor) will show you how. You may find it awkward and uncomfortable the first few times, but soon you will get the knack. If you are a truly considerate husband, you will do this routinely, every evening as you prepare to retire, so that you will never have to keep your wife waiting while you make your preparations. A drawback of this method is that it does occasionally fail. And some wives -- especially busy successful ones for whom the time required for the abortion is a hardship -- blame the husband for the slip-up -- thinking that perhaps he did not take the proper precautions. The other widely used method is, of course, the Capsule, a powerful formulation of various hormones that render you infertile so long as you take it without fail. There are minor undesirable side effects in some men: you may gain weight around the abdomen or buttocks, get white pigmentless

patches on your face. . .or suffer some morning nausea. But be patient--these effects often decrease or even disappear after a few months. The one serious drawback of the Capsule is that you are several times more likely than otherwise to suffer eventually from prostate cancer or fatal blood clots. But these ailments are relatively uncommon anyway, so that many couples consider it worth the risk, especially since this is the one method that is 100 percent effective.

But no wonder, since in looking at two 1971 editions of textbooks in obstetrics and gynecology, I found that one of them defined the "feminine core" as narcissistic, masochistic, and passive for the "mature woman." For example, her mature, feminine narcissism, as contrasted with neurotic narcissism, was to dress for men. And her feminine mature masochism was demonstrated by sacrificing her personality for her husband and her children (Willson et al, 1971). The other gave the following advice to the bride (Novak, et al, 1971):

The bride should be advised to allow her husband's sex drive to set their pace, and she should attempt to gear her satisfaction to his. If she finds after several months or years that this is not possible, she is advised to consult her physician.

Bypassing her husband?

2. Childbirth and Breastfeeding:

The work of Niles Newton, a women psychologist located in a department of psychiatry (many women Ph.D.'s, like myself, are not primarily appointed in their own disciplines for reasons I have hypotheses about but will not go into at this time) shows that childbirth could be made much more meaningful if certain procedures were instituted, such as not moving the woman from the labor room to the delivery room (her studies of mice shows that environmental disturbance delays labor) and not shaving pubic hair (research, carefully controlled, done years ago demonstrated that this practice did not decrease infection, its presumed value, but it continues). Much time is spent training doctors about formulas for babies and very little time on how to help the woman breastfeed successfully. She points out that the main focus of research has been on sexuality in intercourse rather than on alternative and supplementary forms of sexual gratification such as breastfeeding and natural childbirth.

3. Psychoanalytic Theory and Depression:

The third area in which the male perspective operates not only to the detriment of the woman but also to the detriment of science is in psychoanalytic theory of depression. First, depression is roughly three times as likely to occur in women than in men, in contrast with other "pathologies" or forms of "mental illness." There is a built-in contradiction in psychoanalytic theory as follows: First, women according to Freud have weaker super-egos than men (all you thought you suffered from was penis envy? uh uh--you're also missing a sense of ethics and of justice). But this same theory accounts for depression with reference to rigid, overdeveloped super-egos. While analysts recognized and stated that women were more likely to become depressed, nowhere in the literature

was this dissonancy discussed. Sexists make bad scientists.

4. Field independence-dependence:

One trait that consistently distinguishes between boys and girls, men and women, is the trait of field independence--of separation of figure from ground. Women are more likely to be field dependent than men. Feminists, or people sympathetic to women, have shown that under certain conditions women can be field independent. But until very recently no one has questioned the superiority of field independence for intellectual performance. Yet when Mary Stewart reported her dissertation findings (1971) it immediately struck me that for certain purposes, such as sociology, it was very useful to be aware of the "ground" or "environment." In any case not being able to see the forest for the trees was not superior to not being able to see the trees for the forest. And I just learned that a psychologist at York University has made this point and therefore has changed the term from field dependence (a bad word) to field "sensitive." The taken-for-granted superiority of field independence furnishes another example of how the way men view the world has been arbitrarily considered to be superior to the way women see the world.

5. Studies about Women:

Many women scholars (and Leo Kanowitz when writing Women and the Law) learned that the very process of writing about women, of taking them seriously, put us beyond the pale. One woman's work was dismissed as "that women's lib stuff," and she was considered "completely unprofessional" even though the work was empirical and used sophisticated methodology. In short, it was not simply polemic. My work on depression in middle-aged women was greeted with marked lack of enthusiasm exemplified by one of my male friends, an eminent sociologist, saying, "Pauline Bart, why did you study middle-aged women?" Now, of course, since women studies are chic this year, it is considered very good research although the men are somewhat taken aback when I tell them that if it is so good why wasn't the article accepted earlier and why did I have such a hard time finding a publisher for the dissertation. Other women have had similar difficulties doing research on women. One of them cannot write a dissertation testing her conceptualization of women as double deviants because she cannot find the necessary faculty sponsorship. She can find the sponsorship for other topics, so it is not a question of her competence, but of the topic. And again men are confusing their interests with what is valuable in the field.

The need for studying women at all was questioned, and, as one of my former distinguished colleagues at Berkeley asked, "Is there really enough to teach a whole quarter?" (The first course on women given at Berkeley which I gave in 1969). The most dramatic example of the importance of a female perspective can be demonstrated by the difference in reception of the Kinsey Report on the Female in 1953 and Masters and Johnson in the consciousness raised sixties. Kinsey came out with many of the same conclusions about the myth of the vaginal orgasm that Masters and Johnson did a decade later. (See the pocket-book version of the Kinsey Report on the Female, pp. 574-584). Yet for knowledge to spread it needs two factors: first, the knowledge itself; and second, a group in whose interest it is to have the knowledge spread. Had there been a Women's Liberation Movement when Semmelweiss was pleading with doctors

attending women in childbirth to please wash their hands, such advice would have been paid attention to. Similarly, it is only because in the sixties there is a women's movement that in these times the findings about female orgasm, contradicting the psychoanalytic theory, has been disseminated. No longer will thousands of women believe there is something wrong with them if they have "clitoral" rather than vaginal orgasms. No longer will they believe they have "penis envy" (penis envy of course is another example of generalizing from a male perspective).

To return to the definition of "appropriate" professional behavior and remembering that the greater "nurturance" behavior of women is more parsimoniously explained by a nurture than by a nature theory, I would like to make the point that it is precisely in that area most difficult for women to crack, teaching in graduate school, that they are most likely to be superior. Teaching graduate students is the academic equivalent of making chicken soup. What do you do? First, you write grant proposals so you can support them financially. Then you have an intimate enough relationship with them for socialization to take place. Next you write them recommendations so that they can obtain fellowships, post-doctorates, etc. And finally it is your responsibility to find them jobs. I find absolutely no discontinuity between this behavior and the standard behavior expected of females. Maybe one of the reasons there has been so much protest and alienation among our finest students has been precisely because while on the one hand this nurturant relationship is necessary for a rewarding graduate school education, men have a "trained incapacity" to fulfill this role. Only today one of the medical students I teach remarked, in a discussion of sex roles, that he found it difficult to be interpersonally sensitive to his patients, which he must be to be a good doctor, because this skill had been trained out of him in his socialization as a male.

It follows from this discussion that I believe that we should not teach women's courses, or any courses, the way they are traditionally taught. Not only are those methods derived from a system that devalues the very things we are good at, but it is an ineffective way to teach. Even at a large university it is possible to humanize education. In Berkeley I rented houses with large living rooms and held as many classes as possible in my home over wine and other food, including a brunch to lunch seminar in the Sociology of Knowledge. The atmosphere was relaxed, my children would wander through, and it was a much more "real life" setting than the groves of academe. I scheduled the seminar on sex roles I teach at Chicago Circle Campus, too far away from my home to use it as a base, from 9 A.M. - 11:30 A.M., and we adjourn to a nearby Greek restaurant for lunch. Most often seminars are given in the late afternoon making it difficult for women with children, or sometimes just with husbands, to attend as it is often difficult for them to go to the post-seminar beer busts.

I will close on an even more personal note, since we in the women's movement know that the personal and the political are not separate. I am a casualty of the fifties, one of the walking wounded Betty Friedan described so well. And though I "re-entered" I still bear the scars (e.g., I was told I was too old to be an assistant professor). And I went through hell for the four years I was on the job market until I finally obtained a regular position as assistant professor. There are

things that happened that it is too late to undo. The only thing that makes any of this suffering meaningful, and nothing is more painful than meaningless suffering, is that through my work I make it possible for others to escape--to survive the academic experience without the horror stories that characterize women of my generation. And that is why I write about women and work for the women's movement. It is truly unalienated labor. It comes from both my head and my heart.

The men in my field have now paid me their highest compliment. They tell me that I am not like other women. I, of course, respond with the only possible answer, "Yes I am."

WOMEN'S STUDIES

Roberta Salper

In Spring 1970, the Faculty Senate at San Diego State College approved a proposal to establish a ten-course program in Women's Studies. It was to be the nation's first. At the same time over 300 women at State University of New York, Buffalo, were taking "Women in Contemporary Society," an introductory course which, by the following spring, had evolved into a full-scale Female Studies Program. In addition to these two complete programs, over 100 colleges and universities offered at least one course on women in 1970-71--courses such as "The Socialization Process of Women," "Imperialism and its Relation to Sexism," "Education of Women," "Women in the Labor Force." Women's Studies was well on its way to being ushered into the hallowed groves of academe--in Newsweek's words, the "hottest new wrinkle in higher education."

The implications of having an "academic arm" of a broader-based political movement are important to consider because the issue involves the political development of the Women's Liberation Movement, the structure and control of American higher education, and the relationship between the two. And herein lies the political potential of Women's Studies: to the extent that the university-based programs can create links with other sectors of society, the traditional divisions--student vs. worker, black vs. white, man vs. woman--used to maintain the American Way of Life will be weakened. But this is no easy task, for on the one hand, the American system of higher education has a well-greased "escape valve" for such "radical emergencies"--the corporate foundation grant. On the other hand, a tendency in the Women's Movement to be excessively preoccupied with a politic of personal development prevents it from seeing beyond myopic white middle-class needs.

In a recent article, The Chronicle of Higher Education posed the question, "Can Women's Studies be primarily academic or are they sure to become militant and tied to women's liberation?" Setting up this kind of dichotomy between a social movement "out there" and some courses safely nestled within the ivy halls is a very effective way to insure both that the courses do not radically change anyone, and that the Women's Movement does not benefit from the acquisition of skills and other benefits available in the university. And this is exactly what McGeorge Bundy, president of the Ford Foundation, was striving for when he spoke about the creation of Black Studies in the universities some years ago: "When you agree that there is a topic, there still follows the question of what you want it for, and how you will pursue it. . ."

Like Black Studies, Women's Studies owes its existence to pressures from a political movement centered outside the campus. At San Diego State College the idea for such a program grew out of a Women's Liberation "rap

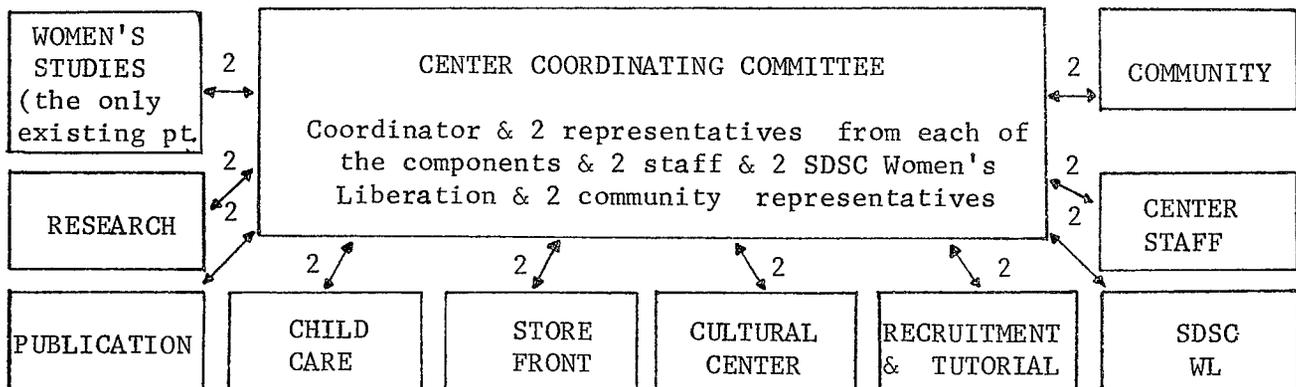
group." Subsequently, about 20 women from the university and community formed a "Women's Studies Committee" and struggled for months for the program to become part of the College of Arts and Letters. The story of Women's Studies at San Diego illustrates how foundations operate to control university administrators, faculty, students, and burgeoning radical political movements.

From the beginning, the Women's Studies Committee agreed the Program should not be limited to university women; it should meet the needs of non-academic women in the surrounding community as well. So, under the guidance of the woman who was to serve as "Center Coordinator," the Committee drew up a proposal for a Women's Center that in principle would serve to create and coordinate a broad-based women's movement in San Diego.

The College of Arts and Letters had no funds for the Center, so on the advice of the Dean of the College, the Women's Studies Committee applied for and received a grant of \$12,000 from the San Diego State College Foundation, whose president is also a vice-president of the college. A half-time position called coordinator for the Women's Center was allocated \$6000. The coordinator, an undergraduate member of the original Women's Studies Committee, was also given a part-time faculty position in the Women's Studies Program, thus providing that crucial link between the academic and non-academic aspects of the Program. However, her primary responsibility, as we were to learn, would have to be to the foundation, not to the women who had created the Program and struggled for its existence. Last fall we didn't know that by paying the salary of a key liaison person the foundation could then control a large part of the Program. Nominally, the coordinator's job was that of fund-raiser: she was to apply for other, larger grants from foundations such as Ford, and thus have funds to help and "guide" other components into existence.

PLAN FOR WOMEN'S CENTER

(with proposed components & administrative structure)



Within the Women's Studies Committee, there was a general "feeling" that the Committee would naturally make collective decisions concerning fund-raising, and the coordinator would be their spokeswoman to the administration. However, in the ensuing months we learned, first of all, that when foundations offer seemingly harmless access to status and power to one or two anointed spokeswomen "in the name of helping all the people," the real purpose is to separate these women from their constituencies and redirect and control the loyalties of even well-intentioned leaders. Secondly, the Women's Studies Committee learned that working without a defined structure, but rather by consensus and spontaneous feelings of "sisterly trust," can be as dangerous as being locked into a tight, hierarchical bureaucracy. One of the main reasons the foundation and university administrators were able to select and manipulate a liaison woman was that a definite body to which this coordinator was responsible, and which had the power to define and limit her fund-raising actions on behalf of Women's Studies, did not exist in the formative stages of the Program.

We lived through many concrete examples of how foundations exert pressure on college administrators to control potentially radical innovation--that is, university programs with the possibility of real linkage with other sectors of society. Outstanding among the experience was how key administrators reacted to the Women's Studies Committee's wish to select several women to accompany the coordinator to a series of meetings with representatives from Ford and other foundations.

The Women's Studies Committee objected to the fact that choice of persons to attend this meeting rested solely with the coordinator. The Committee also objected to the coordinator's idea of linking the Women's Studies proposal for funds with those of other local "movement" groups, as we were not sure who these groups were or whom they represented. We stated our objections repeatedly, and finally refused to give the coordinator a mandate to go ahead on her own (by that time we were making decisions by majority vote). Then much to our surprise, the Dean of the College appeared at one of our meetings and, in the style of a Protestant Podhoretz, explained how to "make it" in the big world. His message was that we should not waste time "piddling around"--voting on things, not getting behind capable leaders--that was not how to "win the big game out there " His measured monotone and well-constructed sentences spelled it out quite clearly: if the still not quite academically acceptable Women's Studies Program didn't consolidate itself quickly, the increasingly vocal group of campus conservatives would kill the program, bring Governor Reagan down on our heads, and all hell would break loose. Our salvation, he said, would be "protection money" from the foundations.

Later that same day the head of the San Diego College Foundation gave us further lessons on how grantsmanship works. The Ford Foundation doesn't like to receive proposals that are fully worked out; rather, they just want a wisp of an idea (a page or two) and then they will come and work out the proposal with you. The "you" should be one, at the most two people because the foundation feels "overwhelmed" by four or five. He went on to say, "We need someone that is our liaison person while we try to stay as far away from shaping the program as possible." Like the Dean, he urged us to be loyal and true to the administration-controlled liaison person--which meant staying as far away from shaping the program

as possible. After he left, the coordinator announced her repudiation of all responsibility to us or to any other body except the still non-existent Center Board. (Of course, by the time the Center Board was created, the content and financing of the Center would be a fait accompli engineered outside the control of the Women's Movement. Women would have the same choice then as now: line up behind the liaison woman or don't play.)

The struggle for self-determination and control of the Program continued for months. Despite repeated demonstrations of outrage by many, many women, the San Diego State College Foundation continued to support the coordinator's defiance of the student-controlled and popularly supported Women's Studies Board which had replaced the somewhat arbitrarily selected Women's Studies Committee in the late fall. As a result of the coordinator's refusal to take direction from the Board, the Women's Studies Program voted to disassociate itself from the proposed Center and to establish a women's center in downtown San Diego. Located at the YWCA, it opened on February 11-12, 1971 with a conference of 250 women from San Diego and La Jolla who planned the structure of the Center. Representatives from every local women's liberation group as well as many non-affiliated women participated in the conference and agreed to initiate service, educational, and political projects. Meanwhile, the coordinator moved out of the campus Women's Studies office to another location and continued planning and structuring the administration-approved center.

Had the San Diego State Women's Studies Program come under the control of one of the corporate foundations* we could expect the results of the policies so clearly articulated by McGeorge Bundy; the program would be devoid of any study of the political, economic and social aspects of the American power structure, of that dangerous business of "mixing the 'political' and 'historical' view of a set of events," and of any interaction between movements for social change around the school and those outside it. Rather, as happened with Black Studies, potential grass-roots leadership would be drawn into today's dashiki cult and tomorrow's OEO leadership. In the case of Women's Studies, this might mean having the nation's programs on women shape up to the ideas generated by the "National Coalition for Research on Women's Education and Development," the purpose of which is to conduct "research and discussion directed toward future national policy in women's education and status" (with the help of eminent feminists such as Kenneth M. Wilson of the Educational Testing Service at Princeton University and Joseph Katz, Director of Research for Human Development and Educational Policy at the State University of New York), and a subsequent cooling out of feminist activists from university-based Women's Studies Programs.

The attempt by the corporate structure to separate female studies from feminist political rebellion has created a very legitimate fear in the Women's Movement that working within established institutions is tantamount to being co-opted:

When Women's Studies programs and courses are established within academic institutions, they face the danger of losing their original purpose. As a result, the vital link between learning the truth and struggling to make it real can be undermined by the competitive, success-orientated realities of academic life. Furthermore, since we as women do not control the total institutions, our programs are

in danger of being used for ends other than our own.

—From a brochure announcing a National Women's Conference on Education for Liberation, New York City, May 1971.

The response to this fear of selling out to those institutions "out there" has led to a trend to work "within the movement" and create free schools, liberation schools, alternative universities. The situation, however, is not a simple one of being "co-opted" by working in an established institution or being "revolutionary" in a free school, because the inner-directed orientation of the Women's Movement has the danger of "internal co-optation" in the creation of a "soft culture," a culture that says the best way to be a revolutionary is to become a better person by opting out of the system and living a pure life that will be a model for all after the Revolution.

The celebration of sisterhood--the euphoric sense of individual freedom gained from breaking out of an oppressive culture, casting off a stultifying negative self-concept, and releasing rage at having been judged an inferior object for so many years--is, like cultural nationalism, a necessary part in the process of liberation. It is needed to heal the psychic rift in women, to restore pride and sense of identity, so we can cease feeling guilty, inferior, and directing action against ourselves instead of outward. However, if the celebration of sisterhood becomes an end in itself, it is no more than fetishized liberation: the psychic or moral liberation, implicitly bourgeois like drugs, that makes you 'feel good,' but is closed off from real political action because it is directed only inward. This is "soft sisterhood," transforming from within, like Charles Reich's "Consciousness III"--individual alienation combatted by individual liberation which is ultimately a dead end; an island of liberated culture isolated from everything except itself and unable to affect the real centers of power in this country.

There is no liberated territory in the United States. Growing radishes in a commune in Vermont may make you happy, even a better person, but it has very little to do with taking state power. Likewise with Women's Studies. If we are content to be either an isolated program within the university, cut off from the larger Women's Movement and controlled by the corporations, or part of a soft culture that simply maintains an internal dialogue with itself, with no objective relationship to the rest of society, then we will become less powerful, incapable of responding to the real need for a structural change of women's position in society. In either case we will have been co-opted.

And the danger of this happening is very real. A purely academic Women's Studies Program or a politics devoted to healing the psychic rifts of oppressed groups is quite possible in the spaces left to us within capitalist society. It is testimony to the elastic strength of American democracy that we can create new kinds of personal relationships and write a bunch of books, poems, songs and plays in these "spaces" left us and not change the power structure in this country one bit. The cultural celebration of sisterhood can be a crucial stepping stone to radical political action, but not if culture becomes a surrogate for political development, and if our movement cannot criticize its own illusions.

Therefore, women who are serious about changing the centers of power in this country should stay in contact with these centers and not opt for the middle-class freedom of stepping out for personal liberation. If the polarization of external and internal co-optation is avoided, Women's Studies Programs have the potential for developing into bases for the acquisition of knowledge and skills and development of cadres for the Women's Movement. The next step--the most difficult and crucial one--linking the university-based programs with other areas in society. That is, forcing the educational institutes to allow sectors outside the university to use and benefit from their resources, and thereby creating what should be the ultimate goal of Women's Studies: a broad-based movement aimed at creating real social change. Women's Studies should generate not the kind of feminism that culminated in the right to choose between Hubert Humphrey and Richard Nixon, but the kind of feminism whose demands can no longer be granted by American society because they are demands for a socialist, non-sexist, non-racist society.

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TEACHING WOMEN'S STUDIES: AN EXPERIMENT AT STOUT STATE

Sheila Tobias and Ella Kusnetz

All over the United States today courses about women are being offered in the universities. Most of them are no more than one or two years old, and by all accounts they are imaginative and well-attended, with students and faculty inspired by the possibilities of a new and timely field. In some universities full academic programs on women have already been funded and there have been at least six regional conferences on women's studies in the past eighteen months.

Most women's studies courses are offered in departments of liberal arts, by humanists, sociologists, psychologists, and historians. Although many of the subject covered have traditionally come under the home economics rubrick (early childhood development, sex-role socialization, family sociology, opportunities of the female labor force), with few exceptions, departments and schools of home economics have not yet participated in this renaissance of interest in the study of women. One exception to this was at Cornell where we had taught "The Evolution of Female Personality" in 1970 in the College of Home Economics. Thus, we were anxious to see whether there would be potential for a mutually instructive relationship between the two fields on a national level.

Hence, when Tony Samenfink, dean of Home Economics at Stout State University in Menomonie, Wisconsin, asked us to teach a two-week version of the Cornell course to his summer session students last June, we were interested in the idea. His purpose and ours in accepting the assignment, was to ascertain whether there might be a permanent place for women's studies in the regular home economics curriculum.

We agreed to call the course "The Social Roles of Women in America," but to treat these roles analytically rather than descriptively. That is, we would consider not simply what societal roles women traditionally fill, but specifically what cultural assumptions account for their secondary occupational status and their noticeable absence from national leadership. We would then go beyond an examination of these adult roles to look at the socialization process: how the self-esteem of girl children is lowered as they learn that sex-role differentiation is inevitable and that men and women naturally behave in opposing and mutually exclusive ways. Finally, we would move beyond analysis to feminist criticism: our personal belief that prevailing cultural assumptions are particularly damaging to the female and frustrating to normal human needs for an expressive life. It was a large order we set ourselves, but we felt on firm theoretical ground. Both pedagogically and intellectually, we see women's studies in terms of a frank critique of the culture.

We had come to this kind of critical approach to the study of women through the gradual development of our own thinking, a process influenced

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by a new feminist movement that was only coming of age ideologically during and after that first course at Cornell. At first we had believed that when we talk about women as a group we were talking about social problems: problems women have and problems women create. Betty Friedan and Caroline Bird were our original mentors. Friedan described, in The Feminine Mystique, a "problem without a name," the malaise and unhappiness of women in suburban ghettos; and Bird in Born Female documented a public problem, economic and legal discrimination against women in America.

These were pioneering works and they are still invaluable, but as analysis they were only a beginning. For to consider women as a "problem" is to accept unthoughtfully certain cherished but at best dubious American myths: the open society, reward through individual initiative, the ideal of equality, the eagerness of society to reform if only people of good will would point the way.

Kate Millett's "theory of patriarchy" was by no means original with her, but when Sexual Politics was published in the summer of 1970, the implications of her thesis struck everyone with devastating clarity. We began to suspect that the "woman problem" is no problem and no accident; indeed that the exclusion of women from national prominence is an essential, institutionalized feature of American society. At that point, the women's liberation movement began to go on the offensive and to describe, interestingly enough, the "male problem" in America: the exaggerated "masculine mystique" of the Hemingway/Mailer cult and the culture's apparent need to keep women down.

II

Stout State University is a branch of the University of Wisconsin that specializes in vocational training in the industrial arts for boys, and in home economics for girls. The summer course was unfortunately advertised nondescriptively as "Topics in Family Life." The class, therefore, was smaller than anticipated (seven young women and one male auditor) and also, the students were randomly selected rather than self-selected by interest in feminism. The Dean of Home Economics, and the chairman of the Department of Child Development, Dr. Beverly Schmalzried, were certain that the course would have been much larger had its perspective been known. But as it turned out the poor publicity was a felicitous mistake, for the class was just the kind of randomly selected group of home economics students that made the experience a useful experiment.

From the beginning it was clear that the students liked the course (although at first they were a bit awed by not one but two visiting feminists from the east.) We met four hours a day for two weeks, and even in this short, intense period they were able to deal successfully with broadly varied subject matter, in as many as six different disciplines. Our own fields are history and literature, respectively, and the class came to enjoy this, to say the least, broad interpretation of "family studies". We worked, in fact, from readings in sociology, literature, economics, law, history and psychology. We assigned individual and group projects (a content analysis of a family television show, a survey of women workers in a local factory) and had them write for us in a "journal" a continuing essay

that was to be personal and thoughtful, integrating class discussion with the readings and documenting their developing "consciousness."

We brought with us a substantial library of new works on women, including several unpublished papers written by academic feminists, and a package of material printed by KNOW, Inc., a garage press in Pittsburgh. The students had never heard of most of the books; in fact, they were unaware that courses on women like this one were being offered anywhere. At the same time, they were impressive for their immediate grasp on the material and quick understanding of what was being asked of them.

III

The Image of Women

We began the course with an unpublished paper on the "Image of Women in Fairy Tales" by Marcia Liebermann, a professor of English at the University of Connecticut, and a not very widely distributed article called "Children's Literature and Sex-Role Stereotypes" by Elizabeth Fisher. Then we turned to "One off the Short List," a short story by Doris Lessing (for its astute portrayal of adult sex role playing rather than specifically for its literary content) and also several chapters in The Feminine Mystique which studied the content of women's magazines during the post-war era. Our subject: the images of women in literature and the media, from childhood to adulthood. As the students quickly perceived, these images are remarkably consistent as they are presented to all populations; women embody passivity, powerlessness, secondary status. In fairy tales the figure of the "princess" is supposed to demonstrate to little girls all the good female virtues. Translated, virtue seems to mean beauty, for unless she is beautiful the princess is unloved and doesn't marry. She is neither petted, nor pitied nor "saved" from her dreadful fate. Even the stories of beautiful princesses have a message of resignation for little girls; they stop at marriage, for if "ever after. . ." is happy it is not interesting enough to write about even in fantasies. Indeed, except for the witches, women in fairy tales are weak and passive to the point of disappearance, but what little girl would be shrewd enough to root for the fearful witch?

Perhaps fairy tales reflect some myth of the race's primal past, some schizophrenic split in the perception of women as either fearful or benign. But modern children's literature, even when pretending to describe contemporary reality, promotes the same message. Boys are adventurers, explorers, doers affecting the world; girls are docile and pleasing and they are preeminently the watchers of all this activity. Adult women are portrayed as happy and homebound; adult men go to work and run the world. Male and female roles are portrayed not just as different, they are opposite, and the status of girls and women is always inferior.

Friedan's book illustrates the advertisers' view of adult women: vain, gullible, incompetent, in short, easy prey. As an exercise one evening, we had the students watch one installment of a so-called "family comedy" on television, "All in the Family." By chance, the plot had to do with the mother's selection for jury duty and the family's serious doubts as to her

competence. Our students began to be persuaded that the visual like the print media put women down. The cultural message is consistent.

The discussion of the image of women led naturally to other questions. What do we know about the biology of secondary sex differences? Is it nature or nurture? How is sex-differentiated behavior learned? What are the effects of sex-typing of activities and sex-typing of personality on ourselves? We could not arrive at conclusive answers, but for the first time the students found themselves thinking about the origins of their own peculiarly male or female behavior patterns. They remembered that as children deviation from prescribed behavior was punished, and wondered why it was always more ignominious for a boy to be a "sissy" than for a girl to be a tom-boy. (Could it be that parents are horrified at a male child's imitation of the more socially undesirable role? Or that fears of male homosexuality are stronger than fears of lesbianism because the former provides too serious a challenge to the masculine mystique?)

We imaginatively projected childhood roles on up through adulthood, observing that the secretary-as-office-wife is an acceptable occupation for a woman, but that the female boss is considered an aberration. We considered, finally, the probable personnel needs of a post-industrial society, and wondered whether in the future these exaggerated sex-roles will be useful to the society, or indeed, to either sex.

IV

Psychology of Sex Differences

Our discussion of the images of women led us to survey the ways in which the behavioral sciences have dealt with sex differences and sex-roles. Relying heavily on Kate Millett's Sexual Politics, we challenged the Freudian notions about women's psyches and the traditional family sociologists' view of women's roles. Like Millett, we decided to look upon the classical views of women as historical phenomena, reflecting specific time-bound cultural patterns rather than any timeless truths.

But having laid aside these theories, we found ourselves in new and relatively uncharted territory. We were looking for a psychology of women that was not biased by notions of "penis envy" as in Freud or "natural mother instinct" as in so many family sociologists. There were a few old standbys we could call upon: Simone de Beauvoir's The Second Sex and Eleanor Maccoby's The Development of Sex Differences. But de Beauvoir's analysis of female behavior, though it rings remarkably true for every female reader, is not systematic, nor is it based on experimental evidence; and the Maccoby book, while presenting honestly all sorts of contradictory research about the bio-cultural network that causes behavior, disappoints the student who is looking for definite answers.

Our students were especially interested in the research on intellectual differences in young males and females. One researcher concludes that the most creative children are those who have experienced both male and female socialization. This possibility very much excited our students, as did Martina Horner's fairly new and provocative study of "fear of success"

among women college students that our students read in summary form. But these constitute only a start of the work in reconstructing theories of feminine psychology that is needed.

V

Law, Economics and Politics

The transition to a discussion of the status and experience of working women in America may have seemed abrupt to our students, but we tried to make the connections for them. Insofar as the American woman works to support her family she is not deviating from expected role behavior, but insofar as she seeks achievement in her work or defines herself primarily as a professional, she does deviate and is "punished" on the job and among her peers.

The effects of this bind on women in the work force are several, and women experience both active discrimination and also more subtle and insidious barriers to advancement: lower pay for similar work; pervasive myths about greater female absenteeism and unstable turnover of jobs; reluctance to assume authority (because it goes against a woman's notion of her proper role) and especial difficulty in exercising authority over men, because men are so threatened by role reversal.

The class could not decide whether the active or the passive discrimination was more significant; whether women are discriminated against because, as women's liberation argues, men are "sexist," unwilling and unable to treat women as occupationally equal or, because under social pressure women themselves sublimate ambition. We did read descriptions of work by angry working women in Sisterhood is Powerful (a collection of articles from Women's Liberation), which blame the men, and also some articles in The Better Half which blame the "system." We could only conclude, having done this brief analysis, that under present circumstances, whatever the complex of causes, women pay a heavy psychological toll for competing with men.

A socio-economic study of women in 1890's compared to the present showed us that while the earlier workers were primarily black, immigrant, widowed, single, or very young, the working woman today is typically married and a mother, 39 years old and likely to work another 25 years. One can speculate about the anxiety felt by working mothers in a culture that prescribes staying home or the frustration of a woman who is not supposed to be ambitious but who sees her years of health and desire to work stretching out into the future. Alternately, we thought about the non-working woman and discussed the necessity of outside employment for the development of an individual's self-esteem. The class found some significance in the fact that goods and services produced in and for the home (usually by women) are not deemed worthy of inclusion in the Gross National Product.

Discussion of economic discrimination led to consideration of legal discrimination against women. The class was surprised to learn that the 14th amendment (which denied the restriction of civil rights to all men) has been interpreted by the courts to deny personhood to women. We discussed those remaining state laws which still classify women as a form of property or as

child-like minors; also the so-called "protective" labor legislation such as weight-lifting restrictions which are often used to ensure against women becoming foremen. We did point out that some recent legislation passed since the early sixties has been the basis of some successful suits brought on behalf of women workers. These Executive Orders and laws include the Equal Pay Act of 1963, Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, and the Executive Orders which forbid sex discrimination in those institutions (including universities) which receive federal contracts.

VI

History, Literature, and "The Movement"

When we turned to the history of women we concentrated on the suffrage movement both because the subject is left out of most American history courses and textbooks and also because it offers models of women in an earlier era who challenged sex-role stereotypes. But we looked also at anti-feminist assumptions prevalent in the early 19th century, and read an unpublished paper by Dr. Carol Rosenberg at the University of Pennsylvania on "The Female Animal: Medical Views of Women in 19th Century America." At first the students balked at being taught history in a social science course. But we made explicit a point only implied in earlier classes: that traditional ideas seem less inevitable when treated historically. If notions such as "functional roles" or "penis envy", or the "feminine mystique" have had discernible beginnings, then one might speculate that these assumptions might one day be discredited.

Similarly, when we came to women's liberation, we speculated as to why the movement began when and where it did, among dissatisfied radical women students and "over-educated" housewives. Our reading in women's liberation material concentrated mostly on critiques of marriage and family life. From the previous discussion of female employment in America, students were already interested in the progress of a national day-care system, and we went on to discuss radical alternatives to current life styles, reading in some detail about the Israeli Kibbutz and Soviet experiments with collective child-rearing.

Of the articles written by women in the movement, one short piece on becoming "old" at 43 had an unexpectedly marked effect on the female students who, despite their youth, are already cognizant of the particular penalties growing old brings to women in our society. Another article by a radical lesbian who claimed that liberation of women can only take place in the complete absence of men, led the students to a discussion of sex, personal priorities, and more specifically than heretofore, their reactions to the course. (One delightfully honest girl said, "I'm sorry, my sympathies stop here.")

We introduced a discussion of literature toward the end of the course to show that it is not only in "low culture" (folk tales, magazine fiction, television, etc.) that women tend to have stereotypic social identities, but also in "high culture," that is, most literature written by males. Our examples ranged (a bit wildly) over modern American and English fiction--

Hawthorne, Hardy, Henry James, Hemingway, D. H. Lawrence, Mailer--but the students understood our point: in the work of male writers one can see the female characters falling into certain archetypal configurations. The "Angel" is the idealized female, passive, feminine, tied to the home and making men less brutish by her inspiration. The strong woman is a "castrating bitch" and she provokes in males the egoistic need to conquer her sexually. The "earth mother" is all natural, all sexual, and while the male characters appear to worship her they are more likely worshiping the effects of their own imagined sexual prowess.

But if male writers tend to see women in stereotypes, women, not always but more frequently, write about women as human beings. The class read, with apparent enjoyment although they did not consider themselves literary, some poetry by Anne Sexton and Denise Levertov, and some short stories by Doris Lessing. We discussed what it means for modern women writers to be finally asserting their own identities after centuries of pseudonyms and hidden manuscripts--to be finding material in their own experience and writings consciously and defiantly personal literature.

VI

Conclusion

The fundamental issue is probably not whether the course at Stout State was popular or well-done. It is whether we can mix a critique of "sexual politics" with the standard home economics curriculum. This question in turn involves the very notion of the identity of home economics within the context of university education for young adults.

Historically, schools of home economics educated professionals who brought the benefits of science and technology to bear upon that part of the rural economy which was home-based, and, by tradition, under the care of women. That the bulk of these professionals, like the overwhelming majority of their clients, were female, reflected the division of labor by sex on the farm. But just as food production became "agri-business" and male students in state-supported colleges of agriculture moved into large corporations, home economics also became professional, providing technicians for the clothing, food and hotel industries as well as extension-agents for the home-maker.

Today, as that part of the economy dealing in services begins to outstrip that part dealing in production of goods, the service professions (among them those that have been until now considered "female") are going to increase in status, pay and attractiveness. Since men have first choice of professions, some of the traditionally female jobs will become male-dominated in their higher and middle ranks. Library work has already shown these tendencies as, with the introduction of mechanized data retrieval, it has become a higher status profession than it was before and no longer offers vertical mobility to women. Thus, we can look to having more men in leadership positions in previously female professions, including home economics.

Over the years, colleges of home economics have also educated non-professionals: in particular, future housewives who did not expect to go to

work. There was from the beginning, then, a dual commitment: to domestic science and to women. This second commitment accounts for the gradual introduction of consumer economics and child development into the curriculum, as consumption became more central to housewifely duties than food-production and clothing construction. The question is how strong is this second commitment? As men move into the home economics professions, will the colleges of home economics cease to educate women altogether? At Cornell and elsewhere the colleges have already changed their names and their priorities to "human ecology" or "human environments" in order better to attract men students and teachers. Or, will home economics institutions be left educating only women? At some schools, the most viable departments are being combined with related subjects outside home economics.

These dilemmas are not unknown to deans and college presidents. Their decisions about the future of home economics may well be determined in part by the amount of vigor and undergraduate interest shown in the field in the next few years. One good case for women's studies can be made on the grounds that feminist courses attract strong student constituencies. The Cornell college benefited directly and financially from the fact that large numbers of arts and science students crossed the campus to study women. An even stronger case, in our view, can be made that through women's studies, home economics can move into areas that represent very pressing national needs: institutional child care, support for welfare families, contraception and abortion legislation, architectural innovations to provide for more efficient, more androgynous and, possibly, more communal living arrangements.

In the next few years federal, state and local governments will be looking for programmatic recommendations that will meet the needs of the poor and of women. If colleges of home economics are not working on these issues, they may not receive the students or funding they have enjoyed in the past.

Paper to be published as well in April 1972 in Journal of Home Economics.

Who is qualified? How do we appraise someone's feminist position? I shall not even attempt to answer these difficult questions now.

If, in fact, a women's studies program offers its own courses, perhaps these courses should be only interdisciplinary, since the nature of the subject is interdisciplinary itself. Perhaps we should try to develop a survey introductory course curriculum which might prove to be especially valuable for lower division students whom we want to reach and encourage. But, beyond that, does a student return to her chosen "field," often only to be discouraged in pursuing feminist topics in her reading and research?

This brings me to the second question: "How do we encourage new research and develop innovative courses?" In order to provide for those students who want to continue to develop their interests in women's studies, perhaps to become "feminist scholars," we might have to consider a major and a graduate field. The creation of a major involves more money, people and structure than most women's studies programs can offer at this point, but it could be a future priority. Since most universities are currently facing budget cuts and even hiring freezes, the implementation of a major would probably be most difficult. Yet many of the courses I am familiar with are only now scratching the surface in areas that are important to delve into in order to produce the articles, texts and journals necessary for the development envisaged. It is clear, I think, that if women's studies is to be generally accepted, we need the academic validity that comes with scholarly work. What we are doing and thinking may be revolutionary, but in this case, we are operating within the confines of academia and we should operate accordingly.

As to the question of separatism: We are all aware of this issue as it developed with certain black studies programs, and the difficulties and hostilities which ensued. I do not feel this is a viable approach; we are more than half the population, and our efforts to consolidate this "silent majority" are slowly succeeding. Within the university, as our voices grow louder and our numbers increase--with more women on the academic ladder--the new pressures will be unavoidable. There will be ideas for new courses in all directions. Indeed, we can all reel off course titles, and seminar suggestions, but these will always be relative to the individual talent available at a university, and also, the willingness of the administration and/or departments to finance these courses. As feminists involved in women's studies we should encourage and endorse as many courses as possible with a wide range of subject matter. But I do not see that this can be dictated in any fashion, and I am not convinced to what degree we need to be apart from the already-existing disciplines. We should, however, try to resolve the conflict between developing a new framework of analysis and separatism.

This is all related to the more general and important question of women's studies as a discipline. It has been argued that all other scholarly work has been anti-feminist de facto, which implies that we would need to train feminists in each field. This is obviously an enormous task but the task is worth considering. In effect, we would have to try to define exactly what we mean by a discipline in order to decide whether feminism is one. Personally I feel that the research methods of various already-established fields could be applied to the study of women, although

I am aware that this poses problems for particular individuals where the power structure and tradition creates pressures against this. A pertinent analogy might be the plight of a Marxist in American universities: As an undergraduate, and especially as a graduate student, one is trained in historical research or literary criticism, for example; but if one's political ideology is Marxist, it will invariably affect one's work. In reality, we know that this Marxist critic, or historian often poses a threat to the 'system' and has difficulties in maintaining his or her position. A feminist historian might indeed face the same predicament. Nonetheless, depending on how far we want to take this analogy, no "Marxist Studies" have been set up in a major university as far as I know. At least, therefore, women's studies programs should try to make funds available to those people who want to do research, or write theses and books in this area, whatever their field. These very people could be great resources to a program. Furthermore, we should discuss at length the concept and validity of a feminist discipline.

This can be done while discussing the future curricula for these programs, field by field, perhaps even topic by topic; there is a great deal of virgin (if you'll pardon the expression) territory! Do we take the lead and develop these courses, and produce the people to staff them, or do we see women's studies as a temporary, and therefore doomed program? Perhaps doom is unfair. If, in fact, we are talking about redress for our grievances against the male-dominated society, and if, in fact, the society changes (a great question-mark), then there might be no need for a separate program. In the meantime, however, let us talk more about specific development, about depth and breadth in feminist scholarship; let us recall what de Tocqueville said in Democracy in America (1840), "If I were asked. . .to what the singular prosperity and growing strength of that people ought mainly to be attributed, I should reply: to the superiority of their women." The moment is with us; let us use it as fruitfully and as effectively as we can.

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