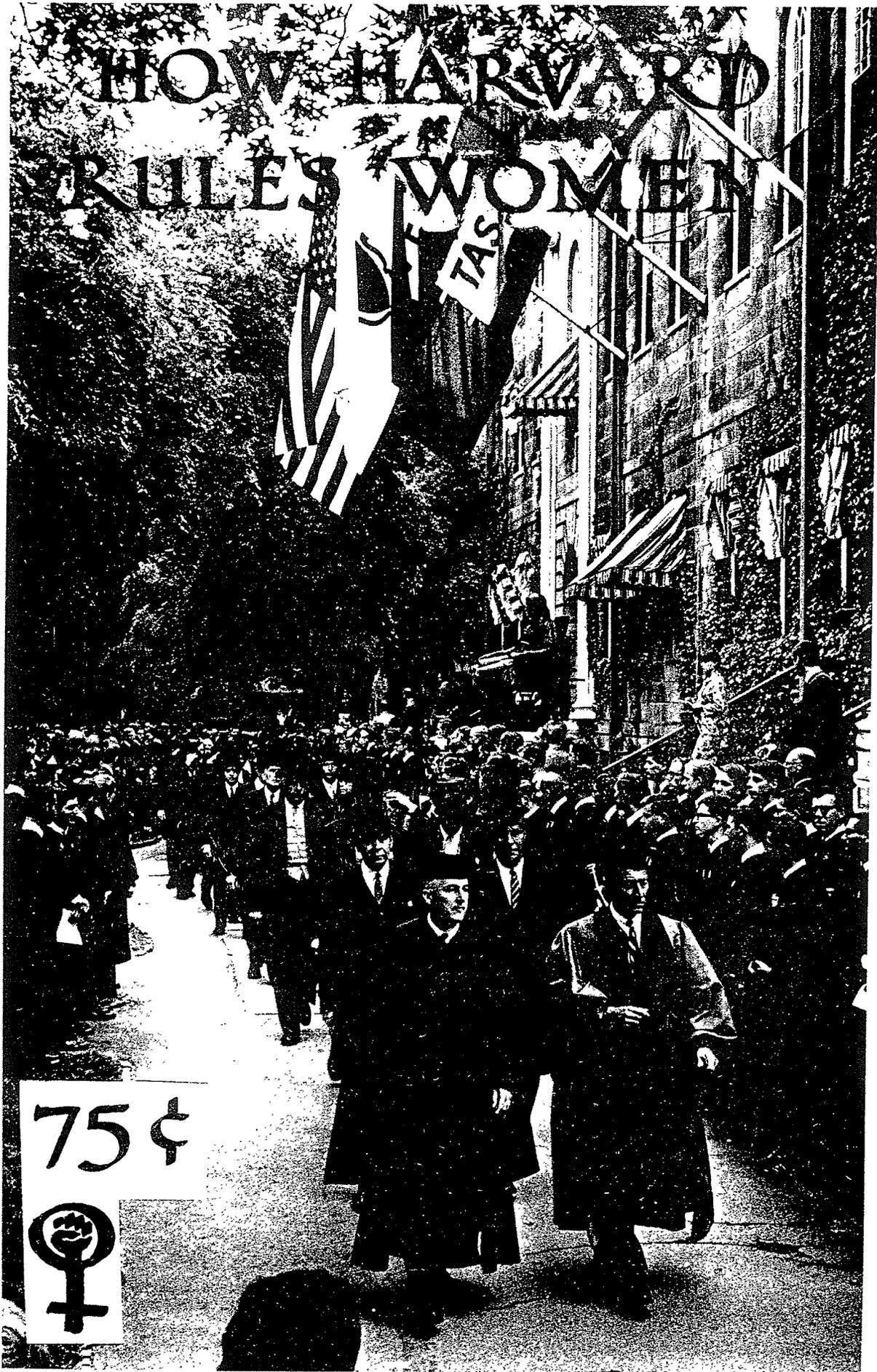


# HOW HARVARD RULES WOMEN



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"For what is done or learned by one class of women, becomes by virtue of their common womanhood, the property of all women."

Elizabeth and Emily Blackwell, 1859

# Prologue

In education, in marriage, in everything, disappointment is the lot of woman. It shall be the business of my life to deepen this disappointment in every woman's heart until she bows down to it no longer.

- Lucy Stone, 1855 -

The relation of Harvard to its women is similar to that of the missionary to his heathen. And your feelings, if you're a woman who has made it to America's loftiest and oldest bastion of intellect and the ruling class, are often similar to those of the heathen imported for cultural development to imperialist shores - a mixture of gratitude, awe, doubt that you're worth the honor, and sometimes, dimly or blazingly, resentment that you're considered inferior. Everywhere around you, whether you're a student or an employee, are subtle testimonies to your biological obtrusiveness. Those sober-suited gentlemen who, with scholarly purpose and carefully averted eyes, sidestep you in the shadowy corridors of the Widener stacks, those men younger and older who, as you enter the Widener reading room, inspect your legs as you pass to your seat; or who, in Holyoke offices, inspect your legs as you pass to your desk; all of the masculine Worthies on the conglomerate Harvard faculties, with their mild manners, their green bookbags, their after-dinner-sherry gentility and their government affiliations, overwhelm you with the sense that your womanhood is never neutral, but always provocative - of intellectual opprobrium, of patronage humorous or curt, of sexual appraisal, of sexual advance. So that your sexuality at Harvard, as in society at large, is made for you an ever-present, a gnawing thing, to be dealt with in whatever way you can. Few people realize that some women at Harvard live in the fear that it may some day be discovered that they are women; that the human fact of their biological makeup even exists! In fact all women students and faculty are forced by the structure of the curriculum and by the content of scholarship to neuter their minds and their work. Other 'options' besides the 'option' of

passing are equally oppressive: women students may try for the ultimate combo, a smiling and sexy exterior and an atom-splitting mind. For women employees there is only one option - to sail through work with a smiling exterior (and a sexy one if she's under forty-five) and a mind blissful in the knowledge that she's at Harvard - 'a GREAT place to work,' as an ad that confronts you at the Park St. MTA stop puts it. In any event there's no forgetting the issue. To enter the Harvard Faculty Club, say, or a Common Room; worse yet, to set foot in that villa of the mind created for the cream of the future ruling crop, the Society of Fellows, is somehow to commit an act faintly indecent. You feel as if you've trailed the world of feminine effluvia into the world of the mind.

To work at Harvard - as a file clerk or as a student - is to work for the Man. Departments and administrative offices, chaired and headed by men, and staffed by men at the higher levels of command, are nearly universally staffed by women at the lower levels of obedience and service. So that within the onerous relationship of wage-labor personnel to management there enters the additional burden of sexism, which demands a pleasing appearance (and often enough encourages a sexually provocative one; puts a little pzazz into the routine...); the willingness to serve cheerfully as the woman behind the Man - or, to use the common term, the 'girl'

behind the Man. (As in: 'I'll send my girl down with coffee.') Sexism in the Harvard bureaucracy has its subtle permutations. A widely-acknowledged rumor, for example, is that your pay goes up in accordance with the status of the Man you're working for. Professor X, with his joint-departmental appointment and his spin-off think tank work in Washington, can, for example, command a higher salary for his pretty menial than, say, Assistant Professor Y can, or lower-level administrator Mr. Z.

*"I don't know why I bother to go into this for you - you're all just going to get married anyway," a teacher at Emmanuel complains to his class. "I keep telling the Dean of Women to be realistic. These girls have to fit typing and shorthand into their college schedule somewhere, or they won't be able to get a job," warns a Northeastern senior placement officer. "The girls get good grades because they study hard," a Harvard upperclassman will tell you. "But they don't have any originality."*

To be at the lowest level in the hierarchy of intellectual workers - to be a student - is, for a woman, to be expected as a matter of course to accept the masculine bias of virtually all scholarship. This needn't be the so-called 'scholarship' as blatantly male-supremacist as Erik Erikson's famous blather about psychological 'inner' and 'outer space.'\*\* It may inhere more subtly in the simple acceptance by one's professors and by the books one reads that male supremacy and female

inferiority (tr. 'nurturance,' 'passivity,' etc.) are physiologically determined and hence unquestionable. All the way down the line, as this pamphlet's section on curriculum points out, coursework and scholarship are loaded; they demand that women, in order to learn, unsex their minds even as their male colleagues further nourish the sexual bias of their own. Women are thus forced daily to undergo a kind of intellectual lobotomy, while their more real selves, deprecated or ignored in the classroom, go on in the daily paths of their living - in the street, in dorms, in apartments. They have dates, go to bed with men, sometimes become pregnant and get blamed for that -- and prepare for marriage.



A large truth about the Harvard curriculum is that the dogma it fosters undercuts the very reason for the presence of women on campus. Learning for women is paradoxical: at the same time as it lends credence to male-supremacist norms that regulate women's social and economic roles in the society, it pretends to be a professional preparation for all, equally. According to the structure of Harvard courses, undergraduates are graduate students in training; graduate students are in training for jobs; women graduates and undergraduates are then also in training, and presumably they'll get the jobs they're in training for. (Q.E.D.) Such, however, is not the case. Never were the economics of all women's oppression so succinctly put as when Dean of Harvard freshmen F. Skiddy Von Stade (sic) commented on the role of Radcliffe women in the Harvard strike, 1969: 'They were so insolent, the worst of the bunch. At least you have to respect the boys just a little since they have something real riding on this. The thing is Vietnam for many of them, and if they get chucked out for this their chances of being sent there are far greater. But if the girls get heaved, they'll just go off to secretarial school.' (Bos. Sun. Globe, Oct. 12, 1969) Apparently Skiddy doesn't understand the real facts about social channeling, and having drawn no relationship between the reason 'boys' are sent to Vietnam while 'girls' are sent

to secretarial school, neither does he go very far in his conjectures about the latter. In fact a 'girl' with a Radcliffe B.A. can, often enough, get only a secretarial or a lower-level technical job. In this the kinship of 'educated women' with 'uneducated' ones is clear - they are all included in the basic definition of women's role in the political economy: they serve as unpaid household labor, that is, as 'wives and mothers.' Any other job you take, if you're a woman, is culturally, insofar as the world judges you; psychologically, insofar as you judge yourself; and economically, inasmuch as you're paid less, relative to that primary role-definition. This holds as true for a Radcliffe woman as it does for her sister at North Shore Community College, not to mention her sister with no college education at all. Malcolm X said to the Black professor: 'You know what you call a Black man with a PhD? You call him nigger.' And a woman with an education is still a chick, a broad, a skirt, a piece of ass, a 'girl.' As Robin Morgan recently wrote in an article in RAT, in the dark, we're all the same--and we're ALL in the dark.

Statements like Skiddy's aren't unusual, nor are assumptions like those of Erikson, or the more pernicious research of a Jerome Kagan. In its treatment of women, Harvard reflects the treatment of a

society that everywhere trivializes and infantilizes the self-image of, channels and oppresses materially and spiritually people who happen to be women. HOW HARVARD RULES WOMEN isn't offered as a complete expose; it indicates the serious problems suffered by our sisters in all segments of university life, and it describes and documents some of these. It also describes the initial reforms that must be made if the most basic sorts of civil rights are to begin to be won: the right to equal work at equal pay; the right to good and appropriate medical care; the right to free, client-controlled day-care. It seems highly unlikely to us that it is possible to achieve the first right under the present economic system, the reason being that capitalism needs, for the amassing of profits, a modicum of unemployment and the resulting inequalities, which spur people on to scabble and compete for more or less scarce positions--in other words, to expend their energies in individual competition rather than in organizing for collective change. Only a revolution can equalize and

## poem

"I want to be a slave!"  
cried the black man.  
"Are you crazy or something? You're  
equal to me!"  
said the white man.  
"I want to be a slave!"  
cried the woman.  
"She knows her place."  
said the white man.

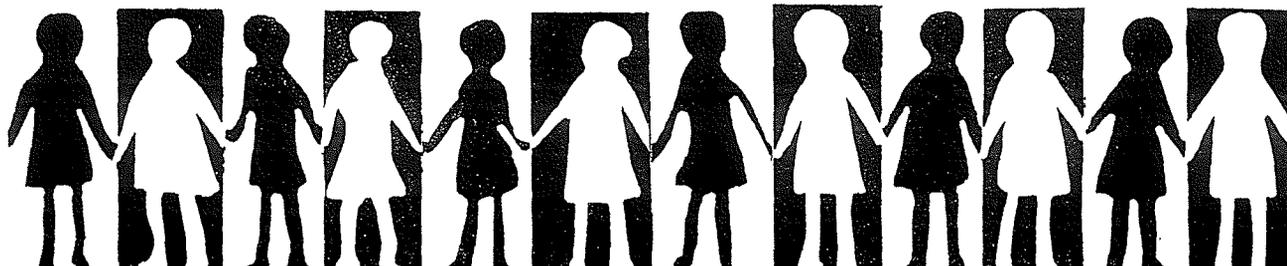
By April Everhart (Age 15)

render humane both economic relationships and the sexual relationships affected by them. But it is obvious that steps must be taken before that point to improve things that can be improved, and to use our gains to work at breaking down from within, the structures that now oppress us at Harvard--its divisive hierarchies, the totalitarianism effected by them, and the professionalism in the name of whose 'standards,' 'ethics,' 'technological progress,' etc., totalitarian practices are perpetuated. The liberation of women is not simply a matter of getting more of us in at the top; indeed, we have grave doubts that any betterment of the situation would be achieved by having, say, more women Deans. A Ford or a Von Stade by any sex is still the same. No: the liberation of women depends at once on breaking down both class and family structures, and the economic system now dependent on these.

The reasons it is necessary for women to get themselves together now are three-

fold. First of all we must make our present lives more bearable, and to that end, institute some immediate changes. Second, we must re-educate ourselves - a process that involves developing the self-confidence, the trust in each other, and the collective force our social conditioning has hitherto prevented us from developing. Such a process, which involves the raising of consciousness as well as the development of skills, may be prompted by a pamphlet like HOW HARVARD RULES WOMEN; but it can be effected, we feel, only through the actual doing of collective work on real projects. Third, we realize that socialist revolution in other countries, with the possible exception of China and -to a lesser extent- Cuba, haven't really altered the psychological and the cultural statuses of women. It isn't at the point that revolution takes place that one ensures such profound change; one must begin long before.

\*Inner and Outer Space," Women in America, Beacon Press, 1965



# Radcliffe and the Myth of the Good Woman

(Reprinted from the Harvard Crimson)

For those of us who passed through high school in the firm belief of our own 'liberation,' Radcliffe offered a particularly reassuring image of the future: we could have the best of the man's and the woman's world. Mary Bunting continually stressed her image of the ideal Radcliffe girl: wife, mother, career.

Our minds formulated vague and happy pictures of warm homes with interesting tweed-jacketed or blue-jeaned husbands who 'respected our minds,' kiddies diligently manipulating creative playthings, and also, vaguer still, some fulfilling, creative 'work.' But what's wrong with that? Since obviously one would have to be maladjusted to even suggest that such a goal would be undesirable, let me begin at least by describing how it is impossible, even for those Radcliffe women who are assumed to be of the economic elite and therefore able to employ more exploited women than themselves to do the unpleasant household chores.

One of the main problems is of course our own heads, as they have been formed by our entire social education before we ever reached Radcliffe --the role of women in our own families and high-schools, those roles that we were taught we must act out in order to be a 'good woman'-- whatever else we were.

Whatever else we might be, we were told, we must remember that the true fulfillment of a woman is through a man, that what our husbands chose to do would be ultimately more important, that we would want to marry a man 'more intelligent' than we were, and that even if we were more intelligent, we should never let him know it for fear of being considered a 'castrating female.'

We tried our best to be sexy and interesting, feminine and creative. Why, then, were the Harvard guys always the more creative musicians and writers, the more dynamic political leaders, while we had the obviously inferior merit of 'getting better grades?' Accepting even the humor of

male-dominated Harvard society, we laughed at the Radcliffe grindiness, guarded a secret contempt for our sisters who were insecure enough to work hard, and strove to be part of male society.

Those of us who, without realizing it, were becoming female Uncle Toms, succeeded to varying degrees in becoming partly accepted as equals by some of the men we knew. We never asked why women were more grindy and less interesting - why we ourselves were less interesting than any number of men we knew.

I never realized the degree to which I held these attitudes until I left Radcliffe, and even more important, until a movement began among women that made me realize how closely my lot was bound up in theirs, with the most 'privileged' and the most oppressed, and just what the Radcliffe image of the emancipated female had done to my mind.

The important thing to realize at the outset is that it is impossible to be inferior and equal at the same time: it is impossible to consider your role as a 'good woman' to be that of tenderly supporting whatever male you happen to be with in whatever he wants to do, and at the same time make plans for your own creative existence.

Ultimately the feeling of temporariness induced by the knowledge that you will undoubtedly live where your man wants to live, that your work will of course be interrupted by children, etc., means that women often have great difficulty applying themselves to long-term tasks or occupations, and tend restlessly to take up occupations and leave them, developing what some psychologists have recently dubbed 'the will to fail.' In one experiment, women observed in a wide variety of occupations performed significantly less well where men were present than in situations where there were all women. Why? The fear of being a 'castrating female?'

At Radcliffe the situation is more complicated, because women do have the desire to succeed academically - but it must be remembered that academic success per se is a significantly inferior quality in a community where creativity and brilliance are the ideal, where men pride themselves on their capacity to spend a semester directing plays, then walk into an exam and do as well as a woman who has spent the semester grinding. Working hard at tasks defined by others is the quality of a submissive creature, and we have always been taught to be more submissive than men. This in no way means that women do not become revolutionaries - indeed, our revolt is all the more profound and authentic when it does occur, because our entire lives have been spent, in a variety of subtle ways, in subservient capacities.

The tendency of women to go into social work, teaching, nursing and other service-type work can be seen in some ways as a positive value in a society that puts little stress on social welfare. But it results from a situation of fundamental inequality. Men run the society, are politicians, corporate executives, leaders, and creative artists; women are secretaries, waitresses, teachers and housewives - public or private servants.

Many of us would not want the solution to this problem to be for women to become as manipulative as politicians or businessmen must be

in the present system. We would like to see a society in which men could serve, in the best sense of that word, could see their role as developing a better society for all, and in which women could do as well as serve--that is, plan, create, direct.

As for why women traditionally have not been creative, some of the social reasons are obvious, and have been brilliantly analyzed in Virginia Woolf's A Room of One's Own. According to Woolf, a woman needs, as a bare minimum, financial independence, an income of her own, and a room to work in, things she has never had traditionally.

Some of us now may have a bedroom of our own (although living space at Radcliffe is distinctly less plentiful than at Harvard), but we do not have room--real psychological room--in which to function.

How many of us have determined to travel on our own, seeking the kind of free mental space in which to observe, imagine, write, only to find that a woman is never as free as a man to bum across country or through Europe. Ever try to sit down in a park with a book or a sketch pad for more than five minutes without some character feeling it his obligation to make an attempt at picking you up? Of course you can get rid of him but your peace of mind is shattered for that day.

The point is, to create you need to be able to lose yourself in things and ideas around you, to forget your physical presence for a time.

For a woman this is virtually impossible.

As has been pointed out by the women's liberation movement, the plain woman is continually burdened by scorn and abuse, while the even moderately attractive one is the butt of infinite routine seduction attempts. The initial pleasure of this kind of attention soon wears off when you realize that in many cases it has nothing to do with you personally; it is not your fascinating presence that has drawn the men, but rather the simple fact that you are a woman.

Our tendency to romanticize encounters derives in great part from the fact that we are essentially passive in the love relationship: waiting is always fraught with fantasy. Even at Radcliffe one must generally wait to be asked on a date, and wait to be asked to be married.



The passive waiting for a man to enter her life and magically transform it is something that the intellectual woman has been taught to desire as well as to fear. Is it any wonder that we get "hung up," resentful, are constantly being accused by men of expecting more than they are willing to give?

Of course they are right in one way--we are expecting them to fill the vacuum that exists in our lives by what we assume to be the fullness of theirs. And yet how few men are actually capable of accepting a woman who has her own life, who asks that he give her the support and help in her work that he has always demanded of her.

I have met many college educated women who tell me apologetically that they have given up work on their MA or PhD or are not working because "My husband doesn't like me to."

I can already hear some "independent" Cliffie protesting "But why does she take it? It's her fault." I probably would have said the same thing while I was still in college and hadn't yet seen just how difficult it is to do something about it yourself, how difficult it is to make it on your own as a woman in this society facing the psychological and physical pressures of bad affairs, social intimidation ("What's wrong with you, are you promiscuous, don't you like children, are you frigid, didn't anyone want to marry you," etc.), and, even more important, lousy work possibilities.

Try entering medicine, law, or academics and see how women, even Radcliffe women, are treated. Or try simply getting a job after you graduate--any kind of job that isn't totally mind-destroying.

English majors I knew who graduated from Harvard went almost immediately into editorships at publishing houses, or reportorial jobs on papers like the N.Y. Times. Their female counterparts became readers in those same publishing houses, or, if they were lucky, got to write for some Women's Page.

As for the woman who happens to get pregnant, in the absence of decent abortion laws, or adequate child care facilities, she is faced with two possibilities: raising the child herself and working at the same time, or turning to dependency on a man.

Of course the problems of a Radcliffe girl confronting these things are far less than those of a working-class woman or welfare mother--and yet even for the middle class woman they are traumatic and difficult.

There is a myth that it is possible to hold down a full-time job and have children.

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Even if you are willing to work twice as hard as any man it is untrue unless you can 1) hire a more economically oppressed woman to do your shit-work for you 2) work out some kind of communal arrangement (difficult in most com-



munities where people still adhere religiously to their notions of family privacy) or 3) make your husband or man share equally in tasks like cooking, cleaning and child-caring (I defy wives of most "emancipated" men to tell me this is easy).

The existence of an autonomous women's liberation movement has helped many women, including myself, in one important way. It has given us the moral support to say once and for all that we are not inadequate human beings, selfish mothers, or castrating females for making the justifiable demands on men and on society that we be treated as full human beings, not as sex objects, nurses, or servants.

It has done this through revealing to us that problems we considered to be our own hangups are shared by other women--to some degree by all women--and that they are part of a particular social structure rather than the inevitable outcome of biological differences.

This is not to say that honorable relations with men are impossible, even under the present structure; simply that they are very difficult, and above all, they can never be a substitute for a life of one's own.

Women, like men, should have the option to live alone if they wish, without men, with one man, with many men, or with other women, and still feel like fulfilled people. They should know that having a child is a fine experience, but not the only fine experience a woman can have, nor necessarily the best.

All of these things can only come about for women, along with economic liberation, if we have a social and political revolution in this country involving a change in the nature of work both for men and for women.

At Radcliffe the exploitation of women is less obvious but just as deep as in other areas of American society. At the outset, the "ideal" of Harvard elitism, borrowed heavily from the English universities, is basically one of male intellectual clubbiness--thus some common rooms are still closed to female tutors, and there are ridiculously few women on the faculty.

Fortunately, fewer and fewer Harvard men are drawn to this particular notion. Radcliffe women are not obviously passive in this community--indeed, we are often incredibly active, even while "waiting" for the right man to come along.

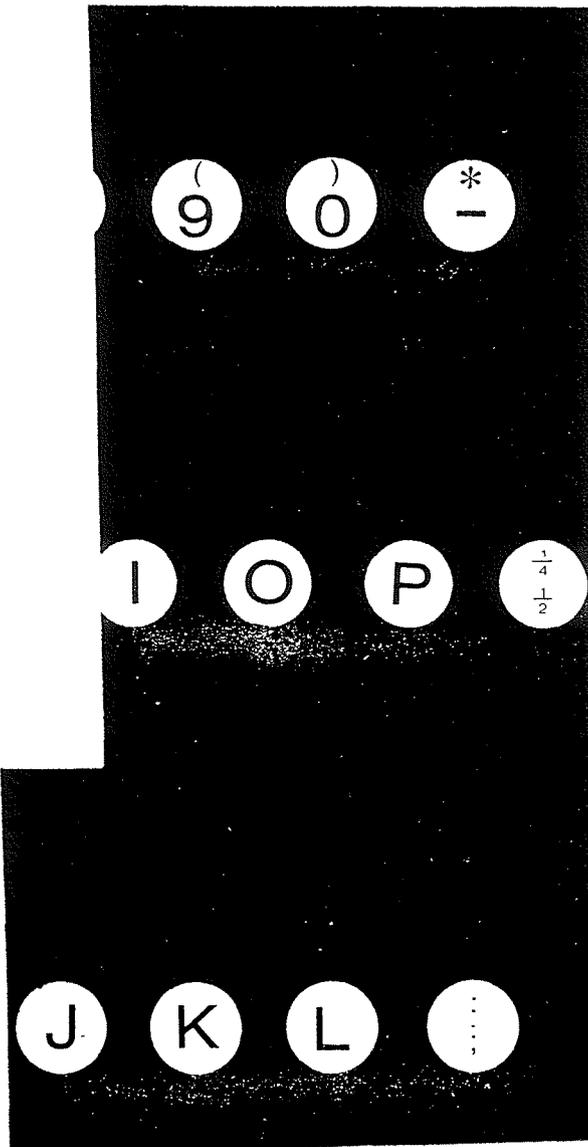
But we are active in precisely those safe areas which have already been laid out by men and male attitudes. Like blacks, we must behave like the dominant group in order to be accepted by them, and at the same time cater to their assumptions of our inherent weakness and inferiority (this extends to the sub-societies of radical political movements, and the editorial board of the Harvard CRIMSON).

Radcliffe women may no longer join ladies clubs to fill their time (though some may be active in their local PTA), but our attitude towards men and our own lives may not be significantly different than those of women who do.

Finally, in the mind of one who actually believed it, the happy-matron-career-woman notion promoted by Radcliffe is a dreadful illusion, and one which if taken seriously can keep us not only from developing our own possibilities, but from relating to other women. The contempt and mistrust women have for each other, even when they are "friends," is the counterpart of the excessive awe we feel towards men, and part of what makes us sense that we would be utterly desolate without a man in our lives.

## 'Cliffe Swap For Dunster Is Called Off

*Bunting Thinks Plan  
Would Annoy Faculty*



"Mary Kingsley is not speaking for herself alone; she is speaking...for many of the daughters of educated men. And she is not merely speaking for them; she is also pointing to a very important fact about them, a fact that must profoundly influence all that follows: the fact of Arthur's Education Fund. You, who have read Pendennis, will remember how the mysterious letters A.E.F. figured in the household ledgers. Ever since the thirteenth century English families have been paying money into that account. ...to this your sisters, as Mary Kingsley indicates, made their contribution. Not only did their own education...go into it; but many of those luxuries and trimmings which are, after all, an essential part of education--travel, society, solitude, a lodging apart from the family house... It was a voracious receptacle, a solid fact -- Arthur's Education Fund -- a fact so solid indeed that it cast a shadow over the entire landscape. And the result is that though we look at the same things, we see them differently. What is that congregation of buildings there, with a semi-monastic look, with chapels and halls and green playing-fields? To you it is your old school; Eton or Harrow; your old university, Oxford or Cambridge; the source of memories and of traditions innumerable. But to us, who see it through the shadow of Arthur's Education Fund, it is a schoolroom table; an omnibus going to a class; a little woman with a red nose who is not well educated herself but has an invalid mother to support; an allowance of £50 a year with which to buy clothes, give presents and take journeys on coming to maturity. Such is the effect that Arthur's Education Fund has had upon us. So magically does it change the landscape that the noble courts and quadrangles of Oxford and Cambridge often appear to educated men's daughters like petticoats with holes in them, cold legs of mutton, and the boat train starting for abroad while the guard slams the door in their faces."

- from THREE GUINEAS, by Virginia Woolf -

# Merger

The study committee on merger is composed of 36 men, no women. Formed by the Faculty Committee on Admissions and Scholarships and the Schools Committee of the Associated Harvard Alumni, they have recently come out against the legal merger of Harvard and Radcliffe. Their twenty-page report, a real gem, considers the matter of increasing the size of the undergraduate body, a change that would inevitably follow merger, since preserving the present sex ratio (4:1) would be impossible.

Proposals for changing the Radcliffe-Harvard relationship without merging are favorably considered, and mixed housing is recommended on an optional basis. There's an amusing discussion about the ideal ratio of men to women in the houses, which would appear to be, in the estimation of these gentlemen, between 5:3 and 6:4. Everyone on the committee agrees that if Harvard students were required to live at Radcliffe, the Radcliffe dorms would have to be converted into suites...That transportation would have to be provided between the Radcliffe quadrangle and the Yard...And that there could be no decrease in the number of men admitted.

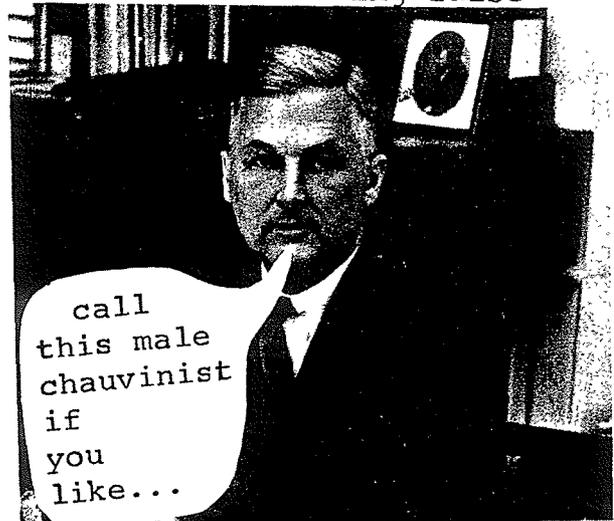
Essentially, the committee says that merger would have two negative effects--the loss of Radcliffe as a special institutional voice for women's interests, and the creation of a 'trilemma' in admissions policy. In regard to the first disadvantage there's a hypocritical paragraph about the beauty, value, and honorable tradition of Radcliffe as a forum for women. We'll let you judge for yourself the following comment on the admission of women to GSAS in 1961: "...they gained new scholarships but lost institutional concern for their special problems." (That may be so; the question is why there has to be a choice between having the money and, say, instituting an adequate curriculum, proper health-care, day-care, etc.)

The rest of the report talks about the 'trilemma,' which would appear to be the following: You have to choose between (1) maintaining an unequal admissions ratio; (2) increasing by 60% the size of the Harvard-Radcliffe complex, or (3) decreasing male enrollment by some 40%. It's impossible to keep both present size and present male enrollment constant, and have an equal proportion of men and women. But neither does the committee want to see the number of undergraduate men reduced. Why? It would seem that such a reduction would be detrimental to the present diversity of class backgrounds! The committee shows a sudden concern to have '...more third-world students. We should have more lower middle class and lower-class (sic) economic representation, the blue-collar group...The raw-boned and unsophisticated rural students add something that no one else can bring to Harvard Square...' Never mind the tone of such statements, and their implications, which clearly show that the committee conceives of 'diversity' as a zoo of quaint 'lower' class types that they can manipulate at whim and will. It is manifest that for the committee, urban and rural working-class women are invisible, simply don't count as educable human beings.

A further argument against reducing the number of undergraduate men is that if good male applicants were rejected, frus-

trations and negative feedback might destroy the 'richness' of the applicant pool. In other words, men might find themselves in the situation women live in all the time.

In fact, we agree with the decision of the study committee but not for the reasons they present. We don't need "merger", which would be to make Radcliffe and Harvard one, and to make Harvard THE one. We need to be able to create our own identities and develop collective power at an institution that now deprives us of both. This is the most crucial issue; we might say it is the only issue of real importance. Significantly, neither formal nor informal discussion of the Harvard-Radcliffe merger has considered this. Such discussion has all of the bantering false



conviviality of any other discussion about women. PUSEY SAYS HARVARD WILL NOT BE READY FOR A JUNE WEDDING, carries a February Crimson headline, and either that air of mocking cuteness, or false consciousness

about the actual meaning of "merger" characterize most talk about the issue. The bad jokes of a male-dominated undergraduate newspaper are insulting enough. So are the ideas, however, that underlie the notion of "merging". The most basic idea is elitist, male chauvinist, and male-supremacist: a Harvard education is the best the country has to offer its best youth. Through a curriculum incorporating sexual bias, latent or blatant, and through an atmosphere of donnish gentility, Harvard is, why, almost better than any woman could deserve; it might even make her forget she was a woman; it might lead her to believe she was a quasi-man among men... and what aspiring young female undergraduate could ask for more?. Male chauvinism is an attitude, conveyed to women at Harvard through its teaching and through the intangibles of living in it, walking around in it, eating in its common rooms, visiting its various male-dominated clubs and associations--the Faculty Club, the Crimson, the athletic facilities, the Lampoon, the Society of Fellows. Male supremacy is a fact, conspicuous in the statistical invisibility of women at the level of full



professor on the faculty, in the percentage differential between male and female graduate students in almost every field, and, by contrast, in the fact that all secretaries and almost all clerical workers at Harvard, not to mention kitchen "help," are women. "Merger" changes nothing of that; it simply masks it over. It masks over the fact that women, like Blacks, might need the institution of courses about their oppressive condition and conditioning, nor has any mention been made of the institution of decent and humane gynecological provisions for women. Mention has been made of increasing admissions, and Pusey has said in rejoinder: "Call this male chauvinist if you like-- there are many people here who would be unhappy to see the number of men reduced." There are also people who would like to see the number of women increase; the glossing-over of this tells you where the power is in deciding the issue. The sexism pervasive at Harvard is blatant in Pusey's statement. Had he said the same thing of Blacks he would have trouble on his hands. We hope he will on this score, too, once women realize what his statement means. It implies that women aren't really worth educating beyond a token few. Admitting more women instead of men would be wasteful because women's education per se is economically and socially wasteful; women don't count as the "national leaders" Harvard functions to turn out. Men like Pusey are

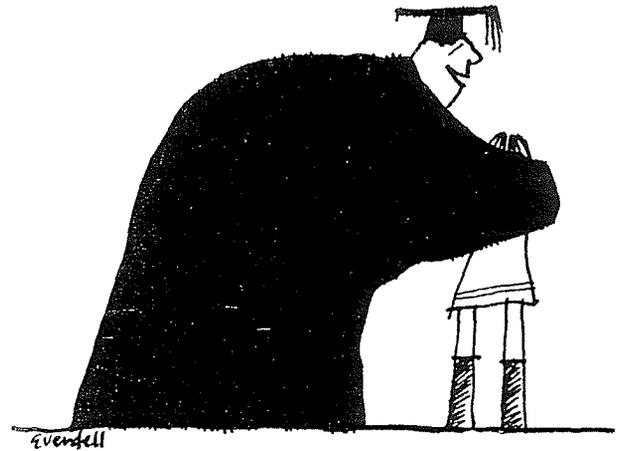
willing to grant a liberal tokenism so that Harvard will appear to be serving a democratic educational function; when it comes down to realities --admitting greater numbers of minority and oppressed groups-- liberalism shows itself for what it is, the show of democracy, not the reality of it. Pusey's afraid of having more women admitted to Harvard. Why? Because, perhaps, the vaunted 'quality' of Harvard education might be 'lowered?' If in fact that is true, we're for 'lowering standards' - if, indeed, change in the interest of real, as opposed to sham democracy constitutes debasement. Let 'academic standards' go hang if they serve to keep an elite privileged and comfortable, and a mass in psychological and material deprivation!

Significantly, the greatest publicized concern in the merger issue has been about housing, or: whether or not the boys and girls will be allowed to sleep together. Talking about women at Harvard, in other words, doesn't mean, as you might reasonably suppose it would, talking about the educational development of whole human beings.

## *'Cliffe Freshmen Get Worst Deal In Coed Switch*

It means talking about sexuality. The most 'liberal' statements on housing tell us that it's good for men and women to develop easy and relaxed sexual relationships. So it is: easy and relaxed sexual relationships are groovier than

strained ones. But to have men and women live together in order to solve the problems of a sexist society is to arrive at a false 'solution' from sexist premises. Sexual relationships aren't exploitative because there aren't enough 'relaxed' ones; they are exploitative because we bring to sex the biases that inform our notions of ourselves and others. Which isn't to say that men and women at Harvard and Radcliffe shouldn't live in the same dormitories; that should be up to the students to decide. But it is to say that in order for relationships to be humanized we need a humane education, responsive to our needs and realistic about our condition.



# Living with the Boy

Many women who have married Harvard graduate students find themselves living in two worlds: there is one in which they work to support their husbands; it has tasks to be carried out, people who touch one's life, pressures, contingencies; in other words, it is real. But it is invisible. The other is the world of Harvard, with its high-level research, its stunning professionalism, its cocktail parties where men talk urbanely, with the solidity of unimpeachable authority. It is dazzlingly evident. It is through Harvard that the "G-school wife" draws her substance, her sense of worth--Who is she? She is Jack Smith's wife, and they will be going next year to Stanford, to Columbia, to Michigan; they are working on Jack's thesis right at the moment (he is writing it, she, typing it).

In other words, the role of the graduate student wife is a painfully traditional one. In social life and work she is expected to enhance her husband's career. Many departments find it to their advantage that she accept her obligations without question, since they count on grad student wives as a source of cheap and gracious labor; doing the work not done by the regular secretaries, pouring tea and serving sherry at social functions, and so on.

To go further into the initial point, one of the first situations confronting a good many graduate students is that they don't have enough money to make it through school. If he's married the solution seems obvious not only to the student but to his department as well: his wife must find a job. Mind you, not a job to fulfill herself; if that happens it happens accidentally, and once her husband gets his own job, she moves to it with him. Rather, hers is a job done purely to bring home the money. The assumption is that once she's achieved her goal, marriage (it is conceived of as her only goal), all of her efforts should be directed towards supporting

her husband and his career. Her college education has been amply rewarded, for that was what it was for in the first place--wasn't it?

The woman's search for a job is circumscribed by the kinds of positions open to most women college graduates: she can usually get either a secretarial position (at Harvard or a neighboring company), or she may be a high school or an elementary school teacher. These are jobs without much status in the society--and she knows it; they are "woman's work." Nonetheless she must scabble to get them, and the struggle is humiliating. In the interviews for such jobs, for example, it is often made clear to the applicant that the fields are overcrowded. "There are many people in your position, my dear," is an approach the prospective employer often takes to manipulate the already uncertain applicant and get her at a bargain price. Because she's in a bind, the woman has to swallow the injury; intimidated, she uses whatever connections she has to secure the position--and naturally, she quickly resorts to using her husband's name and profession as a way of establishing her importance and worth in the eyes of the employer. But then the employer remarks, adding insult to injury, "Well, at least you won't be able to think of getting pregnant in the next couple of years."

Her relationships on the job, rather than giving her a niche of her own, simply lend

precedence to her ancillary position in her husband's life. Her employer naturally assumes that the woman and her working capacity should be considered only in terms of her husband and his career. That her boss sees her as a kind of fatted calf reinforces her own self-deprecation, so that she takes both herself and her job less seriously.

In this dubious role she often feels resentful and uncertain. Her job is considered dull; she realizes a larger world only through her husband and his colleagues. Organizations like "Harvard Dames" are, frankly, frivolous, and they tend to reinforce this feeling.

*Love is...*



*... listening to his problems instead of telling him yours.*

The grad student wife's insecurities become profoundly destructive; she is filled with hatred for her job and for herself. She doesn't know where to turn, and she becomes passive, is smothered by the situation.

Often enough her friends understand her dilemma; they suggest that she go out and find another job, that she go

back to school. But she's surrounded by a structure that impedes almost any move she might make towards self-assertion. Because she has been conditioned from childhood to accept the notion that her role is solely to be a "wife and mother," she feels not only guilty but helpless when she conceives of changing her lot. She fears her husband's possible anger; the possible amusement or hostility of his department are even more intimidating. More largely, she is boxed in economically, for the university itself categorizes women as a "risk group;" hence it helps her neither to get a better job nor to get more education. In doing this it supports the country's economic system, that trades on the existence of women as a ready supply of cheap labor.

The graduate student's education, meantime, incorporates him into the upper level of the system that has subjugated his wife. The department and the University indoctrinate him with the professional ideology of learning, publishing, and making a brilliant career; the importance of his discipline, of the Profession, of its "Standards," are continually stressed. In this he sees no problems because the University structure and attitudes reinforce all of his preconceptions about masculine superiority; he takes for granted his own importance, the overwhelming importance of his work and life as opposed to those of his wife--and naturally, in two or three years his interests and hers grow apart. Often, be-

cause she feels a lack of definite role and purpose, she becomes pregnant. And the cycle of dependency, the vague sense of guilt and boredom such dependency creates in the ones depended on, rolls on.

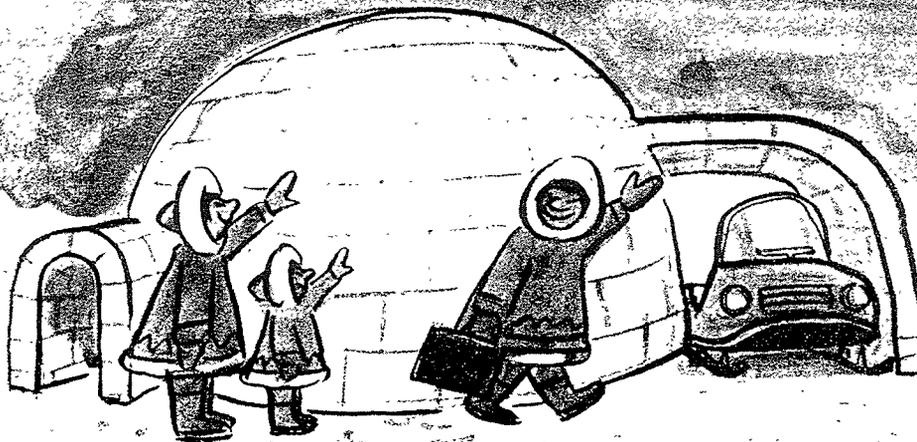
The graduate school is a professional training school at a high level; it channels its students into academic and high-level research and professional work. It exists to produce knowledge; its workers are subservient to that process, which is described in high-sounding, mystifying phrases like "professional standards," "technical innovation," "scientific progress," and so on. Such a system enslaves and obliterates the human worth of both men and women; it destroys human relationships and the



sense of worth of people who happen to be married, but are women. It must be attacked. The University must not only be challenged on the score of its discriminatory practices; we must, more important, begin to break down the very structure of professionalism, for it is a bastion of class privilege permeated by elitist, sexist and racist attitudes. We cannot achieve our ends by way of wheedling persuasion. As a group we must become aware of what the University does to us; we must begin organizing ourselves against it--in secretaries' and in teachers' unions; if we don't work, then we must form effective community action groups. We must learn to take ourselves seriously, and so force society to treat us as people.

YOUR  
HUSBAND'S  
SUCCESS-  
AND YOU

*What part does a wife  
play in her husband's success?  
Here are the frank—  
and often surprising—answers  
provided by the wives  
of some of the country's most  
successful men*



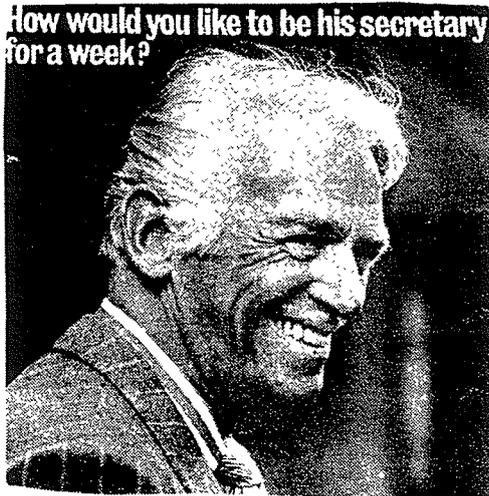
Modell

# Working for the Man

Management at Harvard is male. Most wage-labor employees are women. Two-thirds of the full-time non-academic employees are women. Most of them do clerical work--they're secretaries and library staff. In a university that oppresses almost all of its employees, they constitute one of the most psychologically and financially exploited groups. Their situation has been a particularly grievous one because up to now, they have never been organized.

Harvard's clerical employees are grossly underpaid. Starting salaries for secretaries are around \$4500 a year and many library employees make even less than that. Salaries are annually "increased" a scant five percent, but the increase is illusory since it doesn't match increases in the cost of living. Furthermore, secretaries aren't usually paid for overtime work. Many women who are classified and paid as secretaries actually have administrative responsibilities: they carry out the day-to-day executive duties of the department while the Man is busy at his many consulting jobs, his research, his spin-offs. One woman, having held such a position for a number of years at Harvard, was squarely told by a personnel official that if she were a man she'd be making an annual 10-12000 instead of the \$7000 she was then being paid. Another personnel official boasted that a woman who

spent a lifetime as a quasi-administrator might eventually be "lucky" enough to make between 8 and 10 thousand. For such exploitation the typical rationale from the top is that, after all, Harvard is such an "interesting place to work" and its employees are the beneficiaries of many fringe "benefits". The privilege of working for such dazzling employers, should fully compensate for the abysmal salaries Harvard pays; so the argument runs. As one personnel official put it, "I don't feel sorry for the secretaries ...they only come to Harvard to catch a husband."



One technique the Harvard personnel office uses to prevent their employees from knowing how the university manipulates them is to shroud the job-classification system in secrecy. It's impossible to find out what really accounts for salary differentials among employees. Two women frequently do the same kind of work but they have different job titles and make different salaries. These salary differ-

entials might be based on factors such as experience, education, certain clerical skills, or seniority, but employees don't know for sure. They are, of course, discouraged by their employers from talking to one another about such matters. It's clear that Harvard, like any corporate enterprise, pays as little as it can get away with. But there is also the widespread feeling that secretaries who work for prestigious or powerful professors are more likely to be granted interim salary increases than secretaries who work for junior faculty members. A professor with some status is less reluctant than others to call up personnel officials and ask for a raise for "his girl", and the personnel office is more likely to grant his request than a similar request from a man of lesser status. It also seems that staff members who are paid out of grant money ("soft" money) receive higher salaries than those who are paid out of the regular university budget. The curious explanation offered by one personnel officer is that "girls who are on

**secretary fired**  
**"Shut up and type!"**

soft money work harder, and therefore deserve a higher salary."

The net effect of such an arbitrary system is that it promotes divisions among employees themselves. Since there are no clear criteria for starting salaries and since raises and salaries vary so much even among those doing the same work, secretaries, clerks, librarians and others are fearful of asking one another about their salaries because of the embarrassment they think it might cause. Employees who feel they've worked out an especially good deal for themselves ("I'm lucky, I have a great boss, so I can't complain") are sometimes reluctant to join with their less fortunate sisters (and brothers) in making complaints, because they're afraid of losing what they have gained. In this way, Harvard divides its women and discourages them from uniting to demand an end to their common exploitation.

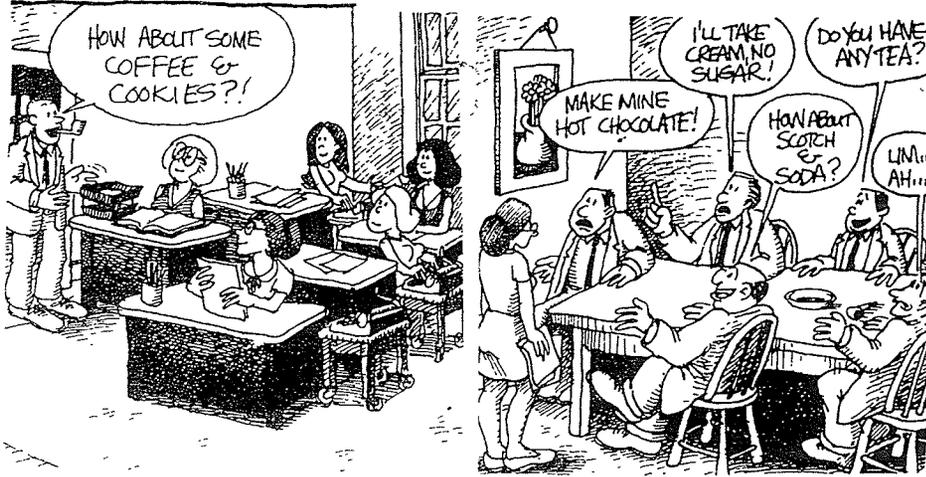
Another justification Harvard gives for the low wages and salaries it doles out to its non-academic employees is that there are a number of fringe benefits that go along with the job. But the personnel office sees to it that most employees never find

out what these benefits are. There is no list or official statement on this matter given out to employees. Some secretaries have been successful in finding out in piecemeal fashion some of these benefits: a Widener library card; discounts at a number of stores; use of some athletic facilities; and enrollment in a summer school course for \$25 (provided you take it during your lunch hour!). Of course, for working women with children, Harvard fails to provide an essential facility--day care. Besides economic oppression, there is the degrading psychological oppression women employees encounter daily. A recent attempt by the friend of a secretary to get the extension number of the latter through Harvard information was abruptly thwarted when she was told "We don't have the numbers for the help". (This implies, of course not only sex bias, but class bias). Invariably women are expected to carry out the boring-and often the exhausting - tasks that must be done if the university is to function from day to day. Women who work for several men are often given excessive workloads in which there is only routine, and no space for innovation. Often

#### MALE SUPERIORITY AND COOKS AND CHEFS

In November, 1969, SDS students raised the issue of pay differential (91 cents/hour) between first cooks (women) and chefs (men) in the Radcliffe kitchens. Mr. Britton, administrative vice president of Radcliffe, explained that all chefs were men and all cooks women because "there is a long tradition of male superiority" (The Crimson, November 26, 1969).

# COFFEE BREAK



misled by the Harvard employment interviewer, a woman accepts a job in the hope that it may involve something more interesting than "just typing," only to be disappointed. Not only is a woman expected cheerfully to devote herself to mind-deadening work: she is often expected to wait on the Man as though she were his personal servant -- she often goes out and gets his lunch, and she invariably must know at what hours He likes his coffee. If He feels like conversing socially during the day, she must drop her work to listen and smile appreciatively, but the reverse seldom occurs. If her appearance doesn't meet traditional, male-chauvinist standards, this reflects badly on Him. If she resists his (or his graduate students') attempts to treat her as a mindless sex objects, she is a woman "who doesn't know her place."



# No Room at the Top

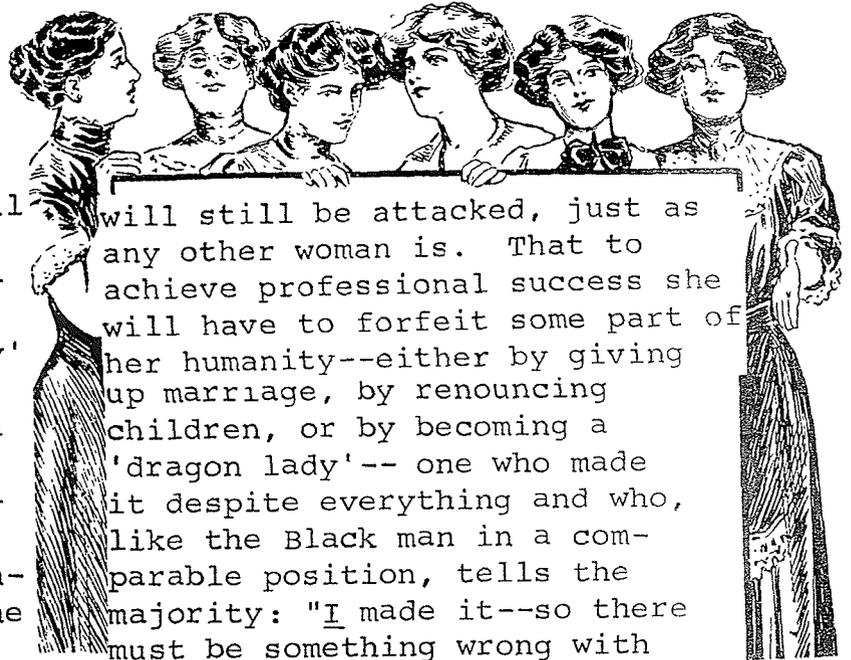
The tables accompanying this article, taken from the preliminary report of the Women's Faculty Group, show the following facts: Women occupy 13.5% of the positions enumerated in Table I; however, their appointments are nearly exclusively lower-level ones (teaching fellows, lecturers, researchers). The lectureship, the research associateship, and the position of Fellow are in reality all quasi-appointments: they exist 'outside' the career structure. For men, such appointments are at best transitional ones, but women are most often forced to remain at that level without hope of advancement. From July, 1970, there will be one woman full Professor--but she will occupy a chair established specifically for women.

Table II gives figures for the whole University; it makes clear that the same situation holds true across the board. Among Administrative employees with Corporation appointments, there are 111 women out of a total of 447. But only 9% of the women are of the highest ranks, while of the 336 male employees, 29% occupy such positions (Deans, Associate Deans, Assistant Deans, Directors, Associate Directors, Assistant Directors). There are no women Assistant Directors; women who in practice hold this position are classified as 'Administrative Assistants.' A greater percentage of males are eligible to attend faculty meetings; the right to attend seems linked to the sex of the employee (see Table III).

The Women's Faculty group has asked for the establishment of a committee to study the status of women. The Committee would be composed of 2 female faculty members, 2 male faculty members, 1 female Research Associate or Fellow, 2 administrators (1 male, 1 female); 1 female graduate student, 1 Radcliffe undergraduate, 1 Harvard undergraduate. We can speculate on the University's response to the

activities of the WFG. The committee will be created; there will be a political distribution of appointments from liberal to conservative to insure 'consensus;' in the interests of 'impartiality' there will be the indicated distribution according to sex--and a moderate line will be considered the most appropriate for the Committee to take. It will do its job thoroughly, make its recommendations and send its report to the Faculty, Corporation, etc. The report will lie for a while in the desks of the men who form the overwhelming majority of the Harvard establishment. Perhaps some gentlemen will be appropriately shocked, and will make public their concern and repentance. Some women in the faculty will be promoted, and a few new ones will be allowed to get in. Token gestures throughout the Harvard Olympus will make everyone happy--at least for a while. **AND NOTHING WILL HAVE CHANGED.**

Nothing is going to change if it isn't understood that the fact that we're so few at the top is inextricably linked to the fact that we are so many at the bottom. That we cannot talk about women faculty and students if we don't also talk about secretaries and cooks and wives. That a woman can be a faculty member, but she is considered an aberration; that even in the faculty she is paid less than a man. That even she, if she walks at night in our cities,



will still be attacked, just as any other woman is. That to achieve professional success she will have to forfeit some part of her humanity--either by giving up marriage, by renouncing children, or by becoming a 'dragon lady'-- one who made it despite everything and who, like the Black man in a comparable position, tells the majority: "I made it--so there must be something wrong with the rest of you if you can't." That statement falsely obscures the plain facts: a primary economic assignment is given to all of us; we are to be wives and mothers; any other work we do is supposedly secondary to that, and it tempers the way we are judged by all. There is room at the top only for a token few, for our position in the family is played on by the economy to make us a convenient and elastic part of the industrial reserve labor force. It is for this reason that we are hired last and fired first, paid less for equal work, assigned menial jobs, exploited as sex objects and consumers. From the top echelons of the system to the bottom, women have a lot in common, suffering materially, psychologically, or both, in a world controlled by men.

It follows that we must organize collectively for change. During the past year women in

literature, sociology and science presented resolutions on the status of women to the business meetings of their professional associations. Following the tables at the end of this article we have reprinted some of the resolutions, together with their accompanying explanations, which went out for

mail ballot to this year's Modern Language Association membership. They can, perhaps, serve as a kind of model; note that nearly all the resolutions, with modifications, can be made applicable to any university employee.

Table I  
WOMEN IN SELECTED CORPORATION APPOINTMENTS  
UNDER THE FACULTY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

Title	Total	Women	Percent Women
Regular Faculty			
Full Professors	444	0	0.0
Associate Professors	39	0	0.0
Assistant Professors	194	9	4.6
Instructors	18	3	16.7
Teaching Fellows	1104	226	20.5
Other Faculty			
Lecturers	233	36	15.5
Research			
Senior Research Associates	3	1	33.3
Research Associates	63	11	17.5
Research Fellows	397	51	12.9
TOTALS	2495	337	13.5

Table III  
ADMINISTRATORS ELIGIBLE TO ATTEND FACULTY MEETINGS  
1969-70\*

Title	No.	Men		Women		
		Also Lecturer	Eligible to attend	No.	lect.	El. to attend
Director	45	9	25	4	2	1
Assoc. Director	16	5	5	1	1	0
Assist. Director	18	1	1	0	0	0

\*Figures as of Fall 1969. Source: DIRECTORY OF OFFICERS AND STUDENTS.

Table II  
HARVARD UNIVERSITY OFFICERS, 1968-69

	Total	Male	Female	%Female of Total
Corporation -----	7	7	0	0.0
Board of Overseers-----	30	30	0	0.0
Officers of Instruction				
University Professors-----	5	5	0	0.0
Professors-----	580	577	3	0.5
Associate Professors-----	151	143	8	5.3
Assistant Professors-----	401	384	17	4.2
Research Professors and Assis-				
tant Research Professors-----	3	3	0	0.0
Clinical Professors, Associ-				
ate and Assistant Clinical				
Professors, and Clinical As-				
sociates-----	357	340	17	4.8
President and Professors Emer-				
iti-----	184	175	9	4.9
Lecturers-----	406	356	50	12.3
Visiting Professors and Asso-				
ciate Professors, Visiting				
Lecturers and Visiting Associ-				
ates, Consultants, Critics				
and Fellows-----	158	149	9	5.7
Associates-----	235	211	24	10.2
Instructors-----	791	722	69	8.7
Tutors-----	75	71	4	5.3
Teaching Fellows-----	1296	1091	205	15.8
Research Associates, Research				
Fellows and Assistants, and				
Members of Research Staffs---	1530	1286	244	15.9
Assistants-----	385	317	68	17.7
Miscellaneous Academic				
Appointments-----	371	326	45	12.1
Officers of Administration				
Deans, Executive Officers,				
Syndics and Masters-----	167	126	41	24.6
Directors, Library Officers				
and Curators-----	469	327	142	30.3
Health Services-----	137	126	11	8.0
Athletic Admin. and Coaches--	33	33	0	0.0
Proctors and Freshman Advisers--	98	96	2	2.0
Board of Preachers-----	6	6	0	0.0
Business Officers-----	91	79	12	13.2
Misc. Admin. Appointments----	103	83	20	19.4
Radcliffe Trustees and Admin.				
Appointees-----	118	30	88	74.6

PARTIAL TEXT OF NEW UNIVERSITY CONFERENCE RESOLUTIONS PRESENTED  
TO THE BUSINESS MEETING OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION,  
DECEMBER, 1969.

(Included are some of the explanations that went out with the resolutions for mail ballot).

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1. Because the MLA recognizes that discrimination against women exists de jure or de facto in hiring, promotion, and tenure; in so-called 'nepotism' rules; and in graduate admissions, the MLA urges:

a. that every department of modern languages give preference to women faculty, including minority women faculty, in hiring, promotion, and tenure, to the end that women are represented in higher and graduate education in the same proportion that they are in the American population.

b. that the membership do away with 'nepotism' rules where they are unwritten departmental or institutional policy, and work for their rapid removal where they are imposed by statute.

(Explanations: (b.) It has been observed that 'the purpose of true nepotism regulations ... is to prevent administrators with hiring power from dealing out state jobs to their family members. In many universities, this sensible purpose has been perverted to prevent employment of faculty wives ...')

2. The status of women in academic life is a function of the roles assigned to them in the larger society. Women have the biological function of bearing children, but society assigns to them the sole or principal responsibility for child-rearing. As long as such role-definitions persist, the status of women will not appreciably change. Therefore MLA urges:

a. the establishment of day-care centers on college and university campuses. These centers should be institutionally-funded, parent-controlled, staffed by both men and women, and open to children from the age of six weeks on, whose parents are students, teachers, employees, or neighbors of the institution.

b. The provision of paid maternity and parenthood leave for both men and women.

c. that language departments be flexible in their faculty appointments, thereby facilitating transitions between full and part-time positions, so that women with family responsibilities can continue their careers and that men can assume a significant place in child-rearing.

EXPLANATIONS:(a.) More equitable hiring practices will be generally ineffective if individuals continue to be forced to bear the burden of child-rearing. It is universally assumed that because women bear children, they have the sole or principal responsibility for rearing them. Moreover, as Alice Rossi has pointed out, "For the first time in the history of any known society, motherhood (in America) has become a full-time occupation for the adult woman."("Equality Between

the Sexes: an Immodest Proposal," Daedalus, Spring, 1964). The result of this notion is that mothers are often the strongest opponents of measures that might at once free them for work outside the home, and free their children from a frequently debilitating dependency.

Not only are small children entitled to the benefits of good day-care, but the enslavement of women in the home cannot ultimately be resolved without it. There is no model for good day-care in the United States; the centers that were set up in World War II were created primarily as a service to corporations in need of womanpower, and neither as a service to the employees nor to their children. However, one may propose three important principles for good day-care. First, the value of the center for children and parents. It may not only be uniquely inefficient for a woman to consider herself a 'professional' mother of one or two children for half a dozen years of pre-school child care; it is also unavoidably a matter of relative incompetence as well, since she works in isolation with a bare minimum of skills or competence, let alone, at times, interest. Ideally, centers are not places to 'dump' children, but educational institutions at least socially and psychologically equal to the full-time attention of a single mother in a nuclear family. That is, day care centers can offer the single child the advantages of extended families, for example, early experiences in group-play, sharing, and social responsibilities....

A second important principle is client-control. The center thus may become an expression of its participants' values; it can insist on male and female teachers; programs that emphasize and practice sexual and racial equality and mutual respect; programs that use non-authoritarian and collective methods of education.

A third principle is that the day-care center serve not only faculty and students but all classes of employees, as well as members of the outside community. This is because the center, beyond being an instrument in breaking down sexual bias and role distinctions, should also serve to break down class bias and the current prejudice that the university is not responsible to its surrounding community.

(b.)....Women faculty who do have children have to go through the embarrassing procedure of asking their chairman's permission to take leave. Whether or not leave is granted without a threatened loss of job is up to the discretion of one's superior. The fact that individual women are forced to make such private arrangements leaves institutionalized discrimination intact. Were maternity, paternity and parenthood leave -- leave for both parents to care for very young children -- to exist as usual and routine institutional practice, there would be little fear that women would be punished for the fact of their reproductive cycles. We stress paternity leave -- time off for men to care for newborn infants -- and parenthood leave, because of the importance of change in sexual role definitions for both sexes. The liberation of women implies that of men, and the option of a fuller and a richer family parti-

cipation than is available to them now.

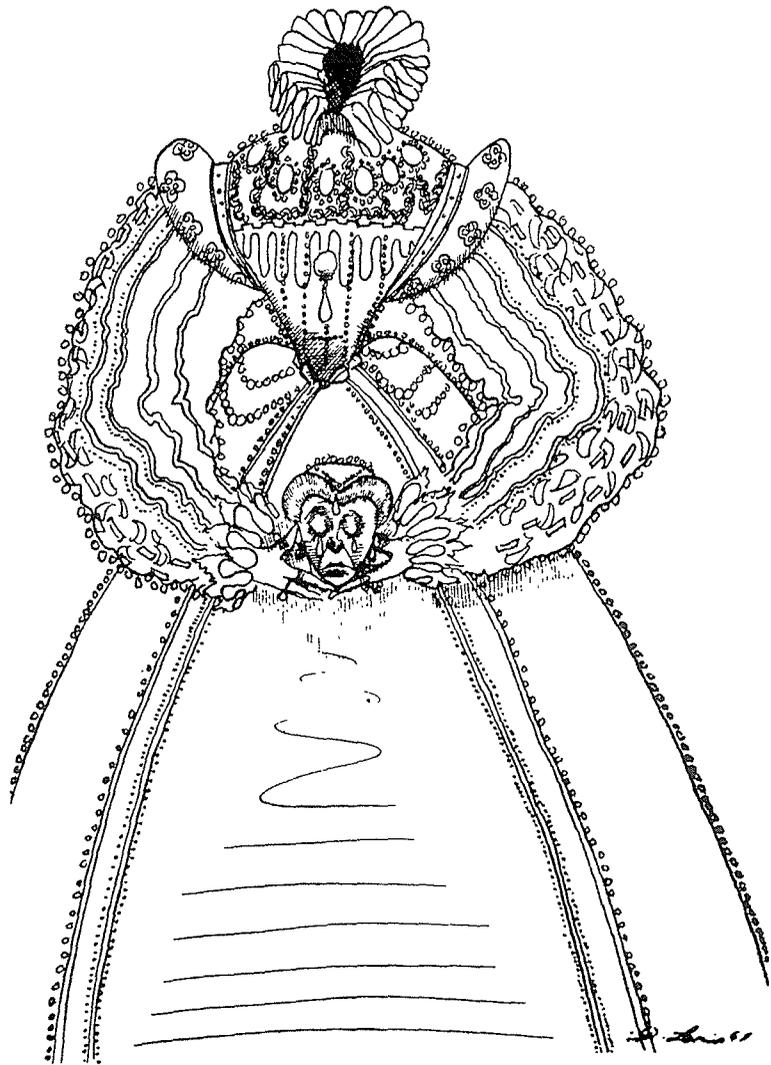
(c.) Departments of language and literature have unsuccessfully attempted to combine a gentlemanly notion of academic leisure with one of 'seriousness' based on undivided attention to one's professional work. It is time to reexamine these standards...At present our practices assume that full-time devotion to teaching is a valid index of scholarly merit. Part-time teachers usually are assigned the less desirable courses and schedules, have few fringe benefits and no chance for tenure. Moreover, those who must teach part-time for some period in their career find that the full-time appointments they later obtain are not subject to tenure.

It is not an under-supply of personnel that necessitates full-time commitment on the part of all teachers...there are more trained teachers in our field than there are jobs for them to fill. Moreover, we have always been ready to work out arrangements whereby full-time senior faculty members might hold an appointment in another department, working, effectively, part-time in each. 26% of full-time faculty hold such appointments at present; apparently their departments can 'spare' them. The argument may be advanced that joint appointments enhance the prestige of the department and contribute to overall education at the university. It is our contention that greater flexibility between full and part-time positions will make a similar contribution to the quality of life in our communities.

Only the poets, playwrights and novelists on our faculties (for Harvard read, as well, "men working in advisory capacities in the government") have an 'acceptable' reason for choosing to teach part-time; in many departments, even they are relegated to non-tenurable ranks. Women who have children and who live in a society where day-care facilities are almost non-existent are expected to assume responsibility for their offspring. Since academic salaries rarely permit the hiring of household help, this means that women faculty members are likely to have to spend at least some years at home or as part-time teachers. Their devotion to their profession is then called into question and, whatever the proofs offered, women are likely to return to full-time work as Lecturers rather than Professors.

Men who teach at universities are expected to solve their 'personal' problems with no dependency on social institutions. They cannot choose -- lest their 'seriousness' also be doubted -- to share child-rearing responsibilities on an equal basis. They must either elect to sacrifice their careers -- which a father can rarely afford to do -- or acquiesce in the oppression of wives who bear the principal burden of home and children. It is hard to recognize the humanity of a profession that inflicts such choices on a man as a matter of course and that creates an even more destructive conflict for women.

3. Many health-care facilities in American universities and colleges deny female patients information and help about birth control and abortions. MLA urges that universities use their influence to call for the repeal of all state laws regulating contraception, abortion, and voluntary sterilization. MLA further urges that all university and college medical centers provide free birth control information and devices to all students, faculty, and employees.



# Women at GSAs

According to the Dean's report, there isn't any discrimination against women in admissions to the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences. For the academic year 1967-68, 26.6% of the men who applied were admitted, as compared with 26.9% of the women. Figures for other recent years show a slight favoritism toward men (for 1968-69 the respective percentages were 30.3% of men and 27.4% of women), but overall the differences are slight. Therefore, if you exclude the plausible assumption that the few women who do apply to Harvard graduate school are of higher average quality than the men who apply, you have to blame the small proportion of women (1:4) in the graduate student body on previous conditioning.

Statistics for overall admissions don't tell the whole story, however. Although it's seldom admitted publicly, and supporting figures are difficult to obtain, it's well-known that certain departments set informal quotas on the number of women admitted. It is also clear that certain fields are considered more "appropriate" for women than others (e.g. language and literature, child psychology, biology); admissions will tend to concentrate in these fields and perpetuate the prejudices that keep women from considering other fields.

It is also important to realize that a large proportion of these women are admitted to the lower-prestige M.A. programs. (One Ph.D. candidate in a regional studies concentration has remarked, "Everyone just assumes I'm in the M.A. program.")

After questions of admission are decided, the award of scarce scholarship money or of teaching fellowships where these are scarce and prized, is likely to be biased in favor of men, with the double rationalization that they are a "better investment" and that they are more likely to need the money to support families. Comparative figures on

male and female teaching fellows throughout the University speak for themselves. In 1968-69, there was a total of 1,296. Of these, 1,091 were men; 205, women.

But if we've passed these first hurdles, and arrive at Harvard with money from one source or another, we gradually become aware of intangible difficulties. These take many forms, starting from the realization that our sex comprises only one quarter of the student body. If we decide to live in a graduate residence hall, we find ourselves segregated, too far away from the men's dormitory complex to make casual participation in their activities possible. We may get invitations to departmental receptions addressed to students and their wives (women in one department at Yale responded to this by introducing their "wives" to their professors at the reception!)

We may also get a copy of the "Unofficial Guide to Graduate Life at Harvard." Browsing through it, we find a long section entitled, "How to Meet Women," in which we find remarks of the following sort: "As a rule of thumb, girls carrying over fifteen pounds of books are law students and girls with false eyelashes are interlopers from Lesley College...Don't be snobbish! perfectly nice girls go to Simmons, Bradford Junior College, etc....If money and breeding interest you, Wellesley is the first place to go." Have you ever noticed that description of us most often involves a kind of clinical dismembering process? That we are "skirts," "cunts," so on and so forth? That our very lives are reified so that "This one is fighting for liber-

ation; that one's an intellectual; that one's a vamp," etc.? That we are never whole human beings, but one or another curious, disembodied quality? Make no mistake about it--tempted though we at GSAS may be to think of ourselves as "professionals," as exempt, therefore, from the oppressive attitudes that "define" our sisters at Simmons, we are viewed in the same way. The "Unofficial Guide" includes for us a much shorter section on "How to Meet Men." It advises us how to win the affection of our fellow male students without scaring them off with our independence or competence: "Forget the exact number of the classroom. Every 'homme galant' will come to the rescue of a bewildered, lost girl. Men love to be helpful. He'll explain things and toss about ideas--especially for an extremely intelligent girl who is almost as intelligent as he, but not quite."

In our professional lives we have to cope with anti-feminist and misogynist attitudes on the parts



of many of our professors and fellow-students. If we're lucky, we learn early in the game which professors are blatantly misogynist, and we avoid them. But we find that even the professors and the students who have no conscious prejudices find it hard to relate to us on an equal basis. Two women spoken with by one of the writers of this pamphlet complained that they hadn't had a serious intellectual conversation with an unmarried male colleague in their entire graduate experience. For obvious reasons, it's easier to establish intellectual friendships with married students, but the limits to (non-sexual) social relationships are just as obvious in that case. Graduate school is a lonely experience for both men and women, but because of these inhibitions it's likely to be lonelier for women than for men. What takes the place of friendly conversation within departments is often the unthinking, alienating jibe--one department chairman, for example, announced to a mixed group of teaching fellows that the department's annual cocktail party would be abolished because he was tired of "warm shrimp and cold women."

Subject not only to the generalized dehumanizing influence of graduate study, but plagued as well by our special oppression, and discouraged by our growing awareness that these problems are nothing compared to what we'll find if we actually aspire to use our training, we may be sorely tempted to drop out. If we do, our cases are used to prove that women are bad investments and fewer should be admitted--and the vicious circle spirals merrily onward.

Those of us who are married but without children suffer less if our

husbands are sympathetic and supportive; in fact, if our husbands help support our education, we have fewer financial problems than the single woman.

Mothers who want to attend graduate school are in a particularly difficult position, however. No day-care is provided at Harvard, and the cost of finding it privately is prohibitive for the small budgets graduate students have to live on. Further, although it is possible to enroll in graduate school part-time, you have to be a full-time student to qualify for financial aid, which makes it difficult for both mothers and fathers to spend the necessary time with their children.\*

If we buck all of these obstacles and eventually finish our degree, we find that at the end of our training we face the worst obstacle of all: the near impossibility of finding a position commensurate with our abilities. We're likely to find a strong prejudice against hiring women, even if they're looking for PhD's and we've got them. And often, even if our departments have no strong prejudice against their women graduates, they will acquiesce in the discrimination practised by hiring schools, rather than opposing or fighting it. These are admittedly intangibles, hard to prove except by looking at the actual results of the hiring process, but the reality of the

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\*One of the resolutions on the status of women submitted to the Business Meeting of the American Sociological Association stipulates that stipends be made available for women, both single and with children, and that these be attached to part-time as well as full-time graduate work.

prejudice is epitomized by the remark of one department chairman, to the effect that his department that year had graduated "five PhD's and two women."

## THE GOOD BOOK?

(LNS) – "Let the woman learn in silence with all subjection. But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence."  
(I Tim. 2)

# The Medical School

Sometime, when you're in Boston, take a look at the five marble buildings that form the Longwood Avenue Quadrangle. Together with Vanderbilt Hall, the Medical School dormitory, which accomodates 305 men and 20 women, the complex gives even the external impression of male power; one senses that the inadequacy, and even the fear that women feel when they're there, is justified. The monumental and pompous architecture, the 19th century pictures of "big" men in the profession, are faithful to the spirit of sexism that from top to bottom permeates the whole structure. It is useful to understand the life within those buildings to know some of the history of women at the Medical School.

In 1847, Miss Harriet K. Hunt, a pioneer physician who had been practicing medicine in Boston for several years, applied to HMS for permission to attend lectures. She was refused. She tried again in 1850. One of her letters to the faculty concludes, "Shall woman be permitted all the medical advantages she desires? Shall mind or sex be recognized in admission to medical lectures?"<sup>1</sup> Dean Oliver Wendell Holmes, submitted the letter to the medical faculty. Of the 7 members of the faculty, 5 voted to allow Miss Hunt to attend the lectures with no commitment regarding a degree, the other 2 voted negatively. But a new obstacle arose. The student body learned that 3 blacks and one woman were to be their colleagues, and in a meeting in December 1850, full of moral indignation, they passed two series of resolutions against the

sexual and racial integration. Regarding women it was resolved: "That no woman of true delicacy would be willing in the presence of men to listen to the discussions of the subjects that necessarily come under consideration of the student of medicine; that we object to having the company of any female forced upon us, who is disposed to unsex herself, and to sacrifice her modesty by appearing with men in the medical lecture room". With unusual elasticity, the Faculty promptly reversed itself: Miss Hunt was not allowed to attend the lectures.

In 1945, 93 years after that defeat, women were finally admitted to the sanctum sanctorum.

How does HMS react to the fact that the percentage of women physicians in the US (6.7%) is lower than it is in 25 other countries: and lower than that of any Western country save Spain? On the matter of admitting women to HMS, Dr. S. Pittman of the admission Committee for 1969, says that the proportion of women to men admitted each year was to be decided "solely on the basis of the quality of the applicants". She claims that the Admission Committee has no quotas of any sort, though she concedes

that the interview for admission is perhaps of special importance in the case of a woman: "...what thought has she given to the reconciliation of her obligations to medicine, marriage and the family?". It is particularly sad that such prejudiced assertions are made by a woman, but the fact is hardly surprising; some of the strongest apologists for the status quo are women.

The proportion of women in HMS has remained a consistent 12% for the past few years. This year it dropped to 8%, an irony, for at the same time, the entering class was increased in number to 140 to provide for additional "disadvantaged students".

Harvard seems compelled to assert that there is no quota for blacks and women. The Dean states in the annual dean report for 1968-1969 "...the faculty voted to increase

substantially the numbers of Negro and other minority group students enrolled in the Medical School and the School of Dental Medicine, and to make available at least 15 scholarships per class specifically for disadvantaged students. No quota was implied in this action..." What is quite clear, is that the number of white male students remains a

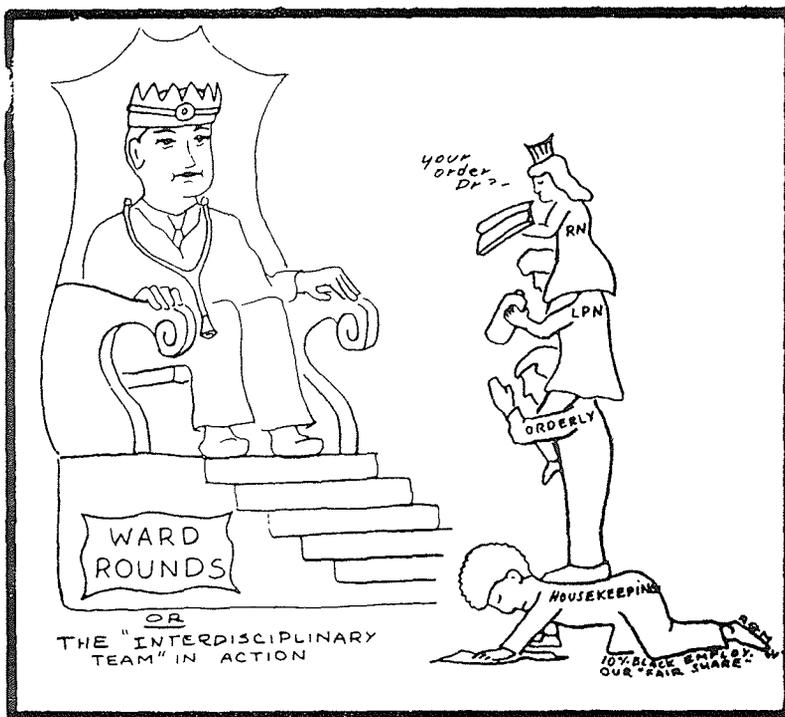
Enrollment in Harvard Medical School by Sex and Race

	White men	Black men	White women	Black women
Class of 1970	111	1	13	0
Class of 1971	110	2	14	0
Class of 1972	112	1	15	0
Class of 1973	114	15	10	1

fairly stable 112. This, then, is the basic quota around which small variations are arranged in the number of blacks and women, according to fashion and pressure. It is said that next year the number of female candidates admitted will be twice that of this year's. Obviously this token gesture is meant to appease the critics.

It is clear that women are discouraged from entering places like HMS by the educational tracking imposed on them from elementary school on; this leads them into family roles,

clerical work, and into the service fields--teaching, social work, nursing. The solution to channeling, of course, is not only re-education, but the immediate initiation of structural changes. This, the HMS is naturally unwilling to do. Predictably it lends credence to the status quo by arguing of women as it used to be argued of Blacks: "But we can't find any qualified ones!" Breaking through this self-serving and flabby justification means initiating preferential admissions and hiring. To some extent this is now being done in regard to Blacks. The Dean explains in his report that "...as a result of a determined recruitment effort, 135 applications from black students were received, six times more than the year before." The number of women applicants this year was 146, of a total of 1536. One can only make conjectures about the number that might apply if a "determined recruitment effort" were made, but it would surely be substantially higher.



What is life like for the ones who did get admitted, who gave the right answers in the interview, whose "quality" was judged acceptable? In her first year a woman medical student will probably live in Vanderbilt Hall; she'll feel and be a member of a minority group. She'll think of professors as Men, for she will meet a woman full professor only once in her career at HMS.

If she wants to do research, she'll do well to read an article entitled, "Opportunities for Women in Medical Research" (O.

Smith, in Harvard Medical Alumni Bulletin, Spring, 1969). Among other things it remarks: "As for getting started in medical research, there are three possible modes of entry, the front door, the side door and the back door....The well-marked front door is going to a graduate school of medical sciences as a candidate for a Ph.D....I call medical school the side door, because a fairly high proportion of women who go to medical school end up doing research....And then there is the back door, which is getting a job as a technician in a medical research laboratory...There are many advantages to entering the field through this back door....I recommend the back door."

Apart from such explicit advice, she will get all sorts of hints about her unnatural situation: "What's an attractive girl like you doing in medical school?" "What's the matter, don't you want to get married?" And if she gets angry when an otherwise good teacher comes up with: "I'll buy the coffee if the girls in the class will make it," she's asked: "What's wrong, don't you have any sense of humor?"

She will often feel she's occupying a man's place and she'd better bloody well deserve it..She may end up by feeling guilty and apologetic.

She'll find out when the time comes that internships and residencies in the hospitals, a vitally important part of her training, discriminate against women. For all prac-

tical purposes, for example, surgery and gynecology are closed to women. She will be encouraged to go into pediatrics or psychiatry, fields where her "feminine" qualities are supposed to have a more natural outlet...

The attitudes of her male colleagues will contribute to her problems. In informal discussions she hears students talking about syphilis as "the disease that prostitutes have;" or at suture time in an operation she has to control her anger and humiliation at: "Now, this is especially for the girls, who should be good at sewing."

Twenty years after having first been admitted to HMS, and despite a remarkable record of achievement (90% of all HMS women graduates are active in some phase of medicine), women are treated as a high-risk group of undesirables. This will not change unless women openly recognize the oppressive attitudes and practices of the Harvard Medical School and force their abolishment.

#### WOMEN EMPLOYEES AT HMS: FINALLY, A MAJORITY

"Wages and Salaries" employees at HMS number 1,056. Of these, 815 are women. These are the employees at the bottom of the Harvard pyramid. They are secretaries, lab technicians, librarians; they clean the glassware, they run the media room (where material for experiments is prepared). In short, they are the proletariat of HMS. If they were to organize and decide to stop work, the medical

school would be forced to close.

These women are economically exploited. The salaries of the secretaries are below those of most in the Boston area; the technicians know that other universities or institutes would pay them more. A concomitant of such economic exploitation is the fact that "W & S" workers serve as a support force for a male population that guides itself by the "publish or perish" principle. They furnish the data, they do the tedious parts of the experiments. Women in the medical school form not only a lower class of wage labor; they also suffer caste discrimination. Until recently, for example, one of the departments of the medical school, which has its own lunch room and cook, was open only to the higher echelons, students and professors. Secretaries and technicians weren't supposed to enter. The change in the lunch policy of this department didn't come from above. A courageous Black secretary took the initiative of breaking down the rule, and after some ups and downs, things changed.

If you are one of these 815 women, you are non-existent. We say this advisedly: certain basic human services simply do not exist for women. The Medical Area Health Service, for example, just as the one in Cambridge, has no gynecologist on its staff. If you naively ask why, the truth comes out: "It would be impossible to have one, you would

have to have at least three or four."

Recently, there has been talk at the medical school about a child-care center. For whom? As one might expect, some people in charge of studying the problem have expressed the feeling that "their main responsibility is toward the students and interns of the Harvard community." Once more, 1,056 people are eliminated from consideration.

#### FEMALE FACULTY

There isn't much to be said about female faculty, since at the medical school as throughout Harvard (see this pamphlet, section on faculty), women are practically invisible. Out of a faculty of 830, 35 are women (4.2%). The Associate staff, 2335 in toto, has 365 women (15.6%). Only one woman, recently appointed, is a full professor; she is a frequent target in the second year student show, where she has been alternately depicted as a man-hater, enchantress, strip-teaser, etc. The greatest number of women are in the Assistant Professor bracket (13); next, the Associate (8); and finally, small numbers fill other slots.

No woman makes policy decisions; this year the 12-member Admissions Committee was exclusively male.

Interestingly enough, in 1918 HMS asked a woman, Dr. Alice Hamilton, to become assistant professor of industrial medicine. She was an exceptional person. She was active in social reform, involved in such causes

as the Sacco and Vanzetti case, the suffragette movement; she visited Russia and worked with the League of Nations. She says of her appointment to Harvard: "Industrial medicine had become a much more important branch during the war years, but it still had not attracted men, and I was really about the only candidate available." Certain conditions were attached to her appointment. It was required that she not act on her right as a faculty member to use the Harvard Club; among other delicate touches was her invitation to march in the commencement procession, which included the postscript

that under no circumstances might a woman be seated on the platform.

How much have things changed? Says a HMS female graduate of the fifties: "I played the game, all right. I didn't get married until I was 40 years old. I adopted a child. I didn't let my private life interfere with my professional career. I can tell you, it's no use: it doesn't work."

(1) WOMEN DOCTORS OF THE WORLD, by Esther Pohl Lovejoy, MacMillan, New York, 1957.

(2) THE STUDY AND PRACTICE OF MEDICINE BY WOMEN, by James R. Chadwick, M.D., New York, 1879

# The Law School

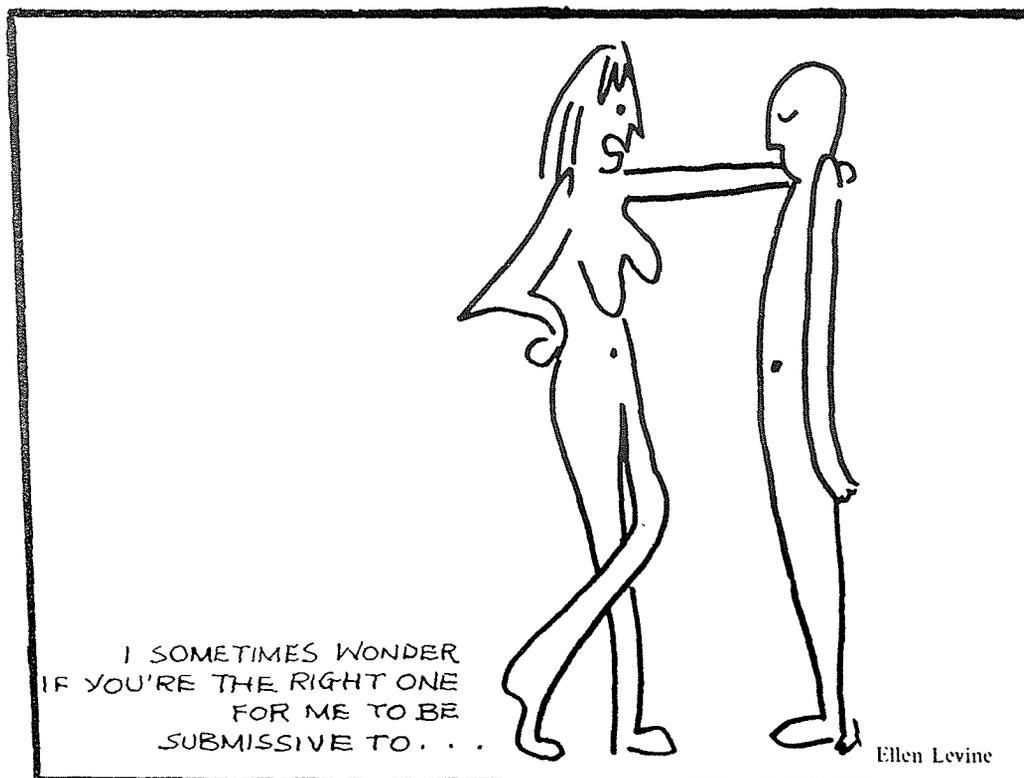
The problems women face at the Law School have been well documented in a pamphlet written by the recently formed Women's Law Student Association:

It is often very strange and difficult to be a woman at Harvard Law School. There are only 120 of us out of 1550 students (or 8%), although women comprise 51% of the population. We have been admitted to the Law School only since 1954. We are still not allowed to live in the school's dormitories. In class, we hear professors and students demean women: women driver jokes in Torts, offensive and callous treatment of rape cases in Criminal Law, endless drolleries about there never having been a 'reasonable woman.' When we protest to professors after class, we are told we have no sense of humor. Needless to say, all

professors we see at law school are males. The only woman teacher, Miss Owens, has lecturer status. When we ask why there are no women on the faculty, we are told there is no woman in the country who meets Harvard's standards. Those of us who are not deterred by the indignities of this school find upon graduating that in most cities, it is very difficult for a woman to find a job.

All of these problems point to one conclusion: Harvard Law School is a male institution dedicated to producing young male leaders. True, the school admits a handful of women each year but once here, these women are forgotten. Harvard's excuse for its inaction seems to be that these female students are not 'real women.' 'Real women' do not come to Harvard Law School. Why encourage women to come to law school if they are so blissfully happy in their traditional roles? one assistant dean asked us. Our answer is that if more women had a choice, they would pass up so-called bliss. Those of us at law school today are, in a sense, aberrations; we made it only because we had unusual support somewhere along the way from our parents or from an encouraging teacher. However, even we aberrations are not so unusual, and so strong that we are not damaged by slights we have encountered at the school.

The women law students go on to point out that until this year, admissions recruiters from the Law School never even visited women's schools (except Radcliffe and Wellesley) to urge students to apply for admission. Thus, admissions officials' protestations--



HARVARD DIVINITY SCHOOL

21 members in the Faculty and Administration  
19 men and 2 women: the Registrar and the  
Librarian. NO FEMALE INSTRUCTORS ABOVE THE  
RANK OF TEACHING FELLOW.

that they would accept more women if they only applied--ring a little hollow. As a result of pressure from the WLSA, the Law School recently allocated \$700 for a special spring recruiting program for women--a token gesture, but a step in the right direction.

A major problem a woman law student faces is finding a job when she graduates. The WLSA pamphlet puts it this way:

...Discrimination in job interviews takes several forms. The least sophisticated approach is a flat admission that 'We are not looking for a woman this year,' or: 'Some of our senior partners don't think women make good lawyers.' The more usual approach is a look of boredom as soon as the interviewer sees a skirt instead of a three-piece suit. Whatever the response it is clear that very few women receive more than one or two job offers. The severity of the discrimination varies according to the specialty the woman is interested in (brownie points if she says she's interested in 'back-room work,' demerits for interest in litigation); the area of the country (New York is most open to women, Boston and the West Coast hardest to crack); and the type of employment she seeks.

The women law students have been able to extract some concessions from Law School officials, but these have been token victories at best. Furthermore, these minor concessions have been won only at the expense of a great deal of work on the part of the women. Their experience is instructive:

We have been forced to exhaust our limited free time running from the dean to a dozen professors repeating the same thing over and over. Whenever we wanted anything done, we have had to prepare numerous proposals and memoranda and give copies to everyone at our own expense. We have begun viewing these formalities as something very close to harassment, designed to measure our persistence.

# The Ed School

By comparison with other graduate schools at Harvard, the Ed School seems a haven for women in a male dominated university. There are more women enrolled there--46%--than in any of the other professional schools or in the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences. And in fact, women at the Ed School don't experience some of the more blatant aspects of male chauvinism that plague other graduate women at Harvard.

But on closer inspection, it is obvious that men dominate the school's administration. Too, male faculty and students receive preferential treatment in hiring and admissions. It should be clear first of all that women are welcome at the Ed School not because of any commitment on its part to train large numbers of female "educational leaders" but simply because so few qualified men (until very recently) have been attracted to careers in education. For decades public school teaching has been considered a "woman's field" and the low pay and prestige associated with it has kept men out of that occupation. Second, within the Ed School it is obvious that women are predominantly enrolled in programs that won't train them for positions of "leadership" in education. For example, while women comprise 63% of the students in the Master of Arts in Teaching program, they constitute only 31% of the doctoral candidates.

Furthermore, in certain doctoral programs, women are shockingly underrepresented, particularly in the Administrative Career Program which "prepares candidates primarily for positions of major administrative responsibility in American education ..." (HGSE Catalogue, 1969-70). Only 6% of the students in that training program are women. A survey of the alumni of the Ed School carried out in 1964 indicates that this merely continues a traditional pattern--the percentage of women graduates who become administrators has always been very low. Of those alumni who are still in education, 36 per cent of the males are administrators; only 9 per cent of the women are.

According to knowledgeable sources in the Ed School, the problem isn't just that few women apply to the administrative training program--they have been systematically discouraged all along the

line from doing so; it is also that the competent women who do apply are often discriminated against on the basis of sex. Male faculty members in Administration have a sexist notion of the ideal school administrator and this attitude provides a convenient rationalization for maintaining a male-dominated department and profession. There seems to be a curious double standard at work in the matter of whether or not to recruit men or women to certain programs of study. Men are encouraged to apply to the teacher training programs because Ed School officials believe it's important to have adult male role models for young male students in public school classrooms. On the other hand, despite the fact that women are as underrepresented in administrative roles as men are in teaching roles, there seems to be no attempt to recruit women to become educational administrators so that they can serve as models for girls to emulate.

Faculty members admit that doctoral programs that have traditionally had high percentages of female students--e.g. Human Development, with 73% female enrollment this year--seek out male candidates, and are likely to accept a less qualified male applicant over a female one.

Those women who are in the Ed School's teacher training program are rarely exposed to a classroom discussion of the problems that will confront them as women in the teaching profession. For example, women are usually forced to leave their teaching jobs regardless of their own wishes soon after they become pregnant. Moreover, women who want to continue teaching on a part-time basis after they have children find it extremely difficult to locate half-time teaching positions. And even if they find such a job, they cannot find inexpensive day care centers for their children. These reforms will never be gained unless women teachers



"Of course, Miss, er...uh...Mrs, uh... Jones, if you're planning to get pregnant..."

collectively put pressure on school and community officials. But the need for this kind of pressure is seldom discussed in teacher training courses.

One reason issues relevant to women are so infrequently dealt with by the faculty is that almost all of the faculty members are men. There is only one female full professor--and only one female associate professor. Twenty-one percent of the assistant professors and 19% of the lecturers are women. Altogether, in a school where almost a third of the doctoral students are women, only 15% of the faculty members are female.

There are other more subtle ways in which women who are students at the Ed School are treated by males as something less than equals. Many male professors appear to be as interested in a student's physical attractiveness as in her intellectual capabilities. It is reported that in one "shop," expressions of male chauvinist attitudes reach an annual high when faculty members are choosing their advisees--comments like "I'll take her; she's good looking," are not uncommon. And male faculty often crack "clever" jokes about the academic prowess or "inherent" personality characteristics of women. For

example, one professor opened his class with the following joke--"A professor can always distinguish his male from his female students; ... when he says 'good morning' to a class, the men reply 'good morning,' and the women just write it down."

There are clear signs that in at least one respect the position of women at the Ed School will get worse before it gets better. Because of a budget crisis, the Ed School is going through a period of rather drastic retrenchment. It is expected that a substantial percentage of the faculty will not be rehired in the next few years--perhaps as many as one third of the faculty members will be forced to leave and no replacements will be hired. This cutback will primarily affect junior faculty--and since all but two of the women who are currently teaching are either lecturers or assistant professors, this means that they will be among those not rehired. Hence the percentage of women on the faculty, already ridiculously low, will most likely be reduced even further. And that curtailment will merely serve to reinforce the atmosphere and the channeling notions that prevail at all levels of the school.

#### WOMEN IN THE DESIGN SCHOOL

12% of the students are women (34/294).  
No women on the Faculty.

# The Health Center

At Harvard as elsewhere, but at Harvard more influentially than elsewhere, male chauvinism affects medical policy by its implicit assumption that the female reproductive apparatus is an "extra" that may be optionally omitted from consideration of the body's problems. There is no gynecologist at the Health Center, and there is none, as has already been pointed out in our article on the Medical School, in the health center there. The rationale given this - "If we hired one, we'd need at least four" - shows at once that there is a crying need on the parts of some 1000 human beings at the Medical School for a service vital to their health; and that medicine in the country generally (Harvard is quite simply one of the most prestigious pillars of the medical establishment) works on a calculated estimate of profitability. It simply wouldn't be economically wise to have gynecological services for these particular people; after all, they're only women, and the investment wouldn't be worth it. There are individual doctors who will give gynecological examinations, but the fact that such attention is left up to the individual doctor constitutes an enormous problem - the heart of the whole issue, actually - that we shall discuss shortly.

Because of the association of the Health Services with university administration, women students and employees are reluctant to seek advice from the medical staff about "female ailments," venereal disease, or possible pregnancy. It is not up to individual women at Radcliffe and Harvard to overcome this reluctance--as long as it is based on real connections between treatment and punishment apparatus. Women are justifiably afraid to have in their records entries that might at some future date be used against them. Double standards dictate that what should be regarded as a neutral, physiological matter, be used by the society as a club over women's heads. In an article on the Health

Center's attitude about birth control pills, the Crimson (March 31, 1967) remarks that once having visited the Center to seek contraceptive advice, "Cliffies (sic) don't return.. .at least one Cliffie (sic) who asked a doctor for pills recently saw him write 'pills' in her folder in large block letters." It makes little difference whether such information would actually be used against individual women; what is important is that the fear is there. Again, it isn't up to the individual woman to "overcome" such fear, although groups of women may educate themselves to understand the origins and political functions of such fear, and so be better equipped to fight against the institutions that, wittingly or not, trade upon it.

It is common knowledge that when women students seek advice about contraception, or about almost any gynecological matter, certain doctors feel it incumbent upon themselves to question them about their sexual practices. It is, of course, the social status of doctors in America, the "Great White God" mythology built up around them, that serves to excuse such violations of privacy. So that though one may single out individual doctors who are particularly piggish in this regard, it is professional ideology that must be attacked here, as in all other segments of university life.

Birth control advice and prescriptions are gener-

#### MATERNITY CARE: PROFIT, PLUS A FEW CATCHES

At Harvard, provision is made for maternity care under the Blue Cross-Blue Shield "Dependents Plan." If you're single and pregnant, forget coverage; it isn't provided for you. If you haven't been "covered" by regular insurance for eight months prior to your becoming pregnant, you can also forget about it. Insurance companies are in business for profit. Pregnancy is a matter of their investment, not a matter of your health. If you're a student, then, you can get "Dependents" coverage given your eight months' prior enrollment. But "Dependents" coverage formally applies only to "wife and children;" if you're a woman student, the procedure is to enter your husband -whether or not he works at Harvard- in the plan. You may then assume your rightful role as his dependent, and he is billed for the obstetrician's charges minus \$75. The \$75, plus all hospital charges is paid by Blue Cross. If you're a woman employee, same procedure but better benefits: Blue Cross pays all hospital charges plus 80% of the obstetrician's charges.

ally not regarded as a part of normal services, though many women need to consult a gynecologist for nothing else. At Harvard birth control information is not given out because Massachusetts law forbids it. Of course, there are two ways of approaching such legislation: one is to leave things up to the "individual

conscience" of the doctor, and not in any way to challenge the inhumanity of such a law. The other is to use the enormous weight and prestige of Harvard to combat the law. The Health Center chooses the former course. What this means for the individual woman is that when she goes to the Center seeking contraceptive advice, she has to hope she'll get a "good guy." She sits in the large waiting room, sweating it out, dependent on the fact that "Every UHS doctor brings to his cubicle in Holyoke Center a different combination of personality, attitudes, and professional experience...One may be brusque, almost brutal. He asks if you have ever been pregnant or when you are planning to get married. Another may be solicitous, concerned to find out if you are sure, perhaps trying tactfully (sic) to change your mind." Now, you may get a kind and humane doctor such as the one woman who works at the Center is reputed to be. But both she and you are caught in the toils of the same mythology that deflects responsibility from institutions to "individual conscience." Liberalism assumes that ultimate freedom is the right of each individual to decide what is right "according to the dictates of his own conscience." That's fine if everyone in society is actually free to act on those impulses, or has the information that makes

real, informed decisions possible. But as it happens, such freedom is actually available only to those who are at the top of the power structure. For example, the Junior Fellows, whom we discuss elsewhere in these pages, are free in the ultimate sense--free from constraints on intellectual development, free from having to compete for degrees, and so on. At the Health Center the doctors are free--free to make "conscientious" decisions about the life concerns of patients whose own freedom is to one degree or other severely limited. Limited because decent and adequate provisions for gynecological health are forbidden by state law; limited, too, because many women are conditioned to self-deprecation to such an extent that they not only abdicate what rights they may have, but they fail to trust or even recognize their best interests. Which are, for example, that it is necessary to have decent gynecological care, just as it is necessary to consult an internist once a year; that it is also a fact that human beings, both male and female, have sexual urges, and that the weight of responsibility for controlling reproduction lies equally with each; that no censorship should be attached in either case to obtaining birth control devices. That there is censorship is, quite simply, brutal.

Dana Farnsworth, director

of the Medical Center, has remarked, "If we ministered and supervised contraceptives, we would be saying it was right." Very true. Just as, if you refuse to give advice, you lend institutional credence to an inhumane law. You make it clear that you feel individual women should take the rap if they're caught challenging the law, and not the institutions that support those laws by tacit assent.

Assistant Director Munter is quoted in the March, 1967 Crimson article as having said, "Contraception is not a legal question. It is a question of interpersonal relations, morality, and personal dignity." This notion, hardly original with Munter, is that if you're in a position of influence and power, you must set up rules for others to live by, and be sure they abide by them; or that you set up your own "ethical" code - for once again Munter conflates institutional and individual responsibilities - and make very certain that no one's life concerns get in the way of it. We agree with Munter that what we do with our bodies is a matter of personal dignity: ours, not his.

Because there is no provision at the Health Center for gynecological care, many women students and employees who are in some sense paying for university medical services are forced also to pay private doctors; in many cases, women who cannot afford to do so or are badly informed, simply do without essential care.

As students, as academics,

and as employees, we are all too ready to respect expertise; to assume that a doctor's medical knowledge also encompasses essentially political decisions about health care. We must begin both to demand that university medical facilities become a true community service, and to work for the control of women over their own bodies.

CHART A  
COMPARATIVE STATISTICS FOR MEN AND WOMEN IN THE LABOR FORCE, 1960

OCCUPATION	Percentage of working women in each occupational category	Income of Year Round Full Time Workers		Numbers of Workers in Millions	
		Women	Men	Women	Men
PROFESSIONAL MANAGERS, OFFICIALS AND PROPRIETORS	13%	\$4358	\$7115	3	5
CLERICAL	5	3514	7241	1	5
OPERATIVES	31	3586	5247	7	3
SALES	15	2970	4977	4	9
SERVICE	7	2389	5842	2	3
PRIVATE HOUSEHOLD	15	2340	4089	3	3
	10	1156	—	2	—

Sources: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census: "Current Population Reports," P-60, No. 37, and U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics and U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

CHART B  
MEDIAN ANNUAL WAGES FOR MEN AND WOMEN BY RACE, 1960

WORKERS	MEDIAN ANNUAL WAGE
MALES, WHITE	\$5137
MALES, NON-WHITE	\$3075
FEMALES, WHITE	\$2537
FEMALES, NON-WHITE	\$1276

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. Also see: President's Commission on the Status of Women, 1963.



# On Being One of the Boys: Making It in the Society of Fellows

"The history of the Society begins, like all history, with men."  
(THE SOCIETY OF FELLOWS, ed. by Crane Brinton, 1959, p.2)

Last year, on one of the major TV networks, two hours were devoted to an 'informal' glimpse of the lives of two top Harvard geneticists. The program took you from lab to home and finally to dinner at the Society of Fellows. The impression made by this last setting was especially striking. Gracious, with a donnish gentility, it left you feeling that THIS was the real Harvard--young men and old exchanging cryptic witticisms, rarified gossip, and bits of arcane knowledge over steack au poivre and wine. Not a bit did you learn about science--but that didn't seem to matter. You weren't supposed to. You were the ignorant and abashed audience. Theirs was to create; yours, to sit in awe and marvel. The two men who were the focus of the program could have been any two Society of Fellows members; their individual personalities and characters aren't important; what is important is their definition as the cream of a class of intellectuals the policy-planning part of which Noam Chomsky has called "the New Mandarins."

Harvard exists largely to turn out approximations of such men; the Society of Fellows is the distilled essence of Harvard. At least, this was the intent of its original founders. It was created on the model of the Prize Fellows of Cambridge; at Cambridge, "the fellows of Trinity College are the College."\* So, at Harvard, was the Society of Fellows, ostensibly, to "be" Harvard. The Charter of the Society stipulates that the Junior Fellows, seven of whom are selected each year from all over the country for a cushy three-year think tank term, "shall be selected for their promise of notable contribution to knowledge and thought." Elsewhere in the book we've used as the source of information for this article, THE SOCIETY OF FELLOWS, edited by Crane Brinton, it is stated: "Like Trinity College before it, the Society will be judged by the mark made by its members on the world."

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\*THE SOCIETY OF FELLOWS, p.46

And what has that mark been? Judge for yourself the following statement: "About one third of the life of the Society has been filled by war. If the Junior Fellows had the qualities their Seniors thought they had, they should have contributed to the scientific side of the American effort. Many of them did, in both applied and theoretical science..."(p.35) The authors of this statement must be pleased today to see how well the Junior Fellows have done in the ranks of leadership of a nation whose economic hegemony in the world depends on a continual state of war-preparedness. The biographical blurbs on the Junior Fellows, whose names and achievements appear at the end of the volume quoted above, read like a catalogue of ruling-class directorships and research positions.

Here one finds Daniel Ellsberg, Fellow from 1957-59, participant in the Weapons Systems Group, Economic Analysis Division, RAND Corporation; there is Ray S. Cline, Director, U.S. Naval Auxiliary Communications Center in the Pacific; McGeorge Bundy; Harvey Brooks, now a Harvard administrator and faculty member, formerly Chairman of the Solid State Advisory Panel, Office of Naval Research. Or Hans Epstein, political analyst and adviser to the Defense Department, and Project Officer and branch chief for the "PsyWar and Intelligence Division," Human Resources Research Institute; also, director (in the words of the blurb) of a "War Documentation

Project, a classified government research project undertaken by Columbia University for the U.S. Government, 1954-55." And there is, as well, James Fisk, President of Bell Telephone Laboratories, formerly of the Science Advisory Committee of the Atomic Energy Commission. Or Ivan Getting, Vice-President of engineering and research at Raytheon; David Griggs, Chief of the nuclear energy section of Project Rand, 1946-48, chief scientist for the USAF, 1951-52. Or John Howard, director of 'International training and research,' Ford Foundation. Or Cord Meyer Jr., who is known to have worked on 'cultural' matters for the C.I.A. after being a Junior Fellow.

That many of the Fellows go on to be leading Cold Warriors is the grossest manifestation of "success" on the Society's terms. The finer and more telling purpose of the Society is to create a privileged intellectual elite, an ideal Brahmin caste that constitutes the highest Track of a society that tracks all its members from the cradle to the grave. We mean this quite literally: if you're white, working-class, born in, say, Fall River, Mass., chances are you'll be "tracked" into the vocational programs of the school system, and from there into the lowest-level jobs of the society. If you're black, the chances of that, or of outright destitution, are even greater. If you're a woman, it's almost certain that whatever talents you have will be curtailed in their development at

an early eage, when you internalize  
the expectations society sets up  
as norms for you.

... Here there is a discussion of the foreign policy of Afghanistan, from which unlikely country a Junior Fellow whose field is Indic Philology has just returned. There the question turns to the operational definition of concepts, and the degree to which it can be applied in the social sciences. Here a defense of Hugh O'Neill, the great Earl of Tyrone, ends in an explanation of Elizabethan expansion as the result of a price squeeze on the gentlemen of England. There *Totem and Taboo* is tabooed, with anthropological reasons. Here some pellet-counters thrash out the relative merits of the rat and the hamster as laboratory animals. There the probable next moves of the Rubber Workers' Union are mapped. There are never any speeches, set papers, or set topics. Junior Fellows talk about their own work only as it comes in naturally. Many of the Fellows and guests remain at table long after the dinner is over. The rest return to the parlor, where they pull up chairs, to continue a subject already begun or to join a group that is starting something new.

Besides the dinners, the Junior Fellows have lunch together twice a week in the rooms of the Society, the Seniors excluded. This is a group of contemporaries, and some topics can come up in some ways not possible at the dinners. In the experience of one Junior Fellow, there was at these lunches more discussion of national and university politics and more license given to the direct shock of interests and personalities. For instance, men lined up as Republicans and Democrats, isolationists and interventionists. They have come to know each other less as intellectuals than as common Americans. There have also been Fellows' picnics and ball games, and even dances in the rooms of the Society — occasions which have included that devoted and hard-working group, the wives and girls of academic men.

-from THE SOCIETY OF FELLOWS,  
ed. by Crane Brinton-

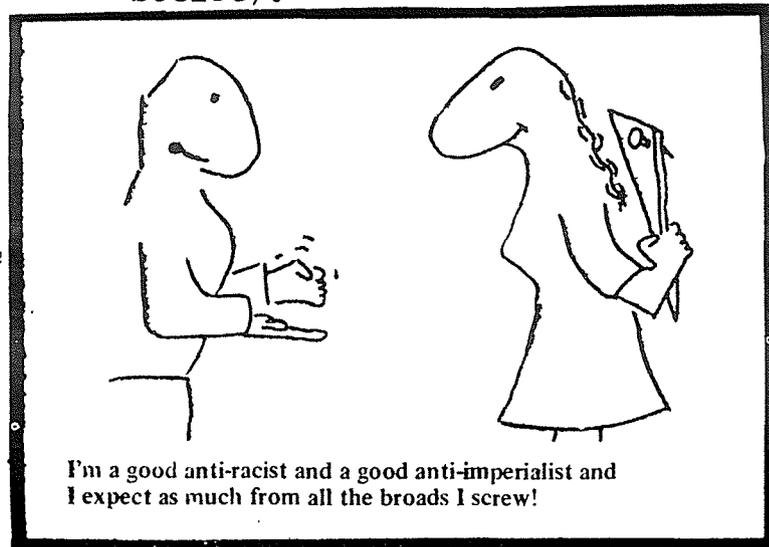
Junior Fellows aren't tracked. "A prize Fellow is chosen young, at the time of his most creative energy, and he is left free to work without any rules not set by himself. He is not put in a track and made to jump the fences that lead

to a degree." (p.13) The Junior Fellows enjoy democracy at the top. Free, classless, and urbane, they represent some of the only members of American society who can be intellectually and spiritually free. It is this that we find appalling, not the fact that women aren't allowed in. This latter fact merely reflects a larger exclusiveness that gives the institution its reason for being: little black and brown people and women are a lesser world; men like the ones chosen for the Society are the leaders and thinkers of the First World. And you would no more ask someone from the lesser world to join you in your activities than you would ask your maid to play tennis with you.

What we ask is the following: why should it be the privilege of a small elite to be intellectually and spiritually free? to be free of being channeled? to be free to develop their capacities in comfort and fellowship? And why should the sort of work they do be more prized than manual labor? Should free development of talents not be the right of every member of a humane society, black and white, male and female? The point is, we don't live in a humane society. We live in a society where profit governs the acquisition of knowledge; where you learn, not in order to create better kinds of human relationships, but in order to outdo the guy or woman who's sweating it out in the exam seat next to yours; and that, in order to get ahead in a soci-

ety whose most prized accomplishments consist of being a "war-games" expert and "systems analyst" like Thomas Schelling (member of the Society in 1948); being a participant in the A.E.C.; a planner of newer and better weapons "systems" with which to blast the Vietnamese into oblivion and so increase the profits of Raytheon, Lockheed, and Bell Telephone. Such a society is one where the "dummies" go to State and community colleges and the "smarties" go to Harvard and Yale; and where it turns out that "dummies" are mainly lower-middle class, working-class, and women, and "smarties" are upper middle-class, white, and male.

We do not feel that women should be admitted to the Society of Fellows. No one should. Together with the assumptions underlying it, it should be abolished. And that implies the destruction of privilege at Harvard generally, and the building of a truly democratic and humane society.



# Curriculum: Whose Education?

As Women's Liberation has grown as a movement, groups of students and faculty at colleges and universities across the country have begun initiating programs and courses about women, as Black students have done with respect to Black Studies. Such programs may take the form of separate "Colleges of Women Studies;" other efforts may be made not to establish comprehensive programs, but to initiate courses in various departments. Of course, the danger in either case, as in Black Studies, is that control of such programs may be wrested or "coopted" out of the hands of the people whose most vital interests are involved. It is clear that provision must be made not only for hiring women to staff such programs, but that women students themselves have real power to choose teachers and to shape curriculum--and not just a "voice" on committees set up by administrators and department chairmen.

Both Centers of Women Studies and separate courses have advantages and disadvantages. The advantage of having separate Centers or Colleges of Women Studies is that these might be places where women could get themselves together--we need (to further develop Virginia Woolf's metaphor) room of our own, both spatial and psychological, to develop in ourselves the talents and capacities that have been suppressed by our conditioning. But the experience of the women's colleges established in the 19th century for similar purposes has shown that such separate programs run the risk of recapitulating the isolation and categorization that the general society imposes on us.

Segregation is avoided by setting up courses within the regular framework of existing departments, and by setting up radical counter-courses. If, say, a history department includes in its regular curriculum a course on the 19th century women's rights struggles in different countries, a course on the position of women in Puritan England, and one on the history of women's struggles in the American labor movement, it becomes clear that such history is a part of major historical patterns, and not the accident, the negligible curiosity it is now roundly assumed to be. Setting up a set of Women Studies as students did of radical studies generally last year in Soc Rel

149, accomplishes not only the purposes of making our history and identity authentic, but establishes bases for organizing and action.

Significantly, during discussion of merger at Harvard (see our section on the subject), where you'd think some consideration might have been given to curriculum, there was nary a whisper about it. Almost all the talk about "women's special interests" boiled down to men's "special" conviction of what women are--readily-available sexual toys, or a threat to male hegemony.

To date, then, the Harvard curriculum incorporates or lends credence to male chauvinist and supremacist assumptions. Take literature, for example, which has a high number of concentrators of both sexes. The study of literary history at Harvard (with one exception, a course in History and Lit on the role of women in literature and history in America), has traditionally included consideration of contemporary sexual values and attitudes. But it devotes remarkably little attention to the fact that writers and readers belong to both sexes. We know very little about the lives women led for most of our history, and our ignorance is itself translated into an approach to literature; we apply to male-female relationships in books general theories of sexual psychology, or vulgarized versions of contemporary standards. Men and women students alike are taught to accept

the viewpoint of the masculine narrator that dominates most of our literature. When the narrator happens to be feminine, few students learn to avoid the pitfalls of sexual analogy in describing subject or style. We know almost nothing about the ways in which social conditions at different times shaped literary representations of women; we know even less about the way literature influences social definitions, social expectations of what it means to be male or female. There are studies, for instance, of love theories and the literary conventions they informed. But such studies accept as axiomatic the passive role of the female participant in the experience. We use literature as a guide to the psychology and sociology of sex, without accepting



the intellectual responsibilities that should go with such decisions-- and without recognizing that the end result of studying literature should be more than a mind that believes itself disinterested because it has been neutered.

Outside of the course in the History and Lit department, the single example we know of where an effort was made to talk about women writers as women is sheerly farcical: a talk by Professor Harry Levin at a meeting several years ago of the comparative literature department; the talk was entitled, "Janes and Emilies," and, in the bantering tone Mr. Levin evidently felt appropriate to such a light-weight topic, proceeded to categorize a large number of women authors by affixing the most hackneyed set of stereotyped attitudes of "passivity" and "aggressiveness" to them.

A similar bias holds in our economics courses, which never consider the role of the family in the political economy. (We recognize that economics as generally taught doesn't consider political economy in the first place, since it assumes that the economy has no political function). Some classics have, however, been written on the subject, and some good recent literature (e.g. Margaret Benston's "The Political Economy of Women's Liberation" in THE MONTHLY REVIEW, Dec., 1969). But here, too, the anti-Marxist as well as the sexist bias of the department sets up a roadblock; economics, like all the social sciences, exists to set up models corresponding to the status quo; its scholarship is purely descriptive, not critical.

Sexist bias is blatant, of course,

in psychology, where Freudian doctrine is expounded uncritically, and where supposedly 'objective' experiments begin with bias and end in reconfirmation of stereotypes.

Such bias holds as well in applied sociology that, for example, has tinkered with technological contraceptive gadgets despite the fact that the population problem is more one of reducing wanted pregnancies than it is of avoiding unwanted ones. The question of wanted pregnancies hinges on what women do with their lives. Here the role of Harvard as one of the two or three leading universities in America should be critical; more and more women will be drawn into undergraduate institutions in the coming decades, and the opinions and research of the country's most influential departments will be important--in continuing to shape the self-images women now bring with them to college, or in working to replace them with wider human possibilities.

As for our courses in biology, why is it that we have no objective ones on the biology of sex--a topic surely entailing interesting research into hormone structure? Why is it that courses even touching on the subject never question the present unscholarly assumptions of the sociology of sex? The an-

swer, of course, is obvious; we need hardly restate it.

We must begin demanding courses, and instituting them ourselves--courses that critically examine existing stereotypes. (Such courses should be open to all members of the university, employees and students alike). Literature courses could include, for example: stereotypes of sexual attributes; social influence of literary stereotypes; psycho-sexual uses of literary fantasy; gender as a factor in critical point of view; the female body as symbol; literature intended for the female audience; the contribution of women writers; etc. Sociology could include versions of the same courses, together with: self-image and the process of socialization; sex and society; the nuclear family and other forms of living groupings; the effect of capitalism on all of these, as compared with that of socialism; the media's role in creating psycho-sexual stereotypes.

Economics might include: the political economy of women's liberation; sexism and capitalism; the political economy of the nuclear family (a version of the first topic); women in socialist countries; etc.

It is most important to understand that programs of Women Studies should not merely be another set of academic courses, shaped by the same old profession-

al "standards" that now shape the Harvard curriculum. Studies on the oppression of women are, in our conception of them, people's liberation courses. As such, they must form the basis of "people's learning," as opposed to the competitive, individualist "learning" that now traps us in the cycle of outrunning one another in order to get good grades to the further end of getting degrees, to the still further end of "making it." As we remarked earlier in HOW HARVARD RULES WOMEN, women's liberation involves re-educating ourselves to trust and have confidence in each other. It follows that one of the most important aspects of a program of studies for us would be its collective nature. We must begin sharing knowledge collectively, doing collective research and writing. Women's Studies should be, moreover, bases for organizing and action that give practical substance to our learning. As we remarked in our introduction, we must start to break down the totalitarian structure that separates us one from the other throughout the University, so that liberation may be not merely rhetorical, but may instead begin to be realized in the process of actual work together.

*"From grade school on, one of the nice things girls are told they can be is a nurse. I would say I wanted to be a doctor and people would say, oh, why don't you be a nurse, it's so much nicer, more feminine."*

# Psychology on Sex Differences, or: What is the Weight of a Hundred Holes?

At Harvard and at universities all over the country, the findings and interpretations of "objective," "neutral," "scientific" research on sex differences are being taught. It somehow comes as no great shock that this research lends support to every prevailing male chauvinist stereotype of women. We have heard before that women are by nature passive, dependent, affiliative (add here any other negative adjective you can think of) and we have responded with doubt, indignation, rage, and at times, confusion. Although outrage helps restore our sense of self and worth in the face of blatant prejudice, subtle innuendos and insults of omission (don't mind me, I'm just standing here trying to look beautiful), it is particularly difficult to know where or who you are when science lays it down. But betwixt the research idea and the conclusion there's a lot more going on than "science." In fact, we would argue, but will not demonstrate here, that the example of research on sex differences in psychology and related fields is instructive in looking at all "objective, value-free" research in the social sciences. Here we will use some examples to illustrate the various kinds of errors, biases and stupidities that enter into research and reports of research. No attempt is made to be exhaustive (of the research or reader); our purpose is to offer some critical tools with which to look at the research and to deflate some of the more potent myths which might boggle our minds when first presented as "science."

Methodological Fallacies and  
Friends of Feminists Inc.

One of the ways that biases enter into "science" is in the construction of instruments. Scales that have two dimensions are often used; one consisting of adjectives the society generally attributes to males, the other consisting of their opposites. It is possible to choose only the opposite adjective to describe the female, and the opposite is always negative. For example: strong-weak, bright-dull, active-passive, aggressive-peaceful, fast-slow (Osgood). Thus females are only defined in terms of males and since males do all the valued activities in this society (with a few piddling exceptions), females are what constitute the opposite. These descriptive studies aren't meaningful. They only restate and lend credence to the objective conditions of women in this society; they can never lead to a valid definition of what a woman is.

One game that should be called before it fools anyone is played by "Friends of Feminists Incorporated." Claiming to recognize the injustice done to women by the use of negative definitions and stereotypes, these modern gallants offer to clarify the situation by defining woman "in her own right." The idea is to use euphemisms for the standard adjectives; instead of being "passive-acceptant," women are "contextual;" instead of "dependent," women are "interdependent," and so on and so forth, ad nauseam.

Another fallacy involves including or excluding situational variables from consideration. Is behavior the manifestation of "inherent" "personality factors," or is it, rather, influenced by social situations? In fact, the effect of different social conditions and conditioning has been traditionally disregarded in all areas of psychological research on sex differences.

Essentially, the inherent limitations of the existing situations predetermine that females and males will behave in accordance with sexual stereotypes. For example, there is an extensive literature that demonstrates that physical aggression is characteristic of males, while women tend to express aggression verbally, if at all. Most of these studies propose that men fall at the "aggressive" end of a passive-aggressive



scale; women, at the passive end. Furthermore, by demonstrating its presence in early childhood, they maintain that female passivity is biologically determined. Do the contexts of these experiments actually measure biological differences, or do they measure simply the sexual role behavior that our society deems appropriate?

In an experiment where subjects gave each other electric shocks, women who were told that men had administered the shock retaliated by administering a higher voltage than did men who were told that women had administered the shock. The result would seem to disprove the traditional stereotype about female passivity. And as well, to take our own conclusions one step further, one could well say that both the men and the women in this experiment were reacting to the social convention that men do not physically harm women--the men, by inhibiting aggression, the women, by giving it free rein.

People bring sociologically conditioned expectations to bear on different situations, and these affect behavior both in society and in the laboratory. In her article, "Kinder, Kirche, Kuche, or: Psychology Constructs the Female," Naomi Weisstein points to the wealth of literature by Rosenthal et al., which demonstrates that expectations in the experimenter or schoolteacher influenced the results obtained. This effect held true even when the experimenter didn't obviously act differently towards different subjects. Despite these extremely important experiments, investigators in the area of sex differences have conveniently

overlooked the fact that men and women will respond differently to experimenters who expect different sorts of behavior from men and women. Fallacies of Interpretation

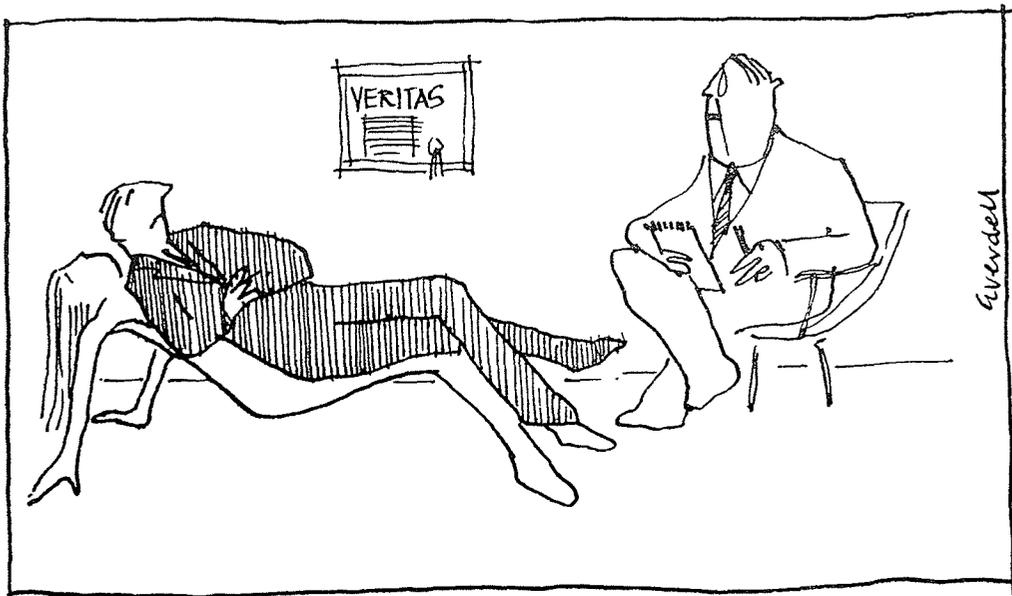
Assume for the moment that you've gotten past the pitfalls of biased instruments and mis-handled methodology and you're just looking at the data. How do you interpret it? Let's look at some choice examples from a recent extensive review of the sex difference literature. Garai and Sheinfeld note that the basal metabolism rates of men are higher than that of women and then concludes "in general the male organism seems to be comparable to an engine which operates at higher levels of speed and intensity and which needs a greater amount of fuel than the less energetic female organism." This is interesting in the light of biological evidence on the less viable nature of the male organism, ("less viable" here means the greater susceptibility of men to genetic defect, disease, etc.). An example of similar reasoning is what is made of the advanced skeletal and neurological development of women at birth. Again, Garai: "Since the more mature girls would be expected to be ahead of the less mature boys in all behavioral manifestations, the absence of observed sex differences at birth may therefore conceal actually present sex differences in favor of boys." This argument is based on the observed absence of sex differences at birth; by trading on differences ob-

served at later ages, it turns this earlier evidence, which is positively weighted in favor of females, against them. It seems obvious to all but Gerai that there are at least two possible interpretations. One of them is his. The other is, quite simply, that differences at a later age are caused by differential socialization. There is no evidence yet on a relationship between this maturational advantage and any later behavioral characteristics.

Gerai performs another sleight of hand in analyzing the data on observed differences between males and females in school performance. "With girls excelling in these abilities (rote memory and practical reasoning) which are more important for success at the lower levels of our educational system, they tend to perform better in elementary and junior high school, while the increasing male superiority in abstract reasoning would favor the success of boys at the college and graduate levels." The girls are said to

excel in the early grades not only because of a maturational advantage, but also because of "the greater encouragement of social responsiveness and compliance by the parents at an earlier age and with greater insistence than with regard to boys." This argument, drawn from evidence of socialization, is abandoned the moment males take the lead. It is then argued that in skills developed later, males are superior because of innate superiority. In other words, Garai is willing to use socialization to explain women's early success, but not their later failure.

A study by Crandall and Rabson shows how differential socialization of boys and girls clearly influences experimental situations. In testing one aspect of need for achievement, where the desire for task mastery followed failure, girls and boys were given tasks, the success and failure of which were manipulated. They were then asked which task they wished to resume. From ages 3 to 5, girls



and boys returned to a failed task the same number of times. However, between 6 and 8 the boys were more likely to return to the failed task than the girls. Is this some inherent male superiority sneaking out at age 6 or the effectiveness of socialization settling in?

### Defective Extrapolations from the Cradle to the Grave

The bulk of the literature on sex differences has sought to find unlearned differences between men and women. The focus has shifted from adult personality factors to "simple" adult behavior like performance on perceptual tasks. The goal is to define behavior that is minimally affected by socialization; Witkin et al. have developed an entire theory on differential cognitive functioning and personality for women and men. The main data are from the "Rod and Frame" test and the "Embedded Figure" test. Essentially, the Rod and Frame measures the subject's ability to adjust a rod to the vertical position, when the subject is on an incline, or the rod has been tilted. The Embedded Figure tests the ability to find a figure hidden in a design. Males excel in both tasks. Witkin has interpreted his findings in the following way: women are influenced by their own bodies and the tilt of the room; they are "field dependent," as opposed to men, who are "field independent." According to Witkin, it must follow that women are

## CAPITALIZE ON THE MOST POWERFUL SALES INCENTIVE EVER DEvised BY MAN:



### WOMAN.

passive, more easily influenced by their environment, etc.; whereas men are active, independent of their environment, etc., and abstract in the way they reason. This is only one example of the all too frequent fallacy of reasoning by verbal analogy. In Witkin's experiment, one could equally well draw the conclusion, for example, that women were likely to be more flexible and imaginative with respect to rapidly-changing situations, while men are more dependent on ingrained patterns of behavior. Finally, Witkin in no way deals with the possibility that there may be no logical link between test performance, cognitive style, and personality; that varying performances in testing situations may result from differential socialization and opportunities for learning. One might add, as well, an observation that



"Are you hiding a Viet Cong in there?"

T.N.S.

applies to any clinical situation, including the ones discussed in the final sections of this paper: the way people perform in laboratory experiments yields sound results about the way people perform in clinical situations--and not in any way necessarily about the way they act in society. For example, the "Embedded Figure" test shows that in a given clinical context, certain men did better at finding representative figures in an abstract maze than certain women did. And nothing more than that.

The alternative to seeking unlearned behavior patterns in simple adult behavior is to look at infants; experimenters do this with the thought that in very young infants, socialization and learning haven't begun yet. Until recently there weren't many studies of mother-child interaction, but some recent experiments on that have alerted us more than ever to the subtleties of behavior. For instance, it has been discovered that mothers more readily respond to girl infants when they cry than they do to boy infants. There is evidence that such reactions on the part of the mother

influence dependency patterns in the child when he or she is older.

Factors like these make it foolhardy to assume that socialization begins late. Mothers also talk and sing more to their infant daughters and play physically more with their infant sons; we don't yet know whether this is a response to differences in the infants, or another example of very early differential socialization.

Single examples barely serve to illustrate the audaciousness with which "incontrovertible conclusions" are drawn from paltry and value-loaded observations. The final picture reflects the oppression of women by the society; the isolated, badly-constructed experiments are used as evidence to rationalize oppression. One is strongly reminded by such studies of sex differences, of Jensen's articles on

Blacks. There are parallels to his methodology--the use of weak and conflicting research, the lack of evidence for conclusions. But most striking, perhaps, is the attribution of similar stereotypes: it seems that both Blacks and women excel at tasks like rote memorization, and fail at more significant tasks defined as involving abstract thought. Garai speaks of the greater "tactile sensitivity" of females, which leads to conclusions about "greater manual dexterity"--an argument of Blacks and women by the society in mind--deadening, repetitive manual and physical labor. Like the Bible, psychology is used authoritatively to rationalize an already-existing, oppressive situation.

In addition to faulty methodology, biased interpretations, errors in reasoning, and the interjection of significance where

there probably is none, we must underscore the outrageous way conclusions drawn from data distort the very data presented. The word 'innate' is blithely interposed where it was never suggested in the experiments; where a reviewer himself pointed out in the text of his article that one could make no inferences about innateness. Conclusions are drawn from a body of research that is itself inconclusive, and would not claim to be otherwise. The traditional stereotype is thrown into every section of the conclusions, even where it isn't at all applicable. This results in the too familiar situation in which it's argued, "Yes, there's a flaw here or there, but look at the weight of the evidence." A hundred experiments systematically biased in the same direction isn't very weighty evidence. What is the weight of a hundred holes?

## shrink speaks on women

Theodor Reik, a protege of Freud and an important figure in the development of psychoanalysis, died in New York on December 31. His obituary in the *Times* attempted to demonstrate the witty, aphoristic style that made his writings popular with laymen. The observations quoted about women shed some light on the kind of influence he had and indicate the dangers that women face in therapy:

*It would be superfluous to tell woman that the proper study of mankind is man. She will never be interested in anything else.*

*Beware of bachelors who have an idealistic view of noble, chaste womanhood. Young women should prefer the company of declared woman-haters. They always marry.*

*I have come across some women in analytic practice who lacked the faculty of being catty. They were either emotionally perverted, masochistic, homosexual, or neurotic.*

*Women in general want to be loved for what they are and men for what they accomplish. The first for their looks and charm, the latter for their actions.*

# The Arrogance of Social Science Research: Manipulating the Lives of Black Women and their Infants



This paper is about arrogance: the arrogance of social science research; the arrogance of the White Man; the arrogance of the privileged class; the arrogance of the university professional. It is about the exploitation and manipulation of women by men, of blacks by whites, of people of poverty by those of wealth....in the pursuit of "knowledge". The purpose of this paper is to examine as a blatant example of arrogance, exploitation and manipulation, one research project in Harvard's Department of Social Relations.

Arrogance and exploitation have always been the silent partners of traditional social science research. Social science research is rooted in the liberal ideology which assumes the basic goodness and rightness of the existing social and economic order. Assuming the soundness of the existing structure, the social scientist sees the origin of social "problems" as lying with those who have such problems. The Slum Problem, the Negro Problem, the Drop-out Problem, the Woman

Problem--each is viewed as a social ill originating with the individuals who make up that problem group. The way to remedy such problems, therefore, is to "help" those individuals to overcome their problems. And the method for studying and dealing with such problems is to change the behavior of the individual. The social scientist plays the role of the sophisticated social worker, the Christian Missionary who can scientifically show how to better the lot of the deficient natives by helping them to adjust to the existing order.

Studying how to better adjust the individual poses no threat to the existing order of things. Trying to help the misfit fit in presumes that society is worth fitting into and will make room for all its members.



The liberal ideology places value in the white middle class American way of life-- a way of life that has long been destructive to blacks, and oppressive to women; a way of life which precludes equal distribution of power, of labor, of justice, and of the basic human services--such as education and health; a way of life that values private property and individual achievement over social progress. Social Science research based on this liberal ideology helps to validate myths about the causes and nature of social problems, and therefore acts as an "objective" or "neutral" deterrent to fundamental social change.

The results of such research, when enacted in "public" policy, deceive the public: enriched educational programs--e.g., Headstart, Job Corp, Neighborhood participation programs, OEO-- all look as if they will cure society's ills. But because they do not attack the basic economic and political structures, they necessarily fail. The neutral scholars, whose research determines these social programs, become accomplices to the oppressive system which creates the very problems they seek to alleviate.

To add insult to injury, those who carry out the research, not being from the group under study, have little genuine comprehension of, and sensitivity to the experience of that group. Not only are their assumptions wrong, but their cultural foreignness and their academic arrogance leads them to design

research methods which are manipulative and insulting.

In the coming year, one research project at Harvard University's Dept. of Social Relations will be experimenting with the lives of 48 poor black women and their infants. Part I of this paper will describe the assumptions, methods and goals of this study. In Part II this research project will be examined in terms of the issues just laid out.

The Study: "The Effects of Intervention on Infants' Mental Health"\*

Concerned by "experimental evidence" that "lower class children are cognitively deficient in comparison with middle class children as early as three years of age," and believing that "this deficiency is due to the absence of specific maternal practices" of "lower class" mothers, as well as a "slender emotional commitment" to their children (NY Times, April, '69), Professor Jerome Kagan designed an intervention research project that addressed itself to this problem.

In the grant proposal to the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare the researcher contended that the findings of this study could "add to the still small body of knowledge about intervention" and provide "an important empirical base for future social planning." Apparently H.E.W.

agreed with this notion, for it granted the project over half a million dollars.

The goal of the study is "to evaluate the differential effect of specific interventions into the experience of urban black infants" and "to assess the effect of such interventions on the mother's developing involvement to her infant." The study will use two "intervention strategies" that are both aimed at "enriching" the intellectual environment of the infants during their first year of life. One strategy involves the "manipulation of the mother's practices with her infant." This method seeks "to change the original environment." The second strategy involves the infants' "residence in a day care center which will administer...[cognitive] experiences" similar to those the mothers will be trained to administer in their homes. This second "model" will "provide an enriched substitute" outside of the home. A third model combines both strategies.\* The researcher will therefore have the opportunity to ascertain the most effective intervention model for bringing the intellectual functioning of "lower class" infants up to the "normal" -- that is, the middle-class -- par, thereby laying the basis for better future adjustment to the school system and society as a whole.

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\*All quoted selections, unless otherwise indicated, are from Kagan's original grant proposal to the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

\*These three strategies will be used in different combinations within three sub-groups; there will be two control groups.

## The Maternal Intervention Program

The stated goal of the Maternal Intervention Program is to improve the "quality of the child's environment" and the "quality of the mother-child relationship" so that the lower class child will be "cognitively" equal to the middle class child. Believing that the behavior of the lower class mother is the primary cause of her child's deficiency, Professor Kagan designed a home instruction program that will train lower class mothers to behave like middle class mothers.\*

The researcher tells us that the middle class mother has a superior "interactional style" with her children. That is, compared to the poor mother, she 1) "spends more time in contact with her child; 2) will change the inflection of pitch of her voice in a playful way and ... will play 'peek a boo;'" 3) will name objects and events; 4) will reward the child's mastery attempts, whether the mastery be creeping, crawling, standing, or more di-

\* "The sample of mothers will be drawn from a ... list of pregnant women who are patients at Maternity and Infant Care clinics serving the Boston area ... The Project has been developed jointly with the staff of the Massachusetts Department of Public Health who are responsible for the administration of the clinics, and therefore, we will have ready access to the clinic population ... Each mother in the sample will be paid a total of \$50 for her participation in the study." (from the application to H.E.W.)

rect problem solving; 5) will get the child to imitate her behavior; and 6) will vocalize reciprocally with her infant."

Assuming that a set of middle class maternal activities are necessary for the development of specific intellectual processes in the child, the researcher designed the maternal instruction program described below:

"The instruction sessions will take place 3 times a week and a session will typically be 2 hours long. The mother and the home visitor will work with the mother's infant so that the mother will have actual experience, while the instructor is present, in performing the intervention procedures ... The value of particular interactions will be explained to the mothers, and specific procedures and modes of interaction will be demonstrated, practiced and discussed. (p. 31)"

In this one-to-one tutorial program, the mother will be "encouraged to initiate reciprocal



face to face smiling, ... to engage in as much mutual play with the infant as possible ... /She/ will be shown how to habituate the child to visual or auditory stimuli, ... to encourage the child to imitate her actions, ... /to/ reward the child's imitative efforts, ... and to diagnose situations that are mastery related and shown varied ways to praise the child for such behavior ..."

"The mother will be told to pay special attention to the child's creeping, crawling, standing, ... how to vocalize face to face with the infant ... /She will be/ encouraged ... to reward the child's attempts to repeat /her/ vocalization ... and present variations in her voice, altering pitch, rhythm, length of utterance."

Two Home Visitors will be assigned to each mother: one will instruct; the other will observe. "The mothers will be observed for 936 hours in the first year; their behavior will be coded for specific maternal actions--variables will be coded every 5 seconds."

#### Intervention Strategy #2: The Experimental Day Care Program--

Twenty-four of the 48 infants in the study will be randomly assigned to be in an experimental day care program, described in the grant proposal in the following way: "Each infant will typically come to the day care center five days a week for most of the day from three months of age to thirteen months of age. The pattern of experiences in the center will be as controlled as possible." (p. 27)

The researcher has designed

a day care program in which a "set of special procedures" will be "administered daily by the Nursery Teachers."\* These nursery teachers will be "adults without professional training" who will take part in a 6 month training program similar in content to the home instruction program for the mothers. The nursery staff will be trained to carry out activities that stimulate auditory and visual discrimination, to "routinely vocalize and engage in face-to-face smiling ... during feeding, diapering ...; to "give the name of simple objects and pictures of objects to the child repeating the name several times ...;" to "praise the child verbally and offer physical affection" when "the child is engaged in an activity that is mastery related;" and "to encourage the child to imitate the adult ... and reward any imitation ... with verbal praise and emotional affect." Such "procedures" are intended to "facilitate the development" of "important processes that form the foundation for later intellectual development." (p. 29)

#### Evaluation of Infants and Their Mothers

All of the infants in the study will be evaluated by a research team that will be based in William

\* It is noteworthy that the salary of nursery teachers will be \$4700 for one year's teaching in the day care center. The "Principal Investigator's" summer salary is \$4200. The research assistants will each be paid \$6000 a year.

James Hall at Harvard University although one testing will take place in the day care center.

The children's development will be assessed six times in a 13 month period by more than a dozen experimental tests.

Each mother's behavior with her infant will be assessed while her infant is being evaluated. "An observer will code the mother's reaction to the testing of her infant. The observer will code smiling, frowning, postural changes and attentiveness to the baby." The researcher predicts that the "experimental mothers" receiving home instruction "will display more signs of affective involvement with the infants than the mothers" who have not been tutored in their homes. (p.9)

#### What's Really Happening in This Study?

The goals, assumptions, and methods of this research project share a common arrogance. In this

study, it is not numbers and statistical data that are being analyzed, nor are rats and pigeons being trained and tested. In this project, the lives of black women and their infants from Boston's ghetto are being manipulated and experimented with by the White Man from Harvard University. Poor black women will be trained to be "better" mothers so that their children will not be "cognitively deficient," and therefore will be better able to adjust and succeed in our society.

The maternal training program has been designed by a person who has never had the "opportunity" to be a mother, poor, or black. Yet his status as a Harvard professor of Developmental Psychology and money from the U.S. Government gives this social scientist the opportunity, the privilege, and the power to experiment with these women's lives for what he contends is for the benefit of their children as well as for the benefit of "scientific" understanding.



## The Narrowness and Meaninglessness of This Project

It is presumed in the very design of this research that scientists can isolate, study, and manipulate a specific set of behavior patterns in people without dealing with the context in which people live. The "cognitive" qualities of the environment are treated as discreet "variables." People's lives have been artificially segmented and departmentalized so that the scientist can more easily study, control and change "relevant" variables.

Nowhere in this project is there any attempt to examine --far be it to change-- the economic, social or physical conditions in which the mother and child live. It is as if such realities had no impact on the "quality of the environment" or the mother-child relationship.

"Face-to-face smiling," "mutual play," and other performances that mothers will be tutored in, are so obviously related to the total context in which a mother finds herself, that it is ludicrous and insulting to be teaching mothers of poverty how to play with their babies as mothers of affluence do. Does it take profound insight to recognize that the way one plays with and relates to one's children (or other people's) is inextricably linked with the basic, material conditions in which one lives? If, in fact, it is true that poor mothers play "peek-a-boo" less often than rich mothers, the question should be why this

is so; not what methods we can devise to make them play "peek-a-boo" more often. It seems probable that "interactional style" is directly related to a variety of factors: nutritional intake (prenatal and post-partum); the stench of the housing project stairwell in which she lives; the amount of house-cleaning, laundering, ironing, cooking, shopping, waiting for buses, that she must do in order to survive;\* her feelings (that is, her correct appraisal) of her impotence ever to be able to go back to school, or get a good job, or get off welfare, or get out of the project--in short the realization of being trapped; the physical environment--the non-existence of grass and dirt for children to play in, the limited outdoor space, poorly aired and lit rooms, lack of space for privacy...

But these "variables" are not considered relevant to the Problem being studied. The emotional, physical, social and economic facts of her life and the life of her child are not thought to be related to cognitive development. Yet these are the facts of life most crucial to the long-

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\*Are social scientists unaware of the fact that middle and upper middle class mothers often have "help" (i.e. poor black mothers) which lightens the quantity of household drudgery and gives them surplus time and energy for playing with and reading to their children? Have they ever considered what it would be like to be dependent on public transportation? and welfare checks?

## CHILD CARE

The "Harvard-Radcliffe Ad Hoc Committee for Day Care" is circulating a pamphlet and a questionnaire about day care at Harvard. EVERYBODY should support this demand! (Contact Deborah Gould, 868-7555)

term development of both the mother and her children.

While the researcher recognizes and is concerned about the fact that a sense of impotence exists among people of poverty, his remedy is to "help" mothers to have control over their own children. But what real impact will an individual mother's control over her child's first year of development have if she has no real control over the institutions - schools, housing, health care, welfare, etc. - which are roadblocks preventing the development of her child's and her own human potential?

However, given the inherent biases of the research, which takes for granted the soundness of existing institutions (including the American middle-class nuclear family system); given such biases it is hardly surprising that value be placed on the individual mother's control over her child. The maternal model that the researcher is imposing on his "experimental mothers" is that of the idealized American Middle-Class Mother, whose primary role is to be at the service of her children and husband. House-bound and child-centered, she gets a sense of power and worth by controlling and living through her children, her prized possessions. She must not be concerned about her own development, goals, interests, work.

Women's work is in the home; and that's where the Harvard male researcher wants to keep the women in his study.

It follows, then, that nowhere in the research proposal is there any indication of concern for what the mothers will be doing with their time when the children are in the day care center or when they are not being tutored. Will they be channeled into typical welfare training programs where they will, for example, learn key-punching? Or will they be given an opportunity to choose to participate in a college program that interests them or take a job they consider worthwhile? None of the programs addresses itself to the life of the mother, as a person in her own right. But isn't her welfare, her development, her daily life important to the kind of relationship she can develop with her child? In the long run, to ignore her needs is to ignore her child's needs.

Besides this lack of concern for the mother's life, there is no mention whatsoever of the role of the father in the child's and mother's lives. Scholarly narrowness and bias assumes that the only relevant person in a child's development is the mother; the study reinforces the idea that only the mother is responsible for childrearing, and thereby helps to perpetuate existing social prejudices.

Day Care Centers: For Exploitation or Liberation?

The day care center in this research project is a mechanism imposing a set of experiences on children's lives, that the scholars of Harvard think important for intellectual development. Social science research has created another social institution over which the people directly involved will have no control. Neither the mothers nor the day care teachers will plan, develop, or make policy for the center. It has been designed to serve the "needs" of the liberal scholar; not the needs of people. It goes without saying that community control of this center would interfere with the neatly schematized research...

If this social scientist were really concerned with the problem of powerlessness among the poor, why is he designing another institution that insults their dignity and exploits their lives?

Day care centers have the potential of becoming community institutions that can liberate both women, children, and men to develop new forms of child care. Day care centers could become places in which children and adults of all ages could share their talents and learn together; places where adults might plan programs for children in their communities. Programs that, based as they would be on an intimate knowledge and recognition of the community's needs, would make real sense. They could become bases for community action, in which people might

learn how to struggle to change the system that oppresses them-- not adjust to it.

Dr. Kagan confessed that he spent six months of "frenetic activity" last year to stop Federal legislation for day care centers.

"I lost," he told an American Association for Advancement of Science symposium on education of the infant and young child.

"Now that a bad decision has been made by the government, we must decide how can we make day care centers minimally malevolent."

Dr. Kagan has feared that government-sponsored day care centers will further weaken the emotional bonds the lower-class mother has with her child.

"I am pregnant," responded one young woman, "and I don't want to take care of my child alone. Day care would be much better than a nuclear family with an isolated mother and an isolated child."

"If you think mothering is so important, why are you only paying \$4700 salaries to the people who will work in your own day care center in Roxbury?" asked another woman.

"This is the first generation ever brought up by their own mothers," challenged another woman. "In our grandmothers' day, lower-class women were always hired to look after the kids of upper-class women."

"We want no more proposals for half-time careers," volunteered an older woman, who said she had had "a baby in the house and half a career for 20 years."

"It's time to have half-time careers for men," she added bitterly.

"Isn't there one woman here who wants to stay home with her child?" Dr. Kagan asked in desperation.

No one got up to speak. No one at all.



The Boston Globe Monday, December 29, 1968

# Epilogue: The Way Forward

The oppression of women at Harvard reflects the practices and attitudes of American society. But discrimination at Harvard is special: it receives the blessings of Harvard's national prestige and seemingly unimpeachable academic and professional 'standards.' It becomes difficult for many to believe Harvard wrong and corrupt, because the University has built up around itself massive traditions of service and leadership. During the recent strike, many employees understandably refused to walk out because they were threatened with the loss of both wages and jobs. Which shows that people cannot strike unless they have organized power to confront such threats. Yet another reason for the refusal to walk out was that many employees (mostly secretaries) identified not with the strikers and their fellow employees, but with their employers. What would happen to the valuable national services performed by the prestigious men for whom they worked, if they were to strike? So the reasoning went. Many of them agreed that the war was wrong, but none of them saw any connection between the University's business and the war. This shows that neither will people strike if they do not realize who their friends are, who their enemies are, and what the University's work actually is. It is not through being pushed in the midst of crisis that we fully come to such vital understanding, for strike education is necessarily rushed and partial. Rather, education must take place through cooperation over periods of time on mutually beneficial projects, and through the friendships that develop in doing such work. We hope that this will happen among women at Harvard.

Just what Harvard is and what it does are amply documented in a pamphlet whose title inspired our own. Written during the

1968 strike, HOW HARVARD RULES (available at PO Box 213, Cambridge, Mass. 02138) lays out the myriad connections between the members of the Harvard Corporation and corporate business; between faculty members, the government, business, and the Armed Forces in the execution of war research and research of other sorts. It makes clear that 'business as usual' involves the sort of correspondence that passed in 1957 between McGeorge Bundy, then Dean of Harvard College, and Robert Bowie, then Assistant Secretary of State and planner of NATO. The letters involved a deal to set up the Center for International Affairs and hire Henry Kissinger into the bargain as Littauer Professor for International Affairs.

Wheeling and dealing at the top - over the creation of a new institute to aid in American imperialist efforts, or over the appointment of a government man to the Harvard faculty by the agents of that exploitative institute - is as much a part of everyday routine at Harvard as taking a book out of Widener or typing out a research proposal or tuition blank. It is obvious that women have little or no place in this sort of business. For Harvard, the education of women is a luxury, because women are expendable goods (or labor, as the case may be). If you're educating for 'leadership' of the sort Henry Kissinger or Samuel Huntington represent\* it's folly to take in people whose destiny in life is to be housekeepers and nursemaids.

Folly, too, to admit in

numbers the sons and daughters of the working class. Folly, too, to take in more than token black men and women. And surely folly to take from any of these categories any but the 'best qualified,' i.e. the people who meet white upper middle class admissions requirements. If Harvard were to admit women, working-class white and black people in numbers, it would become a kind of community college. And the men on the Corporation, the trustees, the faculty, would either laugh at such a ridiculous idea, or shudder in horror at the 'lowering of standards.'

The other day one of the compilers of this pamphlet was walking through the Widener stacks. Looking down one of the aisles of bookshelves she saw a man reading comfortably at a desk, his feet propped up, his attention riveted to the pages of the book he held. What was odd about this man was that he wore a worker's uniform. The mind then dared to take a leap across unbridgeable gulfs. What if, sometime in the future, such a sight were to be perfectly ordinary? What if the men and women who now work in menial positions at Harvard were free to read in the holy Widener "stacks," to take out books, and to take courses for credit? What if edu-

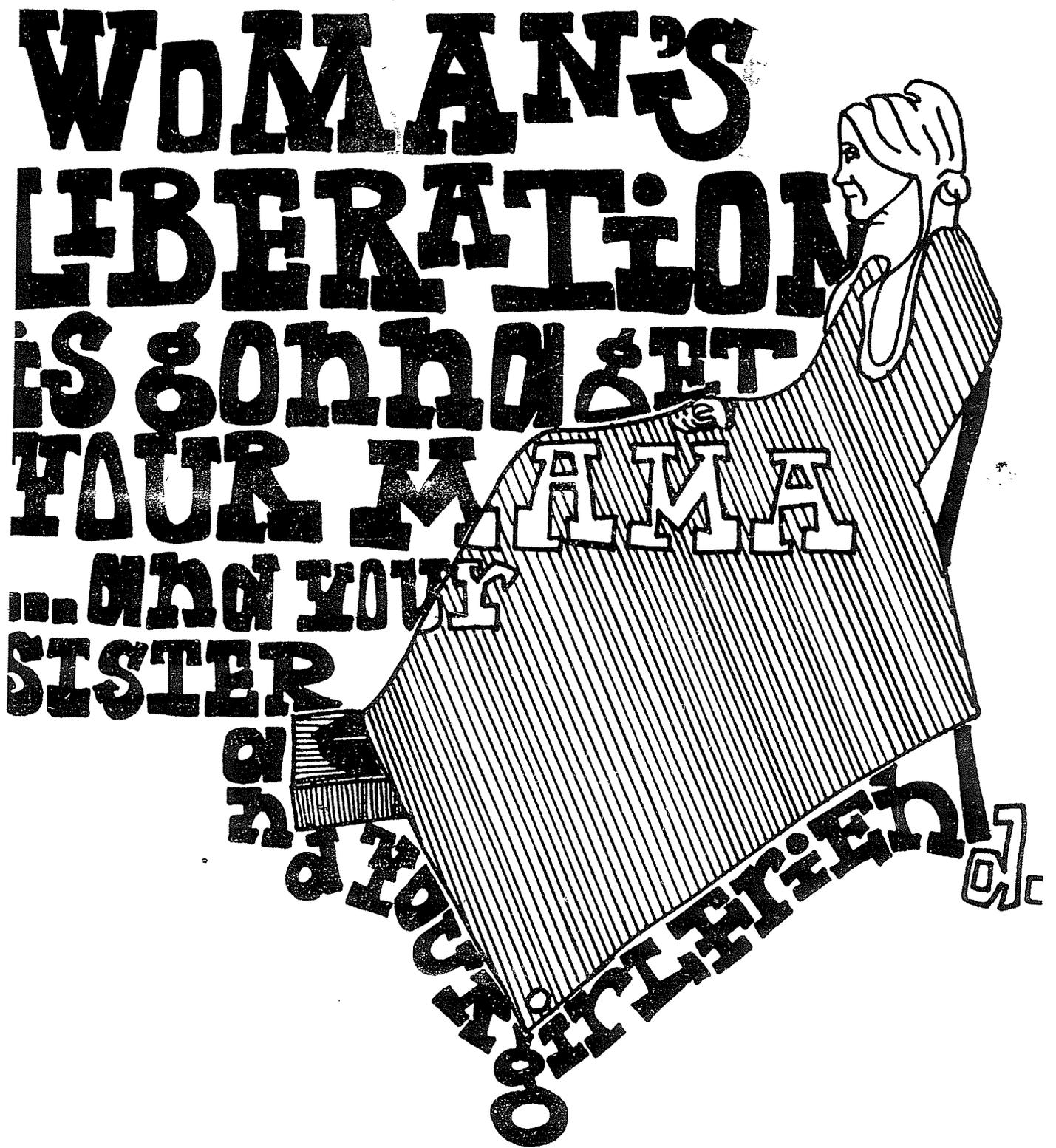
\*Huntington is the originator of a war strategy that is now the basis of Southeast Asian policy on the part of the U.S. He called it "urbanization." The idea was to drive the Vietnamese rural population into concentration camps around Saigon, thus depriving the NLF of their base--people.

cational opportunities were really equal?

Consider that guaranteeing all employees at Harvard an education would vastly change the nature of their jobs. Could a secretary who was spending a good part of her time in classes be able to work subserviently as she now does? Faculty would have to do much of their own secretarial work. It would be normal to walk into Professor X's office and see him typing his own manuscripts, taking his own phone calls, getting his own lunch and coffee--and getting lunch and coffee sometimes for his secretary as well. It is probable that secretaries would participate in the research going on in their departments (consider that many do research now, for which they never get credit); their names would appear in reports and books alongside those of their employers. (There is, of course, no reason besides the 'reasons' of elitism for not doing this now. That people who do drudge work are not recognized equally with those who do intellectual work reflects the fact that society recognizes only class privilege, not human worth and effort). The same conditions of open participation in education would of course be available to women now referred to as 'Harvard wives.' This disparaging term would fall away, since the wives of men who studied and worked at Harvard would be out of the house as much, in classes as much, involved in projects as deeply as their husbands.

To ensure the full partici-

pation of every woman in the University community, complete payment would be guaranteed for medical expenses during pregnancy and childbirth, regardless of marital status. Full provision would of course exist for three months' maternity leave, and provision of a similar kind would be made for fathers who wished to spend time with infants. Day care centers throughout the University would be financed fully by Harvard, staffed equally by men and women and wholly controlled by parents. Harvard has a sizeable interest income from its huge endowment; money from its alumni: millions of dollars from government and corporate business agencies for individual research projects. Is it not obviously sensible, obviously humane, to spend such money instead on the health of the University community, on education for all its members, on day care? Of course, understanding where the money comes from now and what it is spent for is to understand the present economics of education. It is clear that American education generally, and Harvard education in particular, is inextricably linked with the economic and cultural hegemony of American corporate and government power. Were Harvard, in other words, to be forced by the people in it tomorrow to be a People's University, it would immediately be deprived of funds. This tells us something about the nature of American social values and what education means in U.S. society. It enables us to understand the nature of the beast we have to fight against.



This pamphlet was written and produced collectively by a group of Harvard women affiliated with the New University Conference, together with others. The New University Conference is a national organization of radicals working in, around, and in spite of universities, in struggle to build socialism in America. Copies of HOW HARVARD RULES WOMEN are available (75¢/copy) by writing to: The New University Conference, 622 West Diversey Parkway, Rm.403a, Chicago, Ill., 60614, or: N.U.C., 14 Glenwood Ave., Cambridge, Mass., 02139.

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