WOMEN AND PUBLIC POLICY: A HUMANISTIC PERSPECTIVE

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WOMEN AND PUBLIC POLICY: A HUMANISTIC PERSPECTIVE

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Editors

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FOREWORD

The Institute of Public Affairs is pleased to publish WOMEN AND PUBLIC POLICY: A HUMANISTIC PERSPECTIVE. Based on presentations made at a three day symposium held on The University of Iowa campus in the Spring of 1973, the volume presents a variety of perspectives on women in contemporary society.

The current concern with women's roles is a recent and rapidly changing area of public policy. We recommend these addresses to concerned citizens for their thoughtful consideration.

Clayton L. Ringgenberg, Director
Institute of Public Affairs

June 1974

PREFACE

This volume of addresses should be viewed in the framework of discussion of women's rights issues which emerged in the late 1960s in the United States and is now continuing on various fronts from living rooms to the floors of our national legislature. The authors' writings were originally presented at a three-part symposium entitled WOMEN AND PUBLIC POLICY AND THE IOWA HUMANISTS' RESPONSE, funded by the Iowa Board for Public Programs in the Humanities, serving on behalf of the National Endowment for the Humanities.

By the early 1970s writings in contemporary feminism ranged from underground newspapers to mass circulation periodicals to governmental reports. Expressive of the dissemination of information in a pluralistic society, each of these mediums reflected different facets of the contemporary women's movement. Predictably, individuals relying on one source of information rarely enhibited familiarity with divergent views: few citizens read both the Wall Street Journal and The National Guardian. This diversity of expression is characteristic of the social change movements which have captured our attention and involvement in the last decade.

The nation's colleges and universities have, in the last five or more years, become increasingly involved in both the curricular and support service aspects of the social revolution which the current women's rights movement has wrought. Our educational institutions are responsible not only for the dissemination of knowledge but also for pointing directions for rational solutions for social problems. We have seen the development of Women's Centers, Women's Studies programs, and affirmative action plans toward the alleviation of the secondary status of women in our society and the concomitant loss in human potential and talent to the nation.

Academicians in the humanistic disciplines have been much concerned with the analysis and evaluation of roles of women and men in our society through psychological, legal, economic, sociological, political, historical, and educational perspectives. The impact of currently changing roles on our society clearly necessitates serious study by all who are concerned with the formation of enlightened public policy.

This volume should be a particular stimulus for discussion and thought by diverse groups interested in the question most asked of aware women: "What do you want?" However, in most instances that question has been reformulated, herein, to delve into the "why" of the subject matter. Whether it is in economics (Why is the principle of equal pay for equal work so difficult to implement?) or education (How did it happen that girls and women are excluded from particular educational opportunities?) or language and literature and the law (Will women continue to allow their distorted image to class them as mental defectives and children under the law?)...each of these papers attempts to examine the cultural value system which shaped and molded us: women and men.

Therefore, each reader will undoubtedly place this volume on their own continuum of expression of the contemporary women's movement. Its ideas

grow from a selection from many humanistic disciplines and many stances towards feminist issues. The editors hope that the intensity and commitment which highlighted the seminar extends through the wider circulation of these writings.

To the individual members of the institutional governing boards and Mr. Philip Shively, Executive Secretary for the Iowa Board, who made the symposium and this publication financially feasible, we thank you. Your willingness to explore, to investigate, and to learn renews our hope for the future. We also would like to acknowledge the contributions of Loren Bivens for the photography, Pat Fuller for the cover design, Linda Garrett for editorial assistance, and Harry Smith for technical review of this publication.

And to the people of Iowa, whose reception of social movements is too often inadequately appreciated, our gratitude for the continuing opportunity to share the changing weather of social progress and to prepare ourselves for a better future through reasoned dialogue and study.

Mildred H. Lavin and Clara Oleson
Conference Co-Directors

Mildred Lavin, Ph.D., Assistant Professor in the College of Education in Educational Media at The University of Iowa, serves as Coordinator of the Saturday Class Program and University Studies for Women, Extension Division, as well as Chairperson of the Advisory Committee on Continuing Education for Women. Her current interests include education for the changing roles of men and women, daycare services, opportunities for part-time education and employment, and the development and promotion of nonsexist educational materials for educators and youth.

Clara Oleson has been a writer, speaker, and community organizer involved in assisting employers and administrators with job-related sex discrimination problems and in defining concepts of the changing roles of men and women. She has been a women and minority member advocate for over 100 individual and pattern and practice grievances involving state and federal anti-discrimination legislation between 1969 and the present, especially under Title VII and the Fair Labor Standards Act. During 1973 she was Human Relations Officer for The University of Iowa Employees Association and is now at the University studying law.

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MAY 5, 1973

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RADICAL AND CONSERVATIVE TRENDS IN THE WOMEN'S RIGHTS MOVEMENT

Louise R. Noun

Louise R. Noun, author of Strong Minded Women: A History of the Women's Suffrage Movement in Iowa, has been a recipient of the National Municipal League's Distinguished Citizen Award. She has served as past president of the Iowa Civil Liberties Union, and is also actively involved with the League of Women Voters and the Des Moines Art Center.

I would have Woman lay aside all thought, such as she habitually cherishes, of being taught and led by men. I would have her, like the Indian girl, dedicate herself to the Sun, the Sun of Truth, and go nowhere if his beams did not make clear the path. I would have her free from compromise, from complaisance, from helplessness, because I would have her good enough and strong enough to love one and all beings, from the fullness, not the poverty of being.[1]--Margaret Fuller, 1845.

The women's rights movement which emerged in the late 1840s was encouraged by the general spirit of reform which flourished during the first half of the nineteenth century. It drew particular inspiration from the abolitionist movement and from the ideas of early radical-feminist spokepersons in the United States such as Frances Wright and Ernestine Rose, both utopian-socialists and free-thinkers; and from the transcendentalist writer and editor, Margaret Fuller, whose Woman in the Nineteenth Century helped provide an ideological base for the feminist movement.

Early radical thinking coalesced in the Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions issued by the first women's rights convention which met at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848. This document sets forth a broad platform challenging every social convention regarding woman's "proper sphere."

"The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her," the Declaration reads. This document then goes on to spell out woman's grievances against man:

> *He has deprived her of the right to vote and to hold public office.*
>
> *He has made her, if married, civilly dead, taking from her rights and property, even the wages she earns. He has compelled her to promise obedience to her husband, he becoming to all intents and purposes, her master.*
>
> *He has monopolized nearly all profitable employments and barred her from the most honored professions of theology, law, and medicine.*
>
> *He has denied her facilities for obtaining a thorough education, all colleges being closed to her.*
>
> *In church he has allowed her but a subordinate position.*
>
> *He has so framed the laws of divorce, as to what should be the proper causes, and in case of separation, to whom the guardianship of the children shall be given, as to be wholly regardless of the happiness of women.*
>
> *He has created a double standard of morals by which moral delinquencies which exclude women from society are not only tolerated, but deemed of little account in man.*
>
> *He had endeavored in every way he could to destroy woman's confidence in her own powers, to lessen her self-respect and to make her willing to lead a dependent and abject life.*

After setting forth these grievances, the Seneca Falls convention stated in a series of resolutions "that the women of this country ought to be enlightened in regard to the laws under which they live that they may no longer publish their degradation by declaring themselves satisfied with

their present position, nor their ignorance, by asserting that they have all the rights they want." Henceforth, all laws which placed women in an inferior position were declared to have no force or authority. An end to the double standard of morals, the overthrow of the monopoly of the pulpit, the right to speak in public, the right to vote, and the right to participate with men in trades and professions was demanded.

"Woman is man's equal," the convention declared, "and the highest good of the race demands that she be recognized as such."

Implicit throughout the Seneca Falls statement is the view that, as long as society prescribes separate areas of responsibility for each sex, women would never be free.

In 1850 a women's rights convention which met at Worcester, Massachusetts, organized a national Woman's Rights Association which held annual conventions until the Civil War forced a halt to feminist activities. After the war, the Woman's Right Association was renamed the Equal Rights Association when feminists hoped to join forces with Republicans working for the enfranchisement of the male Negro. However, it soon became obvious that no politician wanted the double burden of trying to advance both Negro suffrage and woman suffrage at the same time.

When Congress failed to include women under the protections of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, and when the states continued to ignore the claims of women to the ballot, women, as oppressed groups often do, started fighting among themselves over who was to blame for their failure.

The conservative or reformist women among the feminists viewed with grave concern Mrs. Stanton and her allies who refused to trim their sails in order to court public acceptance. Mrs. Stanton not only fought adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment because it did not include women under its protection, but she also continued to attack the church hierarchy, the sexist teachings of the Bible, and marriage as it was currently constituted. She even dared lecture on the taboo subject of birth control.

The anxiety of the conservative feminists over the actions of the radicals caused a break among the feminists in 1869. They divided into two organizations: the National Woman Suffrage Association led by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, and the more conservative American Woman Suffrage Association led by Lucy Stone.

> *Mrs. Stanton's attitude toward the Fifteenth Amendment had repelled a great many Republicans and the discussions held in the meetings in New York City in the name of the National Society as to what was the reason why women do not have more babies, etc. etc. etc., disgusted so many people who would work in a different society but could not [work] with them that it seemed necessary to have another....*

So Lucy Stone wrote to Amelia Bloomer in 1870. "There was no use in seeming to be ignorant of what everybody knows," Lucy Stone said, "that the way the work had been carried on was such that many excellent people would not join it."[2]

The fact that both the National and American Associations were named woman suffrage associations in contrast to the prewar woman's rights association, indicates that the entire women's rights movement, despite differences in methods, was headed in the same direction--that of securing the ballot for women. However, when the National Association permitted Victoria Woodhull, a notorious free-love advocate and a spiritualist, to climb aboard in 1871, any hope of an early rapprochement between the two suffrage groups was dimmed.

Mrs. Woodhull's presence in the movement gave the enemies of woman suffrage ammunition for the charge that women's rights were synonymous with free love. To prove their respectability, suffragists throughout the country went to extremes to ostracize any woman who dared defend Mrs. Woodhull's right to join the suffrage movement. The president of one local suffrage society declared in a widely circulated statement that the power of the Almighty should never be impugned by supposing that in order to secure the ballot women must join hands with those who deny God or promulgate principles poisonous to the social interests of the nation. She said:

> *When those who hold themselves aloof from us realize that among our real leaders there is not a spirit of compromising with error in any form, then we may expect to see thousands rush to our ranks.*[3]

The purges in the wake of the Woodhull incident robbed the women's rights movement of many of its ablest and most liberal members and created wounds so deep that it was not until 1890 that they had healed sufficiently to allow the merger of the American and National Associations into a single suffrage organization.[4]

Despite the fact that the Seneca Falls convention had declared women and men equal, suffragists throughout the campaign for the ballot based their arguments on the premise of the moral superiority of women. "When women vote, they will make a new balance of power that must be weighed and measured against in its effect upon every social and moral question which goes to the arbitrament of the ballot box," declared Susan B. Anthony in a lecture she delivered throughout the country during the 1870s. "Who can doubt," she asked, "that when representative women of thought and culture, who are today the moral backbone of our nation, sit in council with the best men of the country, higher conditions will result?"[5]

In 1894 Mary Putnam-Jacobi told a committee on suffrage of the New York State Constitutional convention:

> *We do believe that the special relation of women to children in which the heart of the world has always felt there was something sacred, serves to impress upon women certain tendencies, to endow them with certain virtues which not only contribute to the charm which their anxious friends fear might be destroyed, but which will render them of special value in public affairs.*[6]

Jane Addams, founder of Hull House in Chicago, argued in 1910 that woman suffrage would be a means of extending women's homemaking experience into that of "municipal housekeeping." She asked:

> *If women have in any sense been responsible for the gentler side of life which softens and blurs some of its harsher conditions, may they not have a duty to perform in our American cities?*[7]

These arguments which ran counter to the theory of the equality of the sexes also left a good deal of explaining to do about what "bad" or irresponsible women would do with the ballot.

By 1914 the suffrage movement had moved so far away from radical-feminine philosophy that when Fola La Folette gave a speech on the right of a woman to her own name, Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National Suffrage Association, complained to a mutual friend that Fola, by her advocacy of nominalism, had set the cause of suffrage back 25 years.[8] Mrs. Catt, along with most suffragists, had come to believe all feminist causes should wait until women got the vote, whereupon all wrongs could be righted.

Mrs. Catt, whose aim was to win the approval of politicians, was also disturbed when the Women's Party which had emerged in 1913 under the leadership of Alice Paul, a pacifist and a Quaker, refused to support the government during the First World War. Members of the Women's Party picketed the White House in 1917 carrying signs reading "free Russia" and "Democracy should begin at home." The pickets were jailed for refusing to disperse and they subsequently went on a hunger strike to protest their confinement. Despite the "militant" methods of the Women's Party, its program, like that of the National Suffrage Association, was directed solely toward securing the ballot for women. This concentration on a single issue by all suffragists tended to make the vote an end in itself rather than a means to an end.

By the time the Nineteenth Amendment was enacted into law in 1920 feminism as a movement and as a consciousness had almost disappeared. Most of the women who had been involved in the movement turned to non-feminist political activity, particularly in the League of Women Voters, successor to the National Suffrage Association. The League hoped that with the ballot women would quickly assume their rightful place in the body politic. To help women assume their new civic responsibilities, the League conducted citizenship schools and supported legislation in the areas of world peace, child labor, consumer protection, and protective laws for working women.

The Women's Party, still under the leadership of Alice Paul, continued after 1920 as a narrowly based, dogmatic group which saw an equal rights amendment to the Constitution as the sole answer to women's problems. The Women's Party was instrumental in the introduction of an equal rights amendment in Congress in 1923.

The proposal for an equal rights amendment was greeted with a storm of protest from liberal organizations such as the League of Women Voters, the National Women's Trade Union League, the National Consumer's League, and the Women's Bureau. The League of Women Voters branded the proposed amendment as a "vague and sweeping" method which would imperil existing protective legislation for women. It believed in step-by-step progress in removing objectionable sex inequalities in state legislation.[9]

New ideas and attitudes about sex which emerged during the 1920s were anathema to the traditional feminists who decried the "new morality." Even the birth control movement which had gained a modicum of respectability was shunned by the League of Women Voters which could not afford to take on this controversial issue if it were to continue as a concensus organization. Feminists in the Women's Party, imbued with nineteenth century standards of sexual morality, did not respond to birth control as a feminist issue. They saw the solution to women's problems purely in political terms.

With the exception of the abortive drive for an equal rights amendment, feminism lay dormant from 1920 to the early 1960s. At this time three factors came together to produce a vigorous feminist movement. These were the spirit of reform generated by the civil rights movement; the exposition of an ideological basis for feminism furnished by Betty Friedan in The Feminine Mystique; and the rising expectations of women, millions of whom held jobs outside the home. Before the decade ended women had created a variety of organizations ranging from the nationally-based, middle class Women's Equity Action League (WEAL) and the National Organization for Women (NOW) to small, radical, and radical-feminist groups located in every major city in the country.

Almost all feminists agree on a core set of demands. These include: an end to job discrimination, the right of women to control their own bodies, the creation of child care centers, and an end to legal discrimination. Radical women, however, do not believe that these reformist measures alone will solve women's problems. They desire an emancipation which can be achieved only when every vestige of sexual stereotyping is eliminated and members of each sex are free to develop as individuals. This could mean a fundamental restructuring of society.

In many ways, current radical feminism is closely related to the radical thinking of the pioneer feminists. The reformist, or middle of the road feminists, also have their ancestors among the nineteenth century women's rights advocates. Fortunately, today's feminists--at least to date--have avoided the bitter, internecine strife which debilitated the movement a century ago.

> *By rejecting the false self for so long imposed upon us and in which we have participated unwittingly, we women can forge the self-respect necessary in order to discover our own true values. Only when we refuse to be made use of by those who despise and ridicule us, can we throw off our heavy burden of resentment. We must take our lives in our own hands. This is what liberation means. Out of a common oppression, women can break the stereotypes of masculine-feminine and enter once more into the freedom of the human continuum.*[10]--Betty Roszak, 1969.

FOOTNOTES

1. From Woman in the Nineteenth Century, reprinted in Margaret Fuller, American Romantic, A Selection from her Writings and Correspondence, Perry Miller, ed., New York, 1963, p. 175.

2. Letter from Lucy Stone to Amelia Bloomer, May 16, 1870. Council Bluffs Public Library.

3. Tract issued by The Polk County Woman Suffrage Society. See Iowa State Register, February 3, 1872, and February 7, 1872.

4. For a full account of the purge in Iowa following Mrs. Woodhull's acceptance into the movement, see Strong Minded Women, the Emergence of the Woman Suffrage Movement in Iowa by Louise R. Noun, Iowa State University Press, 1969.

5. Ida H. H. Harper, Life and Works of Susan B. Anthony, Indianapolis and Kansas City, 1898, V l. II, p. 996.

6. Mary Putnam-Jacobi, M.D., Common Sense Applied to Woman Suffrage, New York and London, 1894, p. 226.

7. Jane Addams Centennial Reader, Emily Cooper Johnson, ed., New York, 1960, p. 104.

8. For an account of this incident see These Things are Mine by George Middleton, New York, 1947, p. 130.

9. For a League statement before a subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee see The Woman Citizen, Vol. VIII, No. 20, p. 18 (February 23, 1924).

10. From The Human Continuum by Betty Roszak, published in Masculine/ Feminine, Readings in Sexual Mythology and the Liberation of Women, Betty Roszak and Theodore Roszak, ed., New York, 1969, p. 303.

THE CHANGING STATUS OF WOMEN IN THE LAW

Cynthia Hovden Albright

Cynthia Hovden Albright received her J.D. in 1972 from the UI College of Law. She then served as Legal Research Associate at the UI's Institute of Public Affairs where her research was directed at revision of the Iowa Model Ordinances and the Handbooks for Mayors and Council Members to reflect Iowa home rule legislation. She is presently Assistant City Attorney for a community in the metropolitan Minneapolis area.

The legal system in the United States is based on what is known as the "common law" which was inherited from England. It is this tradition of common law in the United States which has served as a basis for perpetuation of sexual myths and restriction of women's legal rights.

Under common law, women were classified by the courts with imbeciles and children, as those unable to think or act as adults. They had no political rights--they could not vote or hold public office or serve on juries. Upon marriage there was a legal fiction that the husband and wife became one legal person, and, as one case has noted, that "one is the husband."[1]

Married women turned over control and management of all property brought to the marriage to their husband; a wife could not enter into a wide range of business associations or agreements; and contracts made by a wife were not binding on the husband or wife. In sum, the husband was regarded as the wife's representative in the social state.

The major statutory and constitutional advances in the status of women have been the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920 which granted the vote to women, and the Married Women's Property Acts of the late 1800s which removed various contractual and property disabilities. But vestiges of the common law tradition remain in much current law and practice.

Many of the efforts to create a separate legal status for women have stemmed from a good faith attempt to advance the interests of women - but their effect has been to buttress the social and economic subordination of women. And even today this subordinate position has been widely accepted as natural or necessary or divinely ordained.

Demand for a change in the legal status of women has occurred with the changes in women's activities and interests and in society's attitude toward them during this century. Recent scientific and technological advances have freed women from household chores by simplifying cleaning, meal preparation, and laundry. Expanding demand for consumer goods has brought women into the labor market to supplement family income and provide a higher standard of living. Birth control and planned pregnancy have allowed women to regulate childbirth to fit with a career. Longer lifespans have freed women to return to the labor force after children have been raised. And divorce rates and family patterns have increased the number of women who are the heads of households and must provide the sole means of support for a household.

In the context of these social changes, to what extent are concepts of protection and special treatment for women, formerly the basis for most sex-based classifications in the law, viable today? And what is meant by the demand that women are making for equality before the law?

"Protection" or "privilege" or "concern for the ladies" have been convenient terms for justifying distinctions based on supposed biological differences between the sexes which mandate special treatment for one sex, usually women. But, to simplify, men and women differ only in their reproductive functions. Therefore, to the extent that the female carries the child for nine months, distinctions in the law based on this are a function of biology. Social policies are advanced through legislation for maternity benefits and such legislation is genuinely protective of this unique function women perform. Perpetuation of the species demands some protection of those who bear the children during periods in which they are biologically incapacitated from full participation. However, to the extent that women as a group are attributed general biological inferiority, and this is used as a basis for justifying differential treatment for men and women, the distinctions must be examined further for a factual basis.

By attempting to classify women as a group, to attribute a characteristic not based on biology to that group, and to then use that group as a basis

for differences in legal treatment denies to individual women who do not possess the characteristic attributed to the group the opportunity to act on the basis of an irrelevant characteristic--their biological classification as a woman. This probably indicates that many supposed biological differences which have been used for legal classifications are actually based on cultural norms. For instance, it appears to be cultural when we say through a statute that women should not be placed in certain occupations, such as bartending, because they are more morally corruptable. Although cultural norms may provide the basis for differentials, if they are used as the basis for distinctions the classification must be examined to determine if the relationship between the classification and the conflict with the cultural norm is great enough to warrant interference with the actions of the individual. To return to the example, we must ask whether one sex is more morally corruptable and whether corruptability can be limited by restricting employment opportunities for that sex.

Next we will consider the demand for equality. Equality is a traditional concept incorporated in American jurisprudence. It extends from the wish to secure basic rights fo all citizens, and has sometimes been equated with identical treatment for men and women. However, equality, in the context of sex-based legal distinctions, can more precisely be defined as equality of choice - in a recognition that our culture defines a variety of roles which men and women may assume, and individual choice should determine which role is chosen, irrespective of stereotypes and laws based on them. For women, choice may include assuming a combination of roles - student, working woman, mother, and homemaker - or different combinations at different points in their life. Equality thus recognizes the role of family life, and would give men the opportunity to exercise choice in family and work roles also.

In general, advancement of women depends on elimination of barriers based on outmoded stereotypes of protection, biological inferiority, or moral corruptability; limitation of barriers based on cultural norms which may be more harmful than the cultural norms which are protected; and validation of those practices which genuinely protect maternal functions or genuinely protect both sexes. Laws should be based on group classifications which are not defined in terms of sex, and laws should be designed with the opportunity for individuals to demonstrate inclusion or exclusion from the group when group classifications are used.

Legal Mechanisms for Change

If protection is an outmoded concept which should be replaced by equality, what legal vehicles are available to bring about the needed changes? Three methods have been suggested as possibilities, and I would like to explore each one with you.

The first vehicle for change would be an extention of the equal protection clause to sex-based classifications. The equal protection clause is found in the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution and states that no state "shall deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." Equal protection is grounded in the traditional American concept of fairness and generally requires that all persons similarly situated be treated alike, both in privileges and liabilities. It has been the hope of women's rights groups that the

U.S. Supreme Court, through judicial interpretation of the equal protection clause, could adopt the principle of equality for women in constitutional doctrine. This was the vehicle for change recommended by the President's Commission on the Status of Women in 1963. The modern trend toward insuring equality of status and recognition of individual rights through the equal protection clause is illustrated in recent Supreme Court decisions involving school desegregation, reapportionment, and the right to counsel.

However, in the past the Supreme Court has narrowly interpreted this clause when applied to women and has shown a lax methodology not evident in the other cases invoking the equal protection clause. The Supreme Court has chosen largely to cite prior cases which were based on a different social climate when faced with allegations of sex discrimination, rather than examining the validity of underlying premises about women's capacities in light of today's society. In large, their decisions reflect a society in which human rights are not recognized and given the comprehensive analysis which they are being given today. Language from a series of Supreme Court decisions in which the equal protection clause was invoked against sex-based classifications will demonstrate their trend of thought. In 1872, in denying admission of an Illinois woman to that state's bar, the Supreme Court reasoned that:

> *The civil law, as well as nature herself, has always recognized a wide difference in the respective spheres and destinies of man and woman. Man is, or should be, woman's protector and defender. The natural and proper timidity and delicacy which belong to the female sex evidently unfits it for many of the occupations of civil life. The constitution of the family organization, which is founded in the divine ordinance, as well as in the nature of things, indicates the domestic sphere as that which properly belongs to the domain and functions of womanhood. The harmony, not to say identity, of interests and views which belong, or should belong, to the family institution is repugnant to the idea of a woman adopting a distinct and independent career from that of her husband....The paramount destiny and mission of woman are to fulfill the noble and benign offices of wife and mother. This is the law of the Creator. And the rules of civil society must be adapted to the general constitution of things and cannot be based upon exceptional cases.*[2]

In 1948 the Court rejected an equal protection argument in a case involving a Michigan statute which prohibited women from being bartenders. Justice Frankfurther, for the majority, wrote:

> *The fact that women may now have achieved the virtues that men have long claimed as their prerogatives and now indulge in vices that men have long practiced, does not preclude the States from drawing a sharp line between the sexes.*[3]

In 1961--just 12 years ago--in upholding a Florida statute which excluded women from jury service unless they voluntarily applied, the Court, with Justice Harlan writing the opinion, said:

> *Despite the enlightened emancipation of women from restrictions and protections of bygone years, and their entry into many parts of community life formerly considered to be reserved to men, woman is still regarded as the center of home and family life. We cannot say it is constitutionally impermissible for a State, acting in pursuit of the general welfare, to conclude that a woman should be relieved from the civic duty of jury service unless she herself determines that such service is consistent with her own special responsibilities.*[4]

And in 1971 in Williams v. McNair, a sex-segregated state university system was upheld, the Court finding that the classification was not "without any rational justification."[5]

In 1971, in Reed v. Reed, the Supreme Court did use the equal protection clause for the first time in a sex discrimination case to strike down Idaho's probate code requirement that men are to be preferred to women in appointment as administrators of a decedent's estate.[6] But to understand the limited impact of this case it is necessary to understand that there are two theories which can be advanced to extend the equal protection clause to classifications based on sex, as the Supreme Court has two standards of review of constitutional questions. Under the Fourteenth Amendment, the party attacking the constitutionality of a statute must at least show that the legislation is not rationally related to some goal that the state has a right to achieve. Where a state need only show this "reasonable classification," the statute or practice which discriminates is usually upheld, as the state can usually demonstrate that it is based on some public policy which the state can advance. There is also a heavy presumption of constitutionality of state statutes. However, if the Supreme Court determines that a "suspect" classification or "fundamental" interest is involved, the normal presumption of constitutionality is abandoned and the state has the burden of justifying the differential treatment against strict review. How might this stricter standard be applied to women? An equal protection analysis might find that the continuation of classification by sex is "suspect," as they have found classification by race, poverty, and illegitimacy, or that the interest in obtaining justice, employment, or education is "fundamental." When both are found together, as with classification for employment differentials based on sex, the practice or statute would almost certainly be found unconstitutional.

Returning to the Reed case, it is not clear that Reed provides a strong judicial opinion to abolish classifications based on sex under an equal protection theory. The Court here was careful not to prohibit every distinction based on sex. It said only that the choice of any administrator in that case should not be made solely on the basis of sex, unless sex differences could be shown to bear a rational relationship to a legitimate state object--in other words, the state here could not even maintain a low standard of reasonableness in its classification by sex.

No indication was given that a stricter standard might be applicable to other sex-based discrimination.

One survey of the use of the equal protection clause as a method of change has concluded:

> *On this state of affairs one cannot say that the possibility of achieving substantial equality of rights for women under the Fourteenth and Fifth Amendments is permanently foreclosed. But the present trend of judicial decisions, backed by a century of consistent dismissal of women's claims for equal rights, indicates that any present hope for large-scale change can hardly be deemed realistic.*[7]

The second suggested vehicle for legal change has been revision of existing laws through legislative action. Some advocates of women's rights have argued for elimination of sex discrimination by this step-by-step legislative reform-repeal of laws drawing distinctions based on sex; enactment of affirmative requirements for equality of treatment. Examples of recent major legislative changes along these lines have been the Equal Pay Act, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, various Executive Orders, and state fair employment practices legislation. But the effort overall has been piecemeal.

The major drawback of this method is the comprehensiveness of the change needed. Enactments at all levels of government will have to be changed--federal laws, state laws, city ordinances, administrative regulations. Practices based on these laws will have to be changed. The comprehensiveness of the change means that the process is time-consuming. It assumes that independent action will be instigated by a variety of legislative bodies; or alternatively that strong executive or citizen pressure will be brought to bear to press the legislature for the changes. In addition, there is some question whether the recognition of women's equality before the law can be attained by such piecemeal efforts. When change is not mandated by constitutional directive or judicial mandate, those who want to drag their feet or urge technicalities can force delay.

In summation, piecemeal revision of statutory schemes through legislative action has been tried for nearly a century--it seems likely to fail to provide a realistic basis for widespread change.

The most recent proposal to structure changes in the law has been the Equal Rights Amendment - currently in the process of ratification by state legislatures, after passage by Congress. An Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution had been proposed to every Congress between 1923 and 1972. The wording has remained unaltered since 1943 and declares that "equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex." Although attempts were made to attach a rider providing that "the amendment shall not be construed to impair any rights, benefits, or exemptions now or hereafter conferred by law, upon persons of the female sex," this was not part of the final amendment.

A law review study indicates that "The fundamental legal principle

underlying the Equal Rights Amendment, then, is that the law must deal with particular attributes of individuals, not with classifications based on the broad and impermissible attribute of sex."[8] In application, the Equal Rights Amendment would allow differentiation only if the differentiation were based on a unique physical characteristic inherent in one sex.

Advocates of elimination of sex discrimination through an Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution see parallel constitutional guarantees where discrimination based on race, color, national origin, and religion exists. Instead of change through interpretation of the Constitution, as with the equal protection clause, a constitutional amendment would effectuate change through direct language added to the Constitution.

The amendment procedure appeals particularly to those who see problems of discrimination against women as different in comparison to discriminatory treatment of other groups. Its advantages are numerous--consistency would be insured through interpretation of one phrase, and extension of change to all areas affecting women's status before the law would be added in one action. Its psychological impact is also important--the impetus for passage of the amendment would hopefully carry over and mandate strong support for the general claim of women to elimination of sex classifications, and the recognition of individual merit as the basis for classification.

Use of this method for change is limited by the recent reluctance of state legislatures to ratify the amendment. As it currently stands, ratification has been passed by 30 of the necessary 38 states, and advocates have six years to secure ratification by eight out of the remaining 20 states, unfortunately, probably not without litigation concerning whether states may withdraw their ratification.

Impact of Current Legislation

Although the appropriate vehicle for change is therefore uncertain at this time, movement is being made on all three fronts, with a breakthrough probable in the near future. If change is coming, what will the change mean specifically to the broad range of legislation affecting women? I will break this discussion down into three broad areas--criminal law, domestic relations law, and employment-related laws--recognizing that women are affected by many other laws and practices than those that will be mentioned. Although many court tests in each area are awaiting judicial decision, I will try to suggest the current status of the law and then suggest what needs to be done to approximate the policy of equality. Generally, two alternatives will be applied when discriminatory sex-based distinctions are found to exist in the law: (1) invalidate the statute where there is no longer any valid policy promoted by the statute as applied to either sex, or (2) extend the benefits of the practice to men, where a valid social policy is promoted by the legislation, and the protection of the legislation can be extended to men.

The old double standard of sexual morality is evident in the substantive and procedural criminal law. For instance, under the terms of most prostitution statutes, only women can be prostitutes or inmates of a

house of prostitution. Commonly, when arrests are made the male customers are released without being charged while the women are marched to the police station. When men are held, they are held only long enough to cooperate in convicting the women. In this area, decriminalization of the act for both sexes must occur, or the onus of the crime must be attached equally to both men and women. In another area of the criminal law, rape statutes are usually written to apply only to males who engage in intercourse with females below an age of consent, and not to females who engage in intercourse with males below an age of consent. Rape statutes are based on the old contractual theory that women below a certain age were not able to give meaningful consent to intercourse, although men were. In the area of rape, to the extent that the law has chosen to protect society and the family from sexual acts by immature individuals, the laws are incomplete and unsatisfactory protection by implying sexual freedom at all ages for the male while making sexual acts for females of the same age criminal. Finally, the Supreme Court in a recent landmark case has relieved women of the burden of criminalization when an abortion is performed. Although laws on abortion could not be extended to men, the discriminatory aspect of abortion laws was their denial to women of standards of privacy extended generally to the marriage relationship, and from the practical effects of the law's criminal sanction, which fell more heavily on women.

The legal structure incorporates social and religious views in determining domestic or family roles of men and women. But despite evidence that the rigid role classifications by sex are breaking down in the social structure, the legal structure has not adequately changed to reflect this. The basic principle advanced by advocates of women's rights is that family roles are a functional determination based on duties actually performed upon agreement of a couple, considering individual preferences and capacities.

It is clear that certain changes will need to occur before family roles can be freely determined and differences based on sex eliminated, changes which assume importance because they affect everyone personally. But in the area of domestic relations it should be remembered that "social customs, economic realities and individual preferences have a far greater influence on behavior than the law."[9] In the domestic relations area, changes will be needed in:

1. The definition of acts necessary for a valid marriage. As of 1967 only 10 states had the same marriage age and only 18 the same age of consent for men and women. Lower marriage ages for women were based on the assumption that women mature faster than men, and also for the protection of men, who, it was felt, needed the extra years to complete their education to prepare themselves for a career. Obviously marriage and consent ages should be the same for both sexes, set at the lower level if maturity is the main consideration, set at the higher level if protection of career preparation is desired.

2. In the ability to change names. The laws requiring women to adopt their husband's name are based on social custom. Although not a paramount demand, it is obvious here that statutes should give couples the choice to maintain or combine their names or choose a new name if they desire, although states may require that the name of both husband and wife be the same or that a common name be chosen for any children.

3. In establishing domiciles. Domicile is an important concept that the law uses to determine where one may vote, run for office, pay in-state tuition, serve on juries, pay taxes, have standing to sue someone, or have one's estate administered. In only three states can women choose their own domicile for all legal purposes, and in others their husband's domicile is presumed to be their domicile. The remedy here would be to allow husband and wife to each choose a domicile, even though it may be in different states. And although the domicile of children is presumed to be that of the father now, this also would be subject to factual determination based on residence, schooling, and other factors, with each parent having an equal opportunity to demonstrate domicile.

4. Rights between husband and wife. The law has traditionally refused to interfere in an on-going marriage relationship and therefore has disallowed any action by one spouse against another as a vestige of the common law concept that the husband and wife were one person. The laws should be changed to allow suits by women for personal injuries resulting in loss of consortium. Support actions should be made available to both spouses based on current resources, earning power, and contributions to family welfare. Ownership of property in both community property and common law property states should be made dependent on pre-marriage ownership or contribution to the marriage. Grounds for divorce should not be related to sex-determined definitions, for example, pregnancy by another man at the time of marriage. Alimony should be made similar to support, available to both sexes and designed to protect spouses who have been out of the labor force and spouses needed for care of young children, and the amount should be based on parental functions, marital contributions, and ability to pay.

5. Custody of children. There is currently a preference in custody determinations for the mother for a child of tender years, although at common law the husband was always preferred as custodian of the children. These preferences are judicially created in most instances, rather than statutory law, so they will be extremely difficult to eliminate.

Because litigation concerning sex discrimination has been concentrated in the employment area, and some judicial standards have been established, I would like to deal with employment a little more extensively than the other areas.

The most important legislation in this area has been Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which has been expanded by the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972 to make its standards applicable to public employers and employees. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was generally proposed with the purpose of securing equality of treatment for blacks, and the inclusion of sex discrimination in the employment sections was proposed as a joke by southern senators to insure defeat of the main body of the bill. Most of those who voted for inclusion of sex in the list of prohibited bases of discrimination later voted against the bill as a whole, and the inclusion of sex was opposed by the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor, the President's Committee on the Status of Women, and most women in Congress.

Title VII prohibits use of sex as an employment criterion unless sex is "a bona fide occupational qualification reasonably necessary to the normal

operation of that particular business of enterprise." The bona fide occupational qualification exception has been construed very narrowly and is not maintained by myths, stereotypes, assumptions, or beliefs about capacities of male or female workers. Apparently the only exception provided by the section today is where the issue is authenticity or genuineness, as with actors or actresses.

To date the following have been found to be discriminatory employment practices:

1. State laws or regulations which restrict or prohibit the employment of women such as laws which restrict hours women may work, limit loads women may lift, or exclude women from certain occupations.

2. Limitations for men or women workers based on preferences of clients, customers, or co-workers.

3. Maintenance of sex-segregated promotion or seniority systems.

4. Rules applicable to married women unless they apply also to married men.

5. Fringe benefits which are available unequally, such as hospital and medical insurance, life insurance, profit-sharing, leave, widow's benefits, benefits to the "head of the household."

6. Exclusion on the basis of pregnancy. Pregnancy policies should be the same as for other temporary disabilities, such as elective or emergency surgery or illness.

7. Sex-segregated want ads.

It is all right to inquire of sex and marital status in relation to job selection or promotion, if the inquiries are made in good faith and for a non-discriminatory purpose.

Where violations of Title VII have occurred, both remedies of extension of the requirements to males and elimination of the requirement for both sexes have been used. This area is also where the concept of affirmative action has been introduced, with requirements for media advertising to bring in groups excluded by past discrimination, maintenance of records on selection and promotion, and numerical remedies for introduction of previously-excluded workers into the work force. The connotations from the language of affirmative action--"quotas," "preferential treatment," and "reverse discrimination"--have disturbed many and may seem harsh. However, the statutory message, interpreted by the Supreme Court, is clear - through affirmative action discrimination must be eliminated by any reasonable means available.

In conclusion, although sex-based classifications may have been helpful or consistent with social policy in the past, their validity has, by today's standards, become unreasonable, discriminatory, and detrimental to the advancement of women. Instead of protecting women, the law has been used to deny women entry into the mainstream of society. Now

stereotypes should give way to consideration of women on the basis of individual merit and qualifications, and not by resort to prejudice and group classification.

To a certain extent change has been impeded by fear and uncertainty as to the effect of elimination of certain elements of the legal tradition in which women feel they are the beneficiaries. I contend, however, that women will be willing to exchange dependency for responsibilities within the law, and that protection of family and social functions can be preserved within the context of this change.

The law is a slow-moving vehicle which can be prodded to lead social change, as with the school desegregation rulings in the early 1950s, or can lag behind the currents of social change, responding only to maximum efforts, as with women's claims for equality. How can you speed up the pace of change within the law? First, educate yourself to the issues, as with your attendance at today's conference. Second, identify discriminatory practices within your reach. And third, work to eliminate these discriminatory practices through appropriate means. I would encourage you as public policy leaders in this effort with the assurance that you can be an impetus for needed changes in your city and with the warning that if you do not make the changes, they may be imposed upon you in the near future.

FOOTNOTES

1. U.S. v. Yazell, 382 U.S. 341 (1966).

2. Bradwell v. The State, 83 U.S. 130 (1872).

3. Goesart v. Cleary, 335 U.S. 464 (1948).

4. Hoyt v. Florida, 368 U.S. 57 (1961).

5. 401 U.S. 951 (1971).

6. 404 U.S. 71 (1971).

7. Brown et al., "The Equal Rights Amendment: A Constitutional Basis for Equal Rights for Women," 80 Yale L. Rev. 871 (1971).

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid.

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SOCIALIZATION OF WOMEN IN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS: RESULTANT EFFECTS

Cecelia H. Foxley

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Let us imagine for a few moments that we all have a daughter...named Georgia. Georgia is an unusually bright and talented young woman. During her preschool years we worked hard at providing the best home environment we could - exploring, learning, experiencing together. Before she started school, she was reading right along with her two older brothers, and she was the best third baseman on the all-boy neighborhood baseball team. We sent her off to first grade a curious, enthusiastic, budding student.

Her elementary school teachers were pleased to have such a bright student

in their classes, but they were concerned about what they called her "competitive, outgoing nature" and her preference for "boys' sports." Her interests were not those of the rest of the girls in her class. She liked reading science books and mystery stories. She was the top math student and won most of the spelling contests. Despite this, her teachers tried their best to get her to "be like the rest of the girls."

Her textbooks throughout elementary and secondary school showed men and boys in active, productive roles as engineers, doctors, lawyers. The women were portrayed in more passive, supportive roles such as mothers, nurses, secretaries, teachers. She learned that men had been and were the history makers, the leaders of our country.

In high school her athletic interests were discouraged as most of the athletic programs were for boys only. She felt pressure from her peers not to be "too smart" so as to be popular with both boys and girls. Her English, art, and home economics teachers encouraged her to excel. Her math and science teachers, while they didn't consciously try to discourage her, spent most of their time working with the bright boys in their classes. When it came time to think about college, her counselors encouraged her to consider those schools which offered good programs in the humanities and arts, teaching, or nursing - fields that have been traditionally thought to lend themselves to combining a career with marriage and a family. Although her math and science test scores were very high, her counselors and teachers never once discussed the possibility of her going into engineering, medicine, law--fields that have been traditionally male-oriented.

College was pretty much a repeat of high school--encouragement to pursue the typical female fields of study and discouragement from pursuing the typical male fields of study. Few role models were provided her as most of her professors and virtually all of the college administrators were males. Georgia decided that a liberal arts education would provide the most options. During her senior year she met the "love of her life" and they were married shortly after graduation.

Since Georgia's husband planned to work on his Ph.D. in political science, it was necessary for her to find a job to help pay the rent and buy the groceries. Since her bachelor's degree did not include specific areas of specialization, the only jobs she could qualify for were secretary, waitress, or domestic work. She decided that the clerical job would be the most palatable. She is now spending her time in an unchallenging, repetitive job--not utilizing most of her talents, abilities, and intellect. The resultant effect of her education was not an expanded development of her potentialities. It was not a period of preparation and training for a position which would enable her to make her fullest contribution to society, a position in which she could continue to grow and develop.

We have just imagined together a fictitious young woman named Georgia and her educational experiences. This bit of fiction, however, is an all too familiar set of realities currently being experienced by many girls and young women in our educational institutions, from preschool through higher education. Our educational institutions, as they presently exist, are short-changing female students.

In a recent report, the Presidential Task Force on Women's Rights and Responsibilities concluded that:

> *Discrimination in education is one of the most damaging injustices women suffer. It denies them equal education and equal employment opportunity, contributing to a second-class self-image.*[1]

In a time of increasing need for highly trained, highly skilled professionals to solve our social, economic, environmental, and political problems, it is a serious fault that approximately one-half of our human resources are not being fully utilized because of discriminatory practices and attitudes against women in education. This must change.

For any real change to occur, however, there must be a change in the attitudes of all of us--men and women. We must realize that the role of woman is changing and her potentialities must be recognized and developed. In an era of overpopulation and with the advent of the pill, no longer must woman be sequestered to continue the race. Increasing numbers of women are choosing not to have children or to have fewer children. Improved technology has liberated the housewife and mother from endless hours of drudgery, and she need not devote her entire life to the raising of children. (Indeed, after the children are raised she has 40 years of life left!) With more time on her hands and frequently because of economic need, the American woman is likely to be a working woman. Every woman can expect to be spending some part of her life working. Presently, over one-third of the labor force is female. The working woman is usually found in the lower paying jobs and in traditionally female oriented occupations: such as clerical and domestic work, teaching, nursing, social work, library work, etc. Young women need to be encouraged to become doctors as well as nurses, principals and administrators as well as teachers, managers and vice presidents as well as secretaries.

While I don't want to underestimate the influence of institutions like the home and church, our schools have perpetuated the old sex role stereotypes and have made it difficult for new attitudes to be developed. Consider, for example, what effect the following might have on the developing young women in our schools:

> *----Tests and teaching materials at all levels of education show women in stereotyped roles such as homemaker, teacher, nurse, etc., and are void of an accurate reflection of the contributions women have made in a variety of fields.*[2]

> *----Junior high and high school female students are usually required to take home economics courses but are excluded from taking industrial arts or auto mechanics courses.*[3]

> *----Resources and facilities are provided for physical education and athletic programs for males at all levels of education to a much greater extent than they are provided for females.*[4]

----Many school counselors still tend to view college as necessary for boys and not-quite-so-necessary for girls. Thus boys are given more encouragement to excel in math and science and are more frequently advised to take college preparatory courses than are girls. When girls are counseled to continue their education beyond high school, they are usually advised to consider only those fields of study which have been traditionally viewed as appropriate for women, e.g., teaching, nursing, secretarial science, social work, etc.[5]

----Women seeking admission to institutions of higher education and advanced technical training are still experiencing obstacles such as single-sex schools,[6] *informal quotas,*[7] *higher admission standards,*[8] *and little financial support.*

----Few role models in education are provided women students. Most secondary school teachers, higher education faculty members, and administrators at all levels are men. Only in elementary education do female teachers outnumber male teachers. And, while it is believed that salary differentials based on sex have largely been eliminated for elementary and secondary teachers, the same is not true for college and university faculty.

All of these examples I have just cited do not apply to all educational institutions, because we are experiencing some slow progress in a considerable number of individual schools and school systems. While changes in attitudes occur slowly, there is a growing body of law requiring non-discrimination in our educational institutions. Complaints, investigations, and litigations are helping to bring about change more rapidly in educational programs and practices. The following is a brief summary of the federal laws and regulations concerning sex discrimination in educational institutions.

Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 insures that:

> *No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance....*

Therefore, effective July 1, 1972, all public and private preschools, elementary and secondary schools, institutions of vocational education, professional education, and undergraduate and graduate education which receive federal monies must make all benefits and services available to students without discrimination on the basis of sex. Thus, all course offerings, school facilities, financial assistance, and auxiliary programs and services must be available to students of both sexes. For example,

no longer will schools be able to provide athletic and recreational equipment, facilities, and programs for male students only. No longer will sex stereotyped courses such as home economics and auto mechanics be allowed to exclude members of one sex. No longer will schools get away with applying different parietal rules to female students than to male students. No longer will educational institutions be able to exclude women or set quotas on the numbers of women they are willing to admit or require higher admission standards for women. No longer will student financial assistance be allowed to be given to men and not women.

The Comprehensive Health Manpower Act (1971) assures women of equal access to medical education by prohibiting sex discrimination in the admissions procedures of schools of medicine, osteopathy, dentistry, veterinary medicine, optometry, pharmacy, podiatry, public health, or any training center for allied health personnel. A similar ban on sex discrimination in admissions to nursing schools is provided for by the Nurse Training Amendments Act. As this provision illustrates, the fight against sex discrimination benefits both sexes. Among those who now have a better chance at getting admitted to nursing schools are Vietnam veterans with Medical Corps training.

Presidential Executive Order 11246, as amended, prohibits all federal contractors from discriminating in employment practices--including recruitment, hiring, promotion, salaries and benefits, training, termination, etc.,--because of race, religion, color, national origin, or sex. All educational institutions holding federal contracts of over $10,000 are covered by the Order. In addition, institutions with contracts of $50,000 or more and 50 or more employees must have an affirmative action plan, with numerical goals and timetables, for overcoming deficiencies and taking corrective action to eliminate discriminatory practices and furthering employment opportunity for women and minorities. Thus, covered institutions which do not have (or have very few) women employed at the higher teaching ranks and executive/administrative levels are required to develop procedures for locating and hiring qualified women.

The Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972 nullified a previous exemption of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and brought coverage to educators and professional employees. Like the Executive Order, this law prohibits educational institutions from discriminatory practices in employment.

The Equal Pay Act was extended by the Education Amendments of 1972 to cover executive, administrative, and professional personnel. Thus, women teachers who have been traditionally paid less than their male counterparts, at all levels of education in both public and private institutions, federally funded or not, now have legal backing for requiring equal pay for equal work.

Partly because of these legal provisions, many institutions of higher education are trying to recruit more women students, especially in the traditionally male professions such as law, medicine, dentistry, engineering, business, etc. Some institutions are beginning to revise and add new programs, procedures, and services to better facilitate women continuing their education. Some of these include:

Enrollment on a part-time basis, flexible course hours, short-term courses, counseling services for adult women, financial aid for part-time study, limited residence requirements, removal of age restrictions, liberal transfer of course credits, curriculum geared to adult experiences, credit by examination, refresher courses, reorientation courses, information services, child care facilities, relaxation of time requirements for degrees, and job placement assistance.

Currently pending in Congress is a bill that has broad and far-reaching implications for the education of women. Presently entitled the Women's Education Act of 1972 (I understand the name may change), the bill is authored by Representative Patsy T. Mink (D-Hawaii) who in her introductory remarks to the House summarized the current status of the education of women and its consequences:

Our educational system has divided the sexes into an insidious form of role-playing. Women provide the services and men exploit them. Women are the secretaries, nurses, teachers, and domestics, and men are the bosses, doctors, professors, and foremen. Textbooks, media, curricula, testing, counseling, and so forth, are all based on the correctness of this division of labor, and serve to reinforce the sex-role stereotype that is so devastating for our postindustrial society. More importantly, this division of labor according to sex is a totally false assumption of roles.

Women are no longer going to accept being forced into a secondary role. Demands of family life in this century just are not all-consuming any more. Given the fact that our life expectancy is well into the seventies, that women live longer than men, they have fewer children than in an agricultural society, and the women will spend more than half their adult lives in the work force outside the home, it is essential to the existence of our country that sincere and realistic attention to the realinement of our attitudes and educational priorities be made. I suggest that education is the first place to start in a reexamination of our national goals.

The proposed bill would establish a Council on Women's Educational Programs within the Office of Education and would be responsible for administration of the bill's programs and coordination of activities within the federal government which are related to the education of women. Some of the activities which the bill would promote are these:

1. development of non-sexist curricula, textbooks, tests, and teaching materials.

2. programs for adequate and nondiscriminatory vocational, educational, and career counseling for women students.

3. preservice and inservice training for educational personnel.

4. development of new and expanded programs of physical education and sports activities for women in all educational institutions.

5. planning of women's resource centers.

6. community education programs concerning women, including special programs for adults.

7. programs aimed at increasing the number of women in administrative positions at all levels in institutions of education.

8. programs aimed at increasing the number of male teachers in elementary and preschool education programs.

With active enforcement of the anti-discrimination laws and development of new and expanded programs, educational opportunities for women need not be limiting and narrow. Rather, all educational opportunities would be equally available to men and women. The "Georgia's" (remember our imagined female student?) of our schools must have broadened educational opportunities and choices, thereby enabling full development of their potentialities and the fulfillment of satisfying occupational and professional goals. It is the responsibility of all of us to see that such educational opportunities are made available for female students at all levels - preschool through higher education.

FOOTNOTES

1. A Matter of Simple Justice, Report of the Presidential Task Force on Women's Rights and Responsibilities, Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1969.

2. See, e.g., Report on Sex Bias in the Public Schools, National Organization for Women (NOW), N.Y.C., 1971; and Need for Studies or Sex Discrimination in Public Schools, Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of Women, U.S. Department of Labor, 1972.

3. See, e.g., Robinson v. State of Washington et. al. (U.S. District Court - W.D. Wash-N Div., #9576, Filed Mar. 22, 1971). See also Sanchez et. al. v. Baron et. al. (U.S. District Court-EDNY, #69-C-1615).

4. See, e.g., Gregorio v. Board of Education of Asbury Park et. al. (NJ Superior Court-Monmout County #C-1988-69, ruling Mar. 16, 1971. NY Superior Court-Appellate Division, A-1277-70, ruling April 5, 1971; NJ Supreme Court).

5. See Plans for Widening Women's Educational Opportunities, Women's Bureau, Employment Standards Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, 1972.

6. See, e.g., Hearings on S.J. Res. 61 Before the Subcomm. on Constitutional Amendments of the Comm. on the Judiciary, 91st Cong. 2nd Sess., at 574 (1970). HEW reported 15 publicly supportive institutions of higher education admit only male students.

7. See, e.g., Record of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (May 25, 1970). The University's catalogue states that quotas are assigned as to the number of applicants accepted to various programs. These quotas are based on the limited number of facilities for women.

8. See, e.g., E. Walster, T. Cleary, and M. Clifford, "The Effect of Race and Sex on College Admissions," 1970 (unpublished study, University of Wisconsin). See also Supra note 6, at 457.

MYTH AMERICA: WOMEN IN AMERICAN LITERATURE
A Panel Presentation

Patricia Addis, Rick Cannon, and Lori Shpunt Cannon

Lori Cannon, B.A., Trinity College, M.F.A. UI Writer's Workshop is completing work for the Ph.D. in Higher Education with a concentration in Women's Studies. She taught courses on Women Poets in the Saturday Class Program at UI. Her poetry has been published in Mademoiselle and the Iowa City Anthology of Women Poets. She is currently on the faculty of the English Department at Trinity College, Washington D.C. and directs Continuing Education for Women there.

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As Virginia Woolf noted in A Room of One's Own, "women in literature" is such a sufficiently ambiguous theme that we have to "unpack" it a bit to explain what it can mean and how we will deal with it. First, as an introduction to the subject, we will talk a bit about the relationship between literature and society. Then the panel will focus on three main areas: Pat Addis will deal with images of women in high fiction (the "great" American classics written by male authors); Rick Cannon will speak about images of both men and women in popular fiction (the not-so-great classics, also written by male authors); and Lori Shpunt Cannon will address the subject of women as writers. Some form of Myth America--that legendary female--hovers over each of these areas.

Images of Women in High Fiction

The relationship between literature and society is a complex one and includes both internal factors (elements within the literary work itself such as plot, character, style, implicit and explicit values) and external factors (the conditions under which one becomes a writer, the politics and economics of publishing, and so on). We will begin our discussion with some observations about these factors that apply to all fiction - both "high fiction" and "popular fiction."

Literature is not simply a "mirror held up to reality" or a "slice of life." Out of the infinite number of possibilities for plot, character, style, etc., the writer sees only a fraction--other possibilities having been eliminated by his culture--and of that fraction he uses only a still smaller fraction--the rest having been eliminated by narrower cultural considerations such as his own personal attitudes and values. And once the book is actually written and in circulation, it becomes part of the culture itself: part of the sources from which other writers will choose, part of cultural sources for all of its readers.

To put it another way, literature both grows out of and feeds back into culture. That literature grows out of culture is obvious, although just how it does this is an extremely complex question for the social sciences to grapple with. Some interesting problems also arise from the implications of the second part of our statement, that literature feeds back into culture. For insofar as human culture is a deliberately constructed thing over which we have some control, issues of public policy will have to concern themselves with what we want fed back into our culture. Much of what we will describe in the following discussion concerns images that are clearly degrading and dehumanizing to women. As humanists, we argue that the elimination of such images is necessary in the interest of a humane and fully liberating society.

But why should we bring literature into a discussion concerning public policy at all? Isn't each book a writer's own expression, so individualized that we can't generalize about it? Isn't woman's legal status or economic opportunity or political power much more important? In a very direct sense that is true, of course. But perhaps an examination of the ties between literature and society will prove to enlighten our understanding of why some alternatives are open to women and some are closed.

Literature is one of the important instruments of socialization. This is to say that many of our attitudes and values are formed and reinforced by

literature. The role of popular fiction in perpetuating the status quo will be examined in a moment, although it is perhaps worthwhile to recall at the outset of our discussion that popular fiction deals in blacks and whites, not the subtleties of one gray or another. People turn to popular fiction for many reasons, but important among those reasons is the impulse to escape subtlety and complexity, to participate in a kind of ritualized reaffirmation of traditional values.

On the other hand, we expect if not demand a degree of subtlety and complexity in high fiction. Because the artist and writer in America has always been to a certain extent an outsider, we expect him to have a clearer vision, a finer perception of his own culture. So we are understandably more surprised when his work--high literature--contains some of the same kinds of cardboard figures which perpetuate myths of woman's inferiority, passivity, innate altruism, and submissiveness--the same myths we find in popular fiction.

If we analyze American high fiction in terms of patterns and structures and not simply plot summaries, we find that it is often a literature of men, by men, and for men. James Fenimore Cooper gives us Natty Bumppo in the Leatherstocking tales; Herman Melville gives us Ishmael and Ahab after the great white whale; Twain gives us Huck Finn floating down the Mississippi; Hemingway gives us hunters, bullfighters, war heroes (or anti-heroes), fishermen; and Norman Mailer gives us...well...Norman Mailer. This is a literature of men acting among men, where the highest kind of bond is that of the comradeship between two males, where mature relationships with women simply don't figure and are perceived as impossible at best and threatening at worst.

The themes of much of this literature are often described as themes which deal with the "human condition," a description which could only be useful if in fact the situation did not depend wholly on the particular sex of the protagonist. When Natty Bumppo and Huck Finn flee civilization, they are fleeing women and the civilization that women are naturally supposed to bring with them: parenthood, responsibility, settled existences, networks of social ties, in short, mundane matters which can hardly compete with adventures in the wilderness. We can use a simple and rather mechanical technique to investigate whether a given piece of fiction can be reasonably interpreted as a statement about some universal human condition: try asking whether the sexes of the principal characters could be reversed without any appreciable change in the theme. Has anyone written a book about a female pathfinder or a little girl's adventures on the mighty Mississippi? It sounds absurd and rightly so. Writers not only have not done it; they could not.

Man's experience and woman's experience fall in different realms--realms so widely divergent that it is a serious question whether there is any overlap at all. It may be that, given the evidence from the American classics, the most general statements we could make would describe either "man's condition" or "woman's condition."

But American high fiction is not of course totally womanless. We have a few Hester Prynnes, Isabel Archers, Sister Carries, and Carol Kennicotts. By now you may have noticed that I have been referring to writers in masculine terms instead of talking about men and women, about he or she,

about his or hers. In this paper, it is quite deliberate because the "American Classics" were written by men and not by women. (We will discuss the women writers later in the panel.) So it is not inaccurate to describe the portraits of women which come to us through the great American classics as exclusively filtered through male perceptions, presuppositions, and attitudes.

What patterns emerge from these portraits? One of the most interesting is the prevalence of a "Light Lady-Dark Woman" pair in a single piece of fiction, whether it is "high" or "popular." Light Ladies are blonde, blue-eyed, frail, submissive, genteel, cultured, and virginal (the list of adjectives can be longer or shorter, as you wish, and of course not all Light Ladies exhibit all of the characteristics at once, but a sufficient number to establish the stereotypical identity); Dark Women, on the other hand, are brunette, brown-eyed, dark-skinned (but not black!), voluptuous, and to some degree unconventional, with hints of sexual experience. America's Light Lady-Dark Woman dichotomy has been with us since Hawthorne and Melville to Mailer, from the very beginnings of popular fiction to the schoolmarm and prostitute of the western.

When the pair is present in a novel, the male character has to make a choice between the Light Lady and the Dark Woman: whom he chooses and the kinds of deliberations he engages in are extremely revealing. When contemporary readers come across Light Ladies, they often reject them as pale, insipid creatures; yet if the male characters choose at all (instead of lighting out for the wilderness), they invariably choose the Light Lady after being terribly attracted by the Dark Woman. Why? It would be impossible to give any kind of an adequate answer here; and in a brief treatment of this sort, we're more concerned with raising crucial questions than with feeling the obligation to produce definitive answers. Leslie Fiedler, in a book called Love and Death in the American Novel speculates in Freudian terms that it has something to do with a man's fear of women who are potentially emasculating. Classic American male authors, for whatever reasons, have found it impossible to portray a woman whose "Lightness" and "Darkness" could be united in a single humanity. By separating civilization and sexuality, if we can put it that way, men can choose to avoid confrontation with the latter--which is both fascinating and frightening.

Other patterns emerge which are not quite as neat as the Light Lady-Dark Woman dichotomy. Cataloguing the various life-styles available to women as principal characters in novels indicates an extremely narrow range: there are few heroine-mothers, few middle-aged women, few working women, few professional women. Vast areas in which women actually live and move have been almost totally absent from fictional treatment of women. We have mentioned the premise that literature grows out of culture: since we live in a culture in which women have been an important and numerous part of the work force since the early nineteenth century New England textile mills, why don't they then turn up in fiction? If women were in fact (however deplorable that fact may be) confined to the hearth and home, why are "domestic matters" seen as so dull and trivial that they aren't worth fictional attention?

We are amazed at these gaps in the classics. We shall now turn to popular literature to see if a different set of themes and patterns emerges.

Images of Men and Women in Popular Fiction

Popular literature has had and will continue to have a significant impact upon our mode of life and our way of thinking. With the increasing popularity and availability of paperbacks--including westerns, whodunits, romances, and "adult" adventures--a fabulous market has developed into which, much like Leningin's ants, legions of hacks have marched with manuscripts and lurid covers. People like Ian Fleming, Mickey Spillane, and Ellery Queen have really cashed in with a prolificity that would stagger a rabbit and with a prototype of manhood and masculinity that, to say the least, is damaging and degrading to the public, both male and female.

Why is this type of literature in such demand? It seems to me that this question can be answered with the shopworn advertising premise: (and it's no accident that advertising produces the relevant phrase here) "All men are, or can be made to be, dissatisfied with their lives." In the dull, dreary commonplaces of everyday life, only a can of Colt 45 or a Mickey Spillane thriller is just case for excitement.

As readers, male or female, we all know how much of what we read in popular literature is distorted, escapist fantasy. We laugh, put it away, yet continue with what may now seem a much paler existence. If we're not already dissatisfied with our lives, a little bug has been subtly placed on the underside of our minds. If we're not careful, we soon may be dissatisfied, in which case we buy another thriller. Because secretly, with enough exposure, we begin to believe that somewhere life is or could be the way it appears on the page.

What we are given as heroes in these books, or rather what we have thrown at us with type, is a set pattern of behavior, action, and reaction without which one cannot truly call himself a "Man." As male readers, we become James Bond or Mike Hammer, enjoy unearthly women like an after-dinner mint, casually snuff out lives with a silenced .30 magnum, and generally view life with a cold blue eye. The recipe (this is cookbook fiction, after all) includes an aura of irresistability to voluptuous women, a hair-trigger mind which confounds the most capable criminals, wry humor or sharp wit which can produce the perfect squelch everytime, and a willingness to be beaten and bloodied but an even greater willingness to beat, bloody, and murder (for the cause). In short, a man in absolute control. Sprinkle generously with gullible readers and you have a hit.

The women in these popular readers are also extremely well-defined. Those who are lucky enough to consort with the madman described above are very sharp "for a woman" (they must be to earn the honor of being noticed by our hero), beautiful beyond description (although the author always manages to describe them), playful as kittens yet loyal and steadfast as old dogs (notice the animal descriptions). The female adversary is always nearly as sharp as a man, but not quite. She is generally killed. This does not leave a lot of room for character development!

The woman who reads one of these thrillers is in a particularly ambivalent position. Either she identifies with the after-dinner mint or with the male hero. If she's the mint, the identification can only lower or destroy her own self-esteem, for she's placed in a situation where she's groveling

before her ideal, a man whose ideal attitudes include the dominance over and contempt of women. If she identifies with the male hero, this kind of unreal sexual identification leads to an uncomfortably schizophrenic response. Either reading of this type of book is apt to have a profoundly negative psychological significance on the woman reader. How many books does a woman read in her lifetime with just such male heroes?

The interaction of the sexes, or lack of it, is one of the most intriguing aspects of the thriller. Notice the cover. Sex and violence. Yet, even though we are led to believe that our hero is a man of rare sexual prowess, only in moments of weakness, if at all, does he allow himself to take one of the countless offerings. He regards sex as an aberration, a shameful drain upon his needed energies. Besides, time spent with such inferior creatures would be better spent elsewhere. The seductive woman, then, is portrayed as a temptress, a modern Delilah who would strip Bond or Hammer of his power and thereby obstruct the course of justice.

These books aren't subtle. If associating with women weakens and distracts the hero, how does the reader--male or female--deal with this notion in his or her life? Fiction, you say? No one believes it? Wasn't it only last year that members of the Olympic teams were finally allowed to enjoy sex with their spouses before competitions? The very same sexual taboo is operating here.

The only word for this kind of literature is "inhuman." A list of Mickey Spillane titles alone is enough to curdle the blood: The Big Kill, Bloody Sunrise, The Day of the Guns, My Gun Is Quick, The Erection Set, all with suitable phallic overtones. One of his works, Vengeance Is Mine, has sold nearly five million copies. How does one account for such a fact if not by saying that a lot of people like it, that a lot of people actually buy and believe these sexual stereotypes. One might argue that it's the action that sells the books, and that no one really "notices" the degrading or oppressive stereotypes. But in these books, one cannot distinguish between action and character. Men are smart killers for justice; women are beautiful animals.

I have been speaking about the lowest form on the literary spectrum, where, as Ms. Addis pointed out in her presentation, sex role stereotyping is starkly shown with little or no shading. This certainly does not mean that such fine definition does not exist in literature's upper levels. One favorite phrase, "Cherchez la femme" or "Watch out for the woman" is common usage in discussing good literature for it indicates the subversive and scheming nature of many female prototypes. John Milton, for instance, has set down in Paradise Lost a veritable handbook for the practicing mysogynist. When sexual discrimination is given such august sanction, it is easy to understand its widespread acceptance, and should then, by that understanding, be easier to combat in our own personal and professional lives.

Much of what we have described so far has concerned images of women that are clearly degrading and dehumanizing. As humanists we argue that the elimination of such images is absolutely necessary in the interests of a humane and liberated society. Because the focus of this conference is on public policy, the crucial questions in this examination of literature are: (1) what are the effects of the kinds of distorted values presented in America's books; and (2) what specifically can we do to change them.

The effects, it would seem, are enormous. It must make a difference if we have no fictional examples of mature male-female relationships. What strange kinds of schizophrenia are induced in female readers who identify with the Huck Finns, Natty Bumppos, and Mike Hammers, with the adventurer, with the professional, with the striving male? What kinds of personal psychic damage are being inflicted when the female characters in novels are examples, to greater or lesser degrees, of stereotypes of submissiveness, passivity, and crippling altruism?

We are in no way issuing a call for censorship, for the passing or rejecting of each piece of fiction by a formal board. Attitudes can change. In the last hundred years, the moral atmosphere alone has been able to eliminate much of what had been oppressive and degrading to black readers. Yet in the same period, in terms of attitude and moral atmosphere, the women's movement has made little or no progress. This is something deeper and more fundamental, this sexual discrimination, rooted firmly in a male dominated tradition and even in the religions we have had handed down to us. Laws cannot change it. The establishment of employment objectives or a rebalancing of salaries cannot change it. Only a basic change in our personal attitudes can do the job. And that is our purpose here, to share with you our own evolving consciousness, to implant a few nagging questions, to draw clearly the inequities of the status quo, and perhaps to project a picture of things as they should be.

In Ms. Cannon's presentation we shall see yet another aspect of sexism in literature: that which operates against the author herself.

Women as Writers

In the preface to her book Thinking About Women, Mary Ellman says, "Opinions about women are about an eccentric phenomenon, which is felt to exert some obscure influence upon the center." The woman writer, the woman who chooses to believe that her vision of reality is as clear and as valuable as a man's and her ability to express it as forceful, becomes in the eyes of her male peers and the eyes of the world the embodiment of the "eccentric phenomenon." To say "she is a writer" has come to mean "she is strange." As long as the majority of people accept and believe this notion of literary sexuality, that women are less talented writers than men, our culture will suffer badly.

The woman in this culture who writes is in a dangerous situation--she is defeated before she even begins. What do you remember about Sappho, the first recorded woman poet? That she was lesbian? That she seduced young girls? Certainly not her poetry! What do you remember about Emily Dickinson from grammar school literature classes? That she wore white? That she never left her room? That she was religiously obsessed with a hopeless passion for one of her father's friends? Her poetry is not foremost in our minds when her name is mentioned. Just as certainly, every person in this room, hearing the name Joyce Kilmer, a less well-known and less accomplished male poet, could recite the first few lines of Trees. Just as certainly, everyone here could name several works by Nathaniel Hawthorne and speak about their content and never recall that this noted male author lived as a hermit for a number of years to perfect his craft.

The type of memories we carry around with us about women writers is indicative of their place--or rather lack of place--in the accepted literary tradition of our culture. They have no place because they are woman writers, not simply writers. Thus, their lives and their works are read, analyzed, defined, and subsequently dismissed in terms of their sexuality.

When we are told by a book jacket cover or by a reviewer that someone, for instance Joyce Carol Oates, is the "best woman writer of the decade" we are forced to assume that this particular woman author, in being considered separately, is less than equal to the "best writer." As long as her ability is defined in terms of her "womanness" Joyce Carol Oates will never be allowed to take her place in the standard literary tradition; her work will never be compared with Saul Bellow's or John Cheever's or Shakespeare's. The sex and sexuality of the author suddenly becomes more relevant than the work when the author happens to be a woman.

The implications of this cultural phenomenon of separate and not equal literary traditions for men and women are dangerous and unfortunately far-reaching. Why would a young woman who shows promise as a writer pursue a writing career, when throughout her educational experience women who write have always been considered as "woman writers" in a substandard literary tradition, and when, more significantly perhaps, women writers are presented to her as socially and/or sexually deviant? There's a litany: women who write are neurotic; women who write are insane; women who write are suicidal. What young woman wants to aspire to deviancy as a preferred life-style? To white gowns in locked rooms? To islands inhabited only by girls? To suicide at 33 in a cold and desolate London flat? Why would a woman consider writing as a career if only her life will be remembered and not her work?

When Virginia Woolf wrote her famous essay about the plight of women writers nearly 40 years ago, she stated that a woman who wants to write must have "an independent income and a room of one's own." Both are essential. Perhaps Emily Dickinson was simply using her own room to write in? Perhaps Sappho ran a school for girls to guarantee herself a private source of income. Perhaps the lost women writers--Virginia Woolf and Sylvia Plath and all the others--would not have been suicides had these two essentials been available to them.

Women writers are not only hampered by the literary establishment's voyeuristic interest in their life, but are also burdened by commonly accepted stereotypes of what is "woman's writing" or "man's writing." Certain subjects such as war, sports, and adventure are considered masculine territory. Romance, fine arts, and light mystery are the realm of women writers. In part, the rigid roles forced on men and women by society has restricted the experiences available to men and women writers. On the other hand, Shakespeare was never a king or Venetian merchant; nor was Joyce Carol Oates a product of migrant worker life. Yet both have created important literature in the realm of unexperienced topics. So the argument that runs women-have-never-faced-death-the-way-men-have-in-war-etc. is just not valid. And too, there is an assumption that literature must always be written from the active point of view. I believe there exists an undiscovered body of literature from the victim's point of view which has never been taken seriously.

Subject matter is only one aspect of this stereotyping process when it comes to women writers. Style, choice of speaker, message of the work, etc. all come under the scrutiny of the male literary establishment and are assigned values on a masculine-feminine spectrum. The critics work backwards for women writers. When reading Sylvia Plath's poems about a woman character who is going mad, the critic automatically assumes that the poet must be mad, totally ignoring the art involved in creating a strong and powerful poem about madness, totally ignoring the kind of health and strength it takes on the part of the author to create a strong poem. Can you imagine a critic finding a work of Dylan Thomas that refers to drinking and on that basis automatically assuming that Dylan Thomas is an alcoholic?

It is time to reconsider; time to re-read the works of many women authors as art; time to come to the works by women writers without centuries of prejudice and suspicion. It is finally time to understand that women who write have produced, are producing, and no doubt shall continue to produce, strong and meaningful literature. This is truly amazing when you consider the odds they are up against when they begin.

We would like to close our panel discussion by speaking about Sylvia Plath, a young woman poet who took her own life in 1963. Her work, which has recently been taken up by the Woman's Movement as a tract for feminism, is another case of mistaken interpretation. By no stretch of the imagination are her poems "feminist" in the philosophical or political sense. But they do anticipate the growing awareness of women in that they document and powerfully describe the hurts, the wrongs, the hopelessness of many of woman's roles and images. They dare to say what's wrong with living in food and furniture. I dare anyone to tell me that this poem I am about to read is weak or passive or less than great. Surely, Plath must be considered in the standard literary tradition.

LADY LAZARUS

I have done it again.
One year in every ten
I manage it---

A sort of walking miracle. my skin
Bright as a Nazi lampshade,
My right foot

A paperweight,
My face a featureless, fine
Jew linen.

Peel off the napkin
O my enemy.
Do I terrify?---

The nose, the eye pits, the full set of teeth?
The sour breath
Will vanish in a day.

Soon, soon, the flesh
The grave cave ate will be
At home on me

And I a smiling woman.
I am only thirty.
And like the cat I have nine times to die.

This is number Three
What a trash
To annihilate each decade.

What a million filaments.
The peanut-crunching crowd
Shoves in to see

Them unwrap me hand and foot---
The big strip tease.
Gentleman, ladies,

These are my hands,
My knees.
I may be skin and bone,

Nevertheless, I am the same identical woman.
The first time it happened I was ten.
It was an accident.

The second time I meant
To last it out and not come back at all.
I rocked shut

As a seashell.
They had to call and call
And pick the worms off me like sticky pearls.

Dying
Is an art, like everything else.
I do it exceptionally well.

I do it so it feels like hell.
I do it so it feels real.
I guess you could say I've a call.

It's easy enough to do it in a cell.
It's easy enough to do it and stay put.
It's the theatrical

Comeback in broad day
To the same place, the same face, the same brute
Amused shout:

"A miracle!"
That knocks me out.
There is a charge

For the eyeing of my scars, there is a charge
For the hearing of my heart---
It really goes.

And there is a charge, a very large charge
For a word or a touch
Or a bit of blood

Or a pice of my hair or my clothes.
So, so Herr Doktor.
So, Herr Enemy.

I am your opus,
I am your valuable,
The pure gold baby

That melts to a shriek.
To turn and burn.
Do not think I underestimate your great concern.

Ash, Ash---
You poke and stir.
Flesh, bone, there is nothing there---

A cake of soap,
A wedding ring,
A gold filling.

Herr God, Herr Lucifer,
Beware
Beware.

Out of the ash
I rise with my red hair
And I eat men like air.

THE FEMININE DIMENSION IN THE IMAGE OF GOD: A CHRISTIAN PERSPECTIVE

Patricia Wilson

(Although this paper was not among those originally presented at the 1973 Symposium, its content is clearly relevant to the concerns of the Symposium discussions. We are fortunate to be able to include it in this collection of humanistic perspectives on women.)

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> *For my thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, says the Lord.*--Isaiah 55:8

Over 2,500 years ago the author of Second Isaiah expressed this great truth which strikes at the roots of all human efforts to build our idols of God to our own dimensions. But just as in biblical days, so too throughout the history of the churches up to our own day, no human sinful urge has proved

more persistent than our need to reduce God's thoughts to the confines of our well settled minds, and to drag down God's ways to our own tiny paths. The earnest Christian in each generation must cry: "Down with the idols!" in order to remain true to the challenge of an ever-living Lord, constantly becoming manifest in new ways. One particular idol, a reflection of societies where men rule over women, assuming a lordship like that of slave to master, has continued to bedevil the Christian tradition. A peculiarly insiduous and persistent idol it is, which restricts our vision of God and one another, and which warps our self-understanding. God is eternal Spirit, we all affirm. Alas, the idol we worship is sculpted with human hands and feet, and it is all male. Our words in hymn and prayer are all male--"to him," "his grace," "his love," "his salvation." Jesus is male, his first century existence--or even, heaven forbid, his humanity--is the most basic fact of his redemptive incarnation.[1]

If we admit that quite possibly our pictoral, verbal, and mental idols govern our image of God, then we can understand why people firmly believe that either God is really male, or at least is always manifest as male. An image is not an accidental bit of furniture stuck off in our minds somewhere. Rather, our most basic and essential thinking, which determines our most refined abstractions, is rooted and grounded in pictures and images which embody our apprehension of the world. As we develop our mental processes, images and feelings are chronologically prior. But they are not only first in time. They are ontologically prior, that is, it is the very structure of our minds that images come before and give shape to all our rational language. Even our most refined and abstract language (e.g., God is the ground and source of all being) rests securely on the base of physical imagery. In this sense, all language is metaphor.

The picture rules over and gives birth to the thought, and the thought is the dependent child, always running back to the image to know what to think or say. Women pray always to the picture of a male divinity, and to this extent already their own sex is foreign to God. Men block out their own femininity in imagining God, and children learn from infancy that God is male. Thus the male God rules in power, and men find the divine exemplar for social behavior in masculine rule and dominion. We risk warping ourselves and limiting our grasp of God's reality by forcing divine infinity into a tiny box.

Some would question whether or not masculine imagery and metaphor is not divinely given, or at least so sanctified by tradition that it dare not be tampered with. They would assert, "Does the Scripture itself not always picture God as Father, male? Have not all right-thinking Christians always imaged God as male?" Truly, we would answer, God is spirit, neither male nor female. But they would counter, "When we talk of God, ought we not to use the language Scripture and the church have used, not some proud innovation from maladjusted, discontented females?"

If such questions were answered affirmatively, the religious status quo could be inarguably retained, at least within the context of traditional Christianity. Some language about God as feminine could be tolerated from concerned women, because everyone would recognize that such language was quite peripheral to Christian life and worship. Because masculine domination was so unquestionable, feminine aberrations could be put up with. A different viewpoint that counters this kind of thinking has been

exhibited by some feminists today, for instance Prof. Mary Daly in her latest book Beyond God the Father. She accepts the male dominant view of religion, but not in acquiescence--she totally rejects Christianity as an instrument of masculine oppression.

We should not be surprised if Scriptural writers do portray God as male. In Genesis 3, Eve's punishment for curiosity, initiative, and domination of a passive Adam, is to be cursed to have her husband rule over her. Adam and Eve, both created from nothing to be co-equal help-mates, by sin distorted their relationship into one of dominance, in which one ruled the other. This was a sign of sin's distortion of the human order. When God says to Eve: "I will greatly multiply your pain in childbearing; in pain you shall bring forth children, yet your desire shall be for your husband and he shall rule over you" (Gen. 3:16) the words must not be understood as God's commandment for a just and upright order. Rather, they reflect the early theologian's perception that masculine dominion over women reflected the perversion sin actually works in the world, not God's desired order. Because the Sacred writers were, like us, trapped in the coils of sin, which constricted even their vision of God, we would expect to find them blinded into making God's way reflect our sinful social order, in which God the male is the all powerful ruler that most men would aspire to be. But God can do more than we expect, and so we find a biblical faith that from time to time portrays God as both male and female, acting in the image of woman as well as that of man.

Indeed, a careful consideration of Scripture and the Christian tradition will reveal that, contrary to expectation, male images are not the only images we find of God. Although the feminine dimension of God is not dominant in the Christian religion, we can discover more material than at first we might have imagined.

In the book of Exodus, Yahweh is pictured as doing woman's work, providing food and drink and nurturing the people. In one eloquent passage in the book of Numbers, Moses complains to God: "Why hast thou dealt ill with thy servant? Did I conceive all this people? Did I bring them forth, that thou shouldst say to me, 'Carry them in your bosom, as a nurse carries the suckling child, to the land which thou didst swear to give their fathers?" Moses disclaims responsibility: he, one lone male, did not give birth to this people. The point is clear--Yahweh is the cosmic mother, not Moses, and Yahweh is responsible for feeding and nurturing the people. Interestingly enough, God's response is to do just that, for the next verses tell of the miraculous catch of quail Yahweh provided, and of the tender guidance of the Israelites in the wilderness. (Numbers 11:10-23)

In the prophecy of Isaiah the Lord God says, "Now I will cry out like a woman in travail, I will gasp and pant." (Isaiah 42:14) Such is the Lord's anguish in bringing forth the new creation. "Shall I bring to birth and not cause to bring forth? says the Lord; shall I, who cause to bring forth, shut the womb, says your God....As one whom your mother comforts, so will I comfort you; you shall be comforted in Jerusalem." (Isaiah 66:9, 13) Certainly most of the pictures and metaphors for God in the Old Testament are male, but we also find feminine images. God acts in both male and female roles, because the divine actor is greater than either male and female, yet can include them both.[2]

In the New Testament, we find the famous scene where Jesus weeps over Jerusalem, unhesitatingly comparing himself to the mother hen who seeks to gather her children under her wing. Perhaps even more to the point, in the Gospels Jesus either claims or is given three attributes of God: He is the new Law, the Torah ("Thus Moses said to men of old...but so I tell you...." Matt. 5:21-22); the presence of God, the Shekinah ("For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." Matt. 18:20); and the wisdom of God, the preexistent Chokmah through whom God created the world ("He was in the beginning with God, all things were made through him, and without him was not made any thing that was made." John 1:1-3). In the Judiasm of Jesus' time all of these attributes were feminine personifications of divine activity in the world. Jesus did not scruple to identify himself with the feminine attributes of God, but his followers have been more timorous.[3]

Not all Christians have feared to speak of God with both feminine and masculine language and images. Throughout the ages, some have always risen to affirm that the divine fullness is best expressed in both male and female images. The Gnostics spoke of male and female in God, and there are hundreds of anonymous Christians whose graves portray the Holy Spirit as a feminine figure. Medieval writers such as Anselm of Canterbury, Bernard of Clairvaux,[4] and Juliana of Norwich[5] prayed to Jesus our Mother. The 18th century German Pietist Zinzendorf wrote hymns to our Mother, the Holy Spirit, and the nineteenth century Russian Orthodox Soloviev spoke of Wisdom as the feminine element in God.[6] So some have spoken, even up to our own times.[7]

But what of now? What can we say of God that will include both masculine and feminine images? Let us begin by asking the most basic possible question: Who is this God of whom we wish to speak? The invisible God in whom there is no variation or shadow due to change, who sent Jesus Christ, the image of this same God, and continues this process of bringing the creation to full maturity through the Holy Spirit--this God is the Scriptural God of whom we speak and to whom we pray. How can we speak of this God in Scriptural words meaningful to our own time and our insights into God?

In Genesis we read: "So God created man in his own image, in the image of God he created; male and female he created them." The image of God, the priestly author implies, is not humanity as male or female, but male and female, both equally reflections of God. The image of God par excellance is Jesus Christ, the same man who professed to be the Son of God, and also God's Law, Wisdom, and Presence, Yahweh's feminine attributes. Since images and symbols are our God-given ways of knowing and speaking of God, we must take our advice from the Scripture which bids us use both masculine and feminine imagery to express the divine fullness.

For the Christian, the central symbol expressing the mystery of the divine fullness of life is the Trinity. The symbol of the Trinity manifests a belief that the divine unity is not static or sterile, but manifests itself in a personal activity rooted in, rising from, and reuniting itself in, the divine oneness. Usually the Christian tradition has spoken of this Trinity as God Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. However, as early as the fourteenth century, Juliana of Norwich spoke of "...God almighty our kindly Father, and God allwise our kindly Mother, and the Holy Spirit their love and goodness; all one God, one Lord." She distinguished three attributes at work in the Trinity: "fatherhood, motherhood, and lordship."[8]

On the basis of the ways in which God relates to the human race, as orderer and source of life, as nurterer and sustainer, and the one who drives and lures us to our final goal, she suggests three personal roles involving masculine and feminine behavior, with their transcendance and inclusion, all in one active God. If Juliana felt free to use both masculine and feminine images when formulating her model of God, how can we today feel less bold?

By constructing our own such model, we could avoid the real pitfall of converting patriarchial imagery into matriarchial. One cannot simply substitute feminine for masculine imagery, but must find a way to include both. The Trinitarian God is an androgenous God, including in one unity both masculine and feminine characteristics and functions. A revised Trinitarian theology can image divine fullness for us in human terms which image our increased perceptions of what human fullness involves. Such a model itself expresses a faith about what the fullness of human life ought to be.

If we are created in the image of God, as the theological axiom asserts, then each one of us as an individual, as well as the human community as a whole, reflect the Trinitarian divinity. Thus each of us, as creatures of God, contain masculine and feminine dimensions, as well as the internal impetus towards a personal harmony that both integrates and transcends the differences into one unified life.

If we did make such changes in our Trinitarian model of God, and thus in the model of ourselves, as here suggested, several results would benefit our theology:

1. We might develop a better theological model for our own self-concept. Men tend to fear the so-called feminine characteristics of tenderness and nurturing in themselves, and women become anxious if they feel aggressive or self-assertive, because those are considered masculine characteristics. We affirm a God who is one God, who united male and female characteristics, transcending the artificial barriers that societies have encouraged. Thus we uphold a model of personal wholeness, ourselves as image of an androgenous God, with male and female characteristics in ourselves, not warring against each other, but integrated into a harmonious whole.

2. In describing our relationships with one another, to pray to a God using both male and female language implies a social order in which neither male nor female dominates each other, but in which individuals relate to one another in personal ways, not in predetermined stereotypes. God includes male and female; if the divine fullness relates masculine and feminine in a complimentary, co-equal harmony, our personal relationships ought to aim for no less.

3. Most importantly, we will have shown our sincere repentance for the idolatry of limiting God to "our poor reach of mind." We will have opened ourselves to new insights into the glory and love of God, who has shared the great wealth of divine fullness with us and wishes us to enter more fully with our human hearts and minds into the diversity in unity of the divine life.

FOOTNOTES

1. I have encountered such an argument most frequently in conservative Episcopalian circles. Its proponents do not seem to be touched by its awesome theological consequences. If it is precisely through his incarnation as male that Jesus is the priestly mediator, then women, inasmuch as they are incarnate as females, in no way share in Jesus' mediation with the Father. Thus, they are not saved.

2. Much Hebrew Bible material about the woman's role and about feminine imagery for God is discussed in Phyllis Trible's article, "Depatriarchializing in Biblical Interpretation," Journal of the American Academy of Religion XLI (March, 1973) pp. 30-48.

3. W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism (London: SPCK, 1948) pp. 154-214.

4. Dom Andre Cabassut, "Une dévotion médiévale peu connue; la dévotion à Jésus 'notre mère'" Revue d'ascetique et de Mystique.

5. Juliana of Norwich. Revelations of Divine Love. Clifton Wolters, trans. (Baltimore: Penquin Classics, 1966) pp. 162-173.

6. Patricia Wilson, "Feminine Imagery in an Analogue for God," Women and Religion: 1972 (American Academy of Religion, 1972) p. 26.

7. Anne McGrew Bennett, "Women in the New Society," in Journal of Current Social Issues, v.ii, no. 1 (Winter, 1972-73) pp. 24-31 provides a good general introduction to the history and present state of the question.

8. Revelations of Divine Love. p. 165.

SYMPOSIUM II

THE PLACE OF CONTEMPORARY WOMEN: CONCEPTS AND BEHAVIOR

MAY 12, 1973

Keynote Address for Symposium II:
The Place of Contemporary Women: Concepts and Behaviors

AN OVERVIEW OF THE PLACE OF CONTEMPORARY WOMEN FROM A PSYCHOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

Marlin R. Jeffers

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After a long psychiatric career in which he devoted many years to treating female patients, Sigmund Freud summed up his experience, no doubt in frustration, with the question, "What Do Women Want?". Frankly, as a woman, professional counselor, and educator, I wish Freud had resolved his dilemma, because he left us with a psychological inheritance which women have struggled to overcome for nearly half a century.

Freud contributed his theory of unconscious motivation to the field of psychology, and was the first to recognize the importance of early childhood experiences on personality development. However, he left a theoretical construct of women which has had an extremely damaging effect not only on the way women perceive themselves, but also on the way in which

society is to understand their adequacy as human beings. Freud's basic premise was that women were biologically inferior. By virtue of not being born a male, women had to compensate for their lack of masculine anatomy. This was accomplished when women married and bore children, preferably male children. If women could not realize their identity in this manner, they were considered neurotic.

In other words, women's primary functions were those of wife and mother. A woman who desired a career, preferred not to bear children, or experienced depression in her role as wife and mother was diagnosed as having an unresolved Oedipal complex or suffering from penis envy. Freud sincerely believed that women were destined by their biology and could only gain validity as human beings in their unique capacity to bear children. This biology as destiny ethic has dominated psychology for a number of years, particularly the thinking of clinical psychologists, therapists, and counselors who have dealt with women in stress.

The second major force in psychology known as Behaviorism, or as it is sometimes referred to as associationism, has done little to alleviate the problems of women. Behaviorists postulate that all behavior is learned and operates according to a stimulus-response formula. Under this system, memory or learning is explained as a series of stimulus-response connections, particularly stimuli calling forth the specific responses. Various laws or principles of learning "explain" the establishment of a bond or association between stimulus and response. For example, reward or punishment, repetition, need satisfaction, reinforcement, and conditioning are postulated as affecting learning and used to elicit certain desired behavior patterns. This school of thought has persisted although it has been modified and developed. In our schools and colleges, the prevalent use of repetition in the classroom, the use of workbooks and tests which provide the stimulus and require the student to provide the "right" response, and extensive use of a system of rewards and penalties as in the way grades are given, all reflect the influence of this school of Behaviorism.[1]

But the Behaviorists believe that one of their greatest contributions is the "objective" measurement of human traits. Tests are available to measure intelligence, academic achievement, and personality traits. Words like dominance, nurturance, aggressiveness, self-confidence, and independence are part of the psychological vocabulary. The application of these tests reveal that significant sex differences exist. Young males are found to score differently on a number of achievement and personality traits. Aggressiveness, dominance, and effectiveness are terms assigned to boys, while girls score high on nurturance, neatness, and dependency. Girls achieve in English, history, and foreign language while boys make the best marks in math and science. There was a development of different subjects for boys and girls. Males are routed to industrial arts classes while females study cooking and sewing in homemaking classes. Since boys are more competitive and bold, they need a whole realm of physical and sports activities while such exertion is considered too strenuous for the girls. Educational practices and curriculum are dominated by sexual bias, and a whole system of sex-role stereotyping exists which prescribes appropriate behaviors for boys and appropriate behaviors for girls. The Behaviorists insist that behavior is learned, not inherited, but the sex role traits are regarded as possessing inherent qualities. Behavior is described, but

little attention is devoted to how the behavior develops. Socialization practices are almost entirely ignored or explained in terms of stimulus-response patterns. What needs to be emphasized is that different stimuli result in different response patterns. When girls are systematically related to differently than boys, they will quite naturally exhibit behaviors which differentiate them from boys.

The most conspicuous difference in socialization practices between boys and girls appears to be in the amount of protectiveness provided girls. As Bronfenbrenner (1961) states, the aim is to teach little boys to make an impact on the environment and to protect little girls from the impact of the environment.[2] This gives girls a happier childhood but leaves them passive and anxiety-prone as adults. This could account for the fact that five times as many women as men seek psychiatric care as adults.

But how are feminine behaviors regarded? Broverman and colleagues (1970) asked mental health clinicians for descriptions of a healthy, mature, socially competent male, a healthy, mature, socially competent female and a healthy, mature, socially competent person, with sex unspecified.[3] Among their widely publicized results, a concept of mental health for the mature adult of unspecified sex was found to be similar to that of the male adult. The mental health clinicians found that the description of ideal maturity for women was quite different. Healthy women are seen as more submissive, less independent, less adventurous, less aggressive, less competent, more excitable, more conceited, and less objective. Broverman and colleagues concluded that for a woman to consider herself to be healthy from an adjustment viewpoint, she must accept behavioral norms which are considered less healthy for the mature adult. Stereotyped femininity encourages women to accept a life style which involves passivity, dependency, timidity, and lack of achievement. Such a way of living has been rejected by many females. We actually find studies of preschool children in which children of both sexes prefer so-called boys' toys and roles.[4] In addition, Lynn (1969) reports several studies showing that as adults one-third of all women recall wishing to be males.[5] Also, a finding exists in a number of studies that femininity in females is associated with poor adjustment. Heilbrun (1968) divided better and more poorly adjusted college girls by their parental identification and found that better adjusted girls identify with a mother or father who exhibits "masculine" attributes. The best adjusted college girls were more need achievement oriented, dominant, assertive, self-assured, and less succorant.[6] These are certainly not behaviors identified as feminine.

Over the last 40 years, a new force has developed in psychology which looks at human beings not as they are, but as what they can become. The focus is not only on the actualities of human life, but also on the potentialities of human beings. This view has been called "third force" or "humanistic psychology" and includes the work of Abraham Maslow as one of its leading proponents.[7] Maslow directed his study toward psychologically healthy human beings rather than toward neurotic or sick people. His original approach was to look at the lives of psychologically healthy people and to identify the characteristics of these people. Maslow's hope was to find what he termed "self-actualized" humans, or persons who demonstrated full use of their unique talents, capacities, and potentialities. Such people are those that seem to be fulfilling themselves and doing the best that they are capable of doing. The negative criterion was

an absence of tendencies toward psychological problems, neurosis, or psychosis. The self-actualized person was the best possible specimen of the human species, a representative of what Maslow came to call the "growing tip." Included in his first selection of self-actualized persons were: Abraham Lincoln, Thomas Jefferson, Albert Einstein, Eleanor Roosevelt, Jane Addams, William James, Spinoza, Albert Schweitzer, and Aldous Huxley. I have listed their names to point out that only two women, Jane Addams and Eleanor Roosevelt, are included in the self-actualized category, and a study of both of their lives showed them typically unfeminine by the stereotyped view. These people are described as loving, self-accepting, well integrated, fully functioning, autonomous, reality-oriented, and adaptable, among other characteristics. Humanistic psychologists are just now beginning to raise questions about why so few women are self-actualized and what the conditions are which create this situation.

The humanistic view of psychology may provide a new conceptualization of and for women. I think I should emphasize "may provide" a new conceptualization of women, because as yet it has not been accomplished. However, this view of psychology does stress psychologically healthy traits, without a sex bias. Second, there is an emphasis on the importance of the culture and its social system on individuals. It should be possible to study how women have been socialized, incorporating findings from sociology, anthropology, and economics. Third, humanistic psychology emphasizes that the ultimate effect of the environment and culture is in a large part determined by the individuals' unique views and attitudes of these external factors. The center of control is placed within the individual, and women need desperately to view themselves as capable of controlling their own lives, and not being the victims of biological differences.

It is vital that we curtail child rearing and educational practices which make sex distinctions. We must encourage young females to develop their talents and unique capabilities. Young women must be encouraged to see themselves as individuals, not solely as wives and mothers, although for many--even a majority--some years of their lives will be spent meeting the nurturing needs of their families. We must do away with curriculums and counseling practices which direct women into secretarial work or teaching because they are careers which don't interfere with the responsibilities of motherhood. Females should be reared to be independent, self-directed individuals and not labeled as unfeminine because they don't exhibit certain stereotyped traits which are personally self-defeating and mentally unhealthy.

What I have attempted to do this morning is to give you an overview of the place of contemporary women in today's world from a broad psychological perspective. My three colleagues will look at women from different perspectives: Dr. Dianne Carter describes the myths and legacies of psychotherapeutic systems for women; Mr. John McLure examines sex role discrimination with a focus on education; and Dr. Anthony Costantino concludes this section of the workshop with a discussion of women in the economic sphere.

In closing, I would like to respond to Dr. Freud's question, "What Do Women Want?" It is simply this: to be accepted as fully functioning human beings with the capacity to develop in the direction which their unique individual talents lead them.

FOOTNOTES

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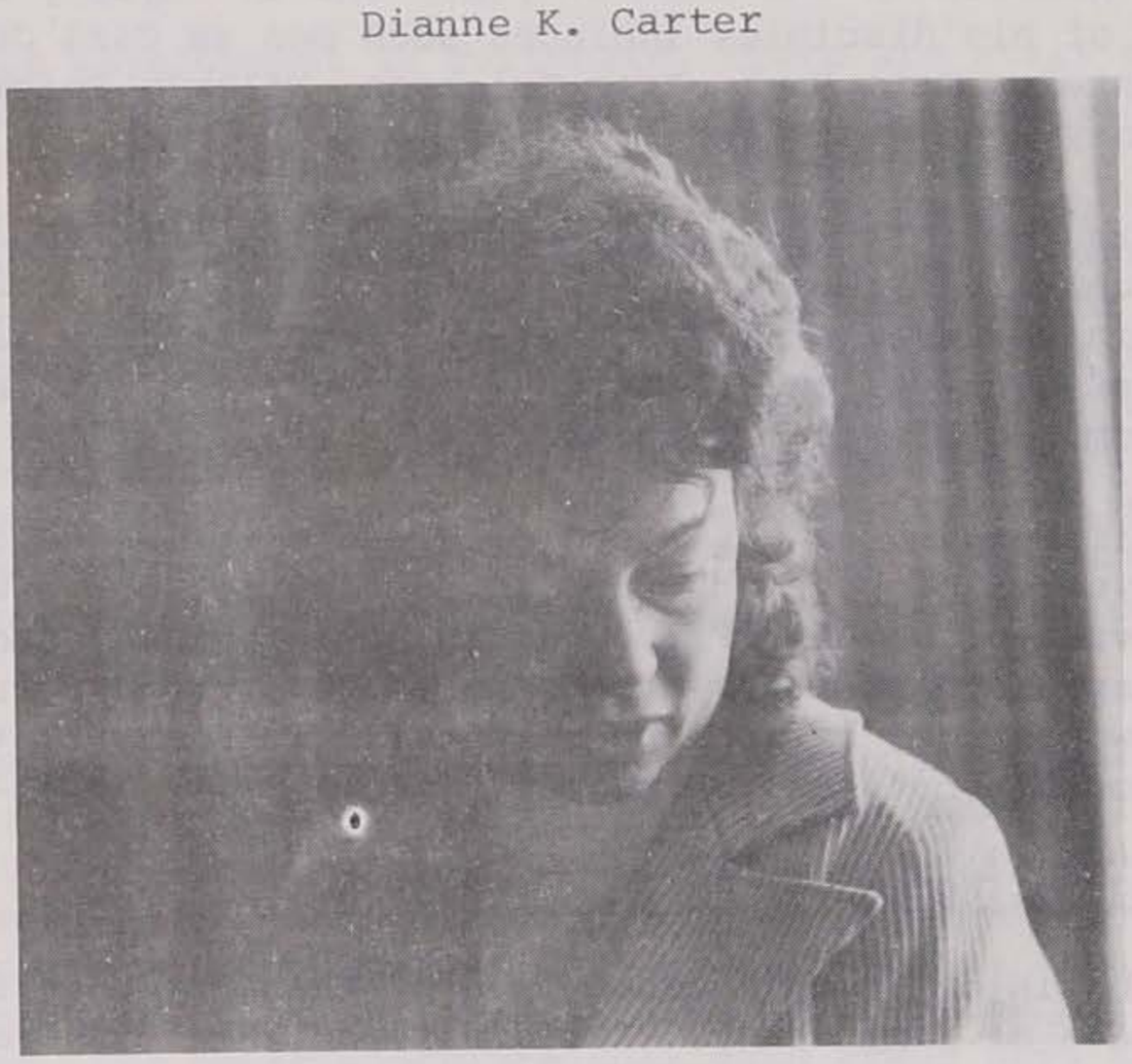
PSYCHOTHERAPY FOR WOMEN: MYTHS AND LEGACIES

Dianne K. Carter



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One cannot talk about systems of psychotherapy without talking about Freud. Freud is the father of psychotherapy. Indeed, E. G. Boring,[1] a noted psychology historian, said that it was not likely that the history of the entire field of psychology, of which psychotherapy is only a part, could be written in the next three centuries without mention of Freud's name. It is not only in psychology where we see the mark of Freud's influence. He has had a tremendous impact on western society in general and American society and culture especially. The influence of his ideas are evident in many intellectual areas: art, literature, anthropology, history, and sociology, for example. He was the first important thinker who

conceived of man's behavior in large units, rather than piecemeal, as psychologists were doing during his time, and his was the theory that eventually bridged the gap between medicine and psychology in the study of human behavior.

During his rising influence Freud organized the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society. This was a small group of about 25 men who met regularly for intellectual stimulation and to hear Freud's new theories. The membership changed over the years, but the result of that society is that almost any writer on psychotherapy in America in the last 50 years who is anybody studied with Freud. The list of his disciples includes such men as Carl Jung, Alfred Adler, Kurt Goldstein, Otto Rank, Eric Erickson, Wilhelm Reich, Eric Fromm, Karen Horney, and Fritz Perls.

In summary, within the last 100 years, Freud's ideas are second only to Darwin's in influence and impact on America's culture and intellectual community; and, in the area of psychotherapy, which he originated, almost all of our current concepts and techniques were derived either directly from Freud or from one of his disciples.

Having given an impression of the scope of Freud's influence on culture in general and systems of psychotherapy in particular, now I would like to consider his view of women. Freud was an anti-feminist and a male-supremist. Perhaps more than any other one source, Freud's writings on women have kept women down by lending scientific validity to the insidious relationship between the sexes.

Freud's Psychology of Women

The fundamental basis of Freud's conception of the female personality is based upon the idea of penis envy. Freud assumed that the female's discovery of her lack of a penis is to her a catastrophe of such vast proportions that it haunts her all through life and accounts for most aspects of her temperament. His entire psychology of women, from which all modern psychology and psychoanalysis derives heavily, is built upon this original tragic experience. To quote Freud:

> *They [little girls] notice the penis of a brother or playmate, strikingly visible and of large proportions, at once recognize it as the superior counterpart of their own small and inconspicuous organ, and from that time forward fall victim to envy of the penis.*[2]

> *After a woman has become aware of the wound of her narcissism, she develops, like a scar, a sense of inferiority. When she has passed beyond her first attempt at explaining her lack of a penis as being a punishment personal to herself and has realized that that sexual character is a universal one, she begins to share the contempt felt by men for a sex which is the lesser in so important a respect.*[3]

The female first blames her mother, "who sent her into the world so insufficiently equipped," and who is "almost always held responsible for her lack of a penis."[4] The girl is said to assume that her female parent has mutilated her as a judgment on her general unworthiness, or

possibly for the crime of masturbation, and now turns her anxious attention to her father.

The little girl at first expects her father to prove magnanimous and award her a penis. Later, disappointed in this hope she learns to content herself with the hope of bearing his baby. "Her happiness is great if later on this wish for a baby finds fulfillment in reality, and quite especially so if the baby is a little boy who brings the longed-for penis with him."[5] (Freudian logic converts childbirth, an impressive female accomplishment, into little more than a hunt for a male organ.)

In a girl whose development is fortunate, there are still many obstacles: "she acknowledges the fact of her castration, the consequent superiority of the male and her own inferiority, but she also rebels against these unpleasant facts."[6] And so while healthy, complete women seek fulfillment in a life devoted to maternity and reproduction, other women aspire to an existence outside the biological area--falling into the error Freud calls "the masculinity complex." These women do not seek the penis openly and honestly in maternity, but instead desire to enter universities, pursue an independent life, take up with feminism, or grow restless and require treatment as "neurotics." Freud's method of treatment, still being followed today as we shall see, was to castigate such "immature" women as "regressive" or incomplete persons, clinical cases of "arrested development."[7]

Modesty and Shame. Freud believed that two aspects of women's character are directly related to penis envy: modesty and shame. It is her self-despair over the "defect" of her "castration," we are told, which gives rise to the well-known shame of women. Freud designated shame as a feminine characteristic par excellence. Its purpose, in his view, is simply the concealment of her defect. The woman hides her parts to hide her wound. We could speculate that when Freud says that modesty in women was originally designed "for concealment of genital deficiency" he is describing pubic hair as the response of "nature herself" to cover the female fault.[8]

The gravest distortion in Freud's theory of female psychology stems from his failure to separate two radically different phenomena, feminine biology and feminine status. By inferring that feminine status is the product of the nature of feminine biology, and therefore inevitable, rather than the product of a social situation, he conveys that what a man's world had made of woman is only what nature had made of her first. Freud fails to consider fully how "masculine" and "feminine" for each sex within society are elaborate behavioral constructs originating from cultural norms, and, instead, equates such behavior with inheritated innate qualities.

Preservation of the Human Race. Freud entrusted the preservation of the human race to the male:

> *Nature has paid less careful attention to the demands of the female function than to those of masculinity... the achievement of the biological aim is entrusted to the aggressiveness of the male, and is to some extent independent of the cooperation of the female.*[9]

Male libido or sexual drive is interpreted by Freud as a power in the service of life and must therefore be permitted to wreak its will on the female whether she has the wit to cooperate or not. The frigid woman and woman's presumed lower sexual drive is presented as an example of the male's superior regard for posterity. The whole balance and justification for male sexual aggression toward the female is hereby subsumed under the issue of the continuation of the species. This view has since given rise to the diction which psychology has ever since employed to describe sexuality: surrender (by the female), and dominance and mastery (by the male). (It is interesting to note here that Frued should imagine the young female's fears center about castration which she has never experienced, rather than rape.)

Passivity, Masochism, and Narcissism. The three most distinguishing traits of the female personality, in Freud's view, were passivity, masochism, and narcissism. Masochism and passivity, Freud would have us understand, are not only both feminine but dynamically interrelated: masochism comprises all passive attitudes to sexual life. Of course, for Freud to describe a woman's nature as essentially masochistic justifies any conceivable domination or humiliation forced upon her as mere form for her nature. Nearly any atrocity committed against women can be extenuated on the theory of her innate masochism.

To observe a group rendered passive, forced into trivial vanity to please their superordinates, and, after summarizing these effects of long subordination, to conclude that they were inevitable and innate, then to prescribe them as health and maturity is, as a manner of dealing with deprived groups, hardly new. But it has rarely been so successful as Freudianism has been in dealing with women.

The Inferior Mentality of the Female. It is difficult to continue to describe the female as an incomplete male without implicating the quality of her intellect relative to his. Men sublimate and transcend their sexuality, which Freud saw as the energy source from which civilizations were built. In contrast, women are intimidated from pursuing the strongest interest they are capable of entertaining, that is, sexuality, and so they are directed away from any study and soon "all mental effort and knowledge in general is depreciated in their eyes."[10] To quote Freud directly:

> *...the undoubted fact of the intellectual inferiority of so many women can be traced to that inhibition of thought necessitated by sexual suppression.*[11]

According to Freud women have contributed little to civilization, for civilization is made through sublimation, and "women are endowed with the power to sublimate only in a limited degree."[12] Moreover, as Freud emphasized, the female is not required to conceal and transcend her Oedipal complex for fear of castration and so she fails to develop sufficient superego. The male, in contrast, makes his contribution to civilization through sublimation and the development of a strong superego goaded on by fear of castration--as a result of possessing a penis--and the fear of losing it. Never having had a penis and so, unafraid to lose it, the female has far less superego than the male. This is why, Freud explains, she is largely without moral sense, inclined to be less ethically rigorous, has little perception of justice, is more subject to emotional bias in judgment, and contributes nothing to high culture.

In summary, Freud's psychology of women portrays women as inferior and incomplete males, suffering from lack of a penis. The resultant penis envy of women is the fundamental postulate upon which every other detail of her assumed nature is built, including her inferior intellect. The theory of penis envy shifts the blame of woman's suffering back upon herself for daring to aspire to a biologically impossible state. Any hankering for a less humiliating and circumscribed existence is immediately ascribed to unnatural and unrealistic deviation from her genetic identity and therefore her fate. A woman who resists "femininity," that is, feminine temperament, status, and role, is thought to court neurosis, for femininity is her fate as "anatomy is her destiny."

Freud made an error in reasoning that psychotherapists since have also been making: because the behaviors he observed in women occurred with high frequency, he assumed that these behaviors must therefore be innate. However, because of Freud's remarkable impact upon Western intellectual thought and culture, these views have received wide acceptance. They persist despite the fact that there has never been <u>any</u> empirical, scientific substantiation of them. Freud's views were stimulated by observations he made of his patients. Observations of people who present themselves for therapy are not generalizable to people in general or to normal, nonpatient populations. This is a basic scientific rule which Freud generally ignored. Further, all of Freud's description of behavior has a biological explanation. He sees all behavior as motivated by something that occurs within the person. Freud chose to completely ignore environmental and social influences. Later, the neo-Freudians Fromm, Sullivan, and Horney acknowledged that social and environmental influences had a strong impact on behavior in general; but curiously, social causes were still not seen as responsible for the behavior of women. Only one theorist, Karen Horney, suggested that the behavior of women may be due to their social conditioning.

<u>Horney's View of Female Masochism</u>. Horney stated that any culture which contained one or more of the following factors would predispose the appearance of masochism in women:

1. Blocking of outlets for expansiveness and sexuality.

2. An estimation of women as inferior to men.

3. Economic dependence of women on men or on family.

4. Restriction of women to spheres of life built chiefly upon emotional bonds such as family life, religion, or charity work.

5. A surplus of marriageable women, particularly when marriage offers the principal opportunity for sexual gratification, children, security, and social recognition.

When some of all of these five elements are present in a culture Horney writes that there may appear certain fixed ideologies concerning the "nature" of women. For example, that woman is innately weak, emotional, enjoys dependence, and is limited in capacities for independent work and autonomous thinking. Included in this category is the psychoanalytic belief that women are masochistic by nature. It is obvious, Horney says,

that these ideologies about women function not only to reconcile women to their subordinate role by presenting it as an unalterable one, but also to plant the belief that it represents a fulfillment they crave, or an ideal for which it is commendable and desirable to strive. The influence that these ideologies exert on women is materially strengthened by the fact that women presenting the specified traits are more frequently chosen by men.[13]

Freud's Legacy

The Results of Freud's Views of Women on Psychotherapists. Present-day physicians and psychotherapists betray similar underlying prejudices. A standard contemporary medical textbook, Obstetrics and Gynecology, contains the following quote: "The normal sexual act...entails a masochistic surrender to man. There is always an element of rape."[14] Bruno Bettelheim, a psychotherapist from the University of Chicago, said that "we must start with the realization that, as much as women want to be good scientists or engineers, they want first and foremost to be womanly companions of men and to be mothers."[15] Rheingold wrote:

> *Women are the fountainhead of nurturance....When women grow up without dread of their biological functions and without subversion by feminist doctrine and therefore enter upon motherhood with a sense of fulfillment and altruistic sentiment, we shall attain the goal of a good life and a secure world in which to live it.*[16]

This last quote of Rheingold echoes a by now common theme: if woman does not accept the duties of motherhood, then responsibility for the downfall of civilization will be laid at her feet. I refer you to a 500-page development of this theme in Modern Woman: The Lost Sex by Lundberg and Farnham.[17]

There is an excellent study done in 1970 which illustrates how representative these comments are among practicing psychotherapists. Broverman and associates[18] sent a 122-item questionnaire to 79 actively functioning clinicians (46 men and 33 women) with one of three sets of instructions. To describe a healthy, mature, socially competent (a) adult, sex unspecified, (b) man, or (c) woman. It was hypothesized that clinical judgments about the characteristics of healthy individuals would differ as a function of the sex of the person judged. A second hypothesis predicted that behaviors judged healthy for an adult, sex unspecified, which are presumed to reflect an ideal standard of health, will resemble behaviors judged healthy for men, but differ from behaviors judged healthy for women. Both hypothesis were confirmed. The clinicians judged healthy women differed from healthy men by being more submissive, less independent, less adventurous, more easily influenced, less aggressive, less competitive, more excitable in minor crises, having their feelings more easily hurt, being more emotional, more conceited about their appearance, and less objective. This constellation seems a most unusual way of describing any mature, healthy individual. These results confirm the hypothesis that for psychotherapists a double standard of health exists for men and women, that is, the general standard of health is actually applied only to men, while healthy women

are perceived by therapists as significantly less healthy by adult standards.

The Results of Freud's Views on Women Themselves. Since Freud's widely accepted writings about women prescribed what was healthy behavior for them, we would expect that women who engaged in behaviors which did not fit his prescription would label themselves sick. This is what we find.

On a scale called Counseling Readiness taken from a personality test called the Adjective Check List[19] we have a list of adjectives with which male and female clients who were seeking counseling described themselves. Someone who scores high on this scale is worried about himself or herself. He or she feels left out of things, unable to enjoy life to the fullest, and is unduly anxious. Those adjectives which the males used to describe themselves all have negative connotations, as would be expected in a client population, for example, awkward, cautious, dull, inhibited, meek, quiet, rigid, shy, timid, withdrawn, and so on. We find negative adjectives for the female list also, such as cold, inhibited, moody, rigid, unemotional, and unrealistic. However, we also find included these words: assertive, dignified, enterprising, formal, independent, individualistic, intelligent, serious, and thorough. In other words, women who possessed characteristics which did not fit with Freud's prescribed behavior for women--assertiveness, independence, and intelligence--had indeed labeled themselves as sick.

Let's look at other evidence. In a study about alcoholism in women[20] there was an attempt to confirm what has been assumed for a long time, that men and women drink for the same reasons. It has been determined that men drink to satisfy their need for power. Since women drink less, it was assumed that they simply needed less power. However, the data did not support the theory that women drink to feel a sense of power. Rather it was found that women drink to feel more feminine or womanly. And those women who drank most expressed strong power needs and an assertive approach to life, suggesting that such women feel most unwomanly. They also appeared to value the maternal role more highly than other women do. In addition, 78 percent of the alcoholic women but only 35 percent of the nonalcoholic women had suffered some kind of obstetrical or gynecological disorder. The alcoholic women's disorders included difficulties in conceiving a child, repeated miscarriages, and permanent infertility (26 percent of the alcoholic wives were unable to have any children as contrasted with 4 percent of the nonalcoholic wives). In terms of psychological characteristics, many women who become alcoholics seem to experience chronic doubts about adequacy as a real woman. That is, being assertive, feeling powerful and never having had children, and also being female are conditions conducive to alcoholism.

A study by Horner[21] describes yet another population of women among whom evidence for the impact of Freud's views can be seen. This study describes the double-bind in which bright, achievement-oriented women are caught. Not only do they fear failure as men do also, but they also fear success. Horner used an undergraduate sample of 90 girls and 88 boys. Her method was to have them tell stories about a person named John, in the case of the male subjects, or Anne, in the case of the female subjects. At the end of first term finals John or Anne found

himself/herself at the top of his or her medical-school class. (It is assumed that the person writing the story identifies with the fictional person written about.) These stories were then scored for motive to avoid success. Sixty-five percent of the girls told stories that fell into one of three "avoid success" categories while only 10 percent of the boys told such stories. The most frequent "avoid success" story reflected strong fears of social rejection as a result of success. The girls in this group showed anxiety about becoming unpopular, unmarriageable, and lonely. For example:

> *Anne is an acne-faced bookworm. She runs to the bulletin board and finds she's at the top. As usual she smarts off. A chorus of groans is the rest of the class's reply.*
>
> *Anne is pretty darn proud of herself, but everyone hates and envies her.*
>
> *Anne studies 12 hours a day, and lives at home to save money. "Well it certainly paid off. All the Friday and Saturday nights without dates, I'll be the best woman doctor alive." And yet a twinge of sadness comes thru--she wonders what she really has...*

The girls in the second category were less concerned with issues of social approval or disapproval; they were more worried about definitions of womanhood. Their stories expressed guilt and despair over success, and doubts about their femininity or normality:

> *Unfortunately Anne no longer feels so certain that she really wants to be a doctor. She is worried about herself and wonders if perhaps she isn't normal...Anne decides not to continue with her medical work but to take courses that have a deeper personal meaning for her.*
>
> *Anne feels guilty....She will finally have a nervous breakdown and quit medical school and marry a successful young doctor.*

The third group of stories did not even try to confront the ambivalence about doing well. Girls in this category simply denied the possibility that any mere woman could be so successful. These girls changed the content or distorted it.

> *Anne is a code name for a nonexistent person created by a group of medical students. They take turns writing exams for Anne...*
>
> *Anne is really happy she's on top, though Tom is higher than she--though that's as it should be...*
>
> *Anne doesn't mind Tom winning.*

The girls in the sample who feared success also tended to have high intellectual ability and histories of academic success. However, all but

two of these girls were majoring in the humanities and in spite of very high grade points aspired to traditional female careers: housewife, mother, nurse, schoolteacher. Girls who did not fear success, however, were aspiring to graduate degrees and careers in such scientific areas as math, physics, and chemistry.

Conclusions

Freud ordained what behaviors women should engage in to be normal and healthy. These behaviors are still the standards with which we measure a woman. Conformity is enforced by threat of being labeled deviant or pathological. Enforcement is illustrated by the theme common to all of these studies. Women who are intelligent, social, assertive, and powerful, and who do not succeed in hiding these qualities, believe that they are sick.

FOOTNOTES

1. E. G. Boring, A History of Experimental Psychology, 2d ed., New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1957, p. 707.

2. Freud, Some psychological consequences of the anatomical distinctions between the sexes (1925), Collected Papers, Vol. V, p. 190.

3. Freud, Some psychological consequences of the anatomical distinctions between the sexes (1925), Collected Papers, Vol. V, p. 192.

4. Ibid.

5. Freud, Femininity (1925), Collected Papers, Vol. V, p. 128.

6. Freud, Female sexuality (1925), Collected Papers, Vol. V, p. 257.

7. Freud, Femininity (1925), Collected Papers, Vol. V, p. 128.

8. Freud, Femininity (1925), Collected Papers, Vol. V, p. 132.

9. This is from the first English translation of "Femininity," entitled "The Psychology of Women," in W. J. H. Sprott's translation (1933).

10. 'Civilized' Sexual Morality and Modern Nervousness, p. 94.

11. Note - Freud's explanation for women's inferior intellect suggests that men should have the weaker intellect since they have the stronger sex-drive.

12. 'Civilized' Sexual Morality and Modern Nervousness, p. 78.

13. The problem of feminine masochism, Psychoanalytic Review, 12, No. 3 (1935).

14. J. R. Willson, C. B. Beecham, and Elsie Reed Carrington, Obstetrics and Gynecology, 4th ed., St. Louis, Missouri: C. V. Mosby, 1971.

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17. F. Lundberg, and M. F. Farnham, Modern Woman: The Lost Sex, The Universal Library, Grosset & Dunlap, N. Y., 1947.

18. I. K. Broverman, D. M. Broverman, F. E. Clarkson, P. S. Rosenkrantz, and S. R. Vogel, Sex-Role Stereotypes and Clinical Judgments of Mental Health. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 1970, 34, 1-7.

19. H. G. Gough and A. L. Heilbrun, The Adjective Check List Manual. Palo Alto, California: Consulting Psychologists Press, 1965.

20. S. C. Wilsnock, Femininity by the bottle. Psychology Today, 1973.

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A PROPOSED MODEL FOR EXAMINING SEX DISCRIMINATION IN EDUCATION

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The purpose of this paper is to examine a variety of sex stereotyping practices in education and to propose a new model for these problems.

The reason for searching for an organizer that one may use to view sex stereotyping is that the focuses vary so greatly concerning what is and is not sex discrimination in the schools. Complaints from an institution of higher education may stress inequalities in pay and in the use of facilities along with other personnel matters, while sex discrimination in public schools has often been viewed as a concern of textbook and curriculum software inadequacies.

We need to view sex stereotyping from a structured perspective. There is not only the danger of limited vision if we focus on the narrow concerns immediately at hand in a school or institution, but there is also the additional question of how sex stereotyping works: what is the dynamism of the influences which limit the full development of young women in our schools? Further, it is the assumption of this writer that some value may be obtained from creating a fresh model for the analysis of a problem that may not be congruent with other discriminatory concerns in the past, such as racism, although some of its symptoms do resemble the latter phenomenon.

The model proposed in this paper is called the SAPP Model, an acronym which stands for Setting, Attitudes, Practices, and Policies. I would like to describe each of the components of the model, relate how they interact upon each other, and state a few overriding summary concerns.

The first and largest dimension of the model is that called "setting." By this I mean the large context surrounding the institution--the environment. It appears that the setting is critically important in the movement to revise and change sex stereotyping. Consider the more active women's groups which have been associated with or in near proximity to significant university campuses. One thinks immediately of the Princeton Women, the Women's Center in Iowa City, the Emma Willard Task Force in Minneapolis, and others like them. In the larger metropolitan areas one often finds NOW chapters and other organizations of women that are not necessarily university-related. Yet these predominantly middle-class groups have had a considerable impact upon making corrections in sex discrimination in the public schools. By contrast in some smaller communities, the feminist movement, if it exists, seems to appear as an isolated phenomenon and not in an organized fashion. Possibly the smaller communities either will not tolerate the emergence of such a revisionist practice, or perhaps it is a movement which must occur in another form in small communities such as in sports.

The setting is a powerful determinant of role expectations. It should no longer surprise the reader to hear the charge that women are channeled into a narrow range of role possibilities in every grade in the public schools. A variety of role exemplars emerge for women, but they traditionally have placed a high priority on marriage, motherhood, and management of the home environment. The message that limits young women to "sugar and spice and everything nice" is beamed at them from television, records, juke boxes, day-to-day interchanges with people downtown, relatives, friends, magazine articles, and a host of other influential agents. Even when business careers are presented for women, the images often seem supportive and passive compared with the more challenging and complex responsibilities for men.

It is important that, early in our discussion of this model and analysis of sex stereotyping, we come to grips with a defense of traditional practices in the schools based on the reality of the status quo. This argument says that whatever we do in the schools may be sex stereotyped, yet it is only a reflection of the way things are. The schools are culpable, but only insofar as the rest of society is guilty. The argument is extended to the predominantly male appearance of textbooks. A defender will contend that certainly there are predominantly male pictures of

scientists from the physical science books, but that is because this is the way it really is out there in the world of science. You just don't find very many women working at those jobs. Further, would you have us show imagery in the textbooks that is not reality?

Now, this is a central point that one must meet and make a decision about. If we agree that it is the school's task to be a cultural reflector, then there may be no necessity for concerning ourselves with sex stereotyping or sex discrimination at all. But if we value the idea of enlarging the possibilities of development of women, then we must inspect an alternative view of reality, namely, that it is a new reality that we desire, a reality of the era which enables both men and women to learn and work freely.[1]

If the educator cannot make up his or her mind concerning sex stereotyping, then it is likely that a wait-and-see attitude will result. This type of educator will wait for cues from the larger social setting concerning what the policies should be toward ending sex discrimination. In the present transitional period, the administrator is essentially faced with the choice between quiet opposition, a wait-and-see custodial management, and an enlightened leadership. The last-named style could be subdivided into a spectrum of profiles probably ranging from moderate to radical. The connecting thread in this spectrum is the perspective which the educator holds and uses concerning the large setting in which that person finds herself or himself and the school.

Let us turn to the second major component of the model--attitudes. The most easily observed attitudes lately have been those made popular by the behavioral psychology movement. These are, of course, behaviors that can be counted and rated to the satisfaction of a reliable set of witnesses. We often think of behaviors which exhibit attitudes as occurring individually and in groups or even in large crowds. Seldom do we think of the attitude of an institution; yet it seems possible that the facilities of an institution may exhibit a generalized attitude, in this case one towards women that is different from that expressed towards men. Consider a few examples. One occasionally finds in a large cultural center such as a museum, a theater, a recital hall, or a sports palace in which the restroom facilities for women are much reduced compared to those for men. A similar distinction often extends into the dressing room equipment, the existence of drinking fountains, saunas, numbers of lockers, showers, and the like. Further, the number and size of physical education and sports stations frequently are far larger for male use than for female. Currently, in the public schools when efforts have been made to divide the gymnasia in half or to allow women the use of the facilities, there still remains the critical question of prime time use with the men being favored generally in that respect.

The usual reference point for the idea of sexually discriminatory attitudes or sexist leanings, as we hear them described, refers particularly to everyday conversation. It is no longer fashionable to tell jokes in large audiences at the expense of the Irish, the Polish, or the blacks, but few men in an all or predominantly male audience will object to a variety of jokes told at the expense of women--jokes which range from the mundane women-driver type to explicit and exaggerated humor concerning female anatomy.

The first two examples of attitude are much more observable and can be dealt with. A third form remains largely hidden. In every faculty meeting, in every gathering, there are a variety of attitudes held by men toward women. Some of the more unhealthy attitudes often may share a common characteristic--they exist in a shadowy realm unexamined by any group process that includes men and women talking rationally. Some examples may be, "I wouldn't want to work under a woman boss," "She's one of those neurotic divorcees," "When the pressure is on, all they do is cry," and "She's only here 8:00 till 3:30, to put her husband through school."

It is this last category of attitudes that may pose the greatest problem in reducing sexual discrimination. It may be that the time is ripe for the organization of human relations groups of both men and women trained to deal with the attitudes of men and women toward each other, so that these feelings, opinions, desires, fantasies, and other ideas may be expressed and worked out in the light of more open relationships.

Another aspect of attitudes is a kind of educational tribalism that one encounters frequently among male decision-makers in the public schools. This tribal attitude is a feeling one perceives when discussing sex discrimination with a number of educators, particularly those who are in the important gatekeeper positions of the public schools. One senses a feeling that the gatekeepers do not perceive you as one of their group. Your communication comes as news from outside the tribe. It is the strength of the peer group of other gatekeepers that seems to determine whether the communication will be listened to or rejected.

A concomitant reinforcing fact is that when the gatekeeper-educator attends a peer group meeting, it is unlikely that the gathering will include healthy female exemplars who can advance a position concerning role development for young women. Recent figures from the National Education Association have indicated that the small percentages of women administrators in the public schools at the elementary, junior high and the middle school, and high school levels are all decreasing.[2] Some states are worse off than others in the representation of women in administration. In the entire state of Iowa, for example, there appear to be no more than one or two public school female principals at the secondary level.

A further corollary of this problem of in-groups and out-groups is that the few feminists who have emerged are often isolated and ridiculed by their faculties within their school buildings. These lonely feminists are not members of a group that is respected by the gatekeepers. Their feminist pressures appear to the gatekeepers to have been exerted from outside the legitimate channel of professional development.

If the attitude of the gatekeepers toward the women's movement suggests avoidance, then we should consider what the effects will be upon pupils. Does it matter that in some subject areas the percentage of males is virtually overwhelming? Consider the extremes in vocational agriculture, industrial arts, home economics, but proceed to the other subjects as well. The number of male science teachers compared to female, the number of female English teachers compared to male is staggering. In one

district the writer has informally asked seventh grade students to bring in magazine illustrations which represent the image of an English teacher and the image of a science teacher. The overwhelming impression from a sample of approximately 100 students suggests that both young men and women, junior high pupils, see science teachers as male and the English teachers as female.

It is interesting to attempt to trace the basis for sex stereotyped attitudes. When one engages in this analysis it appears that there are two questions which split themselves apart. The first question becomes, what are women capable of doing? The second is, what should women do? These questions have appeared recently in the large and thorny issues surrounding the expansion of sports for women in the public schools and elsewhere. This is a movement that is certainly not restricted to the United States. A recent speaker from the Netherlands indicated that Western Europe is experiencing a vigorous manifestation of this phenomenon as well.[3]

The question of what level of performance women are capable of attaining is tied to a predominantly male norm of performance. The questioner seems to be essentially asking, how many Babe Didrickson Zahariases are there who can compete on an equal footing with men? The allied question is whether women should compete in the full range of sports, including body contact events. Physical educators appear to feel that large body size and large muscles are associated with superior performance in sports, and men usually have an advantage in large muscle development. Yet the question of what women should do seems to be based on values more than on evidence. One hears the disapproving comment, "I don't think that women should play tackle football." This feeling is based on the idea that either that (1) it is unladylike, or (2) a large number of injuries will result. From the second point we have little doubt that a large number of injuries will result if the experience of male football is any criterion. Medical sports information suggests that of all American sports, football had an accident rate of approximately one injury for every player. Granted then, that women are likely to be injured in body contact sports, is this enough reason to prevent them engaging in these activities? This writer feels that it should be up to the women themselves to determine their levels of activity in body contact sports. If they choose to play where there are social rewards, they should be allowed to do so. Undeniably there are very significant social rewards in the sport of body contact football in the United States.

The question of the values connected to the participation of women in sports is so pervasive that it affects participant behavior off the playing field perhaps as powerfully as it does during the sports events. Women athletes seem to feel a pressure from the public and from within themselves to prove off the track that they are indeed ladylike. Perhaps this in some measure is the counterpart of the male feeling which says that the player away from the playing field should be viewed as a fully developed human being, capable of intelligent conversation and thought and able to apply time and money to business ventures, education, and other activities besides sports. Yet this feeling among women athletes also has an unhealthy ring, as if they needed reassurance by grasping at a limiting feminine role model away from the playing field.

The next major important part of the proposed model is that of practices. In this dimension we are talking about attitudes which appear to be carried into much higher everyday practices and organizations. This is the on-going process phase. In this dimension one encounters a number of sexually disciminatory problems. These are problems which are not necessarily based on firm reasons or rationales that one could point to in print. Let us consider two examples: In the state of Iowa the Girls Athletic Association is governed by an all-male body with the exception of one member who is a non-voting person. This particular phenomenon is not based upon a rule; there is no charter which states that all of the members of this association shall be male. This is a practice that has evolved due apparently to the tribalism effect mentioned earlier. Various principals who vote for the members of the controlling board have said that they simply do not know any leading women who are candidates.

We are dealing with critical decision-makers in many of the sexually-discriminatory practices. Another example is the process that occurs in accreditation. The largest accrediting body in the United States is the North Central Association. This is a 19-member association which stretches all the way from Arizona to West Virginia, and from Michigan south to Arkansas. Public schools voluntarily decide to join the NCA. If they do so they are obligated to re-examine themselves each five years for a renewal of the accreditation. In the interim years annual reports are filed in addition to the major accrediting visits.

In the North Central Association every state chairman is male. The writer sent inquiries to all NCA chairmen, asking whether women had chaired visiting teams in their states. All but four replied. It appears that in only three states, West Virginia, Michigan, and Illinois, have there been women chairpersons of the accrediting teams in the junior high level or high schools. (At the present time the elementary NCA Criteria are still being developed.) A recent sample by this writer indicated that in the period 1970-72 in the state of Iowa the visiting accreditation team averaged 24 persons. Of those 24, 19 were male. The five females were usually representing the areas of home economics, women's physical education, and the humanities.

When we consider that the accreditation team is a very powerful body, with much impact upon the curriculum of the school, and with high visibility as far as the students and public are concerned, it seems important that we examine both the percentages of women on visiting teams and the question of having some representation of women in the chairperson role. This process problem appears to be even more important when one considers that one historian of the NCA commented that such accreditation has been the most profound effect on the high school program since the 1872 Kalamazoo Court Case which legitimatized the high school.[4]

The accreditation and sports examples are important for other reasons besides illustrating the dimension of practices. Those are examples from large organizations, institutions, beyond the scope of the individual school building or school system. Because they exist at a larger level of hierarchy, they are in a powerful position to effect changes in the individual member schools and in other schools which read their journals. If the members of a tribe will not listen to an outsider, then perhaps the tribal member will listen to the larger confederation to which the tribe belongs.

There are far more mundane practices in everyday life which should be analyzed in this model. In the elementary schools one finds physical education discriminating between the sexes with boys enjoying wrestling units while the girls learn how to walk properly. In the junior high classroom a teacher is faced with a problem male who is continually tossing spitwads. One expedient manner of controlling and reshaping the behavior is to assign the student the task of operating visual aids equipment. Belore long a sympathetic faculty member will develop a boys' projector club, complete with licenses and a considerable amount of mechanical knowledge and in the long run ironically an unusual reward of freedom from physical constraints of the classroom.

Publishing practices have been commonly examined in the curriculum materials available to elementary students. The now classic Dick and Jane as Victims written by the Princeton Women has spawned a number of similar efforts both written and in slide-show form throughout the country. Any observer of the women's movement, even at the most rudimentary level, now usually is aware that a male to female ratio approximately 4-1 in favor of males commonly runs through basal reader illustrations and appears also in the character descriptions. Further, and more important perhaps, is the nature of the character development which pictures the limited passive women typically associated with the home, as mother's helper, or on the family vacation limited to a spot near the campfire, afraid of common sounds of animal cries, while the corresponding image for the male is that of the aggressive, full-range body-development, problem-solving, world-conquering, lion-tamer, alligator-wrestler, the unrestrained adventurer. It is no wonder that when we survey reading tastes of young adolescents, we find that the males reject stories about females, while the females will read stories of their male peers. A value judgment for the women's movement suggests that the chief reason boys do not read girls' stories is that the girls' stories are too insipid.

The final dimension of the proposed model is that of policies. We are concerned here with those statements that have been approved by the significant hierarchy level in an institution and written down as a basis for conduct. Let us return to the North Central Association once more for examples. The NCA, like other voluntary accrediting regions in the United States, makes use of the National Criteria, a large, carefully worked out set of standards covering the major areas in the school curriculum. Also, in the National Criteria one finds comments concerning the teaching staff. Consider the following three examples from the Personnel Section: (1) Sick leave is allowed to accumulate (total accumulation may not exceed _____ days). (2) Allowance is made for maternity leave without loss of status. (3) List significant non-school experience including military service....

The continued discrimination between maternity leave and sick leave has been held illegal by federal opinion as well as by court decisions in various states, yet this distinction remains in the National Criteria. The provision for military service seems innocuous until one encounters a public school district which awards salary schedule credit for a given number of years military experience. A man and woman teacher with the same teaching preparation may find themselves at distinctly different positions on the salary schedule due to the man's military experience of

three or four years. There is no corresponding experiential benefit which could be awarded to the woman teacher in such an instance.

A few years ago the New York City NOW Chapter revealed a large discrepancy in a report on the vocational and technical courses available for boys compared with those for girls in New York schools. There were 77 entries called "his" and 36 labeled "hers." Among the listings for women were such items as costume design and illustration, fashion illustrations, window display, cosmetology, dental office assisting, garment machine operating, and trade dressmaking. Titles that seemed somewhat less sexually discriminatory were computer data processing and office machine operating. The "his" category included window display, cosmetology, and garment machine operation also, but there was a much wider list of possibilities including various forms of typesetting, radio and TV mechanics, clock and watch mechanics, aviation mechanics, plumbing, and other items.

It is in light of the differences in opportunities for males and females that it is worthwhile to consider again The National Criteria. Under industrial arts one finds the richest and longest description of physical facilities, with 41 items, of any of the entire sections in the whole Criteria. The next highest number is found in agriculture. Both of these subjects reveal predominantly male enrollment. By contrast, home economics' physical facilities list only 15 items. Admittedly it would be simplistic to assume that mere physical facilities alone guarantee a challenging learning environment, yet given a man and woman teacher of equal ability it would appear that some differences would emerge if the two had vastly different budgets and outlays for equipment. Home economics' criteria appear limited in focus to the home and immediate family environment.

Policies of large institutions may be said to have two effects. The direct effects are comparatively easy to observe. First, an organization may say that a sport is for males only at a variety of levels.

At the adult level one thinks immediately of the prestigious Phi Delta Kappa educational association with its memberships in every state and abroad. Membership is limited to males only, and there are few signs of any weakening of the official policy despite the recurrent debate on this issue at the biennial council meetings.

It is also important to consider the area of indirect effects of these powerful policies. Some schools retain dress codes which forbid wearing of bluejeans or slacks at the elementary level for girls. A direct effect of such a policy is to differentiate in clothing, but indirectly there are other effects. Young women, restricted to wearing dresses, find it awkward and embarrassing to play upon jungle gyms, climb trees, turn a somersault, skin the cat, perform adequately in the long jump, wrestle, and engage in a variety of activities without revealing their underwear.

In Phi Delta Kappa the direct effect may be to exclude women from membership, but the indirect effect may be even more injurious. Consider the prestige of this association; its journal is widely recognized by educators, and membership provides a rich assortment of professional colleagues and opportunities for professional advancement. There is no comparable organization for women that appears to have the prestige among educators that Phi Delta Kappa possesses.

In this paper I have attempted to pose a beginning model to show how complex and varied sex stereotyping is in large organizations. It is my feeling that unless we understand the variety of forms that sex discrimination exhibits, we may miss in our efforts to revise and reform the educational institutions. We may find ourselves somewhat in the position of the early fishermen who, upon finding starfish raiding their oyster grounds, broke the offending crustaceans in half and tossed them back into the sea thinking they had killed the starfish, yet in reality they were contributing to the multiplication of their competing predators.

Basically, there appear to be two ways to make changes concerning sex stereotyping. The first and most powerful means is to invoke law and executive order. Class action suits have been used in a variety of communities. The second major technique is to appeal to professional conscience. Obviously, some of what we call professional conscience is derived from the imagined or likely threat of pressures from the first source.

Presently we appear to need two new inputs from men and women that may work in tandem with the major efforts at revision. The first task is to devise rationales for new role relationships. It may well be that the current interest in open marriage, open relationships is part of what could be called a movement to design new roles so that relationships need not be a question of either being the homemaker or the career person but some combination thereof.

Another task is to begin building small teams of human relations experts who could apply human relations training techniques to school and service work and have staff members confront themselves and work out problems which may limit the full development of both sexes.

FOOTNOTES

1. Gail McLure, remarks in an address at the annual meeting of the North Central Association, Chicago, March 25, 1973.

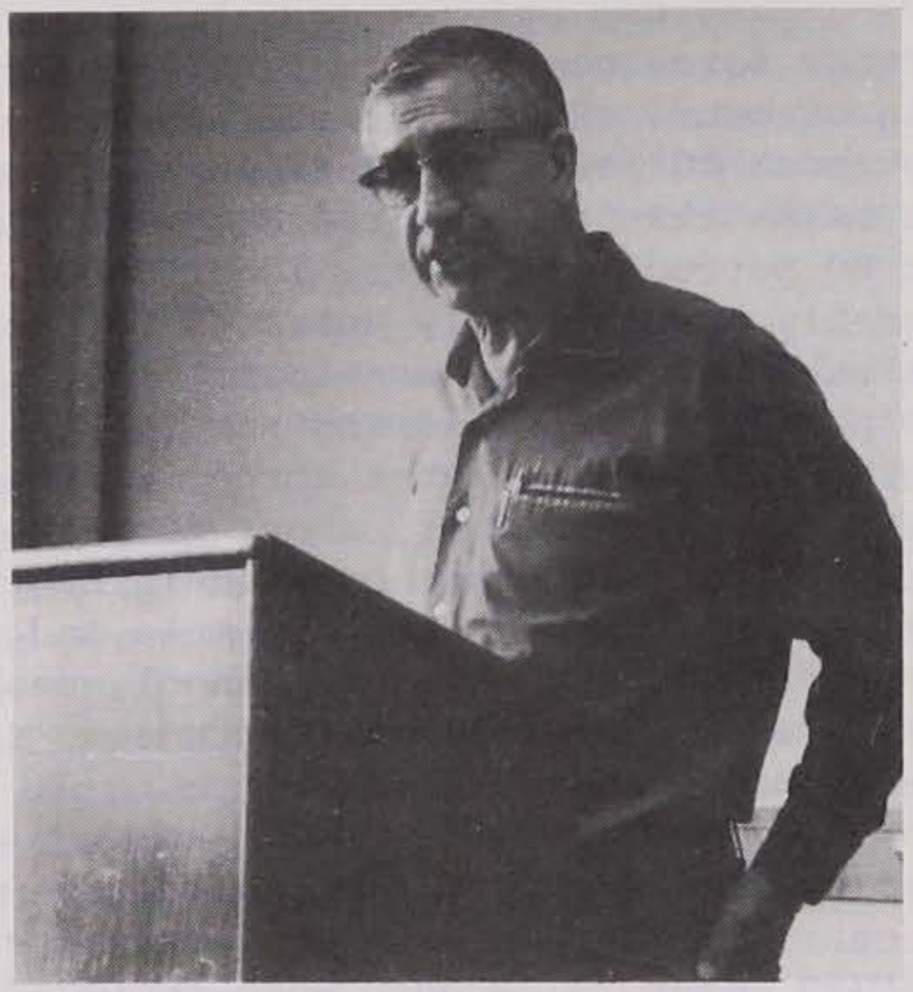
2. See for example, The American School Superintendent, ed. Stephen J. Knezevich, American Association of School Administrators, 1971, p. 21.

3. Kallaus Rysdorp, remarks in a talk at The University of Iowa, April 3, 1973.

4. Calvin O. Davis, A History of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, 1895-1945, The NCA, 1945, p. 75.

WOMEN IN THE ECONOMIC SPHERE: THE COMING STRUGGLE FOR JOBS

Anthony Costantino



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What is the economic status of women in U.S. society today? Disgraceful is one answer; enviable is another. The current vogue is to emphasize that women suffer disparagement. In any event, a humane society might be expected to be mindful and make dependable and practical provision for satisfying, gratifying, and fulfilling roles equivalently for all sectors of the society--for black no less than white, for Chicanos, Indians, and others; and surely a humane society would see to it that women suffer no systematic disparaging abuse.

The focus of this talk is not on the statistical dimensions of the disparagement of women, although some pertinent facts will need to be displayed. Rather, the aim here is to bring to the front and explain some determining facts, dynamics, and developments that may well generate and sustain the commonly perceived disparagements and the associated agitation of women in U.S. society today.

What are the underlying facts? Let's fix our attention first on a few well known and generalized facts that are basic to any explanation of the economic status of women.

Although the U.S. population in numbers must be close to 50-50 male and female, the U.S. labor force is divided about 60-40 male and female. So, about two out of five in the U.S. labor force are female. The U.S. labor force is defined as all those persons age 16 or over who in the survey week worked for wages any time during that week, plus all persons who did not work during that week but did actively look for work. So the U.S. labor force consists of persons employed plus persons looking for work.

Now, how is the U.S. labor force generated? Consider the non-institutionalized U.S. population aged 16 or over. Not all these persons are counted in the U.S. labor force--only about 60 percent get to be included in the labor force count. But of all the males that are counted as non-institutionalized and aged 16 or over, about 80 percent are in the labor force, while of all the females that are comparably counted, only about 40 percent are in the labor force. What does this say? Of all the non-institutionalized <u>males</u> aged 16 or over, only about 20 percent neither worked nor looked for work and therefore are not counted in the U.S. labor force; whereas, of the non-institutionalized <u>females</u> aged 16 or over, about 60 percent neither worked nor looked for work and therefore are not counted in the U.S. labor force. Those thus not counted in the labor force, both male and female aged 16 or more, are to be found keeping house, going to school, unable to work, or otherwise not looking for work. These above facts come from the U.S. Labor Department survey week in March 1969.

Now we want to consider females entering the labor force relative to males entering the labor force. Consider working age women age 16 or over. We find that, whereas in 1920 about 23 percent were employed or looking for jobs, in 1970 fully 42 percent were employed or looking for jobs. In this period of 50 years, both female need for wage paying jobs as well as the opening up of job opportunities for females increased phenomenally, not merely in absolute numbers but indeed doubled on a relative basis. We can take note that the U.S. labor force has been and is increasing; the average annual rate of increase is estimated at about 1½ percent. But what is of particular influence on the economic status of women is that the total rate of increase in the labor force is dominated more in the female component than in the male component. Currently, about three-fifths of the total rate of increase in the labor force is accountable to female accretions and only the remaining two-fifths is accountable to male accretions. This dynamic female accent in the total numbers of the emerging labor force should surprise no one. The female accretions to the labor force come from what is yet a relatively full pool of working age females, while the male accretions to the labor force come from a relatively near-empty pool of working age males. So, females are entering the labor force in greater proportion than are males.

A conclusion follows from these foregoing facts: with some exceptions, and differentially here and there, females are crowding the labor markets. Unless the emerging additional job openings in the society were in fact, both in numbers and classification, emphatically in search of matching female job seekers, the incidence of female unemployment is bound to be greater and more intractable than the incidence of male unemployment. And

so it is. One-half of all unemployed persons seeking jobs are female, although we know that only two-fifths of all employed persons are female.

All the above facts and developments, among others, serve to depress the earnings of females and to dampen and constrain the employment opportunities for females. So we find that females form a marginal work force. Females are found in part-time and temporary work. Females fail to earn seniority. They fail to become eligible for fringe benefits. They are last to be hired and first to be fired. Crowded into a narrow range of job classifications and job openings, wages for females are depressed and kept low. Concentrated in low pay, low status, and low tenure jobs, women on the average earn only about two-thirds of what working men earn. Full time female workers do no better. About three-fourths of all employed women have full time jobs. Yet, the wages and salaries of full time female workers average only about three-fifths the wages and salaries of full time male workers. For it is a fact that most women work in occupations overwhelmed in numbers by other females.

The lower earnings of women stem from two kinds of facts: (1) employed women are concentrated in low paying job classifications, and (2) where women and men are employed at similar work, the women's jobs are more often classified to pay lower wage rates. Pay for females equal to pay for males is the exception. Some of the smallest differentials are to be found among governmental jobs and among employees covered by labor-union contracts that aim at equal pay for equal work. But, ironically, a common and frustrating outcome is that pay is equalized among women. Since female jobs and male jobs are classified separately, it turns out that they are classified differently. So female pay does not get a chance to be compared and get equalized with pay for males.

Therefore, statistically, most of the male-female earnings differentials are explainable by the different roles assigned to men and women. Role differentiation begins in the cradle, affects the aspiration, preparation, and choice of occupation, affects the labor-force attachment, the location of work, post-school investment, hours of work, and other variables that influence earnings, including attitudes, expectations and practices of employer discrimination and consumer discrimination.

Who are the working women? In 1920, the typical working woman was single, about 28, and from a working class family. She did not intend to remain employed long if she could avoid employment. Today, one-half of employed women are over age 39. Although most all employed women are married, most of the wives and mothers in the U.S. are not employed outside the home. Only 40 percent of all married women work for pay outside the home. It should be noted however that of all negro wives, more than half are in the labor force, that is, are employed or looking for work. Also note that, of all wives living with husbands with incomes exceeding $10,000, only one-third of the white wives work, while one-half of the negro wives work.

So why do women work? Why are women in the labor force? Principally for income. It is clear that single women--unmarried, divorced, or separated from husbands, without husbands or apart from husbands but caring for children or other dependents--most all these who work, work for income. Also, almost all working wives, although living with working husbands, contribute to family income.

The wife's income may raise a poor family income above the poverty level, or raise the low family income to middle income level. Indeed, among working wives, it is the wife of the middle income family that is more likely to be a working wife. The expenditure plans and commitments for such relatively better-to-do families grow and grow, seemingly always just beyond reach. The mean contribution of all working wives to family income is about 22 percent. This is not negligible or marginal to the total of the family income. But it is to be noted again that the mean contribution of working wives is highest (28 percent) in families with incomes between $10,000 to $15,000. Paradoxically, the lowest mean contribution of working wives to family income is in families with incomes under $2,000 - namely 6 percent.

For many women, marriage, children and home may still be thought of as the more assured route to the satisfactions associated with giving and receiving affection, sexual gratification, membership in a group, and most importantly, fulfillment, security, and freedom from anxieties. Increasingly, however, personal satisfactions are being sought outside the home as the necessity for staying in the home is gradually overcome and these alternative sources of satisfaction are linked less with marriage, children, and home and more with paid employment outside the home.

The radio program, "Our Changing World," just this past week reported on a survey made in the U.S. by a British research team in which thousands of couples were asked, "What is the vital ingredient for a happy marriage?". Love came limping in well down the list. Most of the men questioned voted for "good cooking and good housekeeping qualities" as being the most important on the part of the wife. Might we conjecture that these men did not yet know that cooking and housekeeping can be had for a lot less money than what being married entails? And what did the women list as the most vital ingredient for a happy marriage? Reported most important was "good pay." Following "good pay" were listed "faithfulness and steadiness," "kindness and consideration." Only for a few did love rank number one priority. And what did the survey find married people want most from life? Happiness! And how did they define what constitutes happiness? Ninety-nine out of 100 Americans surveyed answered: "Plenty of money!"

In U.S. society, the thing most wanted in life is happiness. It says so in the preamble to the U.S. Constitution. And in America, 99 out of 100 American couples say happiness means plenty of money. For indeed, in a market organized society, money becomes the measure of and access to most all things. It can't be much if it can be had without money. So it is all very well understood. In America, the superlative good fortune is to strike it rich, to have high income. In America, the greatest calamity and misfortune to befall anyone is to be poor, to be lacking in income.

The most extreme and serious distress with respect to the economic status of women in U.S. society is associated with the economic status of families headed by women. In the U.S., one family in ten is headed by a woman. This ratio is increasing. For a variety of circumstances, and in the context of the way labor markets are organized and living patterned in the U.S., most women heading families are ill-equipped to earn an adequate living. The associated consequences are deep poverty, unhappiness, anxieties, distress. The statistical characteristics of this poverty problem have been studied in endless detail. The associated circumstances may be lack of education or training, irregular and unstable work histories,

sex or racial de facto discrimination in hiring or job classification, ill health and exhausted motivation, and most of all, difficulties in arranging for satisfactory child care. Consequently, the incomes of most families headed by women depend on public assistance.

But welfare systems in the U.S. are hardly adequate or appropriate to the task of overcoming the poverty of families headed by women. Additionally, and ironically, welfare systems in the U.S. suffer public hostility. As this welfare population increases, the public hostility grows sharper. With this sort of development, practical corrective approaches are relegated out of mind, if not out of sight. Of all outrages, the economic status of families headed by women is the most outrageous in U.S. society.

What developments have brought women to this sorry state in which they crowd the labor force and suffer disparagement in their search for paid employment outside the home? Or, if head of family, are made to feel leprous? The answer might be called "social coercion."

In the U.S. pre-capitalist and early capitalist family economy, women and men worked together as a single productive unit. Some yet do. In this setting, the respective roles of women and men may have been differentiated with respect to economic production, biological reproduction, sex, and the socialization of the children. In any event, the roles of women and the roles of men were directly interdependent and integrated one with the other.

The emergent and ever-spreading market direction of economic activity and the selectively inspired and associated technological developments and organization of economic production for the market all served progressively to transfer economic production away from home and family to the factory. Thus men and women were enabled and required to work separately from each other. This development shattered the direct economic interdependence of man and woman. In time, laws came to the rescue of women and children from some of the more extremes of raw exploitation in factory and mine. Thus it came to pass that employment away from the home became more commonly a male preserve. Thus, the family and women at home became financially dependent on the wages of men employed in production away from home. Thus the role of women in economic production was ended and the family role of women was reduced to child-bearing, mothering, and homemaking.

Next we notice that developments in health and medicine increasingly resulted in more survivals of both child and mother, and longer life for all. These accomplishments reduced the number of pregnancies required per woman and the associated span of woman's preoccupation with child-bearing. Additionally, purposeful attention to avoiding unwanted pregnancies has further reduced women's child-bearing role in the family. Child-bearing is now very much voluntary and need be followed by only brief attention to child raising. Indeed, in some instances, conception and child bearing are already being separated from marriage and family.

Two additional irresistible developments, public schools and the boob-tube, have served to displace to virtual insignificance the woman's family role in the mothering and socialization of her children. The extension of public schooling earlier and earlier toward the nursery and later and later through high schools and increasingly into colleges has effectively

separated the children from the custody of the home to the custody of the public school from the nursery to adulthood. Thus the public school substitutes for the mother with respect to the preparation, tempering, and disciplining of the young in advance of their projected adult roles in what has now become altogether a market organized society. Finally, the boob-tube took over the remaining bits of the woman's role in the home over the socialization of her children.

Now what remains for women to do in the home? Homemaking and sex. Labor saving arrangements and devices, store packaged and prepared foods, clothing and other goods and services, have all served to remove both the drudge and the substance from the homemaking activities of women. So much so have the homemaking functions been reduced that now some women make play and social occasion out of cooking, bread-making, weaving, and other nostalgic home activities.

The sex and consort opportunities and activities of men regularly away from home have for some time been freed from restriction to one woman and that one woman his wife. Now women too are increasingly released from the social and personal constraints that formerly restricted her sex and consort roles to the home and only with her one husband.

The upshot of the foregoing developments with respect to the roles of home-based women has been to alter and deplete the formerly avowed purposes and functions of marriage, family and home. Once in fact, but now reduced to rhetoric, marriage, family, and home specified and conventionalized the dominating aspirations and expectations of women in U.S. society. Marriage, family and home conventionalized the route women took to socially endorsed and personally assured satisfaction, fulfillment, and merit. Women may yet be judged rhetorically as wife and mother, but the only home-based role precariously remaining to women in fact is to be consort to the husband and spender of his earned income. The family and the women in the family have been reduced to serve but minimal human needs. Neither society, men, nor children have much need or use left for marriage, family, and home any more. Nor do women. Women's role differentiation has in fact been reduced to sex object and spender. To serve these roles of sex object and spender, marriage, family and home are otiose.

The dynamics and successes of the U.S. economic system seem to have undermined both the personal and social sanctions formerly accorded the nuclear family and have made women nearly functionless as wives and mothers. In view of the range of changes affecting women in U.S. society, redefinition of some sex-based roles is inescapable for both women and men.

We have noted that market inspired technological developments have taken economic production altogether out of the home, have brought about the disassociation of sex play from biological reproduction, have brought about disassociation of biological child bearing from social rearing of children, and have reduced necessary household work to near zero. The outcome of these developments is to drive women up the wall for lack of something meaningful and meritorious to do. The outcome of these developments is sequential marriages or no marriage. The outcome of these developments means tensions and neuroses for all, for both men and women as well as children.

Having stripped women of purpose and merit through marriage and the associated roles of wife, mother, and homemaker, the U.S. market organized society presents women an alternative route to purpose and merit, namely outside paid employment without regard to marriage, motherhood, and home-making. Here, purpose and status are measured by money income. But the high income, high status jobs have already been preempted to males. Therefore females are led to crowd the labor markets at the margins of employments. Systematically, employments of women get to be concentrated at part-time, temporary, demeaning, low pay, low status jobs. What do women need to surmount the associated disparagement? Not unlike men, women need full-time, tenured, high pay, high status, fulfilling employ-ment. Of this kind of employment there are not enough job openings to go around to take in all females as well as all males entering the labor force.

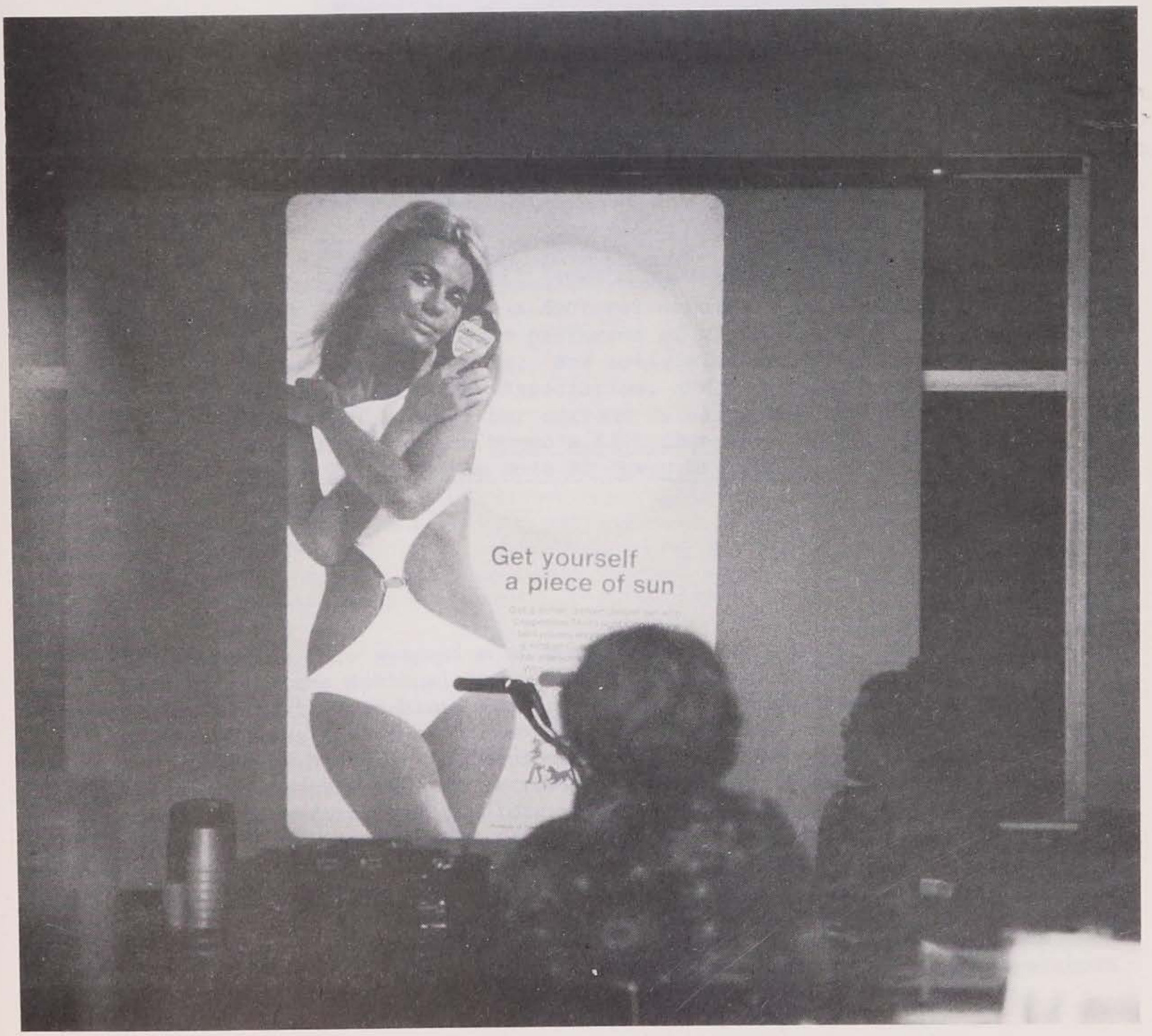
The thrust of affirmative action to reduce the disparagement of women in paid employment is bound to threaten the preserve and security that males have had in higher pay and higher status jobs. Therefore, in the context of the social and economic facts, the institutions that are presently and prospectively developing in the U.S., and the concerted efforts currently aimed at ameliorating the disparagement of women in paid employment are headed for frustration, unless and until it should become acceptable and common for women to work for pay instead of men.

In order to moderate, if not avert, the personal and social tensions, disturbances, and explosions that will assuredly accompany these emergent frustrations, it would appear remarkably acceptable that experiment and change in role definition for males as well as females be accommodated and be assessed sympathetically. A humane society would not for long relegate women to trivial function and economic disparagement relative to men.

SYMPOSIUM III

SURVIVAL OF WOMEN: MOVEMENT FROM THE TRADITIONAL IMAGES TO A NEW HUMANISTIC IDENTITY

MAY 19, 1973



Keynote Address for Symposium III:
Survival of Women: Movement from the Traditional Images to a New Humanistic Identity

WOMEN IN HISTORY: PUBLIC LIFE AND HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

Sarah Hanley Madden

Sarah Hanley Madden, a doctoral candidate in History at UI, is currently a professor of History at Coe College, Cedar Rapids. Her activities include A.A.U.P., American Historical Association, and the Cedar Rapids Chapter of N.O.W. Her current research has included study in Europe on Women's Life Chances in Early Modern Europe: The Role of Dowry and Family Inheritance.

In sponsoring this symposium on Women and Public Policy: A Humanistic Perspective, the National Endowment for the Humanities has cast the participants into an historical paradox: for women have neither taken a place in the sphere of contemporary public activity, nor survived in the sphere of historical consciousness, two facets of human existence which are directly related to full participation in any society. This address, therefore, will explore the dual problems of public life and historical consciousness in relation to the female experience.

Women in Public Life

An inquiry into the status of women in contemporary public life points to a policy of exclusion. In 1973 American political life operates without

women. One finds no women in the Cabinet of the President of the United States and no women governors of states or mayors of large cities; no women in the United States Senate and only 15 women out of 435 members of the United States House of Representatives. Today American business life functions with no women in the top management of the largest corporations; while American intellectual life in 1973 is beset by a dropping proportion of women faculty members in the ranks of higher education. Women have not achieved a measure of autonomy in public life but instead have been accorded a place in private life as individuals whose position and potential is inextricably bound to that of the men to whom they are related, and the divisive tendencies of such conditions seriously impair all efforts of women to develop the cohesive and independent feminist attitude necessary to effect change.

Herein lies the historical paradox: whereas women's "life chances" were inexorably bound to family interests in the distant historical past, the general failure of present society to recognize the time-related nature of such limitations has resulted in the continued imposition of rigid and anomalous sexist tenets upon women in contemporary life. The grim results of such a distortion of reality are manifested in the restriction of women to "special spheres of activity" in which it is possible to survive as the best of the female caste in private life and at the same time remain inferior to the rest of the male population in public life. Thus women today remain a subordinate group cast into a symbiotic relationship with the dominant male group. Lacking a sense of self-identity as women and encouraged to filter vast energies through the sieve of a private life, female existence in the 20th century is separated from the world of reality and cast into that condition which the French call "épaisseur triste," the sad opaqueness of a private life ultimately centered upon nothing but itself.

This paradoxical theater of life erected especially for women gives rise to persistent anomalies. For instance, in the modern era conflicting theory and practice elicits a cruel dilemma for women in regard to the notion of "special spheres of activity." Since the virtuous vocation of housewife and mother is publicly extolled and privately internalized, countless women who work because they cannot afford the dubious luxury of full-time homemaking suffer guilt because they continue to aspire to fulfill the assigned role. The result is the creation of a huge work force of women in the United States seriously weakened at the outset by failure to recognize themselves as serious contenders in the job market and by employers who in turn do not consider them as career oriented. Only when one looks closely at labor history does the manipulation of women in the work force become obvious. Pulled into wage work and then pushed back into the home at the convenience of changing social conditions, women "workers" remain invisible: they form no ghettoes, they join few unions, they come to the job market when called, and go quietly away when commanded. Women are a cheap and docile labor force, a divided group which coalesces publicly only for brief moments through the sporadic direction of outer forces only to splinter again into countless separate fragments. Denied a place in political, intellectual, and economic life and unable to constitute a cohesive force, women do not exercise a proper role in public life.

Within this formidable social structure varied modes of survival are provided in order to maintain the status quo. Women are encouraged to

enjoy the benefits of a kind of cultural poverty in which lowered expectations allow them to be successful without independent achievement. For instance, as long as the wife of the President of the United States does not fall down drunk in front of a television camera, she will invariably appear on the list of "Most Admired Women." Skeptics who have the temerity to do so might ask, "Most admired for what?". Is the playing of a secondary role in the building of the career of another an admirable lifetime occupation to be thrust upon all women whether they desire it or not? The inquiry is subtly ignored, because women are not taught to question the value of a life vicariously lived.

The public record indicates that women who seek to break the established pattern and enter the public sphere must be prepared to run the race hampered by structured social inequities. At the most elementary levels--that of higher education and employment--discrimination against women is a matter of public policy. According to a Ford Foundation study, only 20 percent of high school women with a C average will be accepted into colleges; while 40 percent of high school men with a C average will be welcomed to the hallowed halls. High school women with high grade point averages who make application to institutions of higher learning will be victims of a "quota system" whereby male applicants with lower averages will be preferred once a limited number of women have been accepted. Finally, the scholarships for tuition aid granted to undergraduate women will average $215 less than those granted to male undergraduates.

In this vicious cycle, inequities in employment follow those in education. According to the U.S. Department of Labor, women are clustered in low-paying, low-status jobs as clerical employees and semi-skilled workers and suffer a high rate of unemployment. Despite the fact that almost 44 percent of all working-age women are now employed, proportionately their earnings have steadily fallen over the past 15 years. In 1956 the average full-time female employee earned 63.3 percent as much as the average male worker; in 1971 she grossed only 59.5 percent as much as her male counterpart. Even if figures are adjusted to account for the fact that the normal work week is 10 percent longer for men than for women, the pay of women still averages only 66.1 percent of that of men. The cyclical nature of such discrimination in education and employment is manifest when educators defend the discriminatory college "quota system" on the basis of male alumni financial support. They blatantly admit to preferring male students who earn higher incomes than female students later in life and thus contribute larger amounts to their alma mater. The conclusion is clear: contemporary American society is structured so that women are excluded from sharing in the public life of the nation.

Women in Historical Consciousness

Women are excluded not only from public life but also from historical consciousness. Any effort to view women in historical perspective is a feat which requires the raising of the dead themselves. One must face the fact that no testament has left women their inheritance. In historical terms, a testament selects and restores, hands down and preserves a past in order that one may create a future. Without the projection of such historical consciousness oblivion follows not only for the dead but also for the living, who can only hold the memory of human activity in their hands for a fleeting moment before it perishes as a vapor in the wind.

Thus women are time-bound, since they rarely survive in historical memory. In turn, within the discipline of history itself, this gap in knowledge results in a distorted vision of the past which weighs heavily uopn efforts of scholars to penetrate the nature of the total human experience. It is imperative, therefore, that women be resurrected in historical memory.

The corrective action needed to bring women into the historical consciousness of humankind is fraught with peculiar difficulties. In the pursuance of original research one is first greeted by the ominous silence of the archives. An historian who attempts to structure an undergraduate course to study European women, for instance, will be bereft of translated material. Yet the lack of translated material is a minor matter when compared with the problem of locating original sources. In this search one is dependent upon archival catalogues and therein lies one of the most cruel ironies of all: catalogues themselves are very often without categories which pertain to women so that the search is stymied before it has begun. If women in contemporary life seem to be invisible, indeed women in the past have been buried beneath the rubble of unregenerated time.

In addition to the problems of translation and location of sources, there exists another formidable challenge to the inclusion of women in historical consciousness. Historians must deliberately design a new set of questions which will direct inquiry toward a better knowledge of women as a historical force. The following examples illustrate the need for such reorientation. First, historians may quite rightly view war in modern western civilization as a bitter experience for men who must fight and die violently; yet who has thought to investigate thoroughly one of the concomitants of war--opportunity for women? It is a fact that those bitter times for men have often opened up vast eras of freedom and opportunity for women, especially in employment. Second, those familiar with the history of the French Revolution know only too well that the poor male workers of Paris, the sans coulottes ("men without trousers"--a distinction between artisans and aristocrats) have been given a prominent place in the history of that revolution; yet their counterparts, a revolutionary force of women, the sans jupons ("women without petticoats") have only entered the pages of history this year due to the research conducted in the Paris archives by several American women historians who suspected the existence of such a radical female force. Third, historians censure the rigid laissez faire economic policies of the English in the 19th century which allowed Irish men, women, and children to perish from starvation during the potato famine and indict the Nazis in the 20th century for the extermination of the Jews, events which perpetrated human tragedies of immense proportions. Yet who asks about the horror of the witchcraft craze in Europe and the United States in the 17th century in which so many innocent women were executed? What currents of thought alive in western civilization in that era formed an intellectual climate which allowed some of the most astute male minds of the period--judges, lawyers, political theorists, clergymen--to believe female nature to be so constituted as to engender the practice of witchcraft? The preconditions for the acceptance of negative and distorted views of the nature of women were a product of centuries of subtle prejudice against women as women.

There is no doubt that a redirection in historical problem-solving is

necessary in order to evoke new sets of questions for historical investigation which will offer women a place in historical memory commensurate with their energy in history. This historical reassessment, of course, must be accomplished through proper scholarly methods. Ideological positions which develop conspiratorial theses must be avoided. The present method of employing historical evidence to substantiate the theme of an historical repression of women from "time immemorial" is rooted in an uncritical acceptance of the 19th century notion of heroic progress in Western civilization which removes the subject from its historical nexus and leads the inquiry in false directions. Moreover, the theme, as commonly stated, prejudices the inquiry at the outset by assuming the condition of women in negative terms and imagining "male conspiracy" as the chief impediment to "emancipation." In this view, women's "life chances" are held in tension between the conspiratorial male and the aspiring female, moving developmentally from repression to emancipation to liberation and thematically from arbitrary bondage to ultimate freedom. Such an interpretation engenders polemics useful for prosletyzing the uncommitted in the present, but it soon degenerates into facile rhetoric which detracts from serious efforts at sound historical analysis of the role of women.

Furthermore, the unhistorical tendency to measure past actions by present standards is invalid. The failure to place female experience in historical perspective springs from an emphasis on the present as a uniquely worthy era and constitutes a most insensitive and cruel indifference to the accomplishments of women bounded within a different time period than our own; whereas viewing the role of women within a particular historical era allows for judgments of achievement commensurate with their potential life chances. For example, to criticize the restrictive nature of child-bearing in past centuries is to ignore the strong commitment of all society, including women, to the perpetuation and extension of family interests. In the past the need for heirs, coupled with the high rate of infant mortality, assured that the generative function of married women would consume the greater portion of their entire adult lives. Conversely, the relative demise of the importance of procreation in the 20th century, when family interests no longer predominate and infant survival is assured, should not be construed as evidence for a negative assessment of that role in the past.

Finally, eulogies of women which fail to expose the unsightly side of human experience are unacceptable, since hagiographies of heroines do not offer historical insight. One will have to acknowledge that the American suffragettes in their quest for the vote made use of racist and anti-ethnic propaganda, or that women in Germany voted overwhelmingly for Hitler against the Weimar Republic. A resurrection of women in historical memory, therefore, must not be confused with a canonization of saints.

The addition of an historical dimension to the female experience offers a comparative tool with which to investigate whether or not 20th century attitudes and practices are functional in terms of present social conditions. Assessed in historical perspective, subordination of women in the past was neither the effect of universal natural law nor a grave social error perpetrated through male conspiracy but was, instead, a functional part of an operative social order different from our own. In contrast, however, sex differences today are no longer functional in the economic and political spheres as they often were in past societies.

Today the extension of government supported education and social services, the rise of cultural ideals of individual freedom, and the chance of moving laterally in an open labor market or in professions which require talent or education, allow opportunity for self-achievement almost independently of family interests. Therefore, the retention of female subordination from former times and the failure to revalidate such restrictions by present standards have transformed formerly viable sex-based practices into irresponsible prejudices; and the maintenance of such social and psychological barriers from the past are alien to the conditions of the 20th century.

Conclusions

Thus an historical understanding of the time-related nature of past subordination based on sex frees women to think constructively about the nature and function of their present and future roles. In this light, the vigorous struggle of women today to make social attitudes conform to operative economic and political conditions marks a crisis in Western civilization. The dual problems of public life and historical consciousness in relation to the female experience reveal a concatenation of phenomena which exclude women from the full range of human experience, an exclusion which is no longer tolerable. Women have existed for too long on the fringes of contemporary public life and behind a curtained past, a situation which would be utterly demoralizing if one failed to realize that while self-pity is an emotional outlet, it does not constitute an intellectual position. There are those who will continue to peer through a glass darkly; there are others who will correct that myopic vision by demanding a place both in public life and in historical memory, effecting a conflation of these two facets of existence--a commitment to the present allied to an awareness of the past--which will give rise to a fuller notion of the nature of human existence as a whole.

THE LANGUAGE OF SEXISM

Margaret B. McDowell

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Shirley Chisholm once said that she had been more handicapped by prejudice as a woman than she had by prejudice as a black. In speaking before a congressional hearing in 1970, she reminded her audience that the individual whose bias in anti-Semitic is implicitly anti-Negro. She added:

> *I want to say that both are eventually the anti-feminist. And even further, I want to indicate that all discrimination is eventually the same thing--anti-humanism.*

I think that prejudice in the use of language--whether intentionally or unconsciously expressed--arises from the refusal of the writer or speaker

to see a person as an individual human being, and that in its result all such intolerant behavior degrades the speaker or writer, degrades the group attacked, and degrades those not directly attacked but influenced. The intolerant expression dehumanizes the writer or speaker because that person loses touch with the distinctively human characteristics in others and thinks of them in terms of some inflexible stereotype or limiting label. Such language dehumanizes the person attacked, dismissed, or categorized, since the person reacts by developing an attitude of indifference, a sensitivity which turns inward, or a compulsion to express himself or herself in angry reaction to others or in alienation from them. That person may turn to fellow-victims--a black may turn to "my people," a woman to "my sisters." Together they may launch an equally prejudiced and anti-human counterattack. Just as often, the individual retreats from his own group to ingratiate himself with his attackers. Blacks may become Uncle Toms; women may become Aunt Toms or Pussy Cats or join Happiness of Womanhood. The "bystander" who is dehumanized when prejudice appears in language is frequently a child--the child who learns to read from a book that pictures only white children or that treats girls as less than equals.

Since the language of prejudice dehumanizes, one would assume that no one would oppose the defusing of the built-in ammunition in our language which lends itself to such attacks. But many conservative forces, with nominally humanistic aims, do reinforce stereotypes of women and the language patterns which bolster them. Among these forces, as we would suspect from the two previous sessions of our symposium, are the church, the political system, educational institutions, publishing houses, the legal structure and, not least of all, many individual women. Paul Goodman in Growing Up Absurd sympathizes with young men who drop out of school and who cannot decide on a vocation. Girls, he says, have a surer sense of direction--they know they will marry and have children. Such stereotyped expectations limit women, but they also provide them a reassuring orientation. The tortoise symbolized the woman in classical Greece: although a woman had to remain always within the limiting walls of her house, she found comfort and protection in the rigidity of her encompassing shell, and she seldom needed to stick her neck out. Modern women do not live in shells nor do they believe their place is always in the home. Yet some of us who attended the previous symposium felt our identities threatened when Professor Costantino declared that the need for women to be housekeepers was now zero and that public schools and television had taken over most of the function of mothering. The relaxing of patterns which controlled women's lives in the past not only liberates but threatens us.

Yet of more consequence, surely, is the disorientation any woman suffers from the continual onslaught of sexist assumptions, implications, and labels that strike her ears hour after hour and day after day from earliest childhood. Women often lack a clear self-image and sense of independent purpose because of such constant verbal conditioning. Someone who is told often enough that he has only one good leg will be unable to walk. Women have assumed too often that they cannot walk freely. Women cannot open certain doors because they have always heard that the doors were locked or too heavy to open or that someone else had the key.

Sexism is built into the English language and is accentuated in contemporary American English. We have heard in the last two sessions of the symposium

about the distorted and limiting images of women which appear in the language of poetry and fiction, in the language of educational materials, in the language of psychologists, and in the legal tradition. We have heard phrases like "My wife and I are one and I am he," "women, children, and imbeciles," and "anatomy is destiny." Our language exists not in separate words but in phrases and sentences repeated in our ears long before we learn to read. We figure out who we are and how important we are by hearing familiar phrases, comparisons, and labels. Even our most private thoughts are developed in terms of word-structures. We are, like the poet Dylan Thomas, "shut in a tower of words." Before we can read, we already know the sexist words and phrases and the intonation that accompanies them. We know when someone says "son of a bitch" through clenched teeth, it is "bitch" and not "son" that is said clearly.

A popular argument suggests, "Guns kill no one; people do." Similarly one could argue that language in itself is neutral--that language assumes positive or negative value only as it is manipulated by moral or immoral human beings. I would argue rather that American language as it exists today is not neutral but is a storehouse of the accumulated sexism of centuries. I would argue further that it requires heightened sensitivity to use it without discriminating against women, just as it requires skill to learn to handle any other lethal weapon. Certain attitudes toward the roles of men and women have, either through prejudiced endorsement or unthinking acceptance, become hardened and fixed in our language. It is sometimes difficult to find a non-sexist alternative. For instance, a week ago a student announced in my class that the new rape crisis line needed women to man the telephone.

> *"The question is," said Alice, "whether you can make words mean so many different things."*
>
> *"The question is," said Humpty Dumpty, "which is to be master--that's all."*

For too long the question of language has been a question of "which is to be master," and there has been no question about the answer.

Some Basic Principles Underlying Language Interpretation

To discern how easily language lends itself to the intensifying of misunderstanding and how explosive a weapon it becomes under pressures of hate, fear, insecurity, jealousy, and anger, we can recognize a few basic principles which underlie all language interpretation:

1. No word means exactly the same thing when it is found in different contexts. Differences are greater where abstractions, emotions, and values are discussed than where concrete facts are being stated. Yet more and more we recognize that the scientific report may be as sexist in its suggestions as the document produced by the writer of fiction. Recently a world-renowned gerontologist explained his theory of the presence of a free radical as a factor in change in DNA molecules in these terms: "like a convention delegate away from his wife: it's a highly reactive chemical agent that will combine with anything that's around."

2. No word means exactly the same thing to any two people, since we bring our accumulated experience to the language we interpret. "Our Father in Heaven" does not provide the same image of God to a child who has not known his father that it provides to a child who has.

3. For similar reasons, no word means exactly the same thing to the same individual at different times. "College" means something different to a freshman in October than it meant to him the previous July. "Mountain" has a different connotation for one who climbs mountains than it does for one who has only seen pictures of them in a geography book.

Besides these obvious ways in which words change their meaning for individuals according to varying contexts and the individual's experiential background, three other principles must be observed on a broader basis: (1) Since language reflects a culture, language will change constantly. (2) Change in language never corresponds exactly to the cultural change because language resists change. Therefore, if the status of women improves, language will not immediately reflect it. (3) Natural change in language can be directed or speeded by organized pressure on conservative agencies. Let us examine each of these principles in greater detail.

Language Changes Constantly

The word "plastic," when I was a child, meant "malleable," "easily molded." I connected it with soft clay, not with brittle toys, hot raincoats, or easily washed surfaces. "Suds," when I was a child, implied rich cleansing power; now the word means "pollutant." Ten years ago "pill" did not mean "contraceptive."

Words which change the fastest are slang terms and colloquialisms. In 1935 the most common synonyms for "pretty girl" were "cutie, babe, eyeful, pip, and wow."[1] In the 1940s there were "bobby-soxers;" in the 1960s there were "teeny-boppers." Slang is quickly abandoned or else becomes accepted as standard English. Theoretically, slang remains most stable where it is the "in" language of a relatively closed group, but many ghetto terms in the last 15 years have become common Americanisms, like "rap." A sociologist in 1958 deduced a series of key words through recordings which allowed another relatively closed group, urban prostitutes, to recognize one another. He acknowledged that these were influenced by the slang of jazz musicians. The key words included: "bread" for money, "pad" for place to sleep, "stoned" for drunk, and "dig" for understand.[2] Fifteen years later, these would not be considered the closed language of the prostitutes.

Other words which shift quickly are those which reflect precipitous social change or which gain sudden popular appeal by their use in mass protests or political campaigns. Frequently these words imply a polarized lining up of people who react in directly opposite ways to the signal-word or battle-cry. Such rapidly emerging modifications in usage reflect, with striking frequency, the oversimplification of a controversial problem. Hence, such expressions are closely related to the heated, irrational, prejudicial attack which sees only two sides to an issue--or more likely, only one. In the civil rights protests people wore pins that bore the single word NOW or the single word NEVER. The term "affirmative action"

can draw people into impassioned argument. Other words that have taken on strong polarizing meaning in the last few years include: ICBM, napalm, My Lai, escalation, global commitment, Vietnamization, dove, hawk, amnesty, chauvinist, establishment, zero population growth, police brutality, low-rent housing, equal opportunity employer, food stamps, guaranteed annual income. The "Women's Liberation Front" became "Women's Lib" and then the "Women's Movement" in less than five years; "girl" and "lady" have given way to "woman," just as "Negro" and "colored" gave way to "Black;" "bra-burner" became a media-synonym for "feminist," although no one is sure whether a bra-burning ever took place.

Language Also Resists Change

Shifts in meaning occur unevenly. Unless there is a strong, radical protest figuring importantly in the media, a minority group or a group not in power finds that change in the language related to it is extremely slow. Semantic shifts reflect cultural change, but they seldom reflect it accurately or in proportion to the importance of the phenomena which they mirror or describe. Every word moves through a history of meanings which need not parallel the development of other words or the history of the society. Semantic change often lags far behind social and cultural change.

Particularly in its application to minorities and women, the inflexibility of language outweighs its fluidity. Language remains rigidly conservative wherever people live in isolation or wherever a particular group of phrases or expressions is stabilized by institutions like schools, church, or the legal system. All major institutions depend upon the maintenance of a stable family structure and well-defined sex role differentiation if they are not to be threatened with major change. All these institutions greatly influence the development of language and their influence is always conservative and stabilizing.

The status of women appears worse in the language used in church, school, or the courtroom, for instance, than it now is. We still <u>say</u> women's place is in the home--so often that kindergarten children all know it--but few women <u>live</u> according to the precept. It is simply an outworn myth preserved in a saying. Sentimental language before the Civil War depicted the plantation mistress as a maternal symbol, caring for the slaves and the poor, a lady who deserved protection and respect but not equality. This language, maintained by politicians and churchmen, provided a way of talking about all Southern women for a century after slavery was gone. Even Sojourner Truth's challenge of such rhetoric with her "Ain't <u>I</u> a woman?" speech had little impact. Similarly, anti-suffrage rhetoric in America tended as often to be chivalric as insulting. It emphasized words like "ladies" and "protection." Current rhetoric opposing the Equal Rights Amendment borrows from the Bible and romantic nineteenth century hymns. Whenever women demand equality in a materialistic world, the spokesmen for that world borrow from religious rhetoric which holds the nonmaterialistic world in a higher position. Political language, which uses the cliche and the trite idea and expression, becomes repressive upon the less powerful groups in society which would profit from change. In 1887 a senator from Georgia implied that women must not lower themselves to become equal and to have to drudge alongside men and fight rough political battles:

> *When I go home...when I turn from the arena where man contends with man for what we call the prizes of this paltry world--I want to go back, not to the embrace of some female ward politician but to the earnest loving body and touch of a true woman.*

We know the sound of the phrases, "I give you the man who...," "a leader of men," "the man in the White House," and "the charming First Lady."

The Sexist Language of Newspapers, Television and Radio. These are conservative media concerning the change in the roles of women, although their language tends to hasten semantic change in other fields. The news programs center largely on male activities in government or war. Weekend athletic coverage has little reference to women's competition.

Language in advertising bombards us with sexist phrases and innuendoes. It has been estimated that the typical consumer pays attention to 76 advertisements a day and is exposed to many more. The typical child entering first grade has already spent more time watching television than he will spend in the classroom in elementary school, and between one and two minutes of every 10 he has spent watching commercials. In television, of course, the impact of the verbal image is intensified by the visual image. NOW members in New York protested commercials for Softique which crooned to a woman in the bathtub, "Moment by moment you become a woman again," while men on television never become men by soaking in a tub. In another scene a man pecks his wife on the cheek and then leaves to ogle the pretty girls at the bus stop. A voice solemnly intones: "If you want him home by 5:00, use Frenchette Low Calorie Dressing." Emphasis on shampoos, toothpaste, mouthwash, and deodorants suggest that sex among sophisticated people is very antiseptic. The woman spends the rest of her antiseptic life making her house and the family's clothing germ-free and sweet smelling with the right floor wax, detergents, and toilet bowl cleaners. But she always has energy from Wheaties and Geritol, and keeps smiling with Compose on "difficult days." In her negligee she smiles seraphically at the sick child which just routed her from her bed. On television, sick children always go back to sleep smiling in two and one-half minutes and no woman on television has ever had to care for a child who vomits.

Some magazine advertisements more audaciously insult women than television commercials. Helene Curtis pictures a seductively dressed woman over the caption: "This blonde doesn't come cheap." An advertisement for Coty perfume asks, "Want him to be more of a man? Try being more of a woman. When was the last time he woke you just to hear your voice?" The woman in this ad is snuggled in a fur pillow and bedspread, talking on the telephone; one is unsure how the Coty perfume communicates itself over the telephone. Another advertisement inquires: "Would your husband like a younger looking wife? How satisfying to know you can give such a gift of love to your husband." For this, one buys bath oil. Still other advertisements imply that husbands are a nuisance: "Today your husband left on a business trip. You've finally got a chance to start reading that new novel. It's a good day for Stauffer's Frozen Dinner."

More sinister to me is the consistent comparing of women to machines in advertising that addresses men, as does most advertising for automobiles.

In "The Dynamo and the Virgin" and Mont St. Michels and Chartres, Henry Adams at the turn of the century identified the image of woman with the spirit of unity of the middle ages and the cathedrals, and he saw the mechanistic forces of the modern age with their centripetal and alienating effects in terms of a male image. Conversely, modern advertising equates the woman with the dynamo, but not as a figure of independent power. She is a force to be controlled and driven by a strong man. Ford-Lincoln-Mercury advertises Capri as "the first sexy European under $2,300." MG advertisements talk about "her" as the "smoothest pleasure machine." Driving an MG is a "love affair." "You drive it--it doesn't drive you." The last line reads, "Is it a date?"

Naming as a Stereotyping Device. Naming is a language device which immediately stereotypes an object. Primitive societies fear the power of a name. For instance, some will not speak aloud the names of gods; some will not reveal the names of their children lest they be made vulnerable; derogatory names are spit out or shouted out even by children. In naming, one faces a reality and defines it; he thus limits it to what he wants to see in it. People can become what they are called, as most stutterers can attest. We attach tags and labels often without thinking about individual differences. Classification is necessary in our thinking, but we must recognize how superficial an intellectual exercise it is. The children's jingle, "Sticks and stones will break your bones/but names will never hurt you" is not true.

Frequently the naming of women suggests a contrast between them and something considered standard or more acceptable. A "coed" logically would denote any student at a coeducational institution. The fact that it denotes only women students is a carry-over from the time when the standard educational institution was an all-male school and women were those who were "different." Note the stereotypes implied when modifiers are added to certain nouns: woman doctor, woman driver, woman writer, woman mayor, but male nurse, male secretary, and male prostitute. If the "standard" woman in a community is married, to name a woman a spinster, divorcee, or widow makes her different.

What stereotypes underlie the following designations for women: femme, dame, bitch, broad, chattel, biddy, little woman, frail, filly, skirt, chick, vixen, tomato, rag of bone-hank of hair, bimbo, moll, squaw, babe, baby doll, bag, doll, wench, weaker sex, lesser vessel, frail vessel, nymphomaniac, cold dish, groovy chick, real bring-down, neurotic, frigid wife, cold potato, old maid, spinster, maiden lady, gay divorcee, grass widow, cat, kitten, pussy, bird, duck, old hen, cluck, gal, little old lady, sister, Women's Libber, bra-burner, red hot mama, and bluestocking?

Women themselves further such rigid stereotyping by designating various classifications: the den mother, the PTA room mother, the ADC mother, the Gold Star mother, or the faculty wife, the working wife, and the housewife. Prostitutes emphatically express differences in classifications and names: the "party girl" must be courted and decide how many of her services she will sell to a client; the "call girl" refuses to be classified with the "hustler" or "hooker" who are usually employed by a pimp and entertain men in their own apartments rather than going out; the hustlers and hookers refuse to be classified with the "street

girl" or the "house girl." A hustler in one survey complained that a policeman had treated her "like a street girl or a whore."[3]

Names applied to women are important matters in economic discrimination. "Nurses aides" may be paid less than "orderlies" or "maids" may be paid less than "janitors" with little more than a difference in name involved.

A striking example of name-calling and its extension to stereotyping in recent best-selling nonfiction occurs in Norman Mailer's The Prisoner of Sex. He extravagantly names and stereotypes the feminists he has heard are attacking his work. In his introduction he has established two "standard" types for women: the woman in rural Maine who was glad to get work and spent her days cleaning his cabin and doing the laundry for his five children; and his favorite girl-friend who was invited to spend the summer. He also has established an unfavorable stereotype for women: the four women who divorced him. Opposed to the hardworking housekeeper and his uncritical mistress is a third group, the feminists who now approach him. He calls them "enraged Amazons" and "an honor guard of revolutionary vaginas." Referring to himself as "he," Mailer dramatizes his fear of the angry feminists in these stereotypes:

> *He had a vision of thin college ladies with eyeglasses, no-nonsense features, mouths thin as bologna slicers, a babe in one arm, a hatchet in the other, gray eyes bright with bale-fire.*

Later, upon attending a political rally where Bella Abzug speaks, Mailer stereotypes her as the mannish and militant woman of politics. He pretends to be struck with admiration because she talks like a tough man:

> *Bella! the future Congresswoman with bosoms which spoke of buttermilk, carnal abundance, and the fire-power of hard-prowed gunboats....She had a voice which could have boiled the fat off a taxicab driver's neck. It was as full of vibrations of power as those machines which rout out the grooves in wood.*

As the "Prisoner," Mailer professes to be inspired by Bella's "bullying wall-slamming style of address" but complacently he looks forward to "the melting of a battle-ax" with his charm.

Most conspicuously conservative are the myths, legends, songs, aphorisms, and proverbs which serve as storage places for old beliefs, names, and idioms. Hence, old hates and prejudices survive in a multitude of jingles and sayings which seem innocuous on the surface to one who is white and male. "There's a nigger in the woodpile;" "that's mighty white of you" and "Eenie, meenie, minie, mo, Catch a nigger by the toe" are paralleled by "Sugar and spice and everything nice," "dumb blond," "beautiful but dumb," "hysterical woman," "little woman," "she took it like a man," "man in the street," "land where our fathers died," "our fathers brought forth on this continent," "the hand that rocks the cradle," "women and children first," "woman's work is never done," "a man's home is his castle," "castrating female," "the bitch goddess, Success." People still laugh at jokes about women drivers and mothers-in-law and at "Did you stop beating your wife yet?" and "Who was that woman I saw you with last night?"

The agents of the church still pronounce couples "man and wife" and modern English has absorbed male-dominant phrases from the Bible like:

Quit you like men; be strong.
How can he be clean that is born of a woman?
Wives submit yourselves to your husband for the husband is the head of the wife.
Let the woman learn in silence with all subjection.
Her children shall rise up and call her blessed.
One hundred forty four thousand men not defiled by women.
Whoso findeth a wife findeth a good thing.
Frail vessels
Possessing one's vessel
Helpmeet

Retaining Sexism Through the Absence of a Neuter Generic Noun. Dr. Alexis Carrel contends that men and women are different species because every cell in the body indicates the basic difference. But when he wrote a book about human beings, he had to call it Man the Unknown. The absence of a neuter generic noun illustrates how basic sexism was in the development of our language that women could be ignored while the human race could be given the same identification as the male half of the human race. Unlike some other languages, like Japanese, the English language requires one to speak generically of human beings as male. If, therefore, the use of the generic man, is reasonable, is its overuse defensible? Casey Miller and Kate Swift report that a research team wrote on "the development of the uterus in rats, guinea pigs, and men."[4] Britannica Junior includes under Man an article which begins "Man is the highest form of life on earth" and nowhere mentions that mankind includes two sexes. I have recently received the following examination copies of textbooks:

Voices of Man: Let Us Be Men	Representative Man
Voices of Man: A Man of His Own	The Responsible Man
Perspectives on Man	Man in Crisis
Man to Himself	The Critical Man
Man Expressed	Man: Paradox and Promise

My daughter is using a high school textbook called Man and the Nations. A student writing her doctoral dissertation on the rhetoric of the British suffrage movement early in this century is using as her chief model a book on political movements called Why Men Rebel.

Sally Hacker and Joseph Schneider conclude in their study of college students using basic sociology texts that chapter titles using man in the title do indeed suggest male images more often than those which use human or people or a similar designation.[5] I would suspect that this conclusion would be more striking should their study be done with elementary school children whose ability to generalize from linguistic suggestion is less sophisticated.

Stabilizing Traditional Concepts through Dictionaries. Lexicographers generally expect a dictionary to record actual usage rather than to legislate so-called correct usage. Dictionaries, like textbooks, stabilize traditional social conceptions and the phrases used to express them. They not only reflect usage, they teach usage. To review dictionaries beginning with Samuel Johnson's in the eighteenth century is to obtain an

overwhelming documentation of discriminatory attitudes and male chauvinism, primarily in the illustrations cited after the definitions.

The Oxford English Dictionary, 1961, lists under "womanly" qualities attributed to the female sex such as "mutability, capriciousness, prone to tears." It alludes to inferiority and subjection, as "to make a woman of," meaning to bring to submission. The Random House College Dictionary lists under woman: the female human being; an adult female person, feminine nature, as "There's not much of the woman about her;" a sweetheart, paramour, mistress; a female person who cleans house, cooks, etc.; housekeeper, as "The woman will be in to clean today;" women collectively, as "Woman is fickle." Under female this dictionary indicates that female was formerly used interchangeably with woman but now sometimes has a contemptuous implication, as "a strong-minded female." Lady implies family or social position but is now used conventionally for any woman, "especially as a courteous term for one engaged in menial tasks, as 'a scrub lady.'" The illustration cited under womanlike is, "Womanlike he/she burst into tears." Feminine is illustrated by "feminine beauty" and "feminine dress" and "like a woman, weak and gentle." The use of feminine as the unaccented syllable in poetry is also mentioned. In the three leading dictionaries, female is designated first as "a human being of the sex that conceives and bears young," second as "any animal that bears young or lays eggs," and third as "a plant that requires fertilization to reproduce." One dictionary adds "the part of a machine into which a corresponding male part fits" and also adds the final definition "womanish or weakly."

Webster's Seventh Edition points out the derivation of feminine: "to suck." Funk and Wagnall's current edition defines a housewife as "one who does not work for a living." Several dictionaries use literary quotations as illustrations, as Shakespeare's "woman is fickle" and "frailty thy name is Woman," Byron's "I hate a dumpy woman," and Hawthorne's "Woman with her tools of magic, the broom and mop."

Effecting Changes in Language to Overcome Sexism

Both the Modern Language Association and the National Council of Teachers of English, largely through women members, have exerted gentle pressure, provided guidelines, and offered consultation service to publishers who wish to overcome sexism in their publications. As an example of a publisher who responded to such concern, let me report on some activities undertaken by Houghton Mifflin, publishers of the American Heritage Dictionary.

In the last few years this company has made computer analyses of five million word samples of materials ranging from fiction to scientific journals to determine the linguistic sexism encountered by the average reader. In analyzing school textbooks for grades three to six, the researchers discovered that "boy" and "man" appeared twice as often as "girl" and "woman," that "he" appeared three times as often as "she," and that, of nouns designating females, only two ("wife" and "mother") appeared as often as their male counterparts. Following this million dollar study, Barbara Trombley, chief consultant, concluded that the study proved conclusively that a sexist slant in textbooks creates a cultural factor which dictates adult male and female roles.

In response to such findings, the editors of the 1972 revision of the American Heritage School Dictionary intentionally used in all definitions the words "person" or "human being" wherever possible. Beyond this, in both pictorial and verbal illustrations, they altered traditional stereotypes by showing women as scientists and business executives and girls as athletic champions. To illustrate the verb "well," this sentence appears: "Tears welled up in his eyes." Other significant revisions include some like these:

She has many pressures on her time.
She invested $18,000 in bonds.
Her opening foray into politics.
The press of business weighs heavily on her time.
He teaches kindergarten.
His resolve began to waver.

The dictionary does not go so far that it distorts an accurate reflection of culture. Girls still play with dolls and go shopping with their mothers and women still embroider and type. Frances Rhome reports that, in the "A" entries, males are used four times as often as females in illustrations.[6] She quotes these illustrations to indicate that further feminist pressure might be appropriate in other revisions:

Don't worry on her account.
He was very strong and was chosen as a guard on that account.
The girl advertised her marital status by wearing a ring.
Her parents would never agree to a marriage.
She worked for an age on the dress.
The girls decided to go shopping after all.
She was a nice person, all the same.
She all but fainted.
He gave all.
All in all, he's a good athlete.
All five boys are good students.
She admonished us to be careful.

Since The American Heritage Dictionary is the first computer-compiled dictionary, it can be readily revised and is in its tenth edition since 1969. For this reason, the editors could respond quickly to criticism from women. The 1973 edition, which is appearing this spring, defines the sex-related connotation of chauvinism. Previously all dictionaries only defined the word as meaning intense patriotism or nationalism. These words, which have been included in no English or American dictionary, appear in this new edition: Ms., spokeswoman, sexist, sexism, and machismo.

The huge expenditure entailed in the Houghton Mifflin projects came undoubtedly as a response to the interest of women in reducing prejudice in language. Organized groups of women have exerted pressure on school boards and textbook publishers with positive, though lesser, effect. A New York group brought suit last year against a television station for sexist broadcasting in commercials, local newscasts, and network programming. These represent some of the answers women can make to the

sexism bombarding them and their families daily in the language that surrounds them.

Women must in a variety of ways learn to use language as an instrument of counterattack, to use language as a means of understanding and rationally defining themselves, and to use language to promote better communication between men and women. LeRoi Jones remarked, "Any artist must say where it is in the world that he actually is. And by doing this, he will also say who he is."[7] When one studies the rhetoric of the current women's movement, it seems to me the most basic element becomes the oral exchange in the small consciousness-raising group. Here a woman may express herself, may share and compare her experience intimately with other women, may question, and gradually become able to say where it is in the world she actually is and, by doing this, say who she is.

We hear the women's movement superficially referred to as an offshoot of the protest movements of the 1960s and assumed to be parallel in its intent, scope, and life expectancy to the civil rights movement, the campus protests, and anti-war campaigns, and the free speech agitation. A major difference in the rhetoric of current feminism and the rhetoric of these other movements lies in the fact that the rhetoric of the other movements was directed outward and primarily aimed at persuasion of people and institutions in power. Strong leaders and orators appeared in all of the other movements. But much of the language of the current feminist movement is privately, rather than publicly, spoken. It is directed toward a few other women and is conversational in diction and tone. Rather than being persuasive or declarative in intent, it tends to be meditative and questioning. No leader takes over. No one remains silent. It encourages expression of intense feeling. It challenges. It re-opens old wounds, but also it supports and heals. A woman vigorously expresses anger about her own experience, and this anger becomes intensified as she learns that her experience is not isolated but typical. Shulamith Firestone declares what many of us can attest to: "There is a rage which compels women to a total commitment to Women's Liberation."[8] Robin Morgan similarly challenges: "To deny that you are oppressed is to collaborate in your oppression."[9]

One might wonder whether this focusing upon rage is not a violation of humanistic ideals: turning the other cheek, living in love and peace, and forgiving without limit. Does the use of language in consciousness-raising carry within itself certain dehumanizing elements of prejudice? Does it only compound the hatred that individual women have successfully learned to control and overcome? D. H. Lawrence addressed this issue by asserting that blind love cannot be the answer to hate. Healing love and strong action can only appear after one fully acknowledges the intensity of his hatred of a hostile society and defines the reasons for that hatred. We must look openly at the running sores before our hatred can cleanly excise them:

> *Humanity can only finally conquer by realizing. It is human destiny, since Man fell into consciousness and self-consciousness, that we can only go forward step by step through realization, full, bitter, conscious realization....Knowledge, true knowledge, is like vaccination. It prevents the continuing*

> *of ghastly moral disease....The smallpox sores are running yet in the spirit of mankind....Cleanse /them/ not with blind love....But with bitter and wincing realization.*[10]

To put it another way, one comic strip character says, "I hate Ira. I hate him because he's a lying cheating, worthless, low, sneaking little wretch." The other says, "Gee, I envy you...it must be swell to know precisely why you hate someone."

The digressive use of language in consciousness-raising must eventually lead to the careful verbal formulation of an individual's position and the outlining of a possible course of action to change specific situations. To know the rage that impels one toward the women's movement but not to go beyond the free expression of this rage would be self-destructive. We can rationally set aside the anger over and over again in order to make use of whatever increased sympathy and understanding we derive from knowledge of the cost in suffering which women experience and the waste of human potential we constantly see around us. If we are to learn to be indignant without fearful withdrawal or without destroying ourselves, we need to use language to control and to change our society. Because such exact use of language is a rational and humanizing task, it demands all of our intellectual energy. Mark Twain bitterly raged against the dehumanizing forces of late 19th century America. He is remembered as the American who could curse more creatively and vehemently than any other person of his time. But he also worked for an exact use of the language and said that the difference between the right word and the almost right word was like the difference between "lightning" and the "lightning bug." Twain, as an individual who knew the importance of rage and of expressing it freely, told us humorously in Puddinhead Wilson's New Calendar something about the importance of not letting that rage take over our lives but finding wisdom through it:

> *We should be careful to get out of an experience only the wisdom that is in it--and stop there; lest we be like the cat that sits down on a hot stove-lid. She will never sit down on a hot stove-lid again--and that is well; but also she will never sit down on a cold one anymore.*

FOOTNOTES

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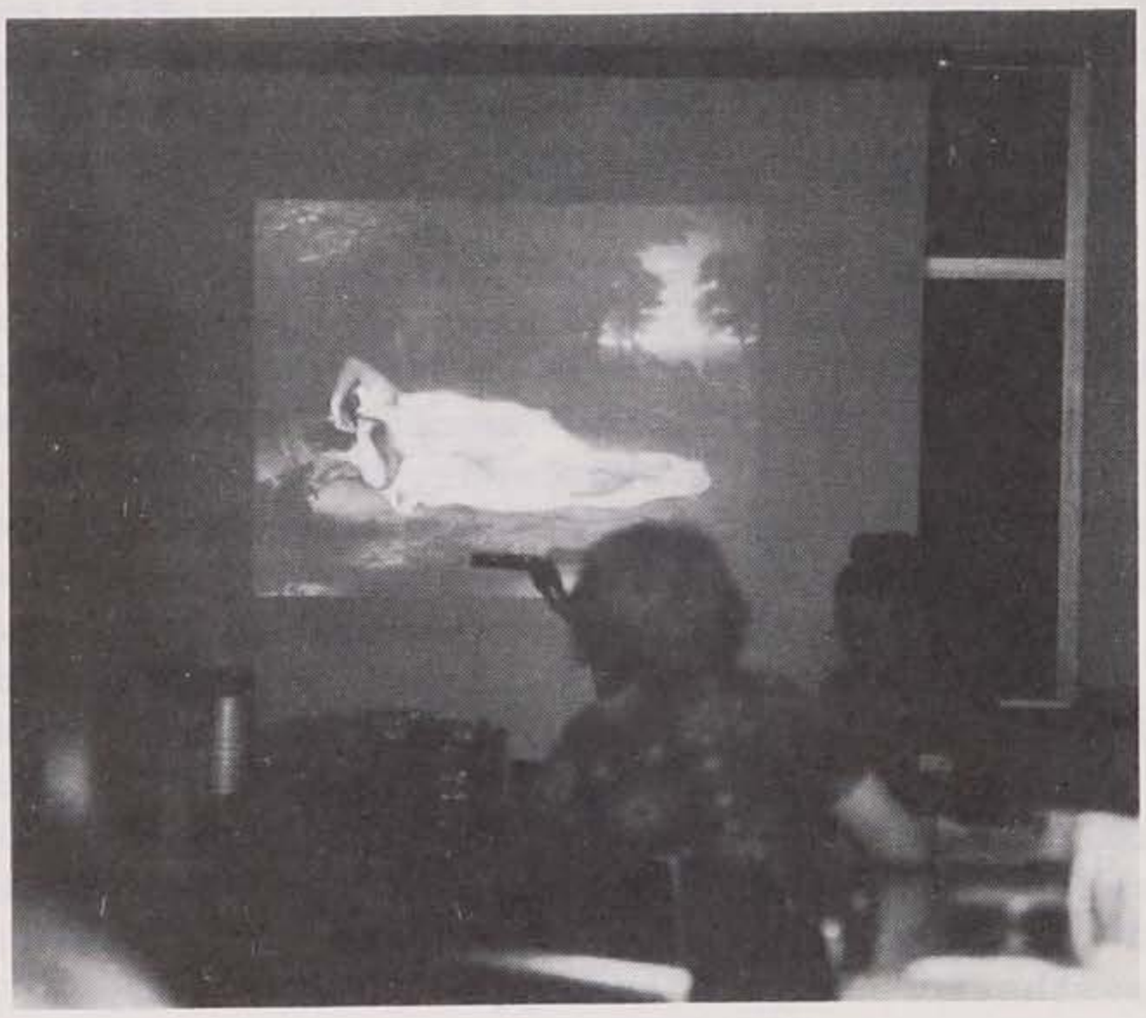
AMERICAN CHARACTER VS. THE IDEAL WOMAN

Virginia M. Kouidis



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"What then is the American, this new man?" asked J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur in his Letters From An American Farmer (1782), and the question put by this transplanted Frenchman has been phrased repeatedly by observers of the American experience. Many have been inspired to their inquiries by a sense that there is a uniqueness in this "melting pot" of many national identities and by the American's own belief that he has been singled out for a special destiny. The frontier with its vast spaces and abundant rich land is usually credited as the determining factor for this new identity. Upon

the frontier, tradition often was only a hindrance, rigid class distinctions were difficult to maintain and religious tolerance became a practical necessity. Economic opportunity seemed to exist for any man willing to work and this equality of opportunity gave new scope to the principles of democracy whose first gasps of life had already been felt in Europe. The distinctive national characteristics which have been seen as the products of frontier life are numerous, but some which I am sure we have all heard are independence, self-reliance, co-operation, equality, aggressiveness, initiative, courage, anti-intellectualism, materialism, and idealism. One of the major statements of the characteristics fostered by the frontier is Frederick Jackson Turner's The Frontier in American History (1893). Turner deduced that the free lands of the frontier "promoted individualism, economic equality, freedom to rise, democracy."[1]

I do not propose to add any new assessments, regarding either cause or effect, to the already numerous speculations on the subject of the "American character." Instead, I would like to ask, referring to Crèvecoeur's question, to what extent is the character of the "American, this new man," applicable to both sexes? Do women share the supposedly unique American character or, as in the other aspects of American life that we have examined in these three sessions, is the generic phrase "American man" pertinent only to the male half of the population? Does the human, in this case national, norm include the American woman? In my attempt to suggest an answer to these questions I will consider, in their broad outlines, the pioneer and contemporary business phases of our civilization. I have selected several items from American advertising, literature, and painting to illustrate my remarks. Although our post-modernist sensibility has been trained to regard painting, even more so perhaps than literature, as appropriate for aesthetic analysis and appreciation only, it too seems to both reflect and shape our self-image.

Crèvecoeur followed the lead of Thomas Jefferson in seeing the average American, the settled farmer, as the natural man distinguished by independence and idealism.[2] For Crèvecoeur the farmer had a counterpart in the barbarian who lived at the edge of the frontier.[3] Crèvecoeur's dichotomy provides a beginning point for understanding the American woman's place in this vast Western movement which began with the first settlements in the early seventeenth century and continued until the close of the frontier in 1890. For the edge of the frontier was not the province of woman. Life there was beyond her physical endurance; and while she was protected from frontier barbarism, she was also denied the aggressiveness, self-reliance, and autonomous individualism that became the almost mythic products of the adventure, hardship, cruelty, and isolation of the foremost frontier. She was denied the joyous testing of one's whole self against the unmitigated elements, a testing that today, even for men, can be experienced mostly in the contrived life-and-death challenge of some sports. If we examine the frontier paintings of George Caleb Bingham, a genre painter of the mid-nineteenth century, we find that in many of them, women are noticeably absent. For example: the boisterous hardihood of "Raftsmen Playing Cards" (1851) did not shape woman's personality; and I doubt that the wonder and expectation expressed by the dreamy countenance of the boy in "Fur Traders Descending the Missouri" (c.1845) was one of her formative experiences; she is not even present as an onlooker in "The County Election" (1851-52), a depiction of the frontier political process. For women the spiritual, psychological, and material rewards that came to the men

involved in the test of themselves against the wild plenitude of the American continent could only be secondhand.

Women did, however, have a vital role in the more settled areas of the pioneer advance. We can see this in Bingham's painting of "Daniel Boone Escorting Pioneers," (c. 1851). They were restricted to the home but within its limits they were vital to the operation and maintenance of the isolated and independent pioneer farm; and as Professor Constantino stated at the second symposium, they retained this essential role as long as the small farm was the core of American life. Anthropologist Florence Kluckhohn suggests that one of the major contributions of frontier family life was to strengthen woman's authority in the home;[4] and perhaps we might add, to make it more difficult for woman to flee this stronghold when it had lost its significance to the economic structure of the family and nation.

Our literature abounds with portraits of the pioneer woman. On the one hand, there is the glorification of her in Willa Cather's My Ántonia (1918). Ántonia Shimerda arrives with her Bohemian family on the Nebraska plains sometime in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. After a childhood and adolescence of hardship and misfortune, Ántonia becomes an earth-mother figure who with her hard-working husband causes the land to yield its golden harvests and herself produces a large family of happy children. Here the myth of America flourishes: independence, courage, self-reliance, and strong inner convictions of right and wrong emanate from the central figure of Ántonia. And foremost, Ántonia is the embodiment of love and nurture, the feminine ideal. But we must balance Ántonia with Beret Hansa of Ole Rølvaag's Giants in the Earth (1927) who goes mad amidst the isolation, poverty, harsh weather, and disappointment of the Minnesota pioneer farm.

Alexis de Tocqueville, one of the most famous commentators on the American character, approvingly noted what might be called the "separate but equal" condition of American women. The description emerging from his two-volume Democracy in America (1835) is of a democratic and equalitarian society. However, these qualities did not produce the individualism and idealism that Jefferson had expected but, rather, conformity and materialism.[5] Women shared the distinctive equality of America not by pursuing the occupations of men but by being allowed to fulfill their domestic duties "in the best possible manner." Americans did not, like some Europeans, falsely assume that equality meant performing the same functions. Women employed their courage in a different sphere, but it was no less valued. Men had not altered the social inferiority of women but they had "done all they could to raise [them] morally and intellectually to the level of man." Although their situation was one of "extreme dependence," they were responsible for the "singular prosperity and growing strength" of the American people. Tocqueville's comment on woman's own view of her situation offers more insight into that situation than he may have intended:

> *I never observed that the women of America consider conjugal authority as a fortunate usurpation of their rights, or that they thought themselves degraded by submitting to it. It appeared to me, on the contrary, that they attach a sort of pride to the voluntary surrender of their own will and make it their boast to*

> *bend themselves to the yoke, not to shake it off. Such, at least, is the feeling expressed by the most virtuous of their sex; the others are silent; and in the United States it is not the practice for a guilty wife to clamor for the rights of women while she is trampling on her own holiest duties.*[6]

Thus, for the American man, freedom from tyranny and a self-determination in accord with the lives of the majority; for the American woman, submission and dependence.

Erik Erikson contributes a significant point regarding American traits and their distribution between the sexes. He reminds us that for any character trait we associate with the American, the opposite trait can be found and defended. But what is constant, for males at least, is a sense of autonomous choice,[7] a belief that if a man doesn't like what he is doing today, he is free to do or be the opposite tomorrow. But does woman, confined within the home, share this basic sense of self-determination? Kluckhohn's example of a man's relation to his job serves us well.[8] A man may be dedicated to his job but his first loyalty is to his own advancement, and if a better job presents itself, he will usually consider his self-interest and move on, much as the pioneer was ready to continue West as he saw richer lands and gold fields opening. However, we all know what the reaction would be to a woman who viewed and acted upon her traditional role of wife and mother in such a manner. Theoretically, the American man has unlimited opportunities for becoming, but woman must find fulfillment within restricted alternatives.

Two sets of paintings will help to emphasize this role distinction. In the first by Winslow Homer we have the contrast of a man at his occupation, "Eight Bells" (1886) and the dutiful wife awaiting his return in "Dad's Homecoming" (c.1875). The latter painting is imbued with all the sentimentality with which Americans have clouded the separation of roles. The second set of paintings is by Thomas Eakins. The Victorian feminine refinement of a "Portrait of a Lady With a Setter Dog" (c. 1885), and American painting contains many such depictions of woman within her "proper" domestic and social sphere, contrasts with the masculine professional world of "The Gross Clinic" (1875).

"The Gross Clinic" moves us into the twentieth century world of the professions and business where the frontier potential for action still seems to remain. Historian David M. Potter, who realized that the Western movement did not mean the same thing for men and women, less perceptively, it seems to me, credited the city with opening up careers for women as secretaries, clerks, and machine operators which gave them the opportunity and independence they had lacked on the frontier. He does recognize the economic basis of equality but is naive in attributing so much to these professions.[9] They were an advance for women, but if opportunity ceases with sedentary tasks that men consider themselves superior to, then women are still a long way from participating equally in our society.

We might also look at several of Potter's other generalizations about the American woman's divergence from the American masculine norm. Citing The Organization Man by William H. Whyte, Jr., Potter comments that the supervised work of office and factory has led to "the disappearance of

old forms of autonomous, self-directed activity." But woman escapes this limitation upon personal freedom because within the home she is still a decision maker and able to exercise choice.[10] But, considering the cultural attitude which would keep woman in the home in the first place, this exception to a negative trend in American society is minor. Potter also sees woman in the home as a generalist in an age of narrow specialists.[11] Furthermore, now that she is no longer valuable as a processor of goods, she retains an important economic function by becoming a consumer.[12] He does admit that woman has felt the manipulation inherent in consumerism and the inferiority that attaches to the non-paying profession of housewife. She does not care to be judged inferior or superior to men on the basis of her limited functions within the home.

Potter recognizes that in terms of David Riesman's distinction between the inner-directed man of a 100 years ago and the outer-directed man of the mid-1950s, men are simply tending toward the character that women have always been forced into. The inner-directed man was concerned with tasks and goals and not with what people thought of him; he used people to achieve his ends but unlike the outer-directed individual he did not gauge his activity upon the approval of others. The other-directed man, like women, seeks to please others and find approval in their eyes; his efforts toward change come through manipulation rather than direct action.[13]

What then are the character traits of the typical twentieth century American businessman? Is he Riesman's other-directed man or a continuation of the frontier spirit? Again, if each of us were to draw up a list of the qualities we attribute to the American businessman, there would be considerable diversity. So let's ask, instead, if any of the attributes commonly defined as feminine by our society would appear on your list of qualities suited to the business or professional personality. I begin with a series of feminine traits prepared by a woman writer attempting to assess woman's place in the professional world: "Personal warmth and empathy, sensitivity and emotionalism, grace, charm, compliance, dependence, and deference."[14] We could also add propriety, obedience, decorum, silence, physical and mental passivity, nurturance, and supportiveness.

I was amused by the tone of an article written by a successful career woman who advised aspiring female entrants into the business world to believe themselves equal and not be defeated by their own self-image.[15] But escaping from this self-image is difficult for women who have been bombarded from childhood by traditional feminine role expectations. We are still nostalgic for an Ántonia, an earth-mother; and we are beguiled by the soft, sensual female principle which counters the aggressive, logic-oriented masculine personality. We see this in the painting of "Ariadne" (1814) by John Vanderlyn which suggests the erotic, sensual goddess figure that has been used to tempt woman into loving her dependence. The distortion of this erotic image by current advertising is well-known: innumerable commercials and slogans lure woman into being goddess and consumer.

What then happens to the girl or woman who is caught between the ideals of her culture and her femininity? Returning to Tocqueville's comment that no respectable wife would consider clamoring for "the rights of women while she is trampling on her own holiest duties," we can well understand that deviations from the mother-wife role were considered madness and were sufficient cause for ostracizing a woman or even committing her to a mental institution.[16] This is less likely to be the case today

although many frustrated and guilty women have found their way voluntarily to a psychiatrist. Because femininity places woman outside her culture's ethos, she may feel herself limited and come to distrust her own actions; she becomes isolated within society. She may see her differentness as evil and others may also see it this way.[17] Exemplifying the abuse woman has received because of her culturally enforced separation from the main current of activity is her traditional role as a preserver of Culture. She alone has usually had time for the arts in a society oriented toward action. But she and the Culture she defends have been mocked for their non-utility, and men who have preferred intellectual and artistic interests have been negatively classified as "feminine."

Elizabeth Janeway summarizes the results of feeling oneself to be an outsider:

> *Women's inability to identify themselves with the highest ideals of their society and to imagine themselves as active participants in the operations of their society becomes a self-sustaining force. If they are unworthy because they are unable to act, the less they are able to act, the more they become unworthy, and so on. Isolation from active life breeds timidity, timidity increase isolation and a protective unwillingness to take any interest in goals that can't be attained.*[18]

Willem de Kooning's "Woman I" (1950-52) may be an exceptionally bleak portrait of modern woman and we would hope that the struggle for survival will not always yield such disfigurement. It may be that the distortion is the result of both external and internal pressures upon woman, not the least of which may be the contradiction between what it means to be human, American, and what it means to be feminine. From a traditionalist point of view, "Woman I" may be an evocation of what the dominant assertive woman, the woman who has dared to defy the "Ariadne" and Antonia images, has become. From either perspective, it may also suggest that American masculine values and character traits are not desirable for either sex. Certainly one argument for the distinctively feminine personality has been that our culture is too aggressive and needs the counter of the positive feminine traits. But the point I have wanted to make is that assumptions about the normative American character, whether good or bad, have often been limited to one half of the population, and that women, finding themselves excluded from the dominant trend of their culture, in fact from the whole trend of Western civilization, are faced with frustration and a sense of incompleteness. We must hope that such frustration will not produce the ugly distortions of de Kooning's painting but that women will be able to use it constructively for their own health and the health of American life.

FOOTNOTES

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The Dorsey Press, 1964), p. 100; and David M. Potter, "American Women and the American Character," in History and American Society: Essays of David M. Potter, ed. Don E. Fehrenbacher (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1973), pp. 281-283.

2. David M. Potter, "Individuality and Conformity," in The Character of Americans, ed. McGiffert, p. 234.

3. McGiffert, ed., The Character of Americans, p. 32.

4. Florence Kluckhohn, "American Women and American Values," in Facing the Future's Risks: Studies Toward Predicting the Unforeseen, ed. Lyman Bryson (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953), pp. 189-190.

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6. Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America, Volume II, Vintage Books (New York: Random House, 1945), pp. 222-225.

7. Erik H. Erikson, Childhood and Society (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1950), p. 245.

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13. Ibid., pp. 289-291.

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15. Roslyn S. Willett, "Working in 'A Man's World': The Woman Executive," in Woman in Sexist Society: Studies in Power and Powerlessness, ed. Vivian Gornick & Barbara K. Moran, A Signet Book (New York: The New American Library, 1971), p. 514.

16. Phyllis Chesler, Women & Madness (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1972), Chapter One, "Why Madness?"

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IMAGES OF WOMEN AND MEN IN AMERICAN POPULAR MAGAZINES

Mariam Darce Frenier

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Magazines, like all art forms, reflect the culture from which they come, and they also feed back into that culture. Unlike great fiction or even adult popular novels, magazines are frequently written specifically for only one of the two sexes. I have chosen to talk about six magazines: three women's and three men's. How do they picture American women for women? For men? And of course how do they picture American men? I do not say that these six are representative because their circulation is large, but I do say that they reflect certain American concepts concerning the sexes and the relationships between them.

The first magazine I chose to discuss was Playboy--a natural because it is a prime target of feminists. Playboy was born in 1953 and is extremely popular with college males. When asked why they read Playboy most men answer that the articles and interviews are excellent and that the

"Playboy Forum"--which expounds the "Playboy Philosophy"--is innovative and sexually liberating. Parenthetically, a student of mine once noticed that when she worked in a hospital the male doctors and interns discussed the Playboy articles and interviews while on the "floor" but that their lounge was papered with Playboy fold-outs.

Cosmopolitan, "Cosmo" to the in-crowd, is often considered a Playboy for women. Like Playboy it is aimed at the middle-class unmarried; however, far more Playboys than Cosmos are sold annually: five million plus Playboys to 961,000 Cosmos. In contrast to these "newer" magazines, I will discuss two older types. One genre is the confession magazine represented for us today by True Confessions. True Confessions, I'm sure you all know, is a women's magazine. Its readers are female teen-agers and working class housewives. A genre for working poor males is the detective magazine. Today this type will be represented by True Detective.

I have also chosen to discuss Ladies' Home Journal: The Magazine Women Believe In. This magazine is an oldie and is in all probability, over its time period, the most popular American women's magazine. It began publication in 1883 and has an annual circulation of seven million. Journal is addressed to white, married, middle-class women, but is frequently read by women of other classes.

The last magazine I will discuss is both representative and an anomaly; it is a "girlie" magazine, a low grade imitation of Playboy with peculiarities all its own. It is more "girlie" and less adventure oriented than True, Male, Saga, etc. I felt that girlie magazines form an important segment of American popular culture and expected to find in them important insights into images of women. I did not; instead I found important aspects of the images of American men. I do not know who reads Cavalier. I have often vowed to sit in a supermarket for a day to see who buys it; so far I haven't done so.

It is obvious that three of the magazines are women's and three men's. However, I believe they can also be classified in a second way: three of them picture women primarily as "fair ladies" and three as "dark ladies." Women universally tend to be seen either as pure-wife-mother or impure-temptress. Fair and dark ladies are stereotypes representing these two kinds of women and are frequently found in the literature and art of western civilization. Fair ladies were originally blonde, pale, fragile, and virtuous while dark ladies were brunette, dusky, daring, and "loose." Fair and dark ladies in 1973 are no longer so simple as those in James Fenimore Cooper's The Last of the Mohicans. Today fair ladies are often brunette and dark ladies are blonde--preferably dyed blonde. However, the characteristics of the two hold: Virgin Mary-Cleopatra, gentle mother-dangerous vamp.

Three of the magazines in general emphasize women as married, mothers and/or victimized, passive; three as single, childless, aggressive, and dangerous. I hypothesized that the three fair lady magazines appeared before the sexual revolution of the 1960s and the three dark lady magazines after. My hypothesis is correct if it is taken into consideration that Cosmo underwent extensive changes under Helen Gurley Brown who became its editor in 1965. The dark lady may be in the ascendent; as I will note, two of the fair lady magazines are under evident strains, struggling with the dark lady.

First we shall examine some representative covers of the six magazines--beginning with the "fair lady three." The May 1973 issue of True Confessions pictures virginal purity, passivity, and a kitten. Next, Ladies' Home Journal, May 1973, features a most famous fair lady, Grace Kelly. The last fair lady is shown in the bathtub--True Detective. This cover shows the only male pictured on the covers of these six magazines. It is a shot of a nude female cowering in a sudsy bath with a menacing male figure hovering nearby. This cover picture, as is common with this genre, does not reflect any of the stories in the magazine.

As noted above the fair lady struggles with the dark in these magazines. Of the "fair lady three" no longer is the woman of Journal always sexually disinterested. More blatantly, the Trues--True Confession and True Detective--in addition to their always present elements of "soft porno" contain deeper inner contradictions, which I will discuss. True Detective still pictures women as helpless and as victims (often of rape) and still does not write of "ordinary women" doing "ordinary things." But True Confessions has evolved; where once premarital sex was reader-bait and the cause of the protagonists' guilt, now it is extramarital sex. The Trues also, importantly I think, contradict each other in their images of woman and men.

Now we will look at the dark ladies. The April 1973 cover of Playboy prominently displays the trademark bunny and more importantly shows a facial pose frequently seen in porno stills and movies. The tongue is well out of the model's mouth, licking a stamp of the Playboy bunny. This issue, by the way, featured shots from and a description of "Deep Throat."

Next, the "imitation." Cavalier actually began publication earlier than Playboy, in 1951 or 1952. However, it now follows much of the Playboy format--a centerfold, pseudosophisticate articles and recently, pubic hair--on women not men. The cover shows a seated woman nude except for hose, hose not panty-hose.

And the last dark lady is for women--Cosmo. Issues of Cosmo since 1965 have generally been similar to this one. The emphasis is on décolletage. Even more interesting than this cover is a comparison of the fold-out from the April Playboy with the center fold of the May Cosmo. The Playmate of April is consistent with Playboy's avant garde self-image. This is not the first Black playmate. The centerfold of the April Cosmo shows a woman in a bathing suit. Although she isn't nude, she does feature the "Marilyn Monroe wet mouth expression" on her face. Given the cover of Cosmo, the Playboy centerfold just discussed and pictures like the Cosmo centerfold in the bathing suit, I conclude that "sexy" women are sex objects for both American men and American women. Americans are taught from childhood that beautiful people are young female people; in contrast Greeks were taught they were males. I do not mean to imply that America is either a matriarchal or a lesbian society; it is neither. I do mean to imply that the American standard of human beauty is almost exclusively female--young female. This was exemplified for me when I heard that fairest of dark ladies Zsa Zsa Gabor comment on "Old Calcutta." She said something to the effect that it was fine to see naked women up there on the stage because women are so beautiful but it was not fine to see naked men because naked men are "ugly."

Not all women feel as Zsa Zsa does. I do believe, however, that a lot of us have had to learn to find the male body beautiful at a comparatively late age. This "human beauty is woman" concept has several ramifications. Not only do women strive hard to be impossibly beautiful (Playmates are airbrushed; all excess moles, freckles, hair, etc. carefully eliminated.), but many men come to feel both generally unbeautiful and also feel that the only measure of women is their beauty, i.e., the better women are the more beautiful ones.

There is some change in all this. You all know of the famous Burt Reynolds centerfold--in Cosmo of course. Compare this with the cover of a relatively new magazine, a magazine for women, dubbed Playgirl. The cover of the first issue shows an almost nude male torso. He appears to be taking off his blue jeans. My first reaction was disturbance; my collective sons' reaction was, "Oh, mother!" After looking at this for a long time I figured out why it is so very upsetting to me. Of all the magazine covers I have discussed, this is the most "sex-objectifying" (if I may coin an adjective). No head--just body and suggestion. Is this the way men think I want to see men because this is the way they see women? Is this the way men have been looking at me all my life? No head--just body and suggestion?

This magazine, by the way, is very much not a feminist magazine; in fact it is an example of backlash reaction to the feminist movement. And it is edited by men, which makes the cover even more interesting.

I said above that I would speak of the "strain" within some of the six magazines. Playboy and Cosmo have little strain, i.e., the ads reflect the stories, or I should say the stories reflect the ads, and all are consistently dark lady oriented.

In Cosmo the ads, the fiction, the nonfiction stress beauty and man-catching. Even the horoscopes stress sex, money, and interestingly, "new jobs."

Playboy is also "at peace," i.e., the ads, fiction, and nonfiction do not present glaring contradictions. For example, there is a Playboy ad that I find particularly interesting for tennis shoes. It shows a dark lady in bikini, her left foot lifting the pants leg of one man while she holds hands with a second man.

The Journal ads are in general the most like TV commercials for Folger's coffee, and certainly both TV and the Journal play up the wife, mother, and beautiful hostess roles. The fiction and nonfiction also are fair lady oriented. According to the Journal it would seem that all American women over 25 are mothers. They are also wives worrying about the health of their husbands, worrying about the house, and about cooking--which seemingly gets more elaborate with each meal. But recently Journal has begun to also worry about careers, day-care centers, and abortion. And Journal quite some time ago decided that women are sexual beings after all; it has now gone so far as to worry about male impotency as well as female frigidity. In fact, women's magazines have changed more than men's over the past decade. Journal speaks of careers, Cosmo is addressed to the single, "liberated" woman, and True Confessions worries about adultery as well as premarital sex.

Let us now look at other magazines which are not "at peace." While the stories in True Detective are of brave, middle-aged, white heroes, often detectives or policemen, chasing after and catching white, ugly (there are photographs), older, perverted, alleged criminals, the ads are directed at married, undashing, evidently paranoid readers. Many of the ads are money directed: get rich quick with a sure fire gambling device or train yourself to be a locksmith and earn lots of money. There are ads that stress appearance, muscle building, etc., but there are also ads for anti-pickpocket devices, ads concerned with what's in our food and so forth. It seems to me that the contradictory male picture in True Detective is one of a heroic rescuer and/or revenger who worries about money and crime in the streets. The women are all victims--passive, young, virtuous.

If a husband relied on the images in True Detective and his wife on True Confessions, the two of them would be unable to perceive each other at all. Again the True Confession cover typifies the fictional female protagonists. They are sex-starved but passively so, i.e., they worry about their husbands' incompetent love-making but wait quietly for an extra-marital lover to come and save them from sexual dreariness. They are usually married and mothers, and they always feel guilt before, during, and after their sexual transgressions--lots of guilt. Their husbands are good providers and fathers but insensitive clods; their lovers are sensitive, a bit weak, and guiltless. No heroic rescuers, no worries about money and/or crime in the streets.

Now the ads from True Confession. Of course, there is concern about weight. All these magazines worry about this great American problem with the exception of Playboy. The major figure concern in True Confessions is not weight, however, it is the bust line. Mark Eden ads for bust developers are in every issue of True Confession, and of Cosmo, and of Ladies' Home Journal, but they are in increasingly better taste in that order. In True Confessions devices for bust development "pop out" at the reader. And clothes--of course there are dowdy housedresses--but also there are always ads from Frederick's of Hollywood which specializes in cling, décolletage, peek-a-boo, lingerie, and bikinis. Sex appeal, and blatant sex appeal, dominates the ads in this magazine with its passive, sex-starved, guilty, fictional heroines. The ads show brassy, aggressive, and often single dark ladies; the fiction tells of guilty, quiet, married fair ones.

The nonfiction in Cavalier is devoted to travel, food, etc. and as in Playboy, takes up more space than the fiction. But I read Cavalier every six months or so especially for the ads. With every issue, along with "make money" ads similar to those in True Detective, new porno devices are advertised. The May 1973 issue contains an ad for a product named "Extra Innings," a "unique male hygiene spray" that comes in four delicious flavors: cherry, lemon, banana split, peppermint stick.

And all issues of Cavalier end with an ad for an inflatable "Love Doll." A ha! you say, the ultimate of sex objectification--an inflatable balloon shaped like a woman and purchased at only $9.95 plus 95 cents postage without the Super Love Pak or $16.95 plus 95 cents postage with it. Please note, however, the prose of the ad:

I was bored and lonely until I met JUDY and SUSAN. My friends were out of town. I had nothing to do. I was bored and lonely. Then I saw a LOVE DOLL ad in a magazine. I mailed in the coupon, not really expecting much. But when the package arrived--WOW! That's the night I met JUDY. We danced...she followed me all the way. My new LOVE DOLL seemed so life-like I really felt I had a new friend. Then I decided to send for SUSAN, too. Wouldn't two be twice as nice as one? Soon SUSAN arrived and the three of us began to play. I danced with one, then the other, then both together! It was wonderful snuggling up to JUDY, but now it was twice as nice with two LOVE DOLLS to share my nights....both girls seem almost to breathe as they faithfully await your command. At cocktail parties they're conversation pieces...at home either one (or both) is fun, companionship and wild excitement. (You can even swim or shower with the bouyant beauties!)...Ride around town with Judy by your side and impress your friends. You need never be alone with Judy or Susan snuggled up next to you!... Judy or Susan come complete with Love-like adornments: a Peek-a-boo Negligee, darling Bikini, etc. are all included, if you order the SUPER LOVE PAK....There are no strings, no hang-ups, no inhibitions--just unlimited pleasure when you have your LOVE DOLL by your side! Use the coupon to order now!

To me this magazine, more than any other, demonstrates the loneliness and confusion concerning sex and sex roles in American values.

I think it interesting that the two magazines which are internally consistent are specifically addressed to middle class, single Americans. The other four magazines addressed to other groups struggle with different images of women and of men: Journal's woman who teeters between children and career; True Confession, sex appeal vs. guilty adulteress; True Detective, paranoid hero; and Cavalier, pseudosophisticate sexual incompetent.

Underlying all this, it is my belief, is fear--fear of women, especially of mothers and old women. Perfect examples are the "granny" cartoons Playboy publishes monthly. Old women lose the one good quality women possess: beauty; and they retain all the dangerous qualities: they are mothers, sexually capable, they are even more fearsome then young women.

Young women can bear children, they menstruate, they turn men on. Further, women are sexually demanding (if not suppressed), very expensive, and obviously terribly dangerous and different from men. The most awesome thing about "them" is that one of them was one's mother. Thus, the dichotomy: the fair lady who mothers men and the dark lady who turns them on. The fear is found in Playboy, and it is more blatant in Cavalier.

American women in the 1970s are growing up with and living these two images. A hundred years ago--before the sexual revolution--the dark lady

was partially vanquished by the middle class. White middle class women were fair ladies with their dark side well repressed. And then they got the pill, and the dark lady re-emerged. Now there is a third lady emerging; she has not much representation in American popular magazines as yet, some but not much in Ms. She is the woman who sees herself as a human being with a balance of strength and sensitivity, of assertiveness and compassion. And she is fearsome!

Can the feared American woman wear clothes by Frederick's of Hollywood, pose wet-mouthed in expensive bathing suits, after developing her bust using the Mark Eden method, attack men who wear the right kind of tennis shoes while unmarried, and then become a devoted wife and mother who is a marvelous cook, beautifully perfumed, secretly sex-starved by her husband, who now can openly desire a career while advocating day-care centers? No. But a naive non-American anthropologist reading the six magazines used here today would assume that she is expected to do so. And a not so naive anthropologist would assume that something's got to give.

ADDENDUM

Magazine	Began Publication	Annual Circulation 1971-1972
Playboy	1953	5,379,000
Cosmopolitan	1886 (revamped 1965)	961,000
Ladies' Home Journal	1883	7,000,000
True Confessions	1922	500,000
True Detective	1924	250,000
Cavalier	1951 or '52	250,000

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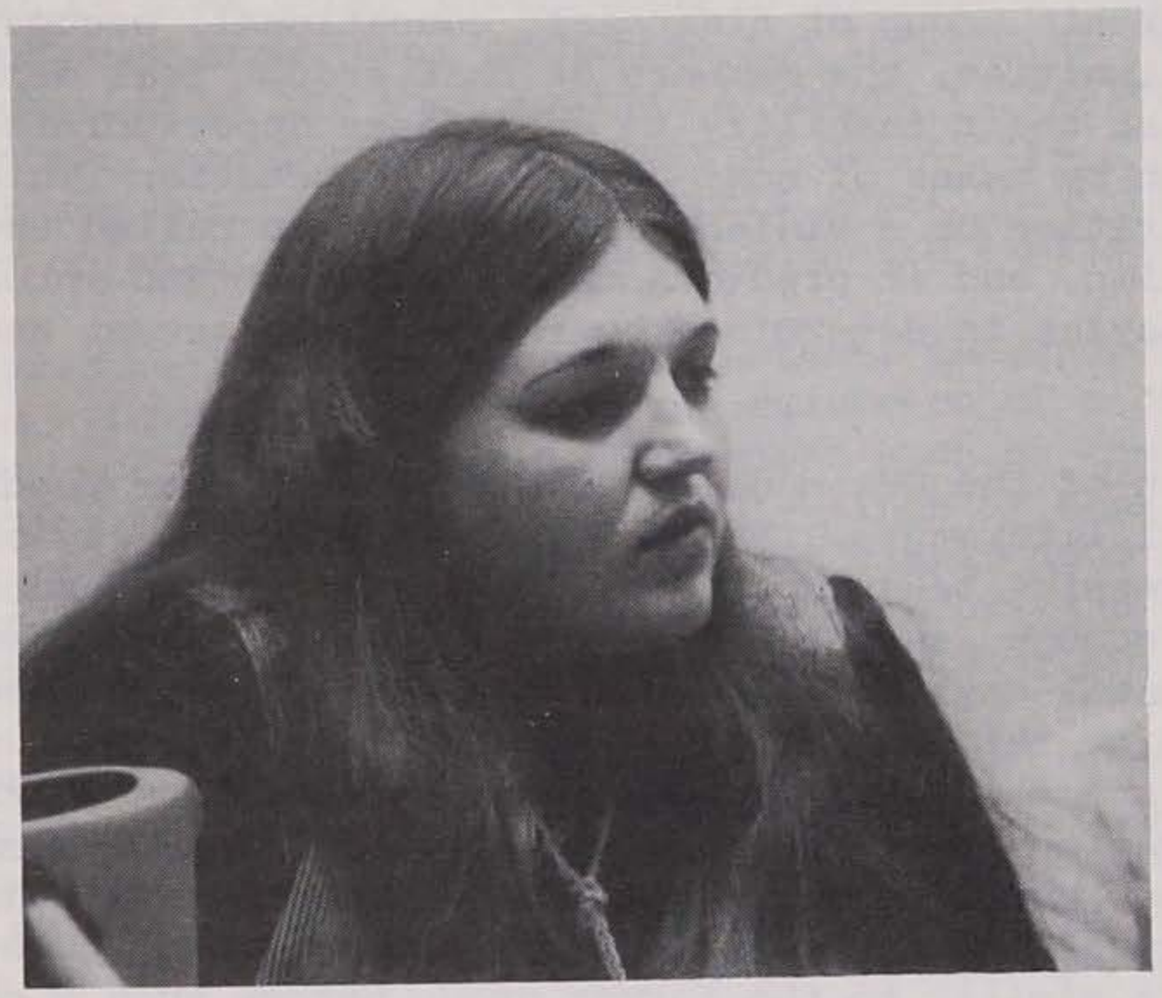
A SOCIOLOGICAL EXAMINATION OF THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

Glenda J. Sehested



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The purpose of this paper is not pragmatic. It does not directly address the question of "how do we succeed?" Rather, the focus of attention is upon understanding the development and current status of the women's movement from the perspective of a sociological theory of social movements. However, on the premise that successful action derives from adequate understanding, some pragmatic implications can be drawn from this analysis. These will be given brief consideration.

Why is there a women's movement? This seems to be an absurd question to ask. It appears to be perfectly obvious that there exists a women's movement because women are oppressed, deprived, discriminated against,

from?" has not been adequately considered. Again, the response seems to be so perfectly obvious. A person simply knows when she/he is deprived. The assumption that there is a direct causal relationship between oppressive or deprivation, producing structural relationships and the corresponding feelings of oppression or deprivation. Then, how is it that individuals in the same oppressive structural relationships--e.g., migrant workers or American Indians, or factory workers, or women--very often do not have the same feelings of deprivation? The usual answer given is that some of them have not yet recognized their oppression. But does this not imply that there must be some other intervening or mediating component to the relationship between structural situation and individual feelings? Again the basic assumption of the sociological attempts to explain the development of collective behavior episodes must be questioned. The work of McPhail (1971) and Ferris (1971) demonstrate empirically the failure of research based on this assumption to give adequate explanations.

The point of this review is to demonstrate that, though politically appealing, the attempt to account for the existence of a collective behavior episode, specifically a social movement such as the women's movement, by locating its cause in individual feelings of deprivation (produced by structural relations) is insufficient. It simply does not allow us to adequately explain and therefore to adequately understand such phenomena. Such is the generally sad state of sociological theory on this issue.

There are, however, some sociologists who are more interested in adequate explanation then in a quick and easy publication by asking women or blacks or workers how they "feel." Thus, some attempt is being made to respond to the above unanswered question in a systematic, theory-building manner. The key focus in this examination must be on interaction and communication. What happens when a group of persons sharing a common structural position interact with each other? Given two highly similar groups, what happens in one which results in a decision to take some collective action, but does not happen in the other? It is only by means of the careful analysis of interaction patterns that we can adequately understand the origins and development of collective behavior episodes.

With this brief introduction to and review of the sociology of collective behavior, let us return now to the original question: Why is there a women's movement? It should be clear at this point that the "reason for" or "cause of" this development does not lie simply in the economic, educational, political, occupational, etc., structural position of women. This is not meant, however, to denigrate the importance of these variables. They are extremely important. However, they do <u>not</u> provide an adequate explanation for an understanding of the existence of such a movement (see Ferris, 1971). We must look further for this.

Jo Freeman (1973) has done so. She begins her article (entitled "The Origins of the Women's Liberation Movement") by pointing out the inability of the traditional sociological theory of social movements to adequately explain the arising of the women's movement. She continues to posit and empirically investigate an alternative model, in which the crucial variable is "co-optable communication networks."

> *The need for a preexisting communication network or infrastructure within the social base of a movement*

> *is a primary pre-requisite for 'spontaneous' activity. Masses alone don't form movements, however discontented they may be....*
>
> *Not just any communication network will do. It must be a network that is co-optable to the new ideas of the incipient movement. To be co-optable, it must be composed of like-minded people whose background, experiences, or location in the social structure make them receptive to the ideas of specific new movement. (p. 794)*

She continues by illustrating the validity of her model with a brief analytical history of the origins and development of various branches of the women's movement. The fuller description given by Hole and Levine (1971) offers further support for her model.

Freeman's work is a necessary first step to providing an adequate explanation of the women's movement. She stresses the importance of communication and networks of communication. Without such networks there would be no women's movement, no matter how deprived women felt. Her concept of "co-optability," however, is somewhat problematic. It is relatively easy in an ex post facto analysis to justify certain communication networks as co-optable and others as non-co-optable. Those from which the movement developed were obviously co-optable. All other communication networks among women must have been non-co-optable, and it is not an especially difficult task to find some justification for the classification. In short, the concept of "co-optability" is sufficiently vague to be after-the-fact applied to any communication network, but to be of little help in deciding before which of a variety of networks are actually co-optable. Rather than attempting to "pin-down" an operational definition of co-optability, however, we must focus our attention on what occurs via these very necessary but not sufficient communication networks. We must analyze the interaction directly--its form as well as its content. Unfortunately we don't fully know how to do this as yet, but once we recognize that this is the appropriate place to look, we can develop the "how" (the methodology) for doing so.

Thus far this review has dealt primarily with explaining the origins of a social movement rather than with its development and growth. The reader may, therefore, wonder about the implications for the women's movement today, already "originated." However, an adequate explanation and understanding of the origins of the women's movement will, I believe, lend much to the adequate explanation and understanding of its further development and growth.

The basic assumption underlying the importance of examining interaction among individuals as the appropriate place to look is the assumption that humans construct and reconstruct their "social reality." There is no one-to-one direct causal relationship between the way in which a society is hierarchically stratified and the perceptions of that stratification held by the various members of that society. Nor is there a direct causal relationship between an individual's position within that hierarchy and her/his interpretation of the hierarchy. The especially important point to be made is that the construction and reconstruction of reality is a

social process. One could examine it in terms of the influence of others on an individual's perception. However, we are concerned with the explanations of the behavior of a collectivity rather than that of individuals. Therefore, we must examine the collective constructing process--i.e., the interaction process which results in the collective, shared construction of reality.

The origins of the women's movement lie in the collective reconstruction of the reality of the "place" of women in society. The prior construction or interpretation (Janeway - 1971 - calls it the "myth") was that "women's place is in the home," "the real vocation of women is that of supporters to their husbands and mothers to their children," "women have the 'right' to be protected," "a woman's virtue is her most important asset," etc. This interpretation, of course, had little correspondence to the roles many women were actually playing in the society. But it did have the effect of making women feel guilty about working outside the home, of making them worry about not being satisfied with the roles of wife and mother, and of making them feel stigmatized if they could not successfully be gentle, fragile, passive creatures. By means of interaction this construction of reality has been reconstructed. Part of the reconstruction consisted of recognizing the prior "reality" for what it is--a construction rather than an unassailable "fact." Another part of the process of reconstructing was the development of a "sociological imagination." This is the term utilized by C. W. Mills (1959) to describe the process by which presumably individual problems are recognized as not unique to the individual but as manifestations of societal issues and shared by other similarly situated individuals. Finally the reconstruction institutes a new "reality" to replace the old ones.

An individual woman could similarly reconstruct "reality" without interacting with other women about the topic. As a matter of fact, a number of women spread throughout the society, not in communication with each other, could each autonomously reconstruct "reality" in such a manner. But a social movement could not develop from these instances. Only when the reconstruction is developed through interaction among women could a movement develop. It had to be a collective reconstruction. Specifically how this process occurs in interaction, we cannot give the answer to as yet. But it did occur. The women recognized that it had occurred, gave it a name--consciousness-raising--and have with some success institutionalized it as a tactic of the women's movement. Thus, the process of reconstructing continues.

It must be recognized at this point that the emphasis on the reconstructing of "reality" by means of communication and interaction, does <u>not</u> imply that women are going to bring about the vast structural changes they seek by merely talking about them. The attainment of the goals of the women's movement is possible only be means of action--and a variety of different types of action. The collective reconstruction of reality is a necessary pre-condition to collective action, but is not a substitute for it. Any incipient movement which fails to move beyond the "talking to each other" stage flounders and disintegrates without having any impact on the structure it opposes. To the extent that consciousness-raising is seen as an end-in-itself, the women's movement faces this possibility.

Let us now examine the concept of reconstruction of reality at another

level. A "movement" has originated. It has, therefore, a reconstruction of reality at one level. At its beginning stages, however, the content of this reconstruction is primarily in terms of negative evaluation of the prior "reality." With its growth, a more systematic ideology, including the delineation of goals or a "vision of the future" must be constructed. Again it must be a collective construction.

Janeway (1971) has indicated the strength of the prior interpretation of reality (myth) on women and the fundamental position it holds in the society as a whole. It is because that "reality" and the structure manifesting it is such a fundamental aspect of both the culture and the structure of the society, that the construction of a systematic, crystallized ideology by the women's movement is an especially arduous and possibly lengthy process. Certainly there exists no such crystallized ideology today. The process of reconstruction of reality is not yet completed.

One of the primary criticisms leveled against the women's movement is that it is not a movement. Various groups within "the" movement operate autonomously. They have no structural relationship with each other. They often posit different, even opposing, analyses and ideologies. Thus, the distinction is often made between the "women's righters" and the "women's libbers." The accusation is made: "You can't even agree among yourselves, how do you expect me to agree with you?" Sociologists such as Kantopoulos (1972) have indicated that women must make a conscious effort today to crystallize both the structure and the ideology of the women's movement. The implication is that nothing can be accomplished without such crystallization. This is, I believe, a false conclusion and a dangerous position to take.

The history of the women's movement in the first part of the 20th century should alert us to the dangers of a premature, forced crystallization. The movement then (as now) was first very diversified in both organizational structure and ideology. In crystallizing around the issue of voting rights, they compromised their various positions on other issues and devoted all their energies to attaining suffrage. They won that battle and then virtually disintegrated. Thus, the women's movement today has so far avoided falling into the same trap. Although there is virtually universal support among adherents for the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), the various groups have not as yet compromised their different positions to put forth a united front on other basic issues. At this writing, it appears that ERA will pass within a year. It is fortunate, I believe, that it pass without the crystallization of structure and ideology deemed so important by some. First, it is fortunate because it will hopefully cause some sociologists to "rethink" their ivory tower formulations and advice to incipient social movements. Secondly, and more importantly, it will allow the women's movement to hopefully avoid the disintegration which followed the attainment of suffrage. A crystallization which is forced or undertaken purely as a strategy for attaining some specific, short-run goal limits the movement to that particular goal. The ERA, as important as it is, is no more of an ultimate solution to "the woman problem" than was suffrage.

So long as networks of communication and interaction remain open among the diversified groups existing under the rubric of the women's movement, the reconstruction of reality, the growth and refinement of an ideology,

can continue. As of 1974, no one group has the "truth"--the accurate vision of the future or the successful means to attain those goals. The development of the ideology must not be limited to one person or to one small group and then imposed upon all others by means of propaganda and proselytizing. Rather, to be truly successful, it must be a collective development, which comes to be out of the "give and take" of interaction.

Thus, we have the pragmatic implications of this analysis. Traditional sociological theories of collective behavior are insufficient to adequately explain or understand the origins and development of the women's movement. Likewise, the practical implications of these theories are both false and dangerous to the success of the movement. However, by taking an interactionist perspective, we have a better explanation and understanding. Pragmatically, viewing the development of a social movement from the perspective of reconstructing reality, the implications for the current movement are simply this: do not force a premature crystallization and keep the lines of communication open in order to work together at developing a thorough, systematic analysis and ideology--perhaps eventually a crystallization which is not forced will occur naturally.

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