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NON-SEXIST EDUCATION: TOWARD THE EMERGENCE OF AN ALTERNATIVE CURRICULUM PARADIGM FOR WOMEN'S STUDIES PROGRAMS

The Ohio State University

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NON-SEXIST EDUCATION: TOWARD THE EMERGENCE OF AN
ALTERNATIVE CURRICULUM PARADIGM FOR WOMEN'S STUDIES PROGRAMS

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By

Phyllis Watts LaFontaine, B.A., M.A.

The Ohio State University
1981

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To Sandy because she is the person she is
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FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Fields: Higher Education and Women's Studies, Curriculum Theory

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 Studies in Curriculum Theory, Professor Paul Klohr

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACKNOWLEDGMENTS</th>
<th>........................................... iii</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VITA</td>
<td>.................................................................. v</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## CHAPTER

1. **GENDER IDENTITY FORMATION** ......................................... 1

   - Introduction and Purpose of Study
   - Development of Gender Roles
   - Anthropological Research
   - Division of Labor
   - Socialization

2. **A CRITICAL REVIEW OF EQUALITARIAN THEMES IN THE EDUCATION OF AMERICAN WOMEN** ............................................. 17

   - Introduction: The Roots of Inequality
   - Colonial Education, 1607-1776
   - New England
   - The South
   - The Middle Colonies
   - The Common Period, 1830-1865

3. **THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT OF THE 1960's** .......................... 36

   - Introduction: Women's Response to a Changing Society
   - The Women's Liberation Movement

4. **TOWARD AN ALTERNATIVE CURRICULUM PARADIGM FOR WOMEN'S STUDIES** ...................................................... 51

   - Introduction
   - The Educational Theory of Paulo Freire
   - The Feminist Perspective
     - Critique of the "Canon of Knowledge"
     - Critique of Methodology: Redefining Process
     - Interdisciplinary Scholarship: Redefining Disciplinary Boundaries
CHAPTER I

GENDER IDENTITY FORMATION

Introduction and Purpose of Study

Gender pervades everyday life. The term "gender" has traditio­nally been used to designate psychological, social and cultural aspects of maleness and femaleness. Scholars and researchers believe that the basic differences between the genders start at a young age and continue throughout life. Some researchers and scholars theorize that the basic differences are dictated by biology. Others see differences resulting from socialization or from variations in the ways individuals rear girls and boys. Still others believe that each culture has a value system for how the genders should behave and trains its youngsters according to that value system.

This dissertation is concerned with the relationship between the processes of gender identity formation and the impact of biology, socialization and culture upon these processes. It discusses the impact of women's education, the women's movement and the development of women's studies programs and courses as avenues for changing the cultural view of women, and the effects of an increased level of consciousness about women's (and men's) oppression upon helping people to become self­actualized individuals.
Every human being is capable of looking critically at his/her world in a dialogical encounter with others. Provided with the proper tools for such an encounter - education - individuals can gradually perceive their personal and social reality as well as the contradictions in it, become conscious of their own perception of that reality, and deal critically with it. (Shaull in Freire, 1968:13). This dissertation proposes curriculum paradigm for women's studies programs and courses that can assist individuals with this growth process. This paradigm combines the components of feminist inquiry: critique of the "canon of knowledge;" compensatory, corrective knowledge; personal experience as a valid source of knowledge; changes in style and form of presentation; interdisciplinary scholarship; an ongoing critique of methodology and a vision of social change - with the educational philosophy of Paulo Freire. Components of this paradigm are the basis for developing women's studies courses and programs that will be explained and elaborated upon later.

Development of Gender Roles

Sexist attitudes can keep people from realizing their potential. The widespread belief that women's personalities are different in fundamental ways from those of men might be considered sexist since there are few valid research studies which support this assumption (Pleck, 1976). In fact, there is more difference between two given individuals, regardless of sex, than there is between women and men on the average. People vary in their behavior from day to day and and from situation to situation; thus it is difficult to say that any group of people always behaves in a particular way (Bem and Allen, 1974).
However, most people do believe that women and men are different and that they should be different (Broverman et al., 1972). Such beliefs are instrumental in determining the way people treat and react toward one another. For example, they influence the ways in which people rear children and educate them as well as the expectations they have for men and women. The effects are widespread.

There is continuing debate among researchers and scholars centered around the issue of the relative contributions of biological, psychological and sociological factors. At one extreme, Freud argued that women and men are biologically destined to have distinct personalities and to play different social roles, as his famous dictum - "Anatomy is destiny" - states. At the other extreme, some scholars argue that men and women are very similar in all aspects except their reproductive organs and functions. In this view, differences in gender roles are explained as entirely the result of socialization, with biology having very little influence. Taking a middle-of-the-road perspective are some scientific investigators who see human development as the result of the interaction between an individual's biological makeup and experience with his/her environment. An examination of the evidence presented by biology, "nature vs. nurture," and education adherents is useful in illuminating these positions.

In an attempt to determine what kinds of differences are most likely to have biological origins, researchers have studied the behavior of infants. If it can be assumed that the effects of culture accumulate with age, any such effects should be minimal in infants. If sex differences in behavior are found at or near birth, there is reason to suspect that biology contributed to these differences.
In contrast, if the sex differences do not appear until later in life it is difficult to determine whether biology is responsible for the behavioral differences or not. However, no matter how close to birth sex differences appear, cultural training and experience may already have had an effect:

`In the delivery rooms of many hospitals it is the custom to wrap the newborn baby in either a pink or blue blanket, depending on its sex as determined by the appearance of the genitalia. From this moment on, the child's maleness or femaleness is constantly reinforced. It is difficult, then, to determine the extent to which the child's learning of his or her sex role may be influenced by underlying biological predispositions. (Hamburg and Lunde, 1966:15).`

Sex differences in very young children have also been studied (Bell et al., 1971; Clarke-Stewart, 1973; Kagan, 1971; Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974). The data suggest few distinct differences between males and females. For example, although boys have been shown to be more active and irritable on the average than girls, the differences are not significant. It does not appear that biological factors, operating prenatally and in early infancy, can alone explain the more obvious differences between the activities and interests of older children.

The research conducted by Maccoby and Jacklin (1974:351-352) relative to psychological differences between males and females in the areas of aggression, mathematical skills, visual-spatial and verbal ability has been fairly well substantiated. However, these findings vary from age to age and culture to culture.

Maccoby and Jacklin found that older girls have greater verbal ability than boys. During the period from preschool to early adolescence,
the sexes are very similar in their verbal ability. However, at about age 11, a difference between the sexes emerges, with female superiority increasing through high school and possibly beyond. Girls score higher on tasks involving both receptive and productive language, and on the "higher level" verbal skills (analogies, comprehension of difficult written material, creative writing) as well as upon the "lower level" measures (fluency).

Boys, on the other hand, excel in visual-spatial ability. Again, the sexes have similar abilities during early childhood. The male advantage on spatial tests becomes evident at and increases through the high school years. Male superiority on visual-spatial tasks is also fairly consistently found in adolescence and adulthood.

Boys also excel in mathematical ability. The two sexes are similar in their early acquisition of quantitative concepts, and their mastery of arithmetic during the grade-school years. However, beginning at about age 12-13, boy's mathematical skills increase faster than girl's.

Finally, males are more aggressive than females. Cross-cultural studies of sex differences in aggression show that boys are both physically and verbally more aggressive. Males show attenuated forms of aggression (mock-fighting, aggressive fantasies) as well as direct forms more frequently than girls. The sex difference is found as early as social play begins -- at age 2 or 2 1/2 years. Although the aggressiveness of both sexes declines with age, boys and men remain more aggressive through the college years.

These studies suggest that there are few distinct differences
between males and females. It does not appear that biological factors alone can account for these findings. Boys and girls may engage in different activities because they are socially condoned and/or accepted. Thus, the question of biology alone as a determinant of sex differences is left unanswered by research.

Anthropological Research

Anthropologists, in their search for cultural universals, have developed another approach to the question of the underlying assumptions of sex differences. Here again, if a behavioral difference is consistently found across most cultures, despite varying cultural patterns, then it is argued that there is reason to believe this difference may reflect basic human biological realities (Goldberg, 1973). To use an extreme example, if in every culture only women bear children, then it is reasonable to assume men are biologically incapable of this function. Such an argument can be extended to other more subtle behavioral patterns which are also virtually cultural universals.

Deciding what is a cultural universal is not always simple. Proponents of the socialization view cite cultural exceptions as evidence against a biological argument (Mead, 1935).

Human activities and feelings are organized, not by biology but by the interaction of biological propensities and those various and culture-specific expectations, plans and symbols that coordinate our actions... what is male and what is female will depend upon interpretations of biology that are associated with any culture's mode of life (Rosaldo and Lamphere, 1974).

Protagonists of the biological view have countered with the arguments that varying environmental factors could have resulted in diverging
evolutionary paths that could have altered the relevant biological mechanisms in some cultural groups. They further argue that a few exceptions do not rule out the possibility of biological precursors. However, what constitutes these few exceptions is a value judgment, rather than a scientific decision.

Division of Labor

All cultures use sex as one criterion for assigning roles. While the differentiation appears to be universal, the degree of this differentiation varies as a function of the economic and familial structures of the particular society (Rosaldo, 1974). Economies based on hunting and fishing and on reliance on male strength have the most marked sex differentiation in roles and socialization (Barry et al., 1957).

The specifics of the role divisions vary considerably from culture to culture. For example, in many West African cultures, women market and distribute goods, while in most of western Europe and the United States, men take responsibility for marketing and distribution. Nonetheless, two roles seem to be universally linked to one sex or the other: child raiser and warrior-hunter. In most cultures women raise the children and men fight the battles. While biological predispositions other than reproductive functions may have influenced this role differentiation, the necessities of survival may also be important.

The accepted explanation for this dichotomy of woman as child-rearer and man as hunter-warrior centers around the belief that females were more burdened with dependent ...fants and could not follow the rigorous hunt. Therefore, they stayed at a "home base," gathering what food they could, while the males developed cooperative hunting
techniques, increased their communication and organizing skills through
hunting, and brought meat back to the dependent females and young
(Slocum, 1975:41).

The female is rendered sedentary, even though before becoming a mother she may
have been as mobile as any man or boy. Thus her experience becomes limited to
her domestic duties, and she is confined to her home territory. She is the food
gatherer; her husband is the hunter. Her task will be to gather plants, and tubers,
grubs, and the like; in short, whatever is edible and can be procured without
hunting. Between caring for her children, food gathering, preparing meals, and performing
other domestic activities, little time is left her for any other kind of experience.

The male, on the other hand, while he may be quite highly domesticated, is
nevertheless called upon to exercise his ingenuity very much more
frequently, and in a more varied manner, than the female. As a consequence of his hunting activities,
he acquires a great deal of the kind of experience that almost never falls to the lot of the female. He
learns to read tracks and signs of the presence of animals or man...he develops skills in the use of hunting
and accessory implements, and he transfers his skills to the making of articles for domestic use (Montague, 1968:13-14).

Implies within these statements are the assumptions that the
dependent females were sitting at the home base having one child after
another and waiting for the males to bring home the meat, while the
males were out hunting, developing all their skills, learning to cooperate,
inventing language and creating tools and weapons. This analysis
gives the impression that only the male half of the species was evolving. "The argument becomes somewhat doubtful in the light of modern
knowledge of genetics and primate behavior." (See Slocum, 1975:42.)

According to this analysis, the man is viewed in terms of the subject who is capable of creative activity and self-actualization, while the female is seen as the object or "the other," as a receptive, acted-upon individual whose life is structured by "ultimate fate" (i.e. the male). Thus, because of their biological characteristics, women have been denied the opportunity to fulfill themselves as human beings.

Anthropological research shows some consistent cross-cultural behavioral differences between male and female. However, there are also some strikingly similar patterns of socialization linked to these differences. For example, while it is true that women are the child-raisers in most cultures, it is also true that most girls are socialized into accepting that role (Barry et al., 1957). Thus, it is difficult to know to what extent maternal behavior is biologically based or learned. Similarly, while it is true that men fulfill leadership and high status roles, it is also true that self-reliance and achievement are major socialization goals for males and not for females in 85 to 87 percent of the cultures studied by anthropologists (Barry, Bacon, and Childs, 1957). Socialization could be producing the differences or it could be exaggerating a small biologically-based difference, or it could be mirroring a powerful, biologically-determined behavior system (Goldberg, 1973; Maccoby, 1973; Rosaldo, 1974). Unfortunately, for most behaviors it is not possible to decide which of these, if any, is happening.

There are many aspects of male-female role patterns that are not
universal. Many of the specific roles played by men and women vary markedly from culture to culture. In addition, relationships among people take many different patterns. Kinship systems, sexual patterns, and marital arrangements are as diverse as culture itself. Finally, even the personality dispositions associated with masculinity and femininity vary cross-culturally. Margaret Mead (1935) provided one of the best known examples of this diversity. She documented the flexibility of human behavior in her comparison of the Arapesh, the Mundugamore, and the Tchambuli tribes. Among the Arapesh, both men and women are expected to be, and are, gentle, nurturant, responsive, cooperative, and willing to be subordinate to others. In contrast, among the Mundugamore, everyone is hostile, suspicious, and extremely aggressive. "Mother-love," as we know it, is virtually nonexistent. Finally, among the Tchambuli, men play out what Westerners would consider feminine roles while women exhibit more of those traits we stereotype as masculine. Thus, Mead's research illustrates the impact of cultural expectations upon what is defined as masculine and what is defined as feminine behavior.

Socialization

Once sexuality has been established, individuals are socialized into accepting a role - a set of prescriptions and proscriptions for behavior - appropriate to their gender. Children are taught certain anthropological, psychological, sociological and cultural expectations that correspond with these gender-appropriate roles. The process through which children incorporate and internalize these appropriate behaviors, attitudes, values and norms to become unique individuals is
called socialization.

Socialization of children begins in the first group in which they live - the family of orientation or some substitute for it. Such groups are examples of primary groups and are "characterized by intimate face-to-face association and cooperation" (Cooley, 1909:23). "The family of orientation is primary in three ways: it is the first socializing experience; it provides the most intense and complete experience of belonging; and its greater longevity and stability teaches the social knowledge necessary to engage in associations outside the familial sphere" (Walum, 1977:37).

It is within the context of the primary group that the child begins to learn the most basic feelings about the nature of gender differences, their importance and gender expectations.

There are three theories about the socialization process: the psychoanalytic, social-learning and the cognitive development models.

The psychoanalytic theory is primarily exhibited through the work of Sigmund Freud. His theory is grounded in the premise that people are born with one of two possible anatomies and by virtue of their anatomy, individuals develop different kinds of mental lives and have different kinds of experiences (Freud, 1925). In essence, his theory postulates that "anatomy is destiny."

Freud felt that many of our basic feelings were unconscious and that unconscious sexual thoughts were of primary importance for understanding people's behavior. However, these sexual thoughts or fantasies were believed to be dependent upon one's stage of development.

Freud felt that everyone passed through a series of developmental
stages, each of which was characterized by a focus upon a different area of the body. Boys and girls pass through first the oral and then the anal stages of development. Since there are no sex differences in these areas, boys and girls are alike sexually in these stages which last until about age four. Freud described both sexes as "little men" (1933/1965). In the oral stage, children are focused primarily on the mouth and lips, because of the mother's breast or the bottle. In the anal stage, the central concern is the anus and the elimination and retention of feces.

Girls and boys diverge in their development, according to Freud, in the phallic stage, which occurs at approximately age four. The phallic stage is the period in which the child observes the differences between male and female. At this time, Freud thought, children become aware that they either possess a penis or do not possess a penis. This recognition leads them to develop a particular fantasy involving their genitals (or "lack" thereof) and their parents. Out of the fantasy comes a resolution of feelings about the genitals and the parents. This recognition entails identifying with the opposite sex parent and, consequently, internalizing the value system of the parents. The child will develop gender-typed behaviors exhibited by the parents.

After passing through the phallic stage, both sexes enter the latency stage which lasts until the time of puberty. During this time, the child has no central erogenous focus and sexuality is largely repressed.

With the final stage, the genital stage, both boys and girls become oriented toward heterosexual intercourse. Thus, for Freud, gender
identity is genital identity. If the child fails to accept that she/he is female or male.

Freudian theory merits careful analysis and criticism. Freud believed the childhood years were critical in terms of personality development; however, he actually did little work with children. Most of his research was based on clinical data from his adult patients. His method of treating his patients - psychoanalysis - "involved retelling dreams and other important memories with an attempt to look behind them through association to unconscious memories of childhood" (Lee and Hertzberg, 1978:33). Freud believed that the adult problems of his patients had their origins in their early childhood conflicts.

Freud's belief in the biological inferiority of women is not a formulation that can be easily tested. Freud viewed the female as an inadequate male and formulated his theories accordingly. This unproved underlying assumption leaves Freud's theories open to valid criticism.

Stressing the importance of investigating observable behavior, advocates of the social learning theories have used the principles of reinforcement and modeling, which come from behaviorist analysis, to explain sex-role acquisition. According to this theory, a child learns appropriate sex-typed behaviors through rewards, punishments, and imitation of adult models. "Children are said to imitate parents, other adults, peers, and heroes on the media according to the particular needs of their ages and the amount of exposure to these models" (Frieze et al., 1978:107). Each child's role behavior is a unique composite of all his/her learning experience.

Besides providing a model for appropriate behavior, parents can
directly reward and punish desired behaviors. Parents also teach appropriate sex-role behaviors by providing sex-typed clothing, toys and games, and by promoting sex identification through names, hair styles and other means (Frieze et al., 1978:106).

Parents have different expectations for their children (Parsons et al., 1976), and well-defined assumptions about typical and appropriate behaviors for boys and girls (Lambert et al., 1971). Both parents themselves and their children feel that parents respond differently to boys and girls (Block, 1977; Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974). One area in which this is clearly expressed is in the purchase of clothing and gifts. For example, boys get jeans and shirts, trains and trucks; girls get dresses, stoves and dolls.

Learning theorists assume that parental attitudes and expectations are highly important for sex-role learning, but the mechanisms by which these are translated into socialization practices are unclear. At the same time, it must be remembered that parents are not the only socializing agents in children's lives. Thus, although these learning theories can substantiate the notion of socialization as important to an individual's gender identity, this theory does not fully support socialization as the only means of gender identity formation.

The cognitive development theory differs from the psychoanalytic and social learning theories in two significant ways. The cognitive development theory assumes children play a very active role in their own development. Motivated by a desire for competence and mastery over their world, children seek out any information that will improve their interaction with both their physical and social world. Cognitive
development theories also assume that children's interaction with and interpretation of their world are limited by their cognitive maturity, which, in turn, is linked to their present stage of development (Freize et al., 1978:116).

Cognitive development theorists suggest that children imitate same-sex models because they are motivated to maintain a competent, positive self-image and to master the behaviors which they judge to be appropriate for themselves (Kohlberg, 1966). Once children have defined themselves as male or female, they will strive to imitate behaviors that are congruent with this self-image. Further, it is predicted that children will respond primarily to the rewards for appropriate behaviors, tending to ignore rewards for behaviors they judge inappropriate according to their own self-image (Maccoby and Wilson, 1957).

Studies have shown that to some extent children do imitate behaviors and develop preferences that are congruent with their sex-role identity. For example, children prefer objects that have been labeled as sex-appropriate (Liebert, McCall, and Hanratty, 1971; Thompson, 1973); work harder on tasks labeled as sex-appropriate (Montemayor, 1974); resist attempts to reinforce them for sex-inappropriate preferences (Hartup, Moore, and Sager, 1963); and prefer same-sex peers (Kohlberg and Zigler, 1966; Parsons, 1976b).

On the other hand, several studies indicate that parental responses and children's expectations of parental preferences do affect children's sex role preference. For example, studies of third and fourth grade girls and boys (Lefkowitz, 1962), and of children ages four to eleven years (Hetherington, 1965), have shown that the quality of the parent-child relationship influences children's preference for their own sex
role. Similarly, a study of five-year-olds suggests that children may prefer appropriate sex-role activities because they perceive that parents prefer such sex-appropriate activity (Fauls and Smith, 1956). In addition, inappropriate behaviors have been induced by exposure to older models who perform sex-inappropriate behaviors (Wolf, 1975). Thus, both cognitive mechanisms and social learning processes interact in sex-role acquisition.

Through these analyses, it becomes clear that no one theory tells the whole story relative to sex-role acquisition. Each of these major theoretical approaches provides some insights into and explains some subset of the phenomenon of sex-role acquisition as the product of the socialization process. All of these approaches agree that sex-role learning occurs early in life. The three approaches yield different predictions concerning the motive underlying sex-role acquisition and the roles of biology, the child and society.

Thus, the factors involved in determining behaviors of an individual include the behaviors of the people involved in the child's social world; the child's interpretations of those behaviors and of his/her social world in general; and the reactions of others to the child's behavior (Parsons 1978:133). The socialization process directly affects, not only the child's immediate behaviors, but also mediates the impact of any biological predisposition and the cultural milieu.

A critical review of the educational themes and how they have effected women's lives will be the focus of chapter two. Educational opportunities for women interwoven with other societal changes lay the foundation for developing an alternative paradigm.
CHAPTER II

A CRITICAL REVIEW OF EQUALITARIAN THEMES IN THE EDUCATION
OF AMERICAN WOMEN

Introduction: The Roots of Inequality

The socialization process begun at birth continues, as a force for maintaining sex-role distinctions, as children enter the educational system. In contemporary Western society, most children are mandated by law to attend school starting at the age of five or six and continuing until the age of sixteen. With the exception of certain religious groups who control their own private schools [e.g. the Amish], almost all members of society entrust their children's care to educational systems and the teachers therein.

Equal education for both sexes was not a part of the early American educational philosophy. Influenced by European antecedents, education for girls, if it was offered at all, was primarily limited to the domestic sphere. Under prevailing theory, men and women were viewed as being very different and therefore civil authorities concluded that they should be educated differently.

Women's "proper sphere" had been clearly described by the French philosopher Rousseau:

The whole education of women ought to be relative to men. To please them, to be useful to them, to make themselves loved and honored by them, to educate them
when young, to care for them when grown, 
to console them, and to make life sweet 
and agreeable to them -- these are the duties 
of women at all times, and what should be 
taught them in their infancy (1906:263).

Despite the popular acceptance of this line of thinking, not every­
one shared this belief. Changes were taking place and this philosophy 
was under challenge. However, the historical antecedents must be exam­
ined first.

Colonial Education, 1607-1776
New England

The first appearance of free public education in the United States 
can be traced to the Massachusetts Puritans. Beginning at the family 
level, the Puritans established a system of societal subordination, viz. 
husbands over wives, parents over children, masters over slaves. The 
Puritans stressed education which they believed reflected God's omnipo­
tence.

Since all children were presumed to have been 
born to ignorance, it was incumbent on both 
the family and the community to see that their 
children were prepared for possible salvation by 
teaching them the doctrines and principles of 
Christianity (Cohen, 1974:40).

The School Law of 1642 instituted the provisions that parents and masters 
were responsible for their children's or apprentice's ability to read, 
to understand the basic principles of Puritan beliefs, and to know the 
capital laws of the colony.

At an early age children were taught reverence for their parents; 
they were instructed in good habits and morality, and their fathers 
were legally bound to instruct them each week in a catechism (Cohen: 
1974:52). Children were also instructed as apprentices.
For girls of the Puritan family, apprenticeship training for the fundamental calling of housewife began at age six or seven — while for boys vocational instruction began somewhat later — between ages ten and fourteen (Cohen, 1974:53).

This training terminated for boys at age 21, for girls at age 18 or when they married.

In New England, boys and girls attended dame or town schools. Depending on the school and teacher, certain types of divisions were evident. In dame schools, primarily taught by women, girls were taught sewing and cooking in addition to learning the letters and reading with the boys. In the town schools, taught primarily by men, domestic training was not offered. Massachusetts towns debated the education of girls. Dorchester instituted a special committee in 1639 to determine "whether maids should be taught with boys or not;" Deerfield excluded girls over age ten from its town schools; Lynn and Medford allowed girls to attend their town schools only after the boys' afternoon session was dismissed. Other town schools admitted girls in the summer but not in the winter months (Cohen, 1974:68), because the boys did not attend classes during the summer.

Secondary education for girls was almost nonexistent in the New England area. Most Puritan males believed that women lacked the strength for more advanced intellectual exercises, and girls were not formally prepared for college regardless of the intellectual capabilities they might have displayed during their elementary education. Thus, New England's public latin grammar schools were closed to girls from about 1680.

The eighteenth century brought social and economic changes that
influenced educational traditions. Dame schools still existed but they were being absorbed into a single town system. The elementary curriculum was still dominated by reading and writing, with a sectarian orientation, but instruction in mathematics, or ciphering, was increasing due to the more complex technical needs of the changing society.

Most New England women remained unaffected by the societal changes of the eighteenth century. It was still deemed necessary that young girls should obtain a knowledge of the Scriptures and be taught the skills and attitudes for being a good wife. However, because of women's subordinate role in society there seemed little to add to this limited foundation. In Massachusetts, for instance,

a 1710 revision of previous apprenticeship statutes included the stipulation that only males were to be taught to read and write and females to read as they respectively may be capable (Cohen, 1974:102).

Formal education for the typical middle-class girl still concluded at the elementary level and usually consisted of reading, writing, and possibly sewing or basic arithmetic.

During the later colonial period (1750-1800), a growing number of private schools and private tutors appeared, designed primarily for the growing number of affluent families. Private girls' schools in the larger towns offered a more varied curriculum than did their counterparts in the seventeenth century. Girls' schools offered such subjects as reading, writing, arithmetic, embroidery, music, French, painting, dancing, millinary, and sewing.

Despite the diversity of course offerings, the educational opportunities for females were still inferior to those open to males.
Education stressed the utilitarian subjects and the social frills, but it did not advance beyond fundamentals in such subjects as mathematics, and overall it offered little of intellectual value (Cohen, 1974:103). The South

Southern girls, like New England girls, were subject to restrictive educational attitudes and practices. Both colonial regions adhered to the notion that the mental capacity of girls could never equal that of boys. In fact, in the south, the limitations were more pronounced since Southern religious beliefs were predominately fundamentalist. They did not share the Puritans' belief that both sexes should have a knowledge and understanding of the Scriptures. As in New England, however, there was resistance to teaching the girls Greek and Latin, since they would not be allowed to enter the realm of higher education. A knowledge of cooking and sewing and instructions in reading, writing, and basic arithmetic formed the educational training for Southern girls.

Boys and girls were both subject to apprenticeship legislation in the Southern colonies, but they did not receive their training from teachers. Instead, the family unit provided the apprenticeship training. Male children were taught the skills of their fathers, such as carpentry, whereas the daughters were taught housekeeping and domestic skills by their mother. These skills were taught as preparation for their separate roles as provider or housewife and mother.

At the secondary level, endowed free schools and most private schools that offered advanced instruction were not open to women. The few private schools that did cater to females advertised such advanced level subjects as music, dancing, French, embroidery and watercolor. The
emphasis of these subjects was not to enhance girls' intellectual potentialities, but to make them refined ladies and good wives. Significantly, the cost of boarding in towns meant that only girls of affluent families could afford access to this education. Secondary training in these private schools marked the limits of female education in the Colonial South.

Middle Colonies

Education in the middle colonies largely paralleled that of New England and the South. The family and the apprenticeship system served as the two principal means for informal education. Regardless of their national origin, Colonial families gave their offspring their first moral, ethical and sectarian instruction.

At the formal level, the middle colonies' system of education was primarily provided by private tutors, venture schools, or denominational institutions. These forms of education offered instruction in reading, writing, religion and occasionally, basic arithmetic. Private venture schools generally enrolled children from the middle class. Education for poor children was strictly limited.

Secondary education in Colonial New York existed almost exclusively on a private or parochial basis. Such schools were similar to those in New England and the South:

All of them were fee-paying institutions; they all offered instruction in a wide variety of subjects; they were usually individually operated, and were situated in urban centers (Cohen, 1974:166).

Most of New York's secondary private schools operated during the day only for boys, though there were some private evening schools for girls.

The one major exception to this trend of unequal education for girls
and boys was among the Society of Friends, or Quakers. Quaker attitudes toward education had a prominent influence on Pennsylvania's initial actions concerning education. The Quakers advocated training for all the youth in a community.

The schooling they proposed for children was based on realistic new educational theories that were designed to replace the classical tradition. The progressive concepts emphasized an empirical and utilitarian approach to education at the expense of the dialectical and humanistic (Tolles, 1948).

Those schools which followed this philosophy offered religious instruction, moral training, and practical learning that would enable the student to earn a livelihood.

The Quakers probably performed the most significant endeavors at the elementary level of learning. Their basic formal schooling coincided with their philosophy of practical knowledge as well as their inherent liberalism and humanitarianism. The curriculum in the lower schools consisted of reading, writing, casting accounts, and ciphering. Both sexes were offered such training equally, and unusually poor children were admitted without tuition charges.

Formal secondary education followed similar patterns to those in the elementary schools. Pennsylvania maintained a number of private secondary schools, and in addition to the day schools, the city of Philadelphia had several evening schools where workmen and artisans could acquire vocational skills or gain advanced training. Philadelphia also had some of the finest educational opportunities for young women. The training offered was not only in domestic subjects, but also in advanced arithmetic and foreign languages.

The Quakers realized that teaching girls subjects that limited
them to the sphere of wife and mother was not enough. The Quakers attempted to provide equal opportunities for both sexes; however, the attitude that women's proper sphere was that of housewife and mother prevailed. The role of housewife and mother was still deemed women's "natural" role.

The Common School Period - 1830-1865

The Common School Movement provided girls with more opportunities to participate within the educational sphere with boys. However, this education was also limited for girls.

The 35 years preceding the end of the Civil War have been designated the age of the common school. The United States was experiencing rapid change within this period. Changes were occurring in transportation, communications, settlement of the land, manufacturing, power sources, and in peoples' conceptions of themselves in relation to one another, a creator, and the universe (Binder, 1974:4). With these changes came a period of reform.

One area of reform was the movement to improve the quality of the public schools where they existed and to extend them into areas where they were nonexistent. The concept of public education was a concern in most state legislatures. Each state that passed a law to provide free public education ran into financial and/or philosophical objections, and the subject was much debated.

The state of Ohio seemed the most progressive in its educational philosophy at this time. In 1825, Ohio passed a law that provided a solid foundation upon which to build a common school system.

Among its provisions were requirements for the
compulsory establishment of school districts
and county school taxes. Terms were included
governing the distribution of funds from the
sale of the school lands granted under the
Land Ordinances of 1785 and 1787 and The
Enabling Act under which Ohio entered the
Union. The Law also provided for teachers'
examinations and statewide prescribed curriculum
of the three R's (Binder, 1974:19).

This legislation projected Ohio well ahead of the other states.
However, a rate-bill arrangement persisted into the 1830's and the
citizens prevented the establishment of public schools. Frederick
Jackson Turner explained this phenomenon, saying the midwest was
too new a section to have developed educational
facilities to any large extent...the pioneers'
poverty, as well as the traditions of the Southern
interior from which they so largely came dis-
couraged extensive expenditures for public school-
ing.

Ohio had laid the foundation for educational reform by the passage
of their education law, however, the people opposed the idea of taxa-
tion to pay for the schools. Nonetheless, the seed of reform had been
planted.

Despite the minor inroads being made toward providing a public
school system, with the influx of industrialization women's role (and
men's) in society began to be redefined. Women were entering the newly
established textile mills as workers, and they were increasingly in
demand as teachers for a rapidly growing population.

A number of enlightened women, capitalizing upon these changing
times, made further inroads toward equal education. Hannah Mather
Crocker, following in the footsteps of Mary Wollstonecraft, rejected
in her pamphlet, Observations on the Real Rights of Women, the creed that
women must forever occupy an inferior position because of their
inherent frailties:

We shall consider women restored to their original right and dignity at the announcement of the Christian dispensation; although there must be allowed some moral and physical distinction of the sexes agreeably to the order of nature, still the sentiment must predominate that the powers of the mind are equal in the sexes...There can be no doubt but there is as much difference in the powers of each individual of the male sex as there is of the female; and if they received the same mode of education, their improvement would be fully equal (Crocker; 1818:41).

One year after Crocker's pamphlet appeared, Governor DeWitt Clinton of New York received in the mail, An Address to the Public: Particularly to the Members of The Legislature of New York,Proposing a Plan for Improving Female Education. This pamphlet was the work of Emma Hart Willard.

Emma Hart had the opportunity to obtain an education because her father wanted the best possible training for his daughter who "enjoyed grappling with mathematical problems for the sheer delight of mastering them" (Flexner, 1959:25). She soon discovered that most women were deprived of the study of higher mathematics because their brains were not considered equal to the strain.

In an attempt to familiarize herself further with the subject material, teaching methods, and standards of mathematics, she requested permission to attend the men's examination at the University of Middlebury (Connecticut). Her request being denied, she began creating her own teaching methods and training her own teachers. As a prerequisite, she felt the need to study each new subject herself.

I spent from ten to twenty hours a day in teaching and, on extraordinary occasions
such as preparing for examination...besides having always under investigation some new subject which, as I studied, I simultaneously taught a class of my ablest pupils (Lutz 1929:56).

Emma Willard did not stop with teaching algebra and geometry, but went on to solid geometry, trigonometry and conic sections. She taught geography by drawing maps, and presented history as a living process rather than as a list of names and dates.

As her students responded to her teaching, Emma Willard's goal became one of opening a seminary, with a curriculum that would also include natural philosophy and domestic science. She sought a charter and financial endowment for her seminary. Willard spent much time in Albany pursuing her goal by lobbying the members of the New York State Legislature. They eventually voted her a charter for a seminary in Waterford, but refused her financial endowment. Emma Willard, not easily defeated, turned to the citizens of prosperous Troy, New York, for financial assistance.

The Town Council voted to raise $4,000 for a building by a special tax, and additional funds for maintenance and staff by private subscription; in 1821, the Troy Female Seminary, the first endowed institution for the education of girls, opened its doors (Flexner, 1959:26).

Here Emma Willard continued to introduce innovations into her course of study. Consistently adhering to her philosophy that education should seek to bring its subjects to the perfection of their moral, intellectual and physical nature: in order, that they may be of the greatest possible use to themselves and others; or, to use a different expression, that they may be the means of the greatest possible happiness of which they are capable, both as to what they enjoy, and what they communicate (Goodsell, 1931:54).
In 1828-1829 women’s education received a lively impetus from the teaching of Frances Wright. Well-schooled and well-traveled, Wright edited her own paper, *The Free Enquirer*, in New York during the years 1828-1829. She achieved notoriety by pioneering as a woman lecturer and by her radical philosophy, of which her advocacy of equal education for women was an integral part. She argued that men were degraded by the inferiority imposed on women:

> every relationship to which a woman is a party - friendship, marriage or parenthood - suffered as long as she was regarded and treated as a lesser human being (Perkins and Wolfson, 1939).

Wright cut a wide swath in her lectures. Her ideas on education were linked, in many minds, with such other incendiary views as her support of political action for working men, her challenge of all forms of religious obscurantism, and her insistence on the rational basis of all knowledge and the importance of free inquiry (Flexner, 1959).

> I am not going to question your opinions. I am not going to meddle with your beliefs. I am not going to dictate to you mine. All I say is, examine; inquire. Look into the nature of things. Search out the ground of your opinions, the for and the against. Know why you believe, understand what you believe, and possess a reason for that faith that is in you (Wright, 1829).

Thus, through her lecturing, she challenged many beliefs, and as accounts of her speeches were read and distributed, the demand for free education grew.

Among the women educators who accepted the subordinate status quo for women was Catharine Beecher. She conducted a successful seminary for girls in Hartford, Connecticut, from 1823 to 1827.
Beecher believed that women should either teach or prepare themselves for some form of domestic work. She insisted, however, that in order to perform their housewifely obligations properly, women needed not only a rounded education, but training as technical as that of a lawyer or doctor (Flexner, 1959:31). She developed her ideas in a series of books on domestic science, physical culture and marriage problems.

Her greatest contribution to the education of women was in her approach to the training of teachers, a concern she shared with Emma Willard. She believed that teaching, like homemaking, must be dignified by adequate training. She developed a plan for normal schools and in order to raise public interest about her scheme she established the National Board of Popular Education in 1847 (Flexner, 1959:31). Beecher was one of the founders of modern teacher training because of her innovative ideas.

A significant step away from the concept that women needed an improved education only to carry out their housewifely or teaching duties came with the founding of Mount Holyoke Seminary in 1837. Its founder, Mary Lyon, followed the path charted by Emma Willard, but went much further. She established certain fundamental principles which succeeding institutions accepted automatically:

- the schools must have adequate financial endowment;
- they must try in some degree to make education available to girls of all economic groups;
- they must offer a curriculum more advanced than that envisaged even by Mrs. Willard;
- and they must prepare their students for more than homemaking or teaching (Flexner, 1959:32).

Mary Lyon's teaching was similar to Emma Willard's in that she too began to teach, and in the process, to continue her own education,
extend the existing curriculum, and reshape teaching methods. Most
of all, she wanted to provide women who could not afford an education
the opportunity to obtain one.

In 1834, she launched her campaign to open a school. When a number
of businessmen and ministers failed to raise the necessary funds, Lyon
herself assumed the task. She began traveling and making appearances
at public meetings to solicit funds. Her fundraising was done primarily
among women at church meetings, small parlor gatherings and sewing cir-
cles. She spoke whereever she could.

One young woman in a sewing circle to which Mary Lyon spoke was
making a shirt to help pay for a young man to attend theological seminary.
As she listened to Lyon's talk, she thought

how absurd it was for her to be working
  to help educate a student who could earn
  more money toward his own education in
    a week, by teaching, than she could earn
      in a month (Blackwell, 1930:20).

She left the shirt unfinished and "hoped that no one would ever
complete it" (Blackwell, 1930:20). That woman was Lucy Stone, later
to become a student at Mount Holyoke, a graduate of Oberlin College, and
a noted orator-activist advocating equal rights for women.

It took four years of fundraising and building before Mount Holyoke
opened in 1837 with four teachers and 116 students. Mary Lyon establish-
ed requirements for admission to Mount Holyoke:

... an age limit (no girl less than sixteen years
  old was accepted), an embryonic system of examina-
tions, and the conscious selection of girls on the
  basis of their maturity and promise of intellectual
  growth (Flexner, 1959:35).

These requirements were largely shared by the best seminaries of
the time; however, Mt. Holyoke required a three-year course instead of the usual two. This was done to defend the criticisms that women's seminaries were not as rigorous as the men's.

Mary Lyon had provided an opportunity for women to carry on their struggle for equality in many different directions.

What a few had dreamed and dared was being proved in life and practice: that, given opportunity, discipline, and direction, they could encompass the same subject matter as a man; and that such an education was worth a sizable financial investment on the part of the parent, the philanthropist, and the community (Flexner, 1959:36).

The way had been cleared for the opening of other colleges for women.

The women's college movement provided an advanced education to many women, and a true higher education to a few. The movement grew out of the need for secondary school teachers, the training of teachers offered by pioneering women, and out of the belief that education would raise women's status in society. Women's colleges held the traditional view that women were equal but different from men.

The elite colleges providing education equal to men's colleges contributed to higher status for women, but true equality of intellect was better provided by coeducation, in which women competed with men in the same classroom (Stock, 1978:193).

Women had advanced to being college educated; however, separate colleges were not the only answer.

The first institution to offer women a curriculum comparable to that available to men on the college level was Oberlin College in Ohio. Oberlin began as a seminary in 1833 and developed into a redimentary college in 1837. Oberlin claims to be the first institution to open its
doors to all comers, regardless of race, color or sex. The founders stated as part of its objectives:

the elevation of female character, by bringing within the reach of the misjudged and neglected sex, all the instructive privileges which hitherto have unreasonably distinguished the leading sex from theirs (Wilkins, 1937:1).

The first woman, Zeriah Porter, graduated from Oberlin in 1838 from the Literary Course. This was not a regular college course. In 1841, three women, Mary Hosford, Elizabeth Smith Prall, Mary Caroline Rudd, graduated from the Classical Course. They were the first women to receive the degree of Bachelor of Arts (Blackwell, 1930). Several years later, Lucy Stone entered Oberlin, followed closely by Antoinette Brown, the former to become one of the outstanding orators of her day, the latter the first woman to be ordained as a minister. Because of their feminist views, both women were in constant conflict with the authorities at the school.

Lucy Stone objected to the fact that she could not obtain experience in public speaking, rhetoric and debate at the college. She was allowed to attend these classes; however, the women students were expected only to be the audience for the male students (Blackwell, 1930). In a letter to her parents, Stone wrote: "I was never in a place where women are so rigidly taught that they must not speak in public."

Despite the acceptance of women as students, Oberlin College's philosophy perpetuated the traditional view of women's role in society. Oberlin's attitude was that woman's life calling was to be the mothers of the race, and that they should stay within that special sphere in order that future generations should not suffer from the want of devoted and undistracted mother care. If women became
lawyers, ministers, physicians, lecturers, politicians or any sort of 'public character' the home would suffer from neglect...Washing the men's clothes, caring for their rooms, serving them at table, listening to their orations; but themselves remaining respectfully silent in public assemblages. The Oberlin 'co-eds' were being prepared for intelligent motherhood and a properly subservient wifehood (Flexner, 1943:373).

The Oberlin administrators nevertheless thought that they were educating each according to need and providing equal education for the sexes.

The opening of college doors was a major impetus for the education of women. Matthew Vassar, a wealthy New York businessman, donated his estate to found Vassar College in 1865.

Smith College was created in 1875, with a determination to be as strong as the best men's colleges. Established on the wealth of Sophia Smith, the original all-male board of trustees specified that its admission standards should be as stringent as those of the best male institutions in the country (Churgin, 1978:83). Similar to Smith, Wellesley College was founded for the purpose of providing for women a liberal arts education of the same high standard as that offered at the best colleges for men in the latter part of the nineteenth century (Schneider, 1971).

In 1880 Bryn Mawr College opened under the direction of M. Carey Thomas. Radcliffe College was authorized in 1891 to grant the traditional academic degrees bearing the seal of Harvard (Churgin, 1978). Brown and Columbia were to found parallel women's colleges in 1891 (Pembroke) and 1893 (Barnard) respectively. Even with women's educational successes, the notion that they should make use of their education in
a manner identical to that of men remained socially unacceptable.

As time went on, women were admitted into a number of American colleges. The emergence of women's colleges shifted the emphasis of preparing women for home duties and cultivating their grace and gentility to one of mental discipline and preparation for professional competence.

A second generation of prestigious women's colleges was founded in the 1920's (Churgin, 1978). Thought to be every bit as competitive as their earlier counterparts, these schools were designed to reflect women's unique experience in society. The new experimental programs such as those at Bennington and Sarah Lawrence proposed new objectives for women's higher education, stressing areas such as the performing arts (Brubacher and Rudy, 1958:69). Further, they emphasized pedagogy rather than research (Jencks and Reisman, 1969:304). For the first time it was suggested that there might be differences in curricular programs without inequality and that women's colleges did not have to be carbon copies of male institutions. The experimental colleges began to formulate objectives which realistically took into account the distinctive role of women in modern American life (Woody, 1920:18). However, in one male author's view,

by emphasizing women and their relationship to a particular mode of studies, inadvertently they may have made it even less acceptable to the male world (Churgin, 1978:85).

This view illustrates how innovative developments can be devalued by evaluating them using the traditional male standards of education as a basis for comparison. It may also reflect the underlying prejudice toward education for women and toward women's intellectual abilities in
The traditional male-defined assumptions about women acquiring an education to prepare them as better wives and mothers prevailed until the women's movement made it impossible to ignore women's demand for a new basis of female learning. Women began to seek the information they have been denied in the past - a sense of pride, knowledge of their heritage, redefinition of women's role in society.

Women, through their involvement in the women's movement, began to use their own words to introduce a new set of words and philosophies into the educational institution. The women's movement, in giving credibility to women's experiences, paved the way for the development of Women's Studies courses and programs.
CHAPTER III

THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT OF THE 1960's

Introduction: Women's Response to a Changing Society

The first drive for American women's equality ended in 1920 with the ratification of the 19th amendment. During the next forty years many changes took place within society, but many of the advancements that had been made in women's lives and education still centered around the basic premise that women's role was to be that of wife and mother. The momentum of the women's rights movement was channeled off into less socially challenging directions. The movement and the upheavals of the wars had opened many new choices to women, but by 1945 there was renewed public articulation of the idea of home as women's proper sphere, through advertising and educational assumptions. By 1960, the presumption that woman was destined by nature to be a full time homemaker and mother was so widely accepted that it was hard for any woman to choose another lifestyle. However, as a result of the Depression, World War II, the development of labor-saving devices for the home and the increasing availability and dependability of contraception, many women were already in the labor force. This fact was basically ignored because according to the "prevailing social ethic women who worked were only marking time until they would marry and 'settle down'"
(Hole and Levine, 1971:18). However, with the increasing numbers of women participating in the workforce and attending institutions of higher learning, the traditionally accepted roles of women as housewives and mothers were being strongly challenged. Women began actively seeking change in their lives, and women's liberation re-emerged as a social movement.

Social movements emerge slowly, upon the existence of two prerequisites: "a long period of discrimination and oppression coupled with a short period of progress that generates rising expectations in a particular substrata [sic]" (Baldridge, 1975:207). The prerequisite condition for the emergence of a social movement is not oppression alone, but perceived relative deprivation - the gap between rising expectations and reality - that accompanies it. The early sixties represented such a period of relative prosperity in which it was evident that certain social groups were not sharing; out of the civil rights and student movements would emerge a clearer perception of differential power and privilege in American society.

However, in order for these conditions to lead to the emergence of a social movement, there must also be a mechanism to recruit and link members. This is accomplished by locating an existing communications network connecting potential recruits, one that is "co-optable to the new ideas of the incipient movement" (Freeman, 1975:48). The likelihood of this occurring is greater if the persons linked in the network share similar backgrounds, experiences and social status. In the case of the women's movement, several networks became catalysts, including educational and businesswomen's associations, new commissions on the
status of women, and radical organizations and newspapers.

Some precipitant for a social movement is also necessary. The precipitant may be a crisis—one or more incidents that symbolize the general discontent (for example, challenging the practice of not allowing blacks to sit in the front of a bus or of refusing to serve them in a restaurant). Or, it may be "the formation of an organization that both disseminates the new ideology and provides and association with which the disenchanged can identify" (Walum, 1977:201). If a co-optable communications network is already established, a crisis is all that is necessary to galvanize it, but "if it is rudimentary then an organizing cadre of one or more persons is necessary" (Freeman, 1975:49).

At this point, the movement is ready to flourish or flounder. The leaders must coordinate and develop organizations that guide the members toward specific politically-oriented, attainable goals. Likewise, it is the responsibility of the leaders to specify the ideology of the movement in such a way that its relevance to the membership translates into action.

The Women's Liberation Movement

The 1960's witnessed a flowering of political activism— the civil rights movement, student protests, anti-war demonstrations. Within these political activities, women became acutely aware of their second-class citizenship, and some sought redress through political activity. Working women realized that they were receiving lesser salaries than their male counterparts. College-educated women were experiencing fewer opportunities to utilize their learned skills, and were "cast into
the two roles of housewife and supplementary breadwinner" (Walum, 1977:201). Other women were enrolled in colleges and becoming participants within activist communities. These various groups of women - discriminated-against workers, disillusioned educators, dissatisfied housewives, disenchanted students - became the nucleus of the women's liberation movement.

In 1961, President John F. Kennedy established the President's Commission on the Status of Women at the suggestion of Esther Peterson, then Director of the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor. The Commission was mandated to examine and recommend remedies to combat "...the prejudices and outmoded customs [that] act as barriers to the full realization of women's basic rights..." (Hole and Levine, 1971:18). This Commission was the first official body ever to examine the status of women in the United States.

Eleanor Roosevelt chaired the Commission, with Peterson as executive vice-chairman [sic]. The Commission's report, American Women, was based in great part on the in-depth analysis and recommendations of seven committees - Civil and Political Rights, Education, Federal Employment, Private Employment, Home and Community, Social Security and Taxes, and Protective Labor Legislation. The individual reports and recommendations of these Committees were also released publicly. In addition to the Committees, the Commission consulted with outside individuals and groups about for of its areas of concern: Private Employment Opportunity, New Patterns of Volunteer Work, Portrayal of Women by the Mass Media, and the Problems of Negro Women (Hole and Levine, 1971:20).

In all, well over one hundred women and men worked to prepare the report.
The data gathered documented the fact that many laws discriminated against women, that most women worked to earn a living, rather than for "frivolous" reasons, that the status of women in the labor market was uniformly low, and that women's educational opportunities were limited (President's Commission on the Status of Women, 1963).

The Commission made a number of recommendations relative to employment and labor standards, civil and political rights, constitutional rights, education and counseling, and women's contributions to home and community life. The recommendations on employment issues were enacted before the body disbanded:

In 1962 a Presidential directive was issued reversing the long-held interpretation of an 1870 law used to bar women from high-level federal employment; in 1963 the Equal Pay Act was passed (President's Commission on the Status of Women, 1963).

The Commission's very existence generated widespread interest in women's issues, and that interest spread. When the Commission disbanded in 1963, a number of State Commissions on the Status of Women had been established. By 1967, all fifty states had such commissions.

The passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act brought new attention to the issue of women's equality and "precipitated a psychological shift of emphasis from the idea of 'women as an untapped resource' to 'women as a discriminated-against class'" (Hole and Levine, 1971:81). Title VII, the equal employment opportunity section of the 1964 Civil Rights Act prohibited discrimination based on race, color, religion, national origin or sex by private employers, employment agencies and unions. Exempted from the Act's coverage were federal, state and local
governments (except for the U.S. Employment Service and state and local employment services receiving federal assistance), and educational institutions.

Title VII was not intended by its sponsors to cover sex discrimination. After nearly two weeks of floor debate in the House of Representatives, Democratic Representative Howard Smith of Virginia, an opponent of the overall Civil Rights Bill, offered an amendment to add "sex" as a prohibited basis for discrimination in employment. Smith offered this amendment as an absurdity, to split the liberal vote and get the entire bill defeated. Through the efforts of Democratic Representative Martha Griffiths of Michigan (who had intended to offer a sex amendment to Title VII herself) and her supporters, the amended bill passed. The bill passed because of the need to protect blacks; no one had really thought deeply about the effects of barring sex discrimination. Consequently, it became a problem to get the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to enforce the law, which was openly scorned by EEOC administrators.

During this period, The Feminine Mystique by Betty Friedan was published. In her book, Friedan described the "problem with no name" - a sense of malaise, frustration and discontent on the part of middle-class, educated women. The content of interviews with several women clearly illustrated what these women were experiencing. A mother of four who left college at nineteen to get married expressed her feelings to Friedan (1963:16):

I've tried everything women are supposed to do - hobbies, gardening, pickling, canning, being very social with my neighbors, joining committees, running PTA teas. I
can do it all, and I like it, but it
doesn't leave you anything to think
about — any feeling of who you are. I
never had any career ambitions. All
I wanted was to get married and have four
children. I love the kids and Bob and
my home. There's no problem you can even put
a name to. But I'm desperate. I begin
to feel I have no personality. I'm a
server of food and putter-on of pants and a bed
maker, someone who can be called on when you
want something. But who am I?

A twenty-three-year-old mother in blue jeans related:

I ask myself why I'm so dissatisfied.
I've got my health, five children, a
lovely new home, enough money. My
husband has a real future as an electronics
engineer. He doesn't have any of these
feelings. He says maybe I need a vacation,
let's go to New York for a week-end.
But that isn't it. I always had this
idea we should do everything together.
I can't sit down and read a book alone.
If the children are napping and I have
one hour to myself I just walk through
the house waiting for them to wake up.
I don't make a move until I know where
the rest of the crowd is going. It's always
been as if ever since you were a little
girl, there's always been somebody or
something that will take care of your life:
your parents, or college, or falling in
love, or having a child, or moving to a
New house. Then you wake up one morning
and there's nothing to look forward to
(1963:17).

Similar feelings were shared by a large percentage of the college
educated housewives Friedan surveyed. By reading Friedan's book,
women began to realize that they were not alone, that other women also
felt unfulfilled by their roles as housewives and mothers.

After the publication of her book, Friedan gained a reputation as
an extremely controversial figure. While researching material for a
second book, she talked with a number of women who had worked on the
President's Commission on the Status of Women about sex discrimination and ways to avoid it. She became involved in working to end sex discrimination along with a number of politically active women.

In 1966, during the third National Conference of the State Commissions on the Status of Women, women began to express their anger at "EEOC's lack of interest in women's rights and its poor performance regarding help-wanted advertisements" (Hold and Levine, 1971:83). Friedan attended this conference and was encouraged to organize an action group to combat sex discrimination. After extensive discussions, some of the participants at the conference decided to present a strongly worded anti-discrimination resolution to the full conference. The resolution passed at the final luncheon, and Friedan gives an accounting of what happened next:

[We] cornered a large table at the luncheon, so that we could start organizing before we had to rush to planes. We all chipped in $5.00, began to discuss names. I dreamed up N.O.W. on the spur of the moment, which everybody seemed to like and Kay [Clarenbach] agreed to be temporary chairman [sic] since she had the facilities to get the clerical work done during the first months. We all agreed, that noon, on our main purpose (Friedan, 1963).

Their first action was to send telegrams, signed by twenty-eight women, to each EEOC Commissioner, urging that EEOC rescind its guidelines permitting sex-segregated "want ads" in newspapers, and that it replace them with guidelines expressly forbidding "help-wanted - male," "help-wanted - female" columns (Hole and Levine, 1971:84).

The National Organization for Women (NOW) announced its incorporation in 1966, with 300 charter members, male and female. Betty Friedan
was elected the first president. N.O.W.'s Statement of Purpose defined their goal:

... to take action to bring women into full participation in the mainstream of American society. Now, exercising all the privileges and responsibilities thereof in truly equal partnership with men (N.O.W. Statement of Purpose, see appendix).

"N.O.W. had been founded to fill an organizational need for a strong political lobby for women's rights as well as a philosophical need for a forum of new feminist ideas" (Hole and Levine, 1971:87).

It was an umbrella organization for women from diverse backgrounds, with extremely diverse expectations for the group.

At the second national N.O.W. conference in 1967, a Bill of Rights for Women was drawn up to be presented to the platform committees of both political parties and major candidates for all national offices in the 1968 election. The Bill of Rights called for:

I. Equal Rights Constitutional Amendment
II. Enforcement of Laws Banning Sex Discrimination in Employment
III. Maternity Leave Rights in Employment and in Social Security Benefits
IV. Tax Deductions for Home and Child Care Expenses for Working Parents
V. Child Care Centers
VI. Equal And Unsegregated Education
VII. Equal Job Training Opportunities and Allowances for Women in Poverty
VIII. The Right of Women to Control their Reproductive Lives. (See Appendix for full Bill of Rights).

The inclusion of the first and last "rights" caused considerable amount of discussion and debate. Some members argued that the Equal Rights Amendment was a dead issue not worth bothering with, and that applying pressure to specific reform legislation would be more useful.
After discussion and debate a vote was taken and the Amendment was supported. The debate over the right of women to control their reproductive lives centered around the issue of whether abortion was a women's rights issue and what support of it would do to NOW's image. This also passed a vote of the membership.

NOW was in the forefront of the women's movement activities; however, they chose to work solidly for reform within the "establishment." The members of NOW tended to be middle-class, professional, well-educated women (and men) who were interested in placing women into positions of power. Jo Freeman (1975) classified this branch of the movement as the "older" branch, on the basis of their ages and commitment to the establishment.

In addition to NOW, this branch contained such organizations as the Women's Equity Action League (WEAL), Federally Employed Women (FEW), and some 50 different organizations and caucus of professional women. Their style of organization tended to be traditional and formal, with numerous elected officers, boards of directors, bylaws and other trappings of democratic procedure (Freeman, 1975:449).

The "younger" branch of the movement included women who had worked in the movements for civil rights, peace, or the New Left. Despite the ideologies of these movements, and their emphasis on freedom and participating democracy, the women members usually found that men expected from them coffee, food, typing, and submissiveness, not intellectual leadership. The men often refused to consider women's issues relevant. In December 1965, the issue of women's liberation was laughed off the floor by men attending the Students for a Democratic Society
(SDS) convention. Requests for SDS women to place a resolution in the organization's newsletter, New Left Notes, was mockingly honored by "decorating the page ... with a freehand drawing of a girl in a baby doll dress holding a picket sign and petulantly declaring, we want our rights and we want them now" (Freeman, 1075:58).

In 1967, at the National Conference on New Politics, women succeeded in getting last place on the conference agenda; however, the chairman refused to recognize them. When irate women rushed to the podium demanding an explanation the chairman just patted one of the women on the head and told her, 'cool down, little girl, we have more important things to talk about than women's problems (Freeman, 1975:60).

The "little girl" was Shulamith Firestone, future author of *The Dialectic of Sex* (1971) and she did not cool down. Similar types of incidents were reported throughout the radical community.

Women began forming caucuses in movement and professional organizations and utilizing the "underground" presses to communicate with each other. Spontaneously and independently of one another, at least five women's liberation groups formed in 1967 and 1968 in five different cities - Chicago, Toronto, Detroit, Seattle, and Gainesville, Florida (Freeman, 1975:450). Through their contacts with alternative presses and other groups, a communications network was formed. These groups had no desire to establish national organizations, and decided to operate as a grass-roots network instead. Their most effective means of communication was the establishment of small "consciousness-raising" groups. Consciousness-raising groups usually consisted of 10-15 women whose discussion of the circumstances of their lives led them to realize that
"women's problems" were the result of the social, political and economic organization of society. These groups were also characterized by the exclusion of males, shared tasks, lack of formal leadership, and an emphasis on participation and on group process. C-R in essence combined the theoretical base of the New Left study group with the group process used by psychological therapy.

The characteristics of C-R were important because they allowed women opportunities to see how social structures and attitudes had limited their opportunities, the extent to which women had been denigrated and how they had developed prejudices against themselves and other women.

The two branches formed the early women's movement; each shared the conditions necessary for a social movement. Both branches had social bases from which to draw their membership. The membership bases were different; however, both had experienced long-term discrimination and recent rising expectations about ending the oppressive conditions imposed by societal attitudes. Both branches had pre-existing communications networks: the younger women through the radical community, the older through the State Commissions on the Status of Women. The networks were co-optable in that they linked like-minded people. The radical women shared an ideology of liberation for oppressed people; the older branch had been sensitized and angered by the findings of their research on the status of women that illustrated blatant sex discrimination. The sexist attitudes and behavior of their male counterparts, which demonstrated their belief that men and their activities are more important, and more valuable than women and their
activities, highlighted and further intensified their own exploration. Both groups were confronted with crises. The older branch was sparked on by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's refusal to enforce the sex provision of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the executive director's comment that the amendment was a "fluke ... conceived out of wedlock" (Freeman, 1975). For the younger branch, crises were frequent, each one serving further to concretize the discontent and the need to focus on change.

Given these conditions the need for organizing the discontented into social movement organizations was requisite. In the older branch, organizers were virtually absent; however, the organizers in the younger branch were the major forces for its rapid growth. The older branch seemed content to move women into positions held by men; the younger branch sought to challenge the positions themselves.

Toward a Women's Studies Movement

The rise of the women's movement established a new wave of thinking about women and education in society. Throughout the 1960's, students on university campuses advocated far more autonomy to determine the content and structure of higher education.

As early as 1965, the Students for a Democratic Society and other ad hoc student and faculty campus activists, were establishing 'free university courses' and even 'free universities' themselves, intending with these to create parallel and competing educational offerings that, in the opinion of the faculty and students who participated, had as legitimate claim to college credit as anything else the university might choose to offer (Tobias, n.d.):2).
By the end of the sixties, the college and university communities were aware of the existence of a new women's movement. Several reports had been compiled about the status of women on various campuses. Two national organizations within the academic community responded to the growth of the Women's Movement. In 1970, the American Association of University Professors, a policy-making and watchdog organization of academia, reactivated its "Committee W" after a forty-year hiatus, (it had been formed in 1919 and deactivated in 1928) with the aim of encouraging policy changes regarding employment of women at universities. (Hole and Levine, 1971:325). A national student organization, the Intercollegiate Association of Women Students, began working at the grassroots level educating women students about women's issues.

Women's Studies courses appeared as an outgrowth of the women's movement. The critical questioning and analysis of women's status and roles in society was blatantly missing from the curriculum offered on university and college campuses. Feminist agitation and interest in the history of women spurred such investigation; and only recently, with the newest feminist movement, has that interest returned. When a group of people come to think of themselves as significant beings ... then an interest in that group's past is enhanced. (Smith, 1976:368).

Adrienne Rich, a poet and professor of English at Douglass College of Rutgers University, in proposing a woman-centered university states:

Women in the university need to address themselves - against the opprobrium and obstruction they do and will encounter - to changing the center of gravity of the institution as far as possible; to work for a woman-centered university because only if that center of gravity can be shifted will women really be free to learn, to teach,
to share strength, to explore, to criticize, and to convert knowledge to power... given the intensive training all women go through in every society to place our own long-term and collective interests second or last and to value altruism at the expense of independence and wholeness - and given the degree to which the university reinforces that training in its every aspect - the most urgent need at present is for women to recognize, and act on, the priority of re-creating ourselves and each other, after our centuries of intellectual and spiritual blockading (1975:18).

Women's Studies embodies some of the concepts Rich proposes by providing a framework for women to critically examine all aspects of their lives from a feminist perspective. It teaches women about their history and cultural background and encourages them to challenge the patriarchal structure. In order to do this effectively, women's studies combines a feminist perspective with the philosophy of Paulo Freire toward creating an alternative curriculum paradigm.
CHAPTER IV

TOWARD AN ALTERNATIVE CURRICULUM PARADIGM FOR WOMEN'S STUDIES

Introduction

Evidence has been presented to support the theory that basic differences between the sexes are a combination of social environment and biological factors. Educational opportunities for women (and men) have further reinforced learning-environment theories. Thus, differential education for girls and boys perpetuates the development of artificial differences and consequently, inequality. Sexist education prevents us from learning what biologically based differences between the sexes actually exist and from determining how significant such differences are. The author believes that more nearly equal education for the sexes is desirable because of its potential to allow both sexes to develop their creative potential to the fullest. A curriculum paradigm which combines the elements of a feminist perspective and the educational philosophy of Paulo Freire will be utilized to suggest a philosophy and model that would be useful to women's studies courses and programs. This paradigm is unique in that the connection between feminism and Freire has not been elaborated upon before.

A paradigm is a framework of thought (from the Greek paradigm, "pattern"), but it is also a schema for understanding and explaining
certain aspects of reality. The latter meaning was introduced by Thomas Kuhn. Although Kuhn (1972) was writing about science, his definition had been widely adopted and is applicable here.

A paradigm shift is a distinctly new way of looking at and thinking about old problems. In our attempt to explain certain phenomena, too many puzzling observations accumulate outside the old framework of explanation, placing a strain on it. Some new insight which explains the apparent contradictions and produces a new perspective is necessary.

A new paradigm involved a principle that was present all along but unknown to us. It includes the old paradigm as a partial truth while allowing for things to work in other ways. It transforms traditional knowledge and new observations, reconciling them to alleviate their apparent contradictions.

The new paradigm gains ascendance, and when a critical number of thinkers accept the new idea, a collective paradigm shift occurs. This paradigm shift is happening within women's studies.

The re-emergence of the women's movement has generated women's studies courses and programs throughout the country as well as stimulating the development of feminist perspective within many traditional disciplines. In the past decade, women's studies courses and programs have developed a pattern of education that represents a distinct break with the past and established a new direction for the future education of both women and men. Women's studies has come to include both research and curriculum development based upon new insights and challenges to traditional assumptions.
The idea of women's studies as a curricular strategy for change was enunciated in early women's studies documents. Programs saw their mission as changing education for all women or as changing 'all' education; or they described their desire to affect the lives of individual women in their courses and programs. Women's studies was to be the major route to establishing educational equity for women; omitted from the curriculum, women could not know their history or understand with accuracy their present condition; admitted to the curriculum, women could then share a history and identity that would allow them to envisage and to move toward an equitable future. The presence of women in the curriculum would allow women to aspire and men to understand those aspirations (Howe, 1977:16).

These goals are still evident within women's studies programs and courses; however, the process for accomplishing them has not been clearly defined. It is the focus of this chapter to propose a curriculum paradigm for accomplishing these goals.

The Educational Theory of Paulo Freire

Paulo Freire is a contemporary educator who worked with the illiterate people of Latin America. He advocated going outside the traditional educational structure into the fields and work places of the people. There, working along beside them, he taught them to read and write and to recognize their own self-worth and oppression. He taught them how to become "free Subjects and to participate in the formation of their society" (Shaull, 1968:12). Thus, Freire "incarnates a rediscovery of the humanizing vocation of the intellectual, and demonstrated the power of thought" (Shaull, 1968:12) to negate the limitation individuals have accepted from themselves and to open up their
possibilities of a new future.

According to the educational philosophy of Paulo Freire,

Man's [sic] ontological vocation (as he calls it) is to be a Subject who acts upon and transforms his [sic] world, and in so doing moves towards ever new possibilities of fuller and richer life individually and collectively (Shaull, 1968:13).

(It is ironic that a person who is trying to break out of traditional ways for defining reality should still be limited by the constraints of the language. Even though "man" is presumed to include "woman", this is not always necessarily the case. Freire has apparently not perceived the contradiction).

Every human being is capable of looking critically at her/his world in a dialogical encounter with others.

Provided with the tools for such an encounter, he [sic] can gradually perceive his personal and social reality as well as the contradictions in it, become conscious of his [sic] perception of that reality and deal critically with it (Shaull, 1968:13).

This process, in Freire's system, cannot be merely thought about, but must also be coupled with actions to alter one's situation.

Education is one of the tools for enhancing and/or negating this process of consciousness and social change. Education can either function as a means for integrating new generations into the present system and enforcing conformity to it, or it may become a means by which women and men come to recognize, evaluate, and act creatively with reality and participate in the transformation of their world.

Paulo Freire, through his writings and teachings, illustrates how
this theoretical analysis moves from the theoretical arena into practice. In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970), he deals with the teaching of alternative life styles which are grounded in and have bearing on the social, political and economic reality of the contemporary world. He is concerned with finding a method of perceiving reality which emphasizes interaction among people as a means of developing their perceptual and analytical powers. True education leads to liberation, according to Freire. "Liberation is thus a childbirth, and a painful one" (Freire, 1968:33). However, the person who emerges is a new person, a person who "must perceive the reality of oppression not as a closed world from which there is no exit," but as a limiting situation that can be transformed (Freire, 1968:34).

Freire considers education a process of perception, analysis and discovery. This approach is in itself not new; reforms in teaching and education in the United States during the past few decades have been based largely on the idea that students should learn to analyze problems on their own, to conceptualize rather than to deal with information and "fact" only (Eurich, 1968; Hutchins, 1968; Illich, 1971; Jessup, 1969; Reich, 1970; Toffler, 1971). However, Freire's ideas go much further than this.

Freire characterizes traditional education as based on a "banking concept," where the so-called facts of the subject are "deposited" by a teacher into the vault-like minds of the students. From this perspective, the depositor is the active agent, the receiver the passive. The depositor, the teacher, knows all, while the student knows little or nothing. In Freire's view, this is a one-way process because
the information is not questioned and the receivers do not actively participate in organizing and rearranging it. It builds a rigid distinction between the teacher and the student, with one group as the "haves" and the other as the "have-nots." It also supports the idea that the most appropriate form of behavior for the have-nots is silence, passivity and a feeling of inferiority.

Freire's concepts are different in that they emphasize relative equality between teacher and student, and the notion that our ideas about reality are not fixed and final, but necessarily change and evolve over time for each of us. It is important to note that there are no absolute answers to any problem, only answers with varying degrees of correspondence to each person's reality. The purpose of education is not to learn what someone else - an authority - believes reality to be, but to learn a process of comprehending reality and acting upon it. The goal of each individual is the development of what Freire call conscientizacao. Conscientizacao means learning to perceive social, political, and economic contradictions, and implies action against the oppressive elements of reality, in Portuguese. Thus, the term as used by Freire suggests overt awareness not only of a process of analysis, but also of the liberating, humanizing effects of using such a process to understand the world. People may develop this consciousness through two-way dialogue in which student and teacher together determine what questions or problems (Freire calls them "generative themes") to wish to understand, and exactly how they should go about trying to investigate them.

Freire does acknowledge that a difference exists between teacher
and student. Not only are they different individuals with different experiences, but their experiences are often of quite different kinds. Students have much to learn from older and/or more experienced people around them, but the educational process flows in the other direction as well. Teachers must know what is meaningful to students and determine generative themes that grow out of and are applicable to both their own and the students' lives. Together, people can discover the process by discussing ideas about and experiences with the world.

Knowledge comes in a variety of forms, and even the young and "undeducated" have had experiences and formed perceptions that may help older and "wiser" learners see the world more realistically. The ultimate goal is for the individuals to become internally free, able to think critically and independently and to form conclusions on their own. When people begin to see reality in a common way, bonds are built between them that lead to group awareness and collective action. Only through a common praxis can change occur.

People cannot be free to join with others in a meaningful and perceptive way until they have the confidence and internal independence that allows them to see themselves and others realistically. This confidence and perception can only be developed by a pedagogy that treats people as unique human beings and encourages the learning of a process rather than a body of facts chosen and doled out by experts.

The Feminist Perspective

A feminist perspective has revolutionized the field of education and is essential in challenging the status quo that maintains that
women and men are different and these differences reflect some basic intrinsic differences that transcend reproductive capacities. The feminist perspective looks at the many similarities between the sexes and conclude that women and men have equal potential for development. As long as society prescribes sex role expectations, no meaningful choice exists for its members. The feminist perspective is challenging these assumptions and working to obliterate them. One avenue for accomplishing this is incorporating the components of feminist inquiry into the content of traditional disciplines. The characteristics of feminist inquiry include: critique of the "canon of knowledge," compensatory, corrective knowledge; personal experience as a valid source of knowledge; changes in style and form of presentation; interdisciplinary scholarship; an ongoing critique of methodology, and a vision of social change. These components must be utilized for a women's studies program and course to provide a viable alternative to the traditional structure for assisting students and educators with the process of being able to reach their highest potential.

Critique of the "Canon of Knowledge"

Women's studies scholars and researchers have realized that questioning the very definitions of "worthwhile knowledge" falls to their lot. In accepting this challenge, they have developed a critique of the "canon of knowledge," that body of underlying assumptions which shape society's values. Women's studies courses examine the assumptions made about women in society based on the importance, relevance and significance given to women's experiences and lives by men within patriarchal society. Given the fact that a certain body of
information can be defined as "knowledge," all researchers and educators have to be aware of its limited scope. In this case, the definition is limited simply because it reflects male scholars' biases and failure to question patriarchal structure. By the inclusion of a feminist perspective, new questions are asked and the traditional body of knowledge is thereby redefined. In essence, we are advocating a paradigm shift and working to enhance that shift. For example, within the discipline of history, women's history is emerging. Women's history is forcing scholars to reevaluate the canon of traditional historiography, to reconsider theories of causality and periodization, and to develop new sources and modes of interpretation (Smith-Rosenberg, 1975:86). This is so because by and large women were not found in public life. They were not the main political actors in western society's past, nor were they among the intellectual leaders or economic decision-makers. Therefore, their contributions and experiences have not been included within the historical canon of knowledge. A redefinition of this traditional body of information is thus an essential part of a course in women's studies.

Women's history insists that significant and intriguing historical questions relate to the events, the causal patterns, the psychodynamics of private places: the household, the family, the bed, the nursery, and the kinship system (Lerner, 1978). Researchers have begun to explore these arenas for collecting information about women's lives and experiences.

Critique of Methodology: Redefining Process

Institutions and social processes central to women's lives have
been established as central to the historical, sociological, psychological, and educational process. Thus, educators, sociologists, psychologists and historians have begun to experiment with new techniques for exploring the private and the existential sphere.

These various scholars, researchers and educators have also begun to study groups of women never before considered important, and categories of human behavior and experience traditionally considered beyond the reach of the methods of these various disciplines. New methods, such as ethnohistory and psychological history, provide the tools to explore the emotional quality of women's lives and make possible the formation of new analytical models. An ethnohistorical approach that borrows directly from anthropology and sociology is being utilized. It is concerned with social structure, power and responsibility, and with the relationship between belief systems, socialization processes, and individual behaviors. It raises questions about deviance and the development of normative behavior options. In essence, it is concerned with the relationship between the individual and the social institutions. "Psychological history moves beyond the delineation of structure and function to ask how social arrangements and belief systems affect personality development, the emotional dimension of life, and the use of psychic defenses (Smith-Rosenberg, 1968)."

Thus, research by, for and about women is not only asking new questions but is asking old questions from a different perspective. In essence, a paradigm shift is being pursued and enhanced by women's studies scholars.

Women's studies scholars and researchers are also asking questions
from a different perspective collectively. That is, women's studies researchers and scholars are bridging the gap between disciplines by collectively incorporating their skills to combine the methods, techniques and theories of many disciplines. Women's studies programs and courses are in this sense truly interdisciplinary.

Interdisciplinary Scholarship: Redefining Disciplinary Boundaries

Women's studies programs and courses seek to change research directions to include the experiences of women. In some disciplines, whole new areas of scholarship are being developed — research, for example on the history and achievement of women artists, on the images of women in literature and other arts, and on the sociobiology of sex roles. Women in mathematics and the sciences, including psychology, have turned to research both on the history of their disciplines -- and especially of women in them -- and on educational (as distinct from purely mathematical or theoretical) problems. Observing that the absence of training in mathematics filters women out of careers in science, engineering, and the hard sciences (Tobias, 1978), feminist psychologists and mathematicians have devoted research to the institutional factors responsible for such patterns, as well as to a variety of means for changing them. For example, Nancy E. Betz, Assistant Professor of Psychology at The Ohio State University, has conducted research on "math anxiety". Her research is designed "to investigate factors related to the prevalence and intensity of math anxiety in college students" (Betz, 1978:441). Betz's research utilizes the skills of an interdisciplinary team. Active participants
in the math anxiety project have included Ricki S. Bander, Psychology, Glenda A. Belote, Counseling and Guidance, Suzanne Damarin, Mathematics and Math Education, and Sandra Shullman, Counseling Psychology. Not only were these researchers studying the factors that determine whether one has math anxiety, but they were also initiating programs, classes and counseling sessions to assist students to overcome their anxiety.

Feminist inquiry and scholarship are concurrently altering the style and form by which research is being presented, both in written and verbal form. For example, while Betz was the author of the above mentioned published article, she acknowledged and cited the assistance given by her colleagues in a way unusual for the competitive world of male scholarship. Women's studies scholars commonly utilize the concept of team-teaching in their courses, engage in research with members of another discipline, and give joint presentations of papers at professional meetings and conferences.

Feminist scholars are also incorporating and acknowledging the reactions of their students and colleagues to the materials presented (See Walum, 1977). Women's studies scholars often give informal credit to people who have made points in conversations when the scholar has later used that idea. In essence, women's studies scholars are fostering cooperation and not competition as their male counterparts do.

Compensatory, Corrective Knowledge

What constitutes a body of knowledge has been defined by men within a male dominated society. With the development of women's studies and a feminist perspective, the content of this body of knowledge is
In the past, historical analysis has included the history of "women Worthies" (Davis, 1976). "However, the history of notable women is the history of the exceptional, even defiant women, and does not describe the experience and history of the mass of women" (Lemer, 1978). It does not tell us about the significance of women's activities to society as a whole.

Women also have different experiences from men with respect to consciousness, depending on whether their work, their expression, their activity is male-defined or woman-identified, for "women, like men, are indoctrinated in a male-defined value system and conduct their lives accordingly" (Lerner, 1978:6). Historically, women initially directed their activities into channels that were merely extensions of their domestic activities and traditionally accepted roles. As women's consciousness grew, they became more concerned with the needs of women. Women began to organize for abolition and temperance and sought to upgrade female education. Through education women became aware of their limited opportunities.

Women college graduates were few in number, but theirs was a growing group, full of new life and promise. Not only were the women's colleges turning out greater numbers each year but more were coming from the state universities and colleges in the Far and Middle West... young women were seeking elsewhere the opportunities for growth denied them at home (Flexner, 1959:241).

Women began to recognize the separate interests of women as a group and their subordinate position in society. The concrete data gathered by the members of the President's Commission on the Status
of Women, for example, gave women a basis to work to obtain their rights and eliminate discrimination. Feminist scholars and researchers are attempting to correct the mistakes made in the past.

Personal Experiences of Women

Along with the critique of the canon of knowledge, the asking of questions in a different manner, and the corrective nature of knowledge, feminist scholarship is exploring the impact of personal experiences within women's lives. Researchers are seeking information from oral histories, interviews, diaries, journals, letters, and photographs. For example, Shackelford and Weinberg (1977) have published an oral history, Our Appalachia, complete with pictures, dealing with the memories and experiences of mountain people.

...the authentic voices, telling of life in the remote hollows at the turn of the century, when cash was scarce and barter a way of life; of home life in the teens and twenties; husking bees, county politics, and country stores (Shackelford and Weinberg, 1977).

Kathy Kahn in collecting data for her book, Hillbilly Women, (1972) used the same method, oral history; however, she interviewed Southern Appalachian women in their home settings and asked each woman interviewed to read for corrections before the pages went to the printer. This is an unique feature used by feminist scholars because it illustrates a conscientious effort to not misrepresented the experiences of women. It also allows other women to participate in the process and not just research subjects.

Feminist scholars are also researching and publishing books and articles that incorporate women's journals and letters (Cook, 1978).
At The Ohio State University, Assistant Professor of History, Leila J. Rupp and Assistant Professor of Sociology, Verta A. Taylor are researching the America women's movement in the post-second World War period to dispell the conception that the women's movement ended after women gained the right to vote. Their methods will include oral histories and letters and journals of women.

These new sources -- journals, letters, photographs -- are legitimate tools for learning about women's lives and experiences. They provide a real "women's eye view" of their lives. Folk art and other domestic activities, such as quilting and candlemaking, are being viewed as important sources of information about women's lives and interactions with other women, as well as displaying their creative talents. These new sources have become essential materials to fill the gaps in scholarship that have produced centuries of ignorance about women's lives.

Vision for social change: An Alternative Curriculum Paradigm

Women's studies promoted a vision of social change through a program of instruction and research from a feminist perspective. Operating from such a perspective means providing a multidisciplinary examination of women and their lives and their position in society. It provides a vehicle for study which "critically inspects the implications of living in a male-defined society" and "fully explores the infinite potentials of women in an affirmative and supportive atmosphere" without retaliation and abuse. A feminist approach, while it does not "ignore males nor propagandize contempt for men, does provide a necessary corrective balance to centuries of masculine bias"
Women's Studies teaches women (and men) their history and cultural background as a separate class of people within a sexist, patriarchal system. Once women are aware of their common history, they can begin to analyze their current position in society and to explore the future. A feminist approach to academic study is one that "examines and challenges all thinking and action which have encouraged the differential allocation of resources, occupations, money, power and affection solely on the basis of sex" (OSU Ad Hoc Committee for Women's Studies, 1972). This approach leads to a re-evaluation of the stereotypic views of women in our culture -- their self-image, their access to skills, and the inequalities suffered in the past.

A feminist perspective means examining teaching structurally, considering how people relate to one another in a variety of organizations. It means letting women define their own methods of creating institutions (Rich, 1975) and doing research. Feminist inquiry will lead to the development of new theories and the testing of existing theories on women in all disciplines and areas of involvement. A feminist perspective also means extending study and research support beyond the realm of middle-class women and to groups generally neglected, such as minorities or women in prison.

Thus, women's studies as a catalyst for social change encourages women (and men) to seek knowledge and experiences that will enhance their potentialities for being creative people engaged in their own learning and growth processes.
The Freire Philosophy and The Feminist Perspective

The development of an alternative paradigm for women's studies will include a synthesis of the components of Freire's philosophy and the components of feminist inquiry. To integrate the components of feminist inquiry and the educational philosophy of Paulo Freire, individuals have to be aware of their potentialities to combine reflection and action with their heightened level of consciousness about their plight as people. This can be done through the structure and content of a women's studies curriculum.

In developing a curriculum paradigm, it is helpful to look at the curriculum rationale published by Ralph Tyler proposing a four-step process by which a curriculum is developed: stating objectives, selecting "experiences", organizing "experiences", and evaluation. These components are necessary for developing a workable curriculum according to Tyler. The first step is the most critical. Tyler's elaboration on educational objectives includes a description of the three sources of objectives: studies of learners, studies of contemporary life, and suggestions from subject matter specialists, as well as an account of how data derived from these sources are to be "filtered" through philosophical and psychological "screens" (Tyler, 1950:42). This framework has been altered, critiqued, debated and reevaluated by curriculum theorists.

Keeping the theories developed by various curriculum experts in mind, the present author has developed an alternative curriculum paradigm for women's studies courses. An example of this paradigm is illustrated through a course syllabus for a sociology course, Marriage
The goals of the course are identified as:

1) to understand the nature and functions of marriage and family systems
2) To identify the impact of modern society on marriage and family
3) To compare the theoretical frameworks of marriage and family relations
4) To appreciate the history and development of marriage and family
5) To evaluate research on alternative life styles and family relations throughout the life cycle
6) To identify future trends in marriage and family patterns.

The format of the class would consist of lectures, films, guest speakers and discussions. The students will be encouraged to develop generative themes with the input of the instructor. These generative themes would form the focus of the class discussions, supplemented with information from the assigned texts.

The students would also be required to keep an intellectual journal that would allow for the instructor to determine their understanding of the concepts, theories, attitudes that relate to the subject material being discussed, as well as illustrate to the instructor how they view a particular issue and how it fits into their own personal lives. The journals would also allow the students the freedom to explore new areas and gain a better understanding of their thoughts, feelings and attitudes.

The textbooks that would be used to illustrate various components of the course would include: The Marriage and Family Experience, by Bryan Strong, Rebecca Reynolds, Murray Suid, and Jane Dabaghian, and Current Issues in Marriage and The Family by J. Gipson Wells. These
texts form the basis for the division of issues to focus on: social-historical change in the family, the family in early industrial society, marital and familial development throughout the life cycle, the married couple, the family unit, and alternative coupling and non-coupling, and breaking up: separation, divorce, widowhood and rebuilding.

Throughout the course, the students would be encouraged to think critically about the issues, relate them to their own personal lives, re-evaluate their basic assumptions, consider alternative ways of thinking and act upon their ideas -- combining reflection and action.

Participation within a course of this nature would encompass the philosophies of Paulo Freire and the aspects of feminist inquiry, thereby providing the means for the students to direct their creative potential.

Summary

A feminist perspective interwoven with the educational philosophy of Paulo Freire offers an innovative curriculum paradigm for women's studies courses and programs. The theoretical and methodological framework has been established for challenging individuals to think critically, reflect upon their actions, then put them into practice.

Theoretically the concept of a feminist perspective within women's studies has served a necessary function to evaluate critically and challenge the male-dominated patriarchal structure. Women's studies offers the tools by providing women (and men) with avenues for changing their own lives. However, this is limited because the current participants within academic women's studies have been trained in
traditional disciplines, and they bring that training into the field of women's studies. Until we can retrain, resocialize and reconstruct a framework that is not built on the patriarchal structure, only then can we alter the current structure. Thus, women's studies needs the component that Freire offers -- change toward altering ourselves and the world as a social and political force.

This dissertation has some limitations; the most obvious one is that it needs to be implemented. Thus, I encourage people who are interested in creating innovative teaching methods to utilize this paradigm within their classroom settings. In utilizing this paradigm, I hope that you would pursue creative teaching interchanges between yourselves and your students. I also challenge you to establish a clearer definition within the academic arenas that enhances the educational process and defines the true function of education. If education is an act of love and thus an act of courage, it cannot fear the analysis of reality or avoid creative discussion in its effort to liberate people.
APPENDIX A

1963 - PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN
Means of acquiring or continuing education must be available to every adult at whatever point he or she broke off traditional formal schooling. The structure of adult education must be drastically revised. It must provide practicable and accessible opportunities, developed with regard for the needs of women, to complete elementary and secondary school and to continue education beyond high school. Vocational training, adapted to the nation's growing requirement for skilled and highly educated manpower, should be included at all of these educational levels. Where needed and appropriate, financial support should be provided by local, state, and federal governments and by private groups and foundations.

In a democracy offering broad and everchanging choices, where ultimate decisions are made by individuals, skilled counseling is an essential part of education. Public and private agencies should join in strengthening counseling resources. States and school districts should raise their standards for state employment service counselors and school guidance counselors. Institutions offering counseling education should provide both course content and ample supervised experience in the counseling of females as well as males, adults as well as adolescents.

The education of girls and women for their responsibilities in home and community should be thoroughly re-examined with a view to discovering more effective approaches, with experimentation in
content and timing, and under auspices including school systems, private organizations, and the mass media.

**Home and Community**

For the benefit of children, mothers, and society, child-care services should be available for children of families at all economic levels. Proper standards of child care must be maintained, whether services are in homes or in centers. Costs should be met by fees scaled to parents' ability to pay, contributions from voluntary agencies, and public appropriations.

Tax deductions for child-care expenses of working mothers should be kept commensurate with the median income of couples when both husband and wife are engaged in substantial employment. The present limitation on their joint income, above which deductions are not allowable, should be raised. Additional deductions, of lesser amounts, should be allowed for children beyond the first. The 11-year age limit for child-care deductions should be raised.

Family services under public and private auspices to help families avoid or overcome breakdown or dependency and establish a soundly based homelife, and professionally supervised homemaker services to meet emergency or other special needs should be strengthened, extended, or established where lacking.

Community programs under public and private auspices should make comprehensive provisions for health and rehabilitation services, including easily accessible maternal and child health services, accompanied by education to encourage their use.

Volunteers' services should be made more effective through coor-
ordinated and imaginative planning among agencies and organizations for recruitment, training, placement, and supervision, and their numbers augmented through tapping the large reservoir of additional potential among youth, retired people, members of minority groups, and women not now in volunteer activities.

Women in Employment

Equal opportunity for women in hiring, training, and promotion should be the governing principle in private employment. An Executive order should state this principle and advance its application to work done under federal contracts.

At present, federal systems of manpower utilization discourage part-time employment. Many able women, including highly trained professionals, who are not free for full-time employment, can work part time. The Civil Service Commission and the Bureau of the Budget should facilitate the imaginative and prudent use of such personnel throughout the government service.

Labor Standards

The federal Fair Labor Standards Act, including premium pay for overtime, should be extended to employment subject to federal jurisdiction but now uncovered, such as work in hotels, motels, restaurants, and laundries, in additional retail establishments, in agriculture, and in nonprofit organizations.

State legislation, applicable to both men and women, should be enacted, or strengthened and extended to all types of employment, to provide minimum-wage levels approximating the minimum under federal
law and to require premium pay at the rate of at least time and a half for overtime.

The normal workday and workweek at this moment of history should be not more than 8 hours a day and 40 hours a week. The best way to discourage excessive hours for all workers is by broad and effective minimum-wage coverage, both federal and state, providing overtime of at least time and a half the regular rate for all hours in excess of 8 a day or 40 a week.

Until such time as this goal is attained, state legislation limiting maximum hours of work for women should be maintained, strengthened, and expanded. Provisions for flexibility under proper safeguards should allow additional hours of work when there is a demonstrated need. During this interim period, efforts should continously and simultaneously be made to require premium rates of pay for all hours in excess of 8 a day or 40 a week.

State laws should establish the principle of equal pay for comparable work.

State laws should protect the right of all workers to join unions of their own choosing and to bargain collectively.

Security of Basic Income

A widow's benefit under the federal old-age insurance system should be equal to the amount that her husband would have received at the same time had he lived. This objective should be approached as rapidly as may be financially feasible.

The coverage of the unemployment-insurance system should be extended. Small establishments and nonprofit organizations should be
covered now through federal action, and state and local government employees through state action. Practicable means of covering at least some household workers and agricultural workers should be actively explored.

Pain maternity leave or comparable insurance benefits should be provided for women workers; employers, unions, and governments should explore the best means of accomplishing this purpose.

Women Under the Law

Early and definitive court pronouncement, particularly by the United States Supreme Court, is urgently needed with regard to the validity under the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments of laws and official practices discriminating against women, to the end that the principle of equality become firmly established in constitutional doctrine.

Accordingly, interested groups should give high priority to bringing under court review cases involving laws and practices which discriminate against women.

The United States should assert leadership, particularly in the United Nations, in securing equality of rights for women as part of the effort to define and assure human rights; should participate actively in the formulation of international declarations, principles, and conventions to improve the status of women throughout the world; and should demonstrate its sincere concern for women's equal rights by becoming a party to appropriate conventions.

Appropriate action, including enactment of legislation where necessary, should be taken to achieve equal jury service in the states.
State legislatures, and other groups concerned with the improvement of state statutes affecting family law and personal and property rights of married women, including the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws, the Council of State Governments, the American Law Institute, and state Commissions on the Status of Women, should move to eliminate laws which impose legal disabilities on women.

Women as Citizens

Women should be encouraged to seek elective and appointive posts at local, state, and national levels and in all three branches of government.

Public office should be held according to ability, experience, and effort, without special preferences or discriminations based on sex. Increasing consideration should continually be given to the appointment of women of demonstrated ability and political sensitivity to policy-making positions.

Continuing Leadership

To further the objectives proposed in this report, an Executive order should:

1. Designate a Cabinet officer to be responsible for assuring that the resources and activities of the federal government bearing upon the Commission's recommendations are directed to carrying them out, and for making periodic progress reports to the President.

2. Designate the heads of other agencies involved in those activities to serve, under the chairmanship of the designated Cabinet officer, as an interdepartmental committee to assure proper
coordination and action.

3. Establish a citizens committee, advisory to the interdepartmental committee and with its secretariat from the designated Cabinet officer, to meet periodically to evaluate progress made, provide counsel, and serve as a means for suggesting and stimulating action.
APPENDIX B

1968 - NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN (NOW)

BILL OF RIGHTS
I. Equal Rights Constitutional Amendment
II. Enforce Law Banning Sex Discrimination in Employment
III. Maternity Leave Rights in Employment and in Social Security Benefits
IV. Tax Deduction for Home and Child Care Expenses for Working Parents
V. Child Care Centers
VI. Equal and Unsegregated Education
VII. Equal Job Training Opportunities and Allowances for Women in Poverty
VIII. The Right of Women to Control Their Reproductive Lives

WE DEMAND:

I. That the United States Congress immediately pass the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution to provide 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," and that such then be immediately ratified by the several States.

II. That equal employment opportunity be guaranteed to all women, as well as men, by insisting that the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission enforces the prohibitions against sex discrimination in employment under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 with the same vigor as it enforces the prohibitions against racial discrimination.

III. That women be protected by law to ensure their rights to return to their jobs within a reasonable time after childbirth without loss of seniority or other accrued benefits, and be paid maternity leave as
as a form of social security and/or employee benefit.

IV. Immediate revision of tax laws to permit the deduction of home and child care expenses for working parents.

V. That child care facilities be established by law on the same basis as parks, libraries, and public schools, adequate to the needs of children from the pre-school years through adolescence, as a community resource to be used by all citizens from all income levels.

VI. That the right of women to be educated to their full potential equally with men be secured by Federal and State Legislation, eliminating all discrimination and segregation by sex, written and unwritten, at all levels of education, including colleges, graduate and professional schools, loans and fellowships, and Federal and State training programs such as the Job Corps.

VII. The right of women in poverty to secure job training, housing, and family allowances on equal terms with men, but without prejudice to a parent's right to remain at home to care for his or her children; revision of welfare legislation and poverty programs which deny women dignity, privacy and self-respect.

VII. The right of women to control their own reproductive lives by removing from penal codes laws limiting access to contraceptive information and devices and laws governing abortion.
APPENDIX C

WILKINS, ERNEST HATCH  THE CENTENNIAL OF THE BEGINNING OF COLLEGE

EDUCATION FOR WOMEN AND FOR COEDUCATION ON THE COLLEGE LEVEL, 1837-1937.
In the early autumn of 1837 four young women and 30 young men entered as Freshmen of the four-year course at Oberlin College leading toward the degree of Bachelor of Arts.

The four young women were Mary Hosford of Oberlin, Ohio; Mary Fletcher Kellogg of Jamestown, New York; Elizabeth Smith Prall of New York City; and Caroline M. Rudd of Huntington, Connecticut.

They were the first women to be accepted for the standard college course. Their matriculation in September, 1837, was the beginning of actual college education for women. It was, as well, the beginning of coeducation on the college level. College education for women thus began as coeducation.

Oberlin College had opened its doors almost four years before, and had been granted a charter by the Ohio Legislature early in 1834. Its first circular had announced that among its objectives was

the elevation of female character, by bringing within the reach of the misjudged and neglected sex, all the instructive privileges which hitherto have unreasonably distinguished the leading sex from theirs.

Until 1837, however, only six men students were enrolled in the Collegiate Department, where the course offered was equivalent to that then followed at Yale College. The course offered by the Female Department was not of college grade, but corresponded to courses given in the ladies' seminaries of the East.

Mary Hosford, Mary Kellogg, Elizabeth Prall and Caroline Rudd had all been registered in the Female Department. One of them as early as the Summer Term of 1834. It is even likely that they attended some of the
classes in the Collegiate Department before 1837, for Oberlin's First Annual Report announced that the higher classes of the Female Department will be permitted to enjoy the privilege of such professorships in the Teachers', Collegiate, and Theological Departments as shall best suit their sex, and prospective employment.

The matriculation of these four young women marked the taking of the final citadel so long and so strongly held by a world which considered the feminine mind incapable of higher pursuit of learning. Like many events which have proved to be highly significant in the history of the world, it was not widely heralded. The early records of the College reveal no contemporary statements of its importance, no ringing phrases of oratory. The Treasurers' account book for 1837 simply testifies in fading ink that Mary Hosford, Mary Kellogg, Elizabeth Prall and Caroline Rudd paid their admission fees into the Collegiate Department—and the current catalogue lists them as Freshmen. Four years later three of them received the degree of Bachelor of Arts.

To one observer, the event did not pass unnoticed. In the annals of American Education for October, 1838, William Woodbridge reviewed the general skepticism toward the Oberlin experiment and summed up:

...the experiment is unequivocally successful. We consider it now fully established, that the sexes may be educated together. This discovery is one of the most important ever made. The benefits which are likely to flow from it are immense. Woman is to be free. The hour of her emancipation is at hand. Daughters of America Rejoice!

The four young women of 1837 were pioneers for the hundreds of thousands of women who following in their footsteps. Today there are in the
United States alone some 570 institutions of learning where college courses are open to women. It is estimated that during the past 100 years more than one million women have received the degree of Bachelor of Arts.

College education for women has had an effect upon every phase of civilization that is an incalculable as it is profound.

By order of the trustees, Oberlin College will devote the day of October 8, 1837, to ceremonies approximately celebrating the centennial of the beginning of college education for women and the co-education at the college level. In a larger sense, however, the Centennial belongs not to Oberlin, but to the whole college world. The Board of Trustees hopes that many colleges and universities, older and younger, whether co-educational or for men or for women, may be moved to recognize this centennial in the autumn of 1937 at such time and in such fashion as may seem most appropriate to them.

Oberlin, Ohio
June 15, 1937

Ernest Hatch Wilkins
President

Bulletin of Oberlin College, New Series No. 347
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