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# How schools fail women : a study of feminists' perceptions of their schooling experiences and women's schooling needs.

Kathryn L. Girard

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HOW SCHOOLS FAIL WOMEN:  
A STUDY OF FEMINISTS' PERCEPTIONS OF  
THEIR SCHOOLING EXPERIENCES AND WOMEN'S SCHOOLING NEEDS

A Dissertation Presented

By

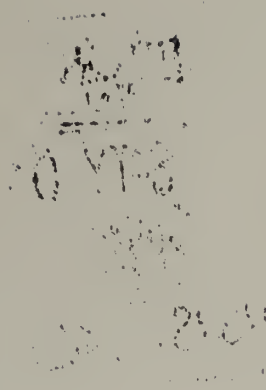
KATHRYN LEE GIRARD

Submitted to the Graduate School of the  
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

MAY, 1974

Major Subject: Curriculum Theory and Development



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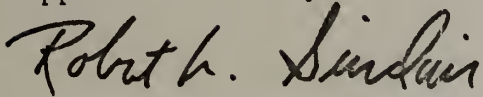
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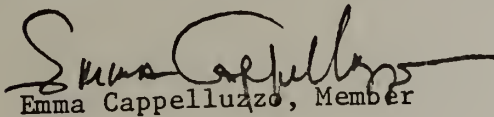
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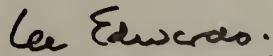
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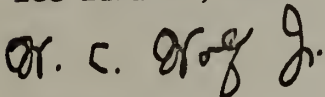
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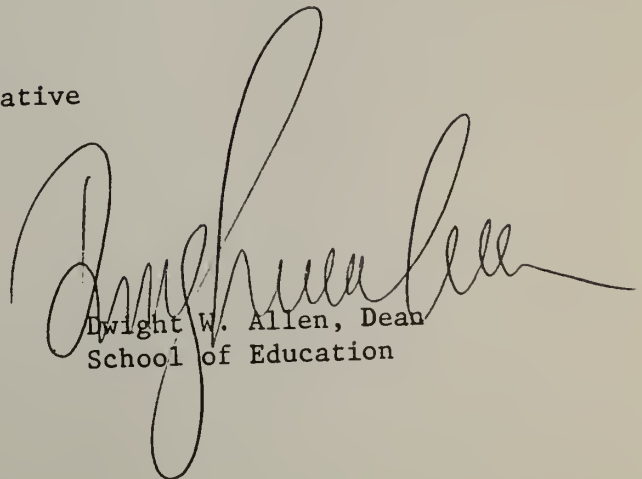
Emma Cappelluzzo, Member



Lee Edwards, Member



William C. Wolf, Jr., Dean's Representative



Dwight W. Allen, Dean  
School of Education

MAY 1974

DEDICATION

To My Mother,

Evlynne Dewey,

Because Apples Do Not Fall

Far From Trees After All.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are many women who contributed to this work. There are those who shared their schooling experiences and their visions of a feminist education by participating in the study as respondents. Their words have moved me often to tears and to laughter and these women truly, most directly, made me want to write this dissertation. There are also those women whose insight, energy, and imagination have provided a constant source of inspiration. Some--like Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Stanton, and Emmaline Pankhust--were figures in an earlier Feminist Movement. That they were all hanging in there as tough old ladies gives me hope and a positive answer to my rhetorical question, "Will I really be doing this when I'm sixty?" Others--like Robin Morgan--are alive and well and transporting questions, visions, tentative answers, and energies of this Feminist Movement across state lines--helping to keep the Movement connected, aware, challenged. Robin, in particular, continually enriches my own understanding of the complexities inherent in what we call Feminism and the Movement. I would not leave you at the barricade or in the gutter, Robin, if ever I knew where it was to be (and that is no simplistic statement).

In the end, inspiration and motivation proved to be not quite enough. I turned daily to the staff of Everywoman's Center for support. Different women at different times (luckily there are over fifty of them) offered shoulders to cry on, back rubs, discussion, faith, pride, and hugs, and encouraged me to take the time I needed for intensive writing. Pat Sackrey has been not only warm and caring throughout this ordeal of dissertation writing, but also provoking and stimulating as a synthesizer of

ideas concerning feminism, anarchism and egalitarian structures. Britt Guttmann and Kaymarion have also provided both emotional and intellectual support. Britt, having gone through the process before, was continually there, having anticipated the next turning, waiting to extend the needed support or prodding. Her technical assistance as final editor-reader has been particularly helpful, even if it's not so easy to read suggestions written in elliptical parables. Kaymarion, for her part, just kept smiling and telling me that I was smarter than anyone else, that the Great Mother would protect, and that all would be well. All is well, and her encouragement and faith of many kinds is a part of that outcome.

Marlene Miller, as Concerned and Sympathetic friend, was also supportive of me and of my work. Unfamiliar with the processes of academic hurdles, Marlene typed many pages with two fingers, read, listened, and finally did what she does best--illustrated the questionnaire.

Emma Cappelluzzo deserves full credit and at least her own paragraph as the catalyst that finally moved me to take pen in hand and write the thing. As both friend and committee member, she has been sensitive to personal and political dimensions of my work as well as to the academic press. She has accordingly nagged, played, argued, and offered time, home made wine, political strategies, and academic counseling.

Bob Sinclair, chairperson of my committee and one of the few men for whom I still take the time to explain things warrants special thanks. He has proved to be an exceptionally helpful program and academic advisor and a strong supporter of my feminist activities. It has not always been easy for either of us, but it has been, finally, worth the struggle.



Perhaps it is right that the women who influenced me first are acknowledged last. Strange but true in this androcentric patriarchal society, I was raised in a matriarchal clan. My mother, my aunt and my grandmother taught me to respect women, to respect myself, to be strong, to believe in my unlimited potential, to be independent, self-sufficient, and self-supporting. I hope they see in this work the positive effects of their early teaching and their continual reinforcement of my strength and independence.

How Schools Fail Women: A Study of Feminists' Perceptions  
of Their Schooling Experiences and Women's Schooling Needs

(May, 1974)

Kathryn Lee Girard, B.A. Bennington College

Directed by: Dr. Robert L. Sinclair

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to explore the changes in the education of females that feminist women perceive necessary to promote the development of women's potentials. The specific research questions that guided the study are:

1. What do feminist women perceive as important aspects of an education for women which promotes the development of their potentials?
2. What aspects of their schooling experiences do feminists perceive as having been mostly positive for them as women?
3. What aspects of their schooling experiences do feminists perceive as having been mostly negative for them as women?

One hundred and three feminist women from various parts of the United States constituted the final sample after non-feminist respondents had been eliminated. The participating women completed and returned a twelve-page questionnaire containing 129 fixed response items and nine open-ended questions eliciting perceptions of elementary, high school

and post-secondary schooling experiences. The distribution of responses for each item was tabulated and percentages calculated in order to ascertain the degree of consensus in perceptions of positive and negative aspects of previous schooling experiences and in perceptions of desirable components of future schooling programs for women. Consensus was determined to be two-thirds of the respondents in agreement. While responses to the open-ended questions did not yield consensus at a level of sixty-six percent agreement, consensus of perception at that level was found for one-sixth of the closed format items.

The findings showed a consensus of perception for almost one-half of the items naming components of a woman's educational program designed to foster women's capabilities. Many of the responses which resulted in a consensual perception define areas of new or revised content--racism, capitalism, feminism, celibacy, lesbianism, problems of living in a nuclear family, and women's herstory, for example. Some pointed to the need for different processes and interactions. Among others, feminists felt it was important for young girls and older women to work together, for women to practice new roles, for women to talk about their individual strengths and those of other women, and for leadership to be shared by the group. Other aspects of schooling found to be significant included a feminist teacher, decision-making by consensus, and extensive counseling, with an emphasis on peer counseling activities.

The data revealed no dominant or consensual perceptions of positive aspects of schooling experiences at the elementary, high school, or post-secondary level. All items which yielded a consensual perception described aspects of the schooling environment which were perceived as negative.

Analysis of negative perceptions of schooling experiences indicated, for elementary school, a lack of interesting or exciting women in the curriculum materials, a lack of encouragement for girls to engage in active learning opportunities, and a strict enforcement of sex-appropriate behaviors.

For high school, the data showed some similar findings: Women were not included as part of the curriculum and femininity and masculinity were perceived as having been enforced by teachers. In addition, over two-thirds of the respondents recalled sex differentiated physical education programs, the failure of schools to teach women to develop strong and healthy bodies, and the lack of encouragement to consider traditionally male careers.

The lack of encouragement to explore male careers also appeared at the post-secondary level as a consensual perception. The only other item attaining a level of significance is that concerning men in leadership roles. That men dominated such positions was perceived as true and negative.

Implications drawn from these findings are presented as an initial articulation of a feminist ideology for women's education. Additionally, implications for further feminist research are advanced.

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## C H A P T E R     I

### INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

Herstorically, women's education has served as a significant complement to the Women's Rights Movement, sometimes as an issue, sometimes as the catalyst for new demands, sometimes as the evidence to support women's claims to equal human rights.<sup>1</sup> Yet, it would be wrong to conclude that an acceptance of women's right to equity in educational opportunity was the basis behind the development of women's education. Rather, the schooling of women in America emerged mainly as the result of economic, political, and social conditions which required women to be educated in order better to meet men's needs. Concern over the need for a thinking and literate electorate was a major force behind the development of males' education. Women, excluded from political activity and responsibility, lacked such a rationale for their education. Women's participation in public schools as both teachers and learners followed the spread of public elementary education which ultimately created demands for teachers that men failed to meet. Women's schooling was

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<sup>1</sup>History--as it is written--has traditionally been his story: One finds information about women's participation only in separate sources. Most card catalogues contain headings for the history of education and for the history of women's education. One does not find the history of men's education as a separate entry because that is the same subject as the history of education. While recognizing its incorrectness, the term herstory will be used throughout this study to underscore the exclusion of women from historical reporting. An excellent article on how historical accounts exclude women through content and language is "Equal Treatment of the Sexes in Social Studies Textbooks," by Elizabeth Burr, Susan Dunn, and Norma Farquhar, Westside Women's Committee, Los Angeles, 1972, (Xerox).

further supported by the Civil War which created a decline in college enrollments and removed many men from teaching service. Women began to be admitted to the universities and high schools in order to keep those institutions financially solvent and also to fill the vacancies in advanced teaching positions which the War had created.<sup>2</sup> A careful study of the herstory of women's education reveals that support in pedagogical or humanitarian principle was rarely present.

It was the political, economic, and social conditions of the early 1800's that forced men to allow women to be educated, however minimally, so that women could instruct young males in basic skills. This admission of more women into more schools at higher levels was not by choice or commitment on the part of the institutions, and it was usually not on an equal basis. Special departments, special courses or classes, and separate facilities characterized women's education as it emerged. The major exceptions to this were some of the female seminaries and colleges which did attempt to provide women with an education of a caliber equal to that provided by good men's schools.<sup>3</sup>

These conditions have resulted in an ideology of women's education today which is little more than a revamped remnant of the views of a century ago. Compare the following two statements:

. . . their education must be wholly directed to their relations with men. To give them pleasure, to be useful to them, to win their love and esteem, to train them in their childhood, to care

---

<sup>2</sup>Mabel Newcomer, A Century of Higher Education for American Women, New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1959, pp. 7 and 14.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 11-31. Also see Eleanor Flexner, Century of Struggle, New York: Atheneum, 1970, pp. 30-40. It should be noted that while the quality may have been equal in some cases, the sex role assumptions still prevailed in the ideology and thus the understood meaning of that equal education.

for them when they grow up, to give them counsel and consolation, to make life sweet and agreeable for them: these are the tasks of women in all times for which they should be trained from childhood.<sup>4</sup>

These then are the fields of greater interest to women than to men--the studies dealing with the institution of the family and all that contributes to its well-being through food, beauty and warmth, shelter and security--which will be developed to supplement the traditional curriculum in proportion as women lose their sense of inferiority in the realm of higher education.<sup>5</sup>

The first is from Rousseau's L'Emile, "the most profound modern discussion of the fundamentals of education, the only modern work of the kind worthy to be put alongside the Republic of Plato," according to Professor William Boyd, editor and translator of Rousseau's work.<sup>6</sup> The second is from a well known work on women's education, Educating Our Daughters, written in 1950 by a president of a women's college. By 1950, conditions had changed radically, but attitudes hardly at all.

In statements on women's education one still encounters, as in White's pronouncement, concern about educating women in an appropriately feminine manner. Edward Eddy, writing a decade later, stresses the value of women's colleges as institutions wherein women can be women while still

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<sup>4</sup>Jean Jacques Rousseau, Emile For Today: The Emile of Jean Jacques Rousseau, translated and interpreted by William Boyd, London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1958, p. 135. It is interesting to note that Boyd chooses to leave out the concluding sentence in Rousseau's original statement. Rousseau concludes the above paragraph by warning, "Tant qu'on ne remontera pas a ce principe, on s'ecartera du but, et tous les preceptes qu'on leur donnera ne serviront de rien pour leur bonheur ni pour le notre," Paris: Garnier Freres, Libraires-Editeurs, 1866, p. 419.

<sup>5</sup>Lynn White, Educating Our Daughters, New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1950, p. 86.

<sup>6</sup>Teachers College Press Catalog, New York: Teachers College Press, 1972, p. 35.

maintaining a high level of academic excellence so that they can develop an action orientation and social consciousness that can later be transmitted to their families.<sup>7</sup> Kolesnik concludes his review of educational alternatives for males and females by stating:

But I am convinced that those who are responsible for the quality of American education should explore the possibilities of the co-institutional school and give serious thought to other ways of grouping students by sex so that boys can be taught as boys, and girls as girls.<sup>8</sup>

Despite style and period differences, one hears in the above statement echoes of Dr. Tappan, President of the University of Michigan more than a century ago, who confessed:

I sometimes fear we shall have no more women in America. If the women's rights sect triumphs, women will try to do the work of men--they will cease to be women while they will fail to become men. They will be something mongrel, hermaphroditic. The men too will lose as the women advance; we shall have a community of defeminated women and demasculated men. When we attempt to disturb God's order, we produce monstrosities.<sup>9</sup>

Unfortunately, the concerns and fears of the past linger on and the question of how to treat the education of females is not yet resolved.

Closely related to the notion of a feminine education for females is that of facilitating women's adjustment to their place in society. The many treatises on women's higher education invariably consider this problem. Even the most recent contributions to this field

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<sup>7</sup> Edward Eddy, "What's the Use of Educating Women?" Saturday Review, May, 1963, pp. 66-68.

<sup>8</sup> Walter Kolesnik, Coeducation: Sex Differences and the Schools, New York: Vantage Press, 1969, p. 188.

<sup>9</sup> As reported in Marjorie Nicholson's The Rights and Privileges Pertaining Thereto, Northampton, Massachusetts: Hampshire Bookstore, 1939, p. 5.

of inquiry, prompted by deep concern, have focused on the need for continuing education for women as a means of helping women adjust to changing life patterns and pressures. It is necessary to recognize that although continuing education programs do satisfy many women's current needs, they assume a life pattern which still denies and frustrates other women's needs and potentials. Continuing education programs are not enough.

The major assumptions underlying most ideological discussions of women's education remain that females grow up to be wives and mothers, if they possibly can, and that "study" is therefore not as important for them. The idea is so strongly supported culturally that while women in colleges express the importance of higher education for themselves, they also maintain that college is not important for women generally.<sup>10</sup> Sweeping assumptions about the nature and implications of sex differences in personality, traits, interests, and abilities are also prevalent in the literature on women's education.

One outcome of one hundred and seventy years of educating women in this country is an ideology of women's education developed within the strictures of an androcentric culture and incorporated into patriarchal institutions. This ideology, variously influenced by pressures arising from changing life patterns of large numbers of women (what women are and do) and by cultural stereotypes of women's role in society (what women's social, economic and political status has been), has betrayed

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<sup>10</sup>K. Patricia Cross, "College Women: A Research Description," Journal of the National Association of Women Deans and Counselors, Volume 32, Number 1, 1968, p. 17.

women.<sup>11</sup> Educational institutions have demonstrated, at best, make-shift attempts to recognize and accomodate changes in women's needs and demands, and at worst, intentional attempts to keep women "in their place."

In the last few years, feminists have begun to challenge various aspects of women's education--counseling practices, course content, admission quotas, and hiring procedures. Feminists offer a different view of women's potential and a differing analysis of the schooling experience. Their views, however, are only beginning to be heard. The increasing pressure on institutions to change ingrained and sexist policies and practices makes it imperative that there be new guidelines for educating women. Toward that end, this study serves as one step in the articulation of an ideology of women's education from a feminist perspective.

#### Purpose of the Study

This study explores the changes in the education of females that feminist women perceive necessary to promote the development of women's potentials. The data collected is based on feminist women's experiences and perceptions of women's potentials, changing roles, life styles and needs. Only feminist women's responses are solicited.

While recognizing the need for changes in the education of men, this study concerns itself solely with the education of women. As previously noted, one does not find studies on men's education in the pure

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<sup>11</sup>The beginning of an ideology which affirms women and attempts to represent a gynocentric position is sketched in Chapter V.

sense since the development of educational institutions and practices has been for the most part the development of educational programs for males.<sup>12</sup> There is, then, a strongly entrenched tradition to justify an approach which examines women's education as a special topic. More importantly, past discrimination warrants the consideration of women's education as a separate and significant concern.

The import of this investigation centers on its contribution to the development of a feminist ideology of women's education and to an increased understanding of what aspects of schooling experiences help or hinder women's psychological, social and intellectual growth. Feminists represent a population whose perspective is future-oriented and expansive rather than traditional and confining. The findings of the study are used to state the components of an education for women that a group of feminist women collectively consider critical to the development of women's potential and to provide direction to a formulation of a feminist ideology of women's education.

This study gives voice to a feminist point of view on the education of women and begins an elaboration of a countervailing feminist ideology.

### Research Questions

The research questions guiding this study are:

- What do feminist women perceive as important aspects of an education for women which promotes the development of women's potentials?

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<sup>12</sup>Newcomer, op. cit., p. 2.



--What aspects of their schooling experiences do feminists perceive as having been mostly positive for them as women?

--What aspects of their schooling experiences do feminists perceive as having been mostly negative for them as women?

Responses to these questions which form the basis of the study are central to conceptualizing suggested directions for educating women.<sup>13</sup>

#### Meaning of Terms

Two major terms to be defined are feminist and ideology. In this study, feminist is defined as an individual actively involved in working toward change in the political, economic, religious, and social status or organization of women based on an understanding of the collective problems of women in this society. Ideology is understood as meaning the combined assertions, theories and aims that constitute a socio-political program.

A third term which requires some definitional grounding is women's potential. Women's potential is becoming an established research field.<sup>14</sup> One assertion frequently tendered in this research is that

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<sup>13</sup>The research questions were generated by the following line of thought: (a) negative and narrow stereotypes of women and their potential influence policies and practices in schools; (b) statements on women's education reflect those stereotypes; (c) feminists are a group who do not accept these narrow views of women's roles and potentials; (d) feminists are a group who have gone through the schooling experience and can analyze it from an understanding of how schooling affected their development as women; (e) feminists should be freer from patriarchal assumptions about education when fantasizing about alternatives for women; (f) the feminist perspective needs to be presented in the literature on women's education.

<sup>14</sup>One can only hope that some day men's potential will also be rigorously studied.

most of the differences between the sexes appear to be cultural in origin.<sup>15</sup> This suggests that, conditioning aside, most women should be able to do what most men do. Supporting this assertion is research on sex differences that points to the existence of far greater differences among members of the same sex than between members of the opposite sex when compared on a given trait, ability, or interest.<sup>16</sup> Jerome Kagan offers an interpretation of the effects of generic sex differences that may be of some help in extending the culturally inculcated conception of women's potential. He states:

We note that Western culture has produced many creative women poets and writers. However, in the nonverbal art forms--music and painting--there are far fewer women than one would expect, considering their numbers in the language arts. Perhaps this asymmetry in choice of creative mode is the price women pay for their initial left hemispheric advantage. Perhaps it is woman, not man, who insists on interlacing sensory experience with meaning. These reversals of popular homilies join other maxims that science has begun to question. For now we know that it is the female, not the male, who is most predictable; the female, not the male, who is biologically more resistant to infirmity; the female's anatomy, not the male's, that is nature's preferred form. Man's a priori guesses about sex differences have reflected an understandable but excessive masculine narcissism.<sup>17</sup>

Women's potential, then, is not limited by biological factors. Women's potential may even be generally greater than men's potential. However, for the purposes of this discussion, women's potential will be viewed

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<sup>15</sup>J. Ralph Audy, "Research on the Nature of Woman," The Potential of Woman, edited by Farber and Wilson, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1963, p. 43.

<sup>16</sup>Jerome Kagan, "The Emergence of Sex Differences," School Review, Volume 80, Number 2, 1972, p. 217; and Leona Tyler, The Psychology of Human Differences, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1965, p. 247.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., pp. 222-223.

as an inherent capacity for learning and doing within unknown boundaries as is present in any human being regardless of sex.

Finally, it should be noted that a definition of women's education is not offered here. Rather, a more meaningful definition may emerge as the result of the articulation of what feminists think women's education should be.<sup>18</sup>

#### Approach to the Study

Responses to a mailed survey questionnaire provide a set of answers to the major research questions. The survey focuses on the collection of qualitative and quantitative data. Frequency tabulations and percentages are used to identify areas of consensus, shared concerns, and conflicting experiences. Open-ended responses are also reported in terms of frequency of similar responses in addition to direct quote reporting. The resulting description of women's schooling experience and their recommendations for an education designed to make women strong are then used in conjunction with educator's statements on women's education to suggest directions for women's education.

The survey questionnaire is developed using the process guidelines outlined by Oppenheim.<sup>19</sup> Feminists are asked to identify questions they feel should be asked in a questionnaire intended to produce information on the changes in education feminists would propose. They

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<sup>18</sup> This definition will be offered in Chapter V.

<sup>19</sup> A. N. Oppenheim, Questionnaire Design and Attitude Measurement, New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1966, p. 34.

are also asked for questions which might differentiate feminists from non-feminists. The literature is reviewed to identify those aspects of women's education recognized as important by experts in the field. The two sets of information are combined to produce an inclusive listing of topics to be covered in the questionnaire. Following this, a trial questionnaire is devised and administered to a group of feminists. The responses are analyzed; ambiguous, irrelevant and duplicate questions are identified and corrected. Further revisions and piloting are pursued as necessary.

Questions of reliability and validity are examined during the piloting process. Some degree of reliability is established through a measure of internal consistency as the questionnaire is developed and tested. However, since the survey asks individuals to remember and then respond, reliability becomes dependent upon consistent and wholistic recall. As this is unlikely, validity is the more important measure.

Two feminists who could be considered extremely knowledgeable about women's education and feminism review the questionnaire for construct validity. Additionally, specific questions of validity for the questionnaire are stated and strategies for responding to these during the developmental stages are outlined. Finally, the resulting data are shown to provide confirmation of validity.

None of the processes yields measure of absolute validity. Nevertheless, the use of the complementary approaches do provide, at a minimum, a series of checks on the questionnaire construction process so that a meaningful level of confidence can be established.

### Limitations

The major limitation of this design lies in uncontrolled variables. The major variable being controlled is that of "feminist" as a criterion for accepting or rejecting a completed response. The variable is initially controlled by distributing the questionnaire through feminist channels and further controlled through a series of filter questions designed to differentiate feminist and non-feminist.

Another limitation is that of an unequal distribution of respondents along the lines of educational attainment and multi-ethnic representation. A set of background questions is provided to broadly define the population reached. Through an analysis of this data, the implications of the study may be understood within the context of the sample's race, class and educational background.

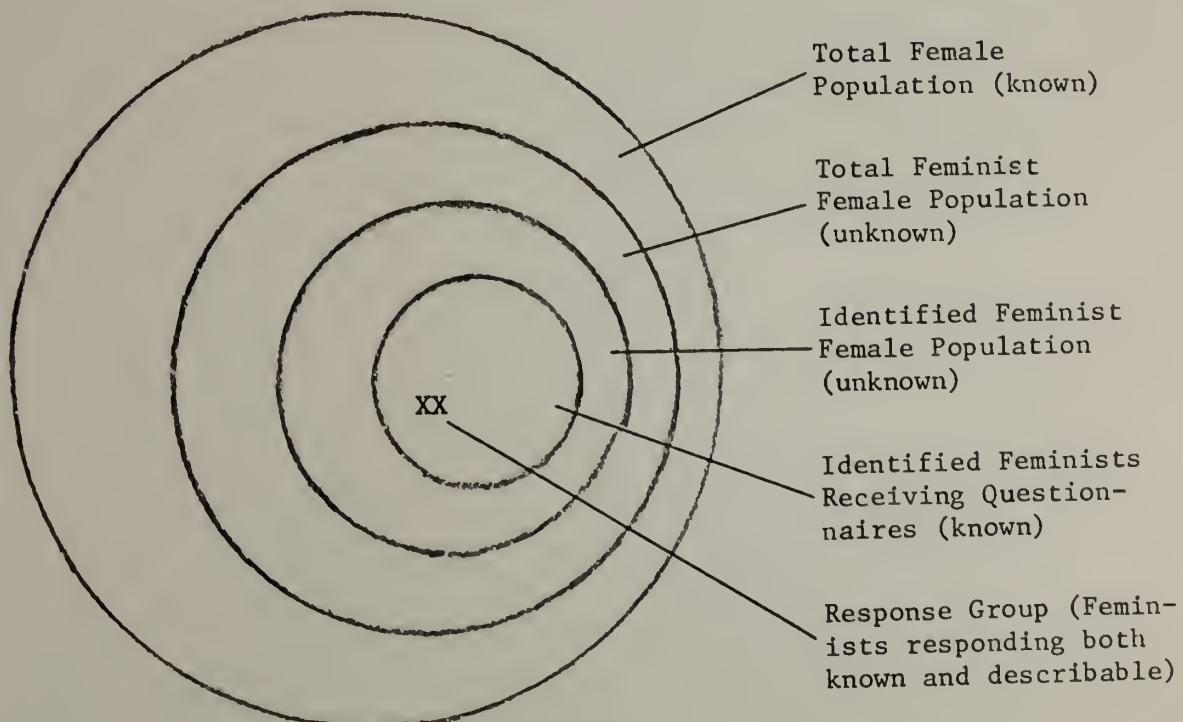
The most frequent error source in survey designs is that of question wording. A careful developmental process and piloting of the instrument are used to mitigate this problem.

Another problem in survey studies is overgeneralization in interpretation of the data. To avoid this, a clear separation is maintained between analysis of feminists' perceptions of their previous schooling experiences and the presentation of their direct and implied prescription for an improved schooling program for all women. The former is not presented as reflecting the experiences of all women, while the latter is generalized as a program desirable for all.

### Sampling

The following methods for securing a sample are utilized: (1) women involved in feminist activities in the Northampton, Massachusetts and Amherst, Massachusetts are asked to contribute names of out-of-state feminist women; (2) contact lists and mailing lists of the Women's Caucus of the School of Education and Everywoman's Center at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst are obtained.

Technically, a random sample is not employed in this study. The sample is essentially self-selected since those contacted will have previously chosen to place themselves within an identifiable feminist group by participating in feminist activities or subscribing to feminist publications. Graphically, the sample can be understood as follows:



While the total female population represents a fairly accurately known quantity, the total number of feminist women cannot even be estimated. Within the unquantifiable set of "feminist female population," there is a smaller group of identified feminists, women who work on feminist action projects, belong to women's centers, subscribe to feminist publications, speak or write about feminist issues, or belong to a support group. The total number of these women is currently unknown. However, because they in some way publicly identify themselves as feminists, they may be sought out and contacted. It is from this group that the sample is obtained. Of those contacted, 103 constitute the respondents. Through the use of background questions, this group is described.

#### Chapter Outline

Chapter II of the study offers a review of the literature on women's education, sex differences, and sex role socialization for the purpose of building a compelling rationale for the study. Chapter III presents the methodology employed in collecting and analyzing the data. Information on the design, research procedures, reliability and validity are detailed. In Chapter IV, the findings are related to the research questions and the data is interpreted. Chapter V provides an elaboration of the implications of the study and advances the beginnings of a feminist ideology of women's education.

## C H A P T E R     I I

### RATIONALE AND REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The following three sections are at once discrete parts and a unified whole. The first section, "Keeping Women in Their Place," examines the herstory of women's education; the second, "Of Sex and Roles and Socialization," looks at gender role socialization; the final section, "Whither the Privilege There the Bias," analyzes research on sex differences. Each part independently provides grounds for reassessing and redefining the rights, privileges and status of women as a group. Each part independently depicts the overt and indirect oppression of women in this society. Each part builds a case for change within the given area: educational ideology, gender role definition, and assumptions about sex differences.

Together, these three sections form a powerful indictment of our culture's androcentrism. Together they constitute a broadly based, solid, and forceful rationale for reconceptualizing an ideology of women's education.

#### Keeping Women in Their Place: The Herstory of the Development of Women's Education

#### Introduction

Women have been discriminated against in education at all levels of decision-making--ideological, societal, institutional, instructional, and learner. In the following herstorical review of the literature on



women's education, the development of ideologies which continue to direct women's schooling are outlined. The discussion proceeds from a documentation of overt discrimination in the development of this country's educational system to an analysis of the ideologies supporting this discrimination and, finally, to a review of contemporary ideologies. The continuity of attitudes over time is made apparent and serves to support the need for a new ideology.

Thomas Woody's History of Women's Education in the United States is essentially a narrative of facts on the development of white women's education in this country. Written in 1929, his work remains the most cohesive, comprehensive and detailed of those available. Farello's History of the Education of Women in the United States, a comparable undertaking, seems disjointed and superficial in contrast. Hence, Woody's volumes serve as the main source in the following discussion on the development of white American women's education. Newcomer's Century of Higher Education for Women and Flexner's Century of Struggle provide supplementary information.

The discussion does not include, for the most part, reference to the development of Third World women's education in this country. There are two major reasons for this. First, the politics of racism combined with those of sexism demand separate and extensive consideration. Second, a study of white and Third World women's education must necessarily include an examination of the differing effects of racism and sexism on the development of their education. Such comprehensive analyses are beyond the purpose of this review. It is important to recognize, however, the double jeopardy created by sex and race

prejudices. White women struggled to combat degrading attitudes toward themselves as human beings, to gain recognition and basic rights in law, education, governance, and all social institutions: Third World women struggled against the same sex-based discrimination and denials in addition to an overwhelming race oppression.<sup>1</sup> Sojourner Truth, a black woman who fought the double battle throughout her life, argued the case of black women, limited to the lowest paying of jobs, to the barest minimum of education, and to the fewest civil rights of any group. During the debates over the Fourteenth Amendment, she described her position:

There is a great stir about colored men getting their rights, but not a word about the colored women; and if colored men get their rights, and not colored women theirs, you see the colored men will be masters over the women, and it will be just as bad as it was before. . . .

I have been forty years a slave and forty years free, and would be here forty years more to have equal rights for all. . . . I suppose I am yet to help to break the chain. I have done a great deal of work; as much as a man, but did not get so much pay. I used to work in the field and bind grain, keeping up with the cradler; but men doing no more got twice as much pay. . . . We do as much, we eat as much, we want as much. . . .<sup>2</sup>

### Prizing the Doors

The only schools open to females during the Colonial period were the Dame schools. These schools served as kindergartens, teaching

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<sup>1</sup>Eleanor Flexner sketches some aspects of the development of black women's education in this country although she does not provide a comprehensive or comparative analysis of the history of black and white women's education. From her work, a sense of the combined effects of sexism and racism can be obtained. See Century of Struggle, Chapters II and VIII. Additional primary source accounts of black women's struggle to obtain schooling can be found in Black Women in White America, edited by Gerda Lerner, New York: Vintage Books, 1973.

<sup>2</sup>Gerda Lerner, Black Women in White America, New York: Vintage Books, 1973, pp. 569-570.

children between the ages of four and seven the alphabet, reading, and numbers. Woody makes clear, however, that differential treatment according to sex was a part of this schooling experience. He notes that "while the dame school was open to girls, its most important function was to give little boys the rudiments of English that they might enter the town schools."<sup>3</sup> With few exceptions, girls were not permitted to enter the town schools. Woody cites a search of the records of two hundred New England towns for confirmation of females being allowed into town schools. Only seven towns gave direct permission to females while an additional five implied that females had permission to attend. Lest this small number appear too encouraging, Woody notes the case of Farmington, Connecticut which voted money for a town school for "all" children in 1687 and then redefined "all" to mean "male" the following year.<sup>4</sup> Beyond the dame schools there were no schools open to females in New England and the South. The exceptions to this were found in the Central colonies where Quaker influence opened town, or elementary, schools to both boys and girls.

When town schools began to instruct female children, it was generally for only a few hours a day, either before or after the boys' schooling hours, or for the summer months when boys were needed at home. Not until the 1820's did women have a more equal access to elementary level education.

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<sup>3</sup>Thomas Woody, A History of Women's Education in the United States, II Volumes, New York: The Science Press, 1929, Volume I, p. 138.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 143.

Prior to the 1820's, the only schools open to females were private schools which offered "ladies" ornamental and domestic "accomplishments" and a few "adventure" schools which sought to provide a more substantial education for females in the late Eighteenth Century.<sup>5</sup> Even then, there were many more private schools available to males.<sup>6</sup>

The development of a public education system was an obvious boon to the development of women's secondary education, although, again, it helped white males more. The first high school for girls was finally established in 1824 in Worcester, Massachusetts. Boston followed by opening Girls Latin in 1826, but closed it in 1828 due to the extremely high enrollment. The reasoning leaves one speechless, especially since it took another fifteen years for secondary schooling to be provided for women in that city.<sup>7</sup> Fortunately, in many places the development of public secondary education for white women proceeded much more evenly.

Oberlin was the first college to grant women the same degrees as were granted to men. The first two women graduated in 1841. It must be noted, however, that though women were being admitted and graduated (in small numbers, obviously) the conditions under which they attended were hardly equal. Flexner quotes from a history of Oberlin College which characterized the "co-eds" as ". . . washing the men's clothes, caring for their rooms, serving them at table, listening to their orations, but themselves remaining respectfully silent in public

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 147-149.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 230.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., pp. 519-520.

assemblages. . . ."<sup>8</sup> The Oberlin catalog further suggested that while a woman might get in, she had not gained entry into the same college as her male peers. It stated:

Young ladies of good minds, unblemished morals, and respectable attainments are received into this department (Normal) and placed under the superintendence of a judicious lady whose duty it is to correct their habits and mold the female character.<sup>9</sup>

Coeducation was a highly controversial issue, raising all the questions of women's inferiority, brainsize, frailty, morality, and social needs. When women finally won their long battle for admission to the University of Michigan, professors were paid a considerable sum in addition to their salary as compensation for teaching women.<sup>10</sup> The University of Missouri had opened its doors to women--partially--in 1870 by allowing them into the normal department. An evaluation of this experiment resulted in the college's president reporting:

Finding. . . that the young women at "the Normal" did no manner of harm, we very cautiously admitted them to some of the recitations and lectures in the University building itself, providing always they were to be marched in good order, with at least two teachers one in front and the other in the rear of the column as guards.<sup>11</sup>

By 1870, there were still only eight state universities open (with varying degrees of limitations and conditions) to women.

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<sup>8</sup>Eleanor Flexner, Century of Struggle, New York: Atheneum, 1970, p. 30.

<sup>9</sup>Ruth W. Darling, "College Women: Do They Fit the Research Description," Journal of the National Association of Women Deans and Counselors, Volume 32, Number 1, Fall, 1968).

<sup>10</sup>Marjorie Nicholson, The Rights and Privileges Pertaining Thereto, Northampton, Massachusetts: Hampshire Bookstore, 1939, p. 5.

<sup>11</sup>Mabel Newcomer, A Century of Higher Education for American Women, New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1959, p. 14.

Women's higher education owes perhaps its greatest debt to the women's college. The idea of a college for women had begun to be voiced as early as 1825 but the first college able to duplicate the course offerings of the male colleges wasn't opened until 1875. Several women's colleges then opened their doors on an equal basis--Smith, Vassar, Mt. Holyoke. It began to be generally accepted that women, to some degree, should be educated.

These herstorical facts of the early development of women's education starkly outline the blatant discrimination against women. They speak to the limitations imposed, directly by exclusion or more subtly by differential treatment, on women's activities, participation, and contributions in society. As bad as these conditions were, they were conditions that could be changed by law, convention, fashion, or money. Women, by the end of the Nineteenth Century, were being educated in schools on a more equal basis. Women were breaking sex stereotypes and frontiers by becoming doctors, lawyers and ministers, among other things. One devastating aspect of this herstory was the formulation of ideologies of women's education based on images of women as the weaker sex which persisted despite women's admission to educational institutions. An obvious manifestation of this gap between what women were doing and what was assumed about women's interests and abilities can be seen in the fact that the suffrage amendment was not supported by universities and colleges, or by women working for women's educational advancement. Obviously, the purpose of women's education was something other than fuller participation in governance and the public domain. It is this ideological influence that warrants some elaboration and discussion now.

It is in this area that one can still find threads of the Eighteenth Century woven into the design of education in the late Twentieth.

### Ideological Pogromming

To begin, an outline of some of the major tenets of the ideologies espoused during the development of women's education is necessary. Having thus set the stage, some of the more "modern" ideological views can be reviewed.

There are several themes which dominate the discussion of what women's education should or should not be. These themes, while presented in a rough chronological order, are by no means exclusive to the centuries cited. Each has a herstory reaching back into the development of Western civilization and continues to be proclaimed periodically, though in new syntax, to be sure.

One important theme is that of educating women for their specific sex job. Benjamin Rush, a staunch advocate of women's education in the Eighteenth Century, and certainly an educator of considerable influence appeals to this concept. In explaining Rush's views as to how the education of "ladies" should be accomodated to society, manners and the government, Woody summarizes Rush's "Thoughts Upon Female Education" as follows:

The factors of American life which definitely influence female education are: first early marriages, which leave little time for it, and that little time must be spent on "the more useful branches of literature;" second, the "state of property," which requires that every one in America work to advance his fortune, makes it necessary that females be capable of assisting as "stewards and guardians of their husbands' property;" third, as the husband is taken from home on business, it follows that the wife must be prepared to intelligently educate her children; fourth, political freedom and men's

possibility of taking part in the conduct of government requires that women "should be qualified to a certain degree by a peculiar and suitable education, to concur in instructing their sons in the principles of liberty and government;" and fifth, the lack of a class of servants who know their duties, and do them, requires that female education be directed to domestic affairs--for as he quotes an American woman, "They are good servants, who will do well with good looking after."<sup>12</sup>

The impact of this incredible ideology was to cast(e) women and their education into a sex divided role.

Noah Webster, the speller, defined education for ladies in 1787 as one that makes them "correct in their manners, respectable in their families, and agreeable in society. That education is always wrong which raises a woman above her station."<sup>13</sup> The theme here is fairly explicit: Keep women in their place, whether it be her place within a class, or her general caste position.

Emma Willard, whose contributions to women's education were outstanding, based her appeal on the theme of motherhood. She stated:

. . . our sex need but be considered in the single relation of mothers. In this character, we have the charge of the whole mass of individuals, who are to compose the succeeding generation. . . . Considered in this point of view, were the interests of male education alone to be consulted, that of females becomes of sufficient importance to engage the public attention. Would we rear the human plant to its perfection, we must first fertilize the soil which produces it. . .<sup>14</sup>

A variation of this theme is that of woman, the educator of the human mind. This idea of women as the natural teachers was espoused by Catherine Beecher, another pioneer in women's education whose influence

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<sup>12</sup> Woody, op. cit., p. 308.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., Volume II, p. 151.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., Volume I, p. 308.



was also far reaching. The impact of her philosophy was the development of professional training as a goal of women's higher education. Unfortunately, given the ideological basis, the emphasis in practice was on training women only in teaching and then gradually in other "nurturing" areas.

As rational and unthreatening as Beecher and Willard's appeals seem, they did not inhibit responses on the order of the Rev. John Todd's who reiterated the ancient theme of protecting women. Despite the fact that by 1890 women were graduating from numerous universities as strong, healthy, intelligent, and contributing (when they were allowed) persons, Todd stated that "as for training young ladies through a long intellectual course, as we do young men, it can never be done. They will die in the process."<sup>15</sup>

In the early 1900's when it was fairly clear that women could not only complete but actually excel at college work, several coeducational institutions began making appeals for changes in women's education based on what would be best for men. This can be classified as the second class citizen theme which tends to be manifest only when the reality of what women can do begins to encroach on: (1) the myth of women's role, place or status; and (2) the male ego. Gradual segregation in coeducational universities such as Chicago, Wisconsin and Stanford was justified on the basis of four points:

1. The rapid increase of women at the universities involved (general feminization was feared);

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid., Volume II, p. 154.

2. Election of certain courses of the liberal arts college to such an extent as to effect the flight of men from the same;
3. Objection of men students to the attendance of women; and
4. The need for a peculiar education for woman that should have regard for her nature and her vocation.

The dominant objectives of women's education derived from these various ideologies were: preparation for the home, cultivation of grace and gentility, development of mental powers for a richer life, and preparation for a profession (usually teaching).<sup>16</sup>

#### More of the Same

In the Twentieth Century, women have been renowned as doctors, lawyers, physicists, athletes, writers, artists, journalists, dancers, politicians, judges, and most other things. Not surprisingly, the nation has not suffered as a result. It has, in fact, benefitted. The logical inference to be drawn would be that women had "proven" themselves as equal members of the species, with equal rights, free choices among life goals, and educational equity. Yet, the facts show women being blatantly denied equal privileges (as in sexual mores), legal rights (rape laws are real killers), constitutional rights (think about the vociferous opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment which may not pass), employment opportunities (both hiring, promotion and pay), and higher education (in admissions and counseling). Colleges and universities have quota systems for admitting women students, and subject

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 192.

female applicants to higher admission standards than those set for men. Supporting these practices are a set of educational ideologies which, for the most part, echo those of a century or more ago.

Lynn White, author of Educating Our Daughters, builds upon the concept of women's sex role function and employs the theme of keeping women in their place as a recurring motif. Since this is the Twentieth Century and we are all liberal humanitarians, these themes are introduced under the title of developing one's individual potential. This leads to some interesting contradictions. On the one hand, White states some goals for women's education which initially sound very worthwhile. First, he suggests, women should be prepared for realistic life planning. Second, women must be "led to a clear and unemotional understanding of the peculiar development of the condition of women in our society." Third, a woman should be educated in an environment in which it is assumed that "women are as worthy of respect as men and that the things they tend to do best are as significant and honorable as the things men tend to do best. She should be free to follow her every individual bent, without being subject to the pressure of masculine notions of what is womanly on the one hand, or unimportant on the other."<sup>17</sup> Now, at first reading these goals seem to suggest an ideology which would foster the development of women's potential. However, closer examination of the specific proposals White makes disclose the same assumptions as those of the Eighteenth Century. Namely, women should be educated to better fulfill their sex role function. White categorizes subjects

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<sup>17</sup>Lynn White, Educating Our Daughters, New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1950, p. 63.

taught within the liberal arts as masculine and feminine. History, philosophy, literature, politics, and economics are all "masculine." Unfortunately, though White points out that women, as part of the content of these areas, have been omitted, his proposal is the creation of disciplines more feminine in orientation. Those devoted to exploring "the quiet and unspectacular forces of society and of the mind which hold resources for binding together, sustaining and healing. They embrace the feminine preoccupation with conserving and cherishing."<sup>18</sup> In addition, White proposes courses in foods as exciting and difficult as a course in "post-Kantian philosophy," in addition to courses on costume design, interior decoration, house planning and furnishing, flower arrangements, garden design, and of course, the family and child development. White's hope is that these fields, "those that women tend to do best," will achieve places of honor equal to those accorded masculine fields of interest. So much for women developing their potential. White has already channeled the direction of that potential.

This contradiction of stating that women should develop their potential but then defining that potential in terms of a limited sex role or a "natural sphere" occurs throughout the literature on women's education. The "Report of the Committee on Education to the President's Commission on the Status of Women" also appeals to both the theme of women developing their potential and to that of women assuming specific sex role labor responsibilities. The report states:

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<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 64.

There should be the widest possible opportunities for women to develop their potential and use their capabilities; to know the choices that may be open to them and to exercise those choices. . . . Expanding career opportunities should not displace traditional responsibilities of women in the home and in the local community.<sup>19</sup>

The force of Benjamin Bush's ideology is still being felt in policies governing women's education today.

In Komarovsky's Women in the Modern World, Rush's notion of educating women to fulfill a specific sex role function is somewhat modified. Komarovsky allows women more freedom from the home and greater participation in the dominant culture. Like White, whom she attacks as a modern anti-feminist, Komarovsky places all her comments on women's education in the context of women's needs. Yet she also places the range of these needs and possible responses to them in a circumscribed and narrow set. Komarovsky talks about the goals of educating women for citizenship and vocation. But she does this in the context of roles appropriate and fulfilling to a wife and mother. That she sees the nature and range of women's participation as occurring within a distinctly feminine sphere is clear in statements such as the following: ". . . insofar as sociology, anthropology and psychology can aid in the understanding of human relations, men--the future doctors, businessmen, statemen, and writers--will equally profit by these subjects."<sup>20</sup> Women derive benefit from these subjects because the

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<sup>19</sup>"Report of the Committee on Education to the President's Commission on the Status of Women," Mary Bunting, Chairperson, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, October, 1963.

<sup>20</sup>Mirra Komarovsky, Women in the Modern World: Their Education and Their Dilemmas, Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1953, p. 258.

content will help them participate in meaningful volunteer activity in their local communities, while men can go on to be better leaders.

Komarovsky's analysis of many of the problems of women's education and women's role in society points out the devastating contradictions women face in trying to mold themselves to fit a role which allows them no opportunity to develop individual talents and affords no status, no prestige, no power, and no worth in terms of the dominant white male value structure. But the ideology for women's education that emerges from her analysis focuses on having "women make the best possible adjustment to current contradictions." While it is true that education alone is not enough, as Komarovsky points out, it is not true that it can only have adjustment as a goal.

Evidence of Rush's theme, educating women to meet society's needs, is also expressed by Kate Mueller in her book, Educating Women For a Changing World. Unlike her predecessor, Rush, and her contemporary, Komarovsky, Mueller attempts to move beyond an appeal to educating women for the carrying out of specific sex role responsibilities. She succeeds in getting beyond the notion of educating women based on what is appropriate for their feminine sphere. She gives her blessing to "women wrestlers and baseball players, with hard faces and bulging muscles, to successful women political bosses who smoke cigars and snarl orders to their henchmen, to aggressive and competent working women who stay on the job until hospital time."<sup>21</sup> She argues for a liberal arts education that would be truly liberating for women whose growth has

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<sup>21</sup>Kate Hevner Mueller, Educating Women for a Changing World, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954, pp. 252-253.

been stunted by American tradition, by the society's sex prejudice, and by their own lack of awareness. But the ideology proposed falls short of supporting that liberation. A major principle in her program for educating women is that women "must be educated to play the dual roles of earner and homemaker and to do both efficiently and with the maximum of enjoyment." The net result is one of simply adding to woman's sex role various aspects of the male sex role. Liberation without choices is a questionable achievement.

Edward Eddy, writing in the sixties, propounds the views of Emma Willard and others of the Nineteenth Century who felt women should be educated because they are mothers.<sup>22</sup> Noting that the roles of wife and mother are not those receiving high rewards and recognition in terms of the dominant culture, Eddy suggests that a woman's education should prepare her to fight feelings of self-pity arising from her position and instead recognize her skills and contributions.<sup>23</sup> His is an ideology of women's education that totally restricts women to the family. He appeals to the notion that a special education for women which is not geared to utility awakens a greater sense of value and results in a better person. One might ask why we don't want men to be better persons and give them an education lacking utility. But then again, the answer is clear. Men aren't mothers.

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<sup>22</sup>The logical extension is, of course, not because they are persons.

<sup>23</sup>Edward D. Eddy, "What's the Use of Educating Women?" Saturday Review, May 18, 1963, pp. 66-68.

The theme running through Patricia Sexton's educational ideology is blatantly hostile to women. While she describes the problems women face in this society and states the question of how to get women out of the "box" they're in, she fails to consider at all the needs she identifies as she maps out a new educational program. Her book is a classic statement of male chauvanism. Women get whatever they can after the system is arranged in terms of men's needs. Her ideology is essentially one aimed at building virile males and her program focuses on ways of bringing into schools the "energy and spontaneity of the virile males." She goes on to say that the most likely recruit for elementary school teaching may be the real man's man. The education of the other half of the species is virtually dismissed in one sentence: "Set male standards and most girls will probably follow them."<sup>24</sup>

Unfortunately, this theme, "what do males need," guides educational ideologies, policies, research, and projects. What women need is an educational program that asks what do women need--not as wives and mothers, not as the complementing other half--but rather, in order to grow and develop to the fullest extent.

Gladys Harbson attempts to provide this type of ideology in her work, Choice and Challenge for the American Woman. She examines the realities of women's lives and describes changed life patterns which warrant changed schooling patterns. The theme of her work is that of women developing their potentials in order to attain self-fulfillment--no strings attached. The theme is undercut to some extent, however, by

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<sup>24</sup>Patricia Cayo Sexton, The Feminized Male: Classrooms, White Collars and the Decline of Manliness, New York: Vintage Books, 1970, p. 153.



an acceptance of the current patterns of women's lives. An educational ideology truly supporting the development of women's potentials should, perhaps, not be based on current limitations and restrictions placed on women by life patterns developed within an oppressive and sexist society.

Freda Goldman's exploration of alternative goals in educating women also focuses on the theme of educating women "to have. . . the courage of their native intelligence and also give them an opportunity to use it." Her theme is clearly that of developing women's potential. Unlike Harbison, Goldman visualizes both different life patterns and a different type of educational institution designed specifically to support women's learning and their trying out of new roles. One problem with the ideology as stated is that it is based on women working outside the paid labor force. She conceptualizes women fulfilling themselves in "leisure-time" occupations. Unfortunately, Goldman does not examine the full implications of this division between women's leisure and men's jobs. The fact that forty percent of all women work and that more women are heads of households now than ever before suggests that the plan may be impractical as a tool for predicting, understanding, or changing reality. However, it is the plan, not the ideology which may not be a feasible and complete solution. At least there is one voice over the centuries building a case for women's needs being considered as independent and important.

### Summary

Ideology, no matter how defined, connotes a hint of idealism. At the level of ideological influence, then, one expects the assertion of what is desirable, rather than what is, or must be, given conventional

constraints. Ideologies of women's education were developed within a totally male dominated culture. What was perceived by men as desirable for women had an obviously direct connection only to what men perceived as beneficial for themselves. Women do not need, cannot withstand without pain and damage, definition on such foundations. Women and not men, women who are attempting to recast women's role in society, must begin to define what is in their self-interest and what is not.

Educational ideologies and institutions are only two elements of the set of cultural tools for keeping women defined, valued and "understood" in male terms. The following sections of this chapter identify other cultural forces used to keep women in a subjugated state.

## Of Sex and Roles and Socialization

### Introduction

In this section, literature which pertains to sex roles and sex role socialization will be used to argue the cultural basis of sex roles. It is important to note at the outset that the research and theories of experts will be elucidated and discussed only to the extent that they support the point that sex roles are overwhelmingly determined and developed by cultural forces. Since the author and other feminist women find themselves in their life goals, beliefs, values, and daily behavior radically contradicting what is generally described as the "female role;" since first-hand knowledge and observation reveal that many women do not behave in "typically female" ways and do pursue life styles outside the range of what is "normal for women;" and, since the author knows herself and these other women to be of solid physical and psychological

health, despite rejections of the normal female role, it is clear that sex roles are externally imposed man-made structures.<sup>25</sup> Should this empirical evidence not have been available to the reader before, however, experts' findings detailed here should persuade the reader of the truth.

The proposed eclectic review of others' work can be supported both theoretically and politically in addition to the empirically based rationale provided above. Joseph Schwab's description of the eclectic mode in his work, Curriculum: A Language of the Practical, affords one justification for not relying on any one theory or set of ideas. According to Schwab, all theories are incomplete and, therefore, only a synthesis of many can begin to describe the real whole. Theoretical support also exists in the basic definition of theory. Most definitions of good theory refer to the necessity for a theory to describe what is real. Thus, any theory that fails to account for the realities of one's own life and those of the women around her is suspect of being incomplete and overwhelmingly inaccurate; that so many social theories fail by this criterion is most likely a function of androcentrism in our culture.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup>An alternative explanation to account for the exceptions which would assume a biological basis for sex roles unfolds as follows: for some reason a biological adaptation is in progress which seems to be directing women not to accept past sex role limitations, but to develop more outwardly assertive and visible roles. Such a biological change could well be based on natural, survival-of-the-species, evolutionary change, stemming from the effects of five thousand or so of male patriarchy and its threat to continued life. Without discarding such a hypothesis, this paper will be content to simply explore the cultural argument.

<sup>26</sup>An excellent way to gain a sense of what this type of bias feels, sounds and looks like is to read Elizabeth Gould Davis' The First Sex, Baltimore: Penguin Books, Inc., 1972. Davis' book has a strong gynocentric base (which is different from a feminist perspective). Particular attention should be paid to the tone and assumptions in the work. Most of our culture's work--in all disciplines--manifests the exact opposite in underlying approach; they all carry an androcentric bias.

From a political base, one can also defend an eclectic use of experts and their evidence. No one segment of a culture should be in the position of having to wait for experts (who are, for the most part, experts within, for, and supported by the dominant culture) to expound an analysis which speaks to that segment's oppression by the dominant culture; nor should that group wait for benevolent intervention from within the dominant culture's expert group to disclose the manipulation of expertness for the benefit of the dominant culture.

The literature on sex role socialization, then, will be presented under five areas, each of which will argue for the cultural influence on sex roles. Definitions of "role" will be discussed. The specific meaning and use of the term sex role and gender role will then be explored. The use of socialization as a cultural tool will be described. Empirical evidence, experimental research, comparative anthropology, herstorical events, and contemporary social analyses will be reviewed in terms of the nature versus nurture case. Finally, predictions for the future will be outlined.

All the World's A Stage,  
Or, What's In A Role

Definitions, especially those of familiar words, frequently reveal subtleties of meaning which exist beneath our conscious or intended thought and usage. Such may be the case with the term "sex role." In order to understand the full import of the phrase, and the condition to which the term applies the concept of "role" must be examined.

A role is generally understood as a position, office, or status which carries with it certain expectations of behavior. These expectations

basically define the role although it is understood that, to some degree, an individual's idiosyncratic personality will be exhibited in any given role. Young describes role, generally, as the individual's performance of activity directed to some aim. He defines an ascribed role as one "set down in advance by the cultural norms or expectancies without reference to innate differences in ability or strength and without reference to personal choice."<sup>27</sup> Homans describes a role as "the dynamic aspects of a status. The individual is socially assigned to a status and occupies it in relation to others. When he (sic) puts the rights and duties which constitute the status into effect, he (sic) is performing a role."<sup>28</sup> Role theory sketches several other dimensions of this concept.

Owens, for example, discusses three aspects of role: role prescription, role expectation, and role perception. Role prescription refers to the abstract notion of the cultural norm for the role. Role expectation refers to the expectations that one person holds for the role behavior of another. Role perception is the "perception that one has of the role expectation that another person holds for him (sic)."<sup>29</sup>

These variations and expansions on the meaning of the concept "role" suggest that there are culturally held norms for all roles, that others interact with an individual based on their assumptions about how

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<sup>27</sup> Kimball Young, Sociology: A Study of Society and Culture, 2nd Edition, New York: American Book Company, 1949, p. 465.

<sup>28</sup> George C. Homans, The Human Group, New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1950, p. 11.

<sup>29</sup> Robert G. Owens, Organizational Behavior in Schools, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970, p. 72.

someone in a given role behaves in a specific situation, and finally that an individual, in turn, modifies her behavior based on her perceptions of others' expectations of a given role.<sup>30</sup> The implication that roles are both taught and learned should be evident.

Another dimension of this social learning is that as individuals' roles change, so do their behaviors and the behaviors of others toward them. A classic example is that of the woman who gets married. Married, she acquires a new specialized role appropriate to and actually a part of her sex role, that of "wife." In most cases, her relationships with single friends will be altered. Most likely, they will call her less frequently, asking her to join only in some activities. The new wife must review how wives are supposed to act toward husbands as well as toward other men and women outside the marriage relationship. She has the expectations of her husband to guide her behavior.<sup>31</sup> She has parents and parents-in-law, Dear Abbey, and the Church to provide her with guidelines.

Some roles are only temporary--lasting a few minutes to a few years; others are more generalized and pervasive. For example, in the course of a meeting, you might take on the role of devil's advocate in order to increase understanding of an issue. In that setting, there would

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<sup>30</sup>It should be quite clear that the use of the pronoun he as an inclusive term is unacceptable. The pronoun she will be used here. Since the ultimate concern of this work is women, it is perfectly acceptable if the reader finds herself excluding men or feeling excluded.

<sup>31</sup>Many studies document the influence of husbands' attitudes toward work, for example, on wives' behavior. Marjorie Hawley's article, "The Relationship of Women's Perceptions of Men's Views of the Feminine Ideal to Career Choice" (doctoral dissertation, Claremont Graduate School, 1968), and Carole Leland's "Women-Men-Work: Women's Career Aspirations as Affected by the Male Environment" (doctoral dissertation, Stanford University, 1966), are good examples of this research.

probably not be any far-reaching consequences from the brief adoption of that role. Others in the group would probably not significantly alter their behavior toward you during the rest of the meeting or after it, although they might react to you differently while you assumed the devil's advocate role. The role of "student," on the other hand, while also a temporary one, is more likely to evoke behavior directly related to that role label. Initially, other students might respond to you warmly because your role suggests an immediate identification or common interest. A landlord might be distrustful of renting housing to you, a student, because of past experiences with others in that role, perhaps despite obvious personal characteristics. Yet, "student" is still a temporary role--one which can be easily discarded, hidden or modified by other roles: "husband," "teacher," "waitress," etc.

Roles based on sex, however, are highly generalized. As generalized roles, they determine and limit other roles that individuals might elect to pursue.<sup>32</sup> In other words, the role specifies the set of all other possible roles for a person.<sup>33</sup>

The two most important aspects of the concept role, in light of the argument being presented here, are that roles influence the behavior of others toward one and, in turn, govern one's own behavior. The

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<sup>32</sup>Ruth E. Hartley, "American Core Culture: Changes and Continuities," Sex Roles in Changing Society, edited by Seward and Williamson, New York: Random House, 1970, p. 126.

<sup>33</sup>Research has documented the high degree of agreement (ninety-nine percent) among children as to what men and women do, should do, and can do. See, for example, Goodwin Watson's "Psychological Aspects of Sex Roles," Social Psychology: Issues and Insights, Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1966, p. 427.

implications of these points, when the role is one ascribed at birth, given for life, immediately visible and thus the first "role" to which someone else can respond, are certainly staggering. As the notion of "sex role" is developed and as the socialization process is described, the tyranny of the sex role as a culturally sustained phenomenon should become clearer.

Sex By Genitalia, Gonads,  
Or Hormones: Whose Choice?

That there are men and women, two distinct sexes, has always been appreciated as a neat, clean and straight-forward fact of life. Two sexes has been the basis for innumerable divisions of labor, love, law, and pleasure: Biological males work outside the home, females in the home; biological men seek love from biological females and vice versa; all biological males vote and all biological females don't; biological males enjoy drinking with other biological males, while biological females prefer gossiping with other females. The clear division between the sexes has brought us inner space and outer space; the oedipal and electra complexes; yin and yang; normal heterosexuality and abnormal homosexuality and many other fine theories based on two opposite sexes. At last, sex researchers like John Money, Anke Ehrhardt and Robert Stoller and biochemists like Roger Williams have begun to blur the biological basis for separating the sexes.

In his work with hermaphrodites, Money investigates biological sex along five dimensions. These are: genetic sex as indicated by the sex-chromatin mass or a chromosome count; hormonal sex in terms of androgen or estrogen dominance; gonadal sex as either ovarian, testicular



or mixed; the morphology of the internal reproductive organs; and the structure of the external genitalia. Money discovered that psychosexual differentiation could take place in contradiction to any of the five biological factors. Money cites the case of four genetic females with the adrenogenital syndrome of female hermaphroditism. Due to differences in initial sex assignment, psychosexual development took four different forms: masculine, feminine, ambivalently wanting to be changed to a girl, and ambivalently wanting to be changed to a boy. The conclusion Money reaches is that psychosexual differentiation can take place entirely independent of genetic and hormonal sex, with the overpowering influence being environmental variables and specifically the attitude and expectations of significant people in the environment.<sup>34</sup>

He also notes an additional semantic and conceptual lesson to be learned from persons psychosexually identified as women but who have androgen insensitivity:

Genetically and gonadally, they are male. Therefore, when they marry a man, both partners are in a relationship of genetic and gonadal homosexuality. Morphologically, hormonally and psychosexually, they are heterosexual in their relationship. Legally and in the popular conscience, also they are heterosexual. . .<sup>35</sup>

An important point for Money, then, is the clear distinction between sex and gender.

Oakley clarifies the meaning of gender as "any two or more subclasses. . . that are partly arbitrary, but also partly based on

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<sup>34</sup>John Money, "Sexual Dimorphism and Homosexual Gender Identity," Readings on the Psychology of Women, edited by Judith M. Bardwick, New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1972, p. 8.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., p. 6.

distinguishable characteristics such as. . . sex (as masculine, feminine)."<sup>36</sup> As defined and used by Oakley, the term "gender" is understood as representing a somewhat arbitrary assignment into a category. Indeed, if one's gender assignment and identification as either male or female can be in opposition to one's genetic programming, then sex identity must develop from something other than or powerfully added to biology. Or so it would seem reasonable to conclude.

The arbitrariness inherent in the sex-gender model is further highlighted by research such as Williams' in biochemistry. He suggests that it is possible to classify all people according to their production of low, medium and high levels of male and female hormones. The result would be individuals assigned to opposite sexes represented in each of the nine categories with some being more characteristically female than male and vice versa. In just this one area of sex determination, then, rather than a clear dividing line between the sexes, one finds a continuum of human patterns with some more typical of one sex but all manifested by members of both sexes.<sup>37</sup> From this, one could suppose that a woman with a high-androgen-low estrogen pattern would be more hormonally male than a man with a medium-androgen-medium estrogen profile. Therefore, a close relationship between biology and sex role would direct the women to a career and the man to house-husbanding. Not likely. It is thus interesting to consider how biology has been selectively used against what groups and by whom. It is also interesting to

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<sup>36</sup> Ann Oakley, Sex, Gender and Society, New York: Harper Colophon Books, Harper and Row Publishers, 1972, p. 8.

<sup>37</sup> R. J. Williams, Biochemical Individuality, cited by Ann Oakley, Sex, Gender and Society, Ibid., p. 26.

examine who does most of the research and decides which gets disseminated.<sup>38</sup>

Robert Stoller makes the following distinction between sex and gender:

. . . with a few exceptions, there are two sexes, male and female. To determine sex, one must assay the following physical conditions: chromosomes, external genitalia, gonads, hormonal states, and secondary sex characteristics. . . . One's sex, then, is determined by an algebraic sum of all these qualities, and, as is obvious, most people fall under one of two separate bell curves, the one of which is called "male," the other "female."

Gender is a term that has psychological and cultural rather than biological connotations; if the proper terms for sex are "male" and "female," the corresponding terms for gender are "masculine" and "feminine;" these latter may be quite independent of (biological) sex.<sup>39</sup>

Ann Oakley states as a fundamental purpose behind her work the task of disentangling "sex" from "gender" in areas where natural differences between males and females are proposed. The failure to admit the variability of genders, she finds, has resulted "in overstated arguments and distorted conclusions." She continues, "in fact, prejudice has probably done more to determine the social roles of the sexes than biology ever could."<sup>40</sup>

Since at this point most people link masculine to male and feminine to female and do not see males or females as normally possessing

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<sup>38</sup>Mary Jane Sherfey discusses exactly these problems of white male bias in conducting and disseminating biological research. See The Nature and Evolution of Female Sexuality, New York: Vintage Books, A Division of Random House, 1973.

<sup>39</sup>Robert Stoller, Sex and Gender, quoted in Oakley, Sex, Gender and Society, op. cit., pp. 158-1959.

<sup>40</sup>Oakley, op. cit., p. 16.

both masculine and feminine traits, Alice Rossi suggests a new set of terms and a new concept to describe social role behaviors. She offers the terms agentic and affiliative as categories of behavior which individuals manifest. Agency refers generally to behaviors thought of as more self-concerned and associated with the term masculine while affiliation describes behaviors that are more other or group focussed and more commonly associated with the term feminine. The concept of agency-affiliation differs from that of masculine-feminine in that the focus in the former is on integration of the two as complementary within an individual whereas in the latter the focus is on the polarity and separation of the two elements. The point here is that the concepts and categories at our command for discussing sex roles contribute a semantic confusion to an already complex process of moving from an "algebraic equation" determining biological sex to an appropriate gender identity and finally to acceptable social roles.

In sum, there would seem to be agreement among many writers approaching the issue of sex and role from a variety of perspectives that sex and gender are separate entities and, further, that social behaviors should perhaps be considered independent of either sex or gender. The findings have been that gender identity can be in opposition to gonads, hormones, chromosomes, or genitalia. Gender identity can be successfully changed. Two persons of the same biology can be raised with opposite gender identifications with equal success. While gender may in many cases agree with biology, the exceptions prove the point: Culture can override biology. The dysfunctionality of the concept masculinity and femininity which results in incongruous descriptions of masculine women

and feminine men and therefore does not serve as a good theoretical framework for describing what exists or predicting what will be, has also been suggested.

Interpreting the definitions provided for sex, gender and role leads to the following understanding of the term gender role: It is the result of an arbitrary assignment at birth into one of two categories--one called male; the other, female--the accuracy of which may be investigated by calculating the sum of the individual's position on the continuums of chromosomes, hormones, gonads, internal genitalia, and external genitalia. Inherent in the assignment to a sex group is the designation of one's sphere of behavior as either masculine or feminine. This sphere of behavior frames one's gender role. As a generalized role, the gender role serves as a determiner of other achieved roles. From birth on, it both requires certain behaviors and provides certain statutes and privileges. From birth on, it determines in a major way how others will respond to you.

#### Learning to Like It: Socialization

Socialization, by common definition, the process of fitting or training for a social environment, suggests the molding of individuals "to fit" societal demands, needs and norms. Young defines socialization as "an interactional relationship by means of which the individual learns the social and cultural requirements that make him (sic) a functioning member of society."<sup>41</sup> Bardwick and Douvan describe socialization as the

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<sup>41</sup>Young, op. cit., p. 63.

"pressures--rewarding, punishing, ignoring, and anticipating--that push the child toward evoking acceptable responses."<sup>42</sup> Both these definitions suggest that the norms for acceptable or ideal behavior are known and purposefully taught to the uninitiated, whether child or adult. Contained within these definitions are the critical elements of the process: it occurs in interaction with others; its aim is the learning/teaching of socially functional behaviors; it is supported by a reward-punishment system.

Since gender roles carry major prescriptions for behavior, socialization into these roles is held as a major goal for all children. Ruth Hartley outlines four processes central to the development of gender roles. She finds that socialization occurs through the processes of manipulation, canalization, verbal appellations, and activity exposure. In the first, the parent communicates a view of the child through touch, emphasis and phrases which the child subsumes in her own self concept. Canalization involves directing attention to particular objects, sex-differentiated toys, for example. Verbal appellations such as "you're a good girl," teach the child to identify with her/his whole sex class. The final process, activity exposure simply refers to the child seeing or participating in traditional masculine and feminine behaviors accompanied by either reinforcement or discouragement for identification with the behavior.<sup>43</sup> It is important to note that while children by the age of four

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<sup>42</sup>Judith Bardwick and Elizabeth Douvan, "Ambivalence: The Socialization of Women," Readings, edited by Bardwick, p. 53.

<sup>43</sup>Ruth Hartley, "A Developmental View of Female Sex-Role Identification," cited in Oakley, Sex, Gender and Society, op. cit., pp. 175-176.

have a firm knowledge of gender identity and are quite capable of distinguishing between appropriate and inappropriate gender role behaviors, parents tend not to be aware of their own role in producing this knowledge. Sears, Maccoby, and Levin, in their book Patterns of Child Rearing, report that:

When they did see differences in their own behavior--and some who had both sons and daughters did--they tended to interpret such differences as natural reactions to innate differences between boys and girls. They thought a mother had to adjust her behavior to the sex-determined temperament of her child, but did not consider that her own actions might be responsible for any such characteristics.<sup>44</sup>

The circle of interactions predicted by role theory accounts for this finding. A parent responds to the sex-appropriate role prescription with the correct role expectation and in doing so, sets up the child's role perception which in turn reinforces the general role prescription and expectation, and so on.

There is, however, some controversy over the origin and order of these interactions. Some theorists maintain a cognitive view of the sex role learning process. They see the child as moving from a cognitive knowledge of "I am a girl" to the conclusion that, "therefore, I want to do girl things," and consequently, "the opportunity to do girl things and gain approval is rewarding." The opposite side of this is the social learning view which states the process as one of moving from "I want rewards and I am rewarded for doing girl things" to "therefore I want to be a girl." The Freudian theory sees the development of gender role as dependent upon the child's specific sexual consciousness of

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<sup>44</sup>Robert Sears, Eleanor Maccoby, and H. Levin, Patterns of Child Rearing, quoted in Oakley, Sex, Gender and Society, op. cit., p. 177.

herself as female or male. The Freudian theory, though, has been disproved by research which shows that children acquire their gender role before age three, that is, before the Oedipal stage from which sexual consciousness supposedly stems.<sup>45</sup>

No matter which theory one accepts--social learning or cognitive--an important point is that the child has little free choice in terms of wanting rewards and therefore in wanting to do girl/boy things. This aspect of the socialization process is quite clear.

During adulthood, sanctions are applied from many sources for any deviance from approved gender role behavior. Sanctions take many forms: public social ridicule and quiet ostracism; legal prosecution (homosexuality, for example, is a crime punishable by imprisonment); and institutional practices (college admission sex quotas and refusals to grant single women credit are ways in which women are reminded of their place).

Holter points out that the visibility of sex results in even greater gender role expectations.<sup>46</sup> One reason for this is that the visibility of one's sex provides a basis for a first interaction among strangers when nothing else is known (and, of course, sometimes even when other statuses, roles, positions are). Another factor is simply that everyone has one of two gender identities; competency to determine what is appropriate can thus be assumed by everyone. In other instances, in the case of an archaeologist, for example, far fewer people would feel that by birth and life

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<sup>45</sup>Oakley, op. cit., p. 180.

<sup>46</sup>Harriet Holter, Sex Roles and Social Structure, cited in Oakley, Sex, Gender and Society, op. cit., pp. 186-187.



experience they were qualified to discuss the appropriate behaviors for carrying out the role, archeologist. Perhaps even more central to the sense of authority with which gender roles can be discussed by anyone is the fact that the ground rules are amazingly simple. As Sullerot forcefully asks: Who would dare write about man--simply as a representative of the male sex? Sullerot notes that while the treatment of the subject, man, could only take place in relation to and actually be a study of contemporary society, woman is studied as a topic by considering women in relation to men. Obviously, the reverse is not acceptable.<sup>47</sup> Or, as Rossi suggests, notions as to women's sexuality, women's sphere, and women's roles have been derived from male sexuality, the negative or opposite of the male sphere and the male role.<sup>48</sup> Opposites form the basis for differentiating appropriate behaviors: If men claim strength, women must be weak; if men are independent, women must be dependent. Anyone can do this (although men, of course, have a clear advantage since they get to name what belongs to them first). Anyone can participate in socializing the uninitiated or the deviant into appropriate gender role behavior.

Socialization is something that happens to everyone starting at birth when the pink, or better yet, blue identification bracelet is placed on the baby's wrist. By adulthood, there is probably no other single subject so pervasively taught as gender sex role. Everyone helps in teaching

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<sup>47</sup> Evelyne Sullerot, La Femme dans le Monde moderne, Paris: L'Univers des Connaissances, Hachette, 1970, p. 7.

<sup>48</sup> Alice Rossi, speech given at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Massachusetts, September, 1973.

of the subject, too. One begins at a young age to help others learn their gender role--telling friends when their behavior was not "lady-like" or when games they proposed were inappropriate because these were "boys'."

Socialization, then, is not a process restricted to the schools, undertaken only by teachers. It is a process in which everyone participates as both learner and teacher. The content to be learned through the process--gender roles--is common knowledge, its validity and continuation assumed. Together this content and this process have effectively prevented most women from even exploring their potential.

Sometimes, however, the process does fail. A few escape: Cultural mutants, gender role renegades--there have always been some women who posed a threat to the established order, to the well-being of patriarchal privilege by refusing to become socialized into their proper gender role. The next section provides some additional explanation as to why the socialization processes may create exceptions by examining the evidence for the cultural, and thus mutable, basis of gender roles.

### The Politics of Nature

Nature is the final and ultimate justification for differentiated social roles based on gender. When all else fails, the argument tends to be, "that's the way Nature intended it" (which is simply another way of asking, would women have uteruses if they weren't meant to do the housework?). Biology as destiny is the more elegant formulation of this theory qua Law.

The nature argument has thus served as a major justification for the political oppression of women. Carrie Chapman Catt movingly depicted the politics of nature when she stated:

This world taught women nothing skillful and then said her work was valueless. It permitted her no opinions and said she did not know how to think. It forbade her to speak in public, and said the sex had no orators. It denied her the schools, and said the sex had no genius. It robbed her of every vestige of responsibility, and then called her weak. It taught her that every pleasure must come as a favor from men, and when to gain it she decked herself in paint and fine feathers, as she had been taught to do, it called her vain.<sup>49</sup>

In the previous section, the meaning of the terms role, gender role, and socialization have been explored. Socialization has been presented as the cultural tool through which gender roles are taught by everyone to everyone. In this section, evidence which supports the contention that gender roles are culturally determined will be presented. In order to demonstrate the full range of documentation substantiating the cultural basis of gender roles, the material will be drawn from a variety of perspectives and disciplines--empirical observation and logic, experimental research, comparative anthropology, historical events, and contemporary social change analyses.

For many women, as suggested earlier, the logical argument and empirical data are convincing. If the argument is for nature as the prime mover behind gender roles, then failure to manifest the appropriate gender roles should be regarded as an indication of a variance in the individual's biology. And if there is a range of biological possibilities,

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<sup>49</sup>Carrie Chapman Catt, 1902, quoted in The Liberated Woman's Appointment Calendar and Survival Handbook 1971, edited by Lynn Sheir and Jurate Kazickas, New York: Universe Books.

then, nature being supreme, there should be a range of related gender roles. In this case, it is not clear on what basis a single set of acceptable biological characteristics and their resulting gender role were selected.<sup>50</sup>

Empirically, one can observe men and women functioning in ways which contradict "nature." That is, one can find women who are terrible mothers, have no desire to be mothers, are not mothers; women who are inept housecleaners, able career women, tractor-trailer operators, etc. Likewise, one can identify men who are physically weak, lack ambition, prefer staying at home to building a career, etc. How does the nature argument account for this, especially when the exceptions are increasing? Typically, the response has been to blame the individual for failing to fit within the established gender role framework which is in turn presumably dictated by human beings biology.

Experimental studies provide evidence for the cultural basis of gender roles from another perspective. Vanderwilt and Kloche, to cite one example, experimented with the effects of an Outward Bound course on college students. They found that the required adoption of a more "masculine" role was both possible for female participants and positive in terms of their self-actualization. That is, an experimental treatment, Outward Bound, resulted in female participants temporarily adopting a new "more masculine role," and the measured effect was a change in an

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<sup>50</sup> The findings of Inge Broverman et al. as reported in "Sex Role Stereotypes and Clinical Judgments of Mental Health," Readings, edited by Bardwick, pp. 320-324, considered in the context of this argument prompt the question: Is it reasonable to assume that Nature would design for females a gender role which would not be considered healthy for adults generally?

overall self-actualizing value. That roles very different from one's established gender role can be acquired, and that this can result in measurably significant changes suggests that external forces affect behavior. The question for experimental research would seem to be: Are there social behaviors that biological males cannot learn? Are there social behaviors that biological females cannot learn? Only if the answers were clearly and demonstrably yes might biology be destiny.

Cross cultural data affords another perspective on the origin and perpetuation of gender roles. Sweden offers a contemporary example of a society in the midst of consciously changing gender role differentiation. The goal in Sweden, according to the "Status of Women Report to the UN" is to have social roles which are essentially undifferentiated by gender. Since the changes are being mandated by the government through legislation, it will take time before the acceptance rate of new role definitions can be determined.<sup>51</sup> Indeed, exactly what those definitions should be is still a subject of debate. Underlying the discussions on gender roles in Sweden is a focus on rational social planning rather than tradition. Dahlstrom illustrates this emphasis when he urges that one

. . . adopt an attitude on the question of the sex roles as a whole, i.e. on the ideological position. What are we attempting to achieve? We cannot hope to increase the freedom of men and women in all respects, i.e. with regard to all the advantages and rewards that are sought--or should be sought--by both sexes. When we take our position, we must balance the virtues of different solutions from the standpoints of women, men and the family and our overall economy.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>51</sup>Rita Liljestrom, "The Swedish Model," Sex Roles in Changing Society, edited by Seward and Williamson, New York: Random House, 1970, pp. 200-219.

<sup>52</sup>Edmund Dahlstrom, "Analysis of the Debate on Sex Roles," The Changing Roles of Men and Women, edited by Edmund Dahlstrom, translated by Gunilla and Steven Anderman, Boston: Beacon Press, 1971, p. 205.

The questions raised by a practical applied social science approach are in sharp contrast to the questions and investigations rooted in threatened privilege or assumptions about biology which predominate in the United States.

Anastasi, in examining the interaction of heredity and environment, suggests that the contribution of heredity to the variance of a specific trait varies under differing environmental conditions. A review of cross cultural information leads her to conclude that:

In different cultures, the behavioral correlates of hereditary physical traits may be quite unlike. A specific physical cue may be completely unrelated to individual differences in psychological traits in one culture, while closely correlated with them in another. Or it may be associated with totally dissimilar behavior characteristics in two different cultures.<sup>53</sup>

George Murdock's data on the distribution of economic activities between the sexes in 224 geographically distributed tribes indicates that while labor is divided by sex, there is no generalization available to explain how biology dictates which jobs are assigned to which sex.<sup>54</sup> Oakley, in interpreting this finding, isolates five assumptions about the connections between reproductive and economic functions:

1. That the responsibilities of motherhood necessitate giving up other work;
2. That motherhood is basically a sedentary job which demands only low levels of energy and strength as a rule;

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<sup>53</sup> Anne Anastasi, "Heredity, Environment and The Question 'How?'," Psychological Studies of Human Development, edited by Raymond Kuhlen and George Thompson, 2nd edition, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., Division of Meredith Publishing Company, 1963, p. 114.

<sup>54</sup> George Murdock, Culture and Society, Pennsylvania: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1965, pp. 309-310.

3. That in preliterate, small-scale societies, women are generally restricted to domestic work which is only marginal to the main economic tasks of the society;
4. That domestic work is also essentially sedentary, requiring only minimum energy and strength;
5. Finally, that the female does not have the strength and energy of the male, and consequently, cannot participate in work such as hunting.<sup>55</sup>

To refute these myths, Oakley calls upon the work of cultural anthropologists Mead, Kaberry, Malinowski, Turnbull, and DuBois, among others.

Her review of their findings results in the conclusion that:

The chief importance of biological sex in determining social roles is in providing a universal and obvious division around which other distinctions can be organized. In deciding which activities are to fall on each side of the boundary, the important factor is culture.<sup>56</sup>

Barry, Bacon, and Child use cross cultural anthropological data to investigate the question, "In the differential rearing of the sexes, does our society make an arbitrary imposition on an infinitely plastic base, or is this cultural imposition found uniformly in all societies as an adjustment to the real biological differences between the sexes?" Their study of the sex differentiation in socialization in one hundred and ten mostly nonliterate societies revealed that there were a few reversals of sex differences and many instances of no detectable sex differences which confirmed "the cultural rather than directly biological nature of the differences."<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>55</sup>Oakley, op. cit., p. 130.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., p. 156.

<sup>57</sup>Herbert Barry III, Margaret Bacon, and Irvin Child, "A Cross Cultural Survey of Some Sex Differences in Socialization," Readings, edited by Bardwick, pp. 205-209.

Sociologists and psychologists, from their differing perspectives, also furnish evidence of the cultural basis of gender roles. Rossi, a sociologist, describes the impact of research on increased life-span, technological advancement, maternal employment, and women's life cycle patterns into an argument for sex equality by which she means social androgyny (in terms of social roles). The significant premise of her work is that:

By far, the majority of differences between the sexes which have been noted in social research are socially rather than physiologically determined. What proportion of these sex differences are physiologically based and what proportion are socially based is a question the social and physiological sciences cannot really answer at the present time. It is sufficient for my present purposes to note that the opportunities for social change toward a closer approximation of equality between the sexes are large enough within the area of sex differences now considered to be socially determined to constitute a challenging arena for thought and social action.<sup>58</sup>

She goes on to indict her discipline for its approach to the study of sex roles. She points to the blind bias inherent in a system which labels women's intellectual aggressiveness or men's tender expressiveness deviant and indicative of role conflict, or confusion, or neurotic disturbance. The conservatism and bias implicit in the way in which social problems are analyzed by sociologists is revealed, according to Rossi, by the example of the study of intermarriage. She states:

When the sociologist finds. . . that the incidence of divorce is higher for those who marry outside their religion, he concludes that intermarriage is "bad" or "risky;" he does not say such marital failures may reflect the relative newness of the social pattern of intermarriage, much less suggest that such failures may decline once this

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<sup>58</sup> Alice Rossi, "Equality Between The Sexes: An Immodest Proposal," Daedalus, Spring, 1974, p. 609.



pattern is more prevalent. In fact, the only aspect of intermarriage which is ever studied is the incidence of its failure.<sup>59</sup>

Sociologists' quasi-scientific support for traditional sex roles must be understood in the context of this conservatism.

Some sociologists have begun to reexamine the area of sex roles. Giele, for one, argues that since the 1930's, changes in four major social areas have laid the foundations for changes in consciousness about sex roles. She examines changes in the moral code, psychology and family life, government policies toward the family, and the family in an affluent economy. She sees clear links among changes in the family, a reexamination of gender roles and demographic trends. As she explains it, "Institutional change impinging on the family facilitated women's entry into the labor force. At the same time, actual changes in men's and women's behavior undoubtedly influenced the mores of family life." For younger people, "steeped in the new morality, the new psychology, the experience of mechanization, and the interchangeability of personnel. . . it is a small step to extend these principles to sex roles." She also declares that the changing life patterns of men and women point to changes in gender roles already upon us. The gap she locates exists between attitudes and behavior--with behavior already reflecting new directions.<sup>60</sup>

Giele, like Rossi, reveals the cultural basis of gender roles by presenting sociological data which highlights changes in social life

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<sup>59</sup>Ibid., p. 612.

<sup>60</sup>Janet Zollinger Giele, "Changes in the Modern Family: Their Impact on Sex Roles," American Journal Orthopsychiatry, Volume 41, Number 5, 1971.

patterns, and hence, gender role. Again, the question arises as to what accounts for changes in the role if not culture.

Talcott Parsons maintains that there are several dimensions of the female gender role which are greatly strained. Underlying this strain and complicating it is the lack of a clear-cut definition of the adult female role.<sup>61</sup> According to Parsons' analysis, gender role problems occur, in part, as a function of the severely limiting and contradictory choices available to adult females. As he describes the situation:

Once the possibility of a career has been eliminated, there still tends to be a rather unstable oscillation between emphasis in the direction of domesticity or glamour or good companionship. . . it is a situation likely to produce a rather high level of insecurity. In this state, the pattern of domesticity must be ranked lowest in terms of prestige but also because of strong emphasis in the community sentiment on the virtues of fidelity and devotion to husband and children, it offers perhaps the highest level of a certain kind of security.<sup>62</sup>

Other choices available to women being equally fraught with contradictions, Parsons concludes that one can only expect and find widespread manifestations of "neurotic behavior." One must wonder why a role which presumably follows nature's design results in insecurity, strain and "neurotic behavior." Perhaps nature has been misinterpreted (androcentric logic raising its virile head again), and consequently yoked to a contravening purpose.

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<sup>61</sup>Talcott Parsons, Essays in Sociological Theory, Review Edition, New York: The Free Press, 1954; London: Collier-Macmillan Limited, p.

<sup>62</sup>Talcott Parsons, "Age and Sex in the Social Structure of the United States," Personality in Nature, Society and Culture, edited by Clyde Kluckhohn and Henry Murray, 2nd edition, rev., New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967, p. 371.

Kluckhohn analyzes the role strain described by Parsons from a somewhat different perspective. Starting with the concept of a role as an expression of values, statuses and privileges, she outlines the dominant culture's values which, remarkably, resemble values ascribed to the male gender role. Kluckhohn then presents the variant values in society which are associated with the female gender role.<sup>63</sup> The idea that values are of cultural origin is universally accepted: values are acquired as a part of one's cultural inculcation, and the dominant and variant value patterns vary among different cultures. When the relationship between gender roles and values is clarified, the cultural basis of gender roles becomes more evident.

Bardwick and Douvan, observing behavior from the perspective of psychologists, note changes in norms in our era. They find that while the gender role stereotype does exist and is partially viable, it is, at the same time, inaccurate. They find that both men and women are rejecting the old predetermined sex roles.<sup>64</sup> Again, the fact of change substantiates the claim of culture as the dominating force in the nature-nurture interaction.

The herstorical evidence for the cultural basis of roles is more direct, and perhaps more compelling. Degler, analyzing the impact of World War I on women, states: "By the close of the twenties, the ordinary woman in America was closer to man in the social behavior expected

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<sup>63</sup>Florence Kluckhohn, "Dominant and Variant Value Orientations," Personality in Nature, Society and Culture, Ibid., pp. 342-357.

<sup>64</sup>Bardwick and Douvan, loc. cit.

of her, in the economic opportunities open to her, and in the intellectual freedom enjoyed by her than at any time in history."<sup>65</sup> During both world wars, women were brought out of the home and into colleges, professions, hard labor, politics, and the mainstream of public life. The documentary film, Women on the March, captures this culturally approved flaunting of biology through radical role reversal. With the return of the men, however, women were coaxed by a variety of means--government propaganda, experts, ladies magazines, and the mass media--to return to the seclusion of the home. It would seem clear from these herstorical fluctuations in women's role that culture is the source of the power and biology simply a politically expedient foil.<sup>66</sup>

The above authors have emphasized the power of culture, not the absence of some irreducible biological sex difference. The biological data are not available. Unfortunately, due perhaps to men's a priori guesses about their superiority, the nature argument became entrenched without any real biological support. Instead of men having to attempt proof of their superiority, women have had to disprove their inferiority. Again, the case against women was not a prima facie one, but a deduction from the initial androcentric guess. Compounding what might have been an innocent error is the evidence that research which might directly or indirectly decide the merits of the male case is either not attempted

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<sup>65</sup> Carl Degler, "Revolution Without Ideology: The Changing Place of Women in America," Daedalus, Spring, 1974, p. 659.

<sup>66</sup> See Betty Friedan's analysis of women's post World War II return to the home in her book, The Feminine Mystique, New York: Dell Publishing Company, Inc., 1963.

or when concluded, ignored. Such was Sherfy's experience when she discovered the inductor theory (that the male is derived from the female) in 1961 only to find out that it was over ten years old and had simply been "ignored because the men who made the discovery and those who had read the duly recorded data did not want this (that the male is derived from the female) to be true."<sup>67</sup>

It would not seem at all farfetched to conclude, with respect to the nature-nurture controversy over gender roles, that the dialogue has its roots in male centeredness: Men carved out two spheres, keeping the most advantageous in terms of values, status and privilege to themselves, and then called the design "nature." Since men were also the group with the right to explore, question and probe the significant issues facing man, there was little interest in researching the real basis for the division of society based on sex. The implications of this perspective are truly overwhelming.

Research which currently focusses on both biology and environment calls for a focus on the interaction of the two. This would seem to be a much more enlightened and rational position. Money summarizes the view that is gaining more weight and currency when he suggests that:

It is now outmoded to juxtapose nature versus nurture, the genetic versus the environmental, the innate versus the acquired, the biological versus the psychological, or the instinctive versus the learned. . . the basic proposition should not be a dichotomization of genetics and environment, but their interaction.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Sherfy, op. cit., p. 14.

<sup>68</sup> John Money and Anke Ehrhardt, Man and Woman, Boy and Girl, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1972, p. 1.

In the meantime, as the nature of the interaction is analyzed and the varying weights of the two forces explored, it would seem only fair, based on a strong argument for the power of culture, to throw caution to the wind, throw the masculine-feminine gender role concept out the window, and let women begin to own the strength of their foremothers and the power of their own potential.

Scrying: United We Stand, Divided Men Fall

Predictions as to the future of gender roles seem to be of the same design--androgenous social roles rather than masculine male and feminine female ones. Sullerot suggests that. . . social differentiation has been put off and that this may be due in part to a confusion of androgenous sexes with androgenous social roles.<sup>69</sup>

Bardwick and Douvan describe this period in time as one of transition during which new norms will emerge and develop both clarity and force. The result they see is not simply the evolution of more flexible roles, but also of more flexible personalities and behaviors.<sup>70</sup>

Hartley notes that the direction of the changes in gender roles is already apparent: It is linked to a conception of sex equality and a concomitant role equality. The problem she foresees is one of social engineering. She perceives effective functioning and individual happiness as dependent upon governmental and organizational recognition of, and accommodation to, new sex role realities.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>69</sup>Sullerot, op. cit., p. 10.

<sup>70</sup>Bardwick and Douvan, op. cit., pp. 52-57.

<sup>71</sup>Hartley, op. cit., pp. 126-149.

Useem, too, takes note of the problems inherent in this transition period. Writing in 1963, she predicted:

The sixties will bring conflicts, controversies and personal discomfort; those who cling to traditional patterns of sex-related roles will find themselves in positions which bring fewer traditional rewards, and those who create new patterns and roles will enjoy only partial success. But, despite difficulties, the desexing of roles is going on and, indeed, must go on if our society is to meet the challenge of filling roles essential to our civilization.<sup>72</sup>

Giele's forecast is for change of "remarkable proportions" once people can be shown that they already accept and live by principles of which sex equality is a logical extension. According to her analysis, changes in individuals' lives are such that sex roles are changing--behaviorally--with attitudes remaining as the next step in acceptance.<sup>73</sup>

The consensus is that this is a period of critical transition and change; that out of it will emerge universal desexed social roles. As Rossi suggests, we are now in a rather quiet phase--an alternative institution building phase by women. Whom those institutions will serve remains to be determined--not by women but by men.

Whither the Privilege There The Bias:  
Sex Bias in the Research on Sex Differences

The preceding reviews and the one here are aimed at establishing one major point: Women are not what androcentric theories claim them to be. It is clear from the observations of Rossi, Giele and Bardwick, among others, that gender roles are in the process of changing. Gender

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<sup>72</sup>Ruth Useem, "The College Woman of the Sixties," Women's Education, Volume II, September, 1963, p. 7.

<sup>73</sup>Giele, loc. cit.

role ascriptions no longer hold--the theories based on sex divided spheres do not accurately predict behavior. Some educators have begun to examine educational ideologies in light of more realistic assessments of women's needs, potentials, interests, and life patterns.

In the previous section, the focus on educational practices was put aside to allow for a broader examination of gender role socialization. In this discussion of bias in research on sex differences, the research will be analyzed in terms of its use and implication within the field of education.

Unlike Sweden, this country does not take a rational approach to social planning. Changes have not been attempted in response to data which emphasizes that the normal socialization process negatively affects the intellectual, social and emotional growth and development of women. In part, this failure to act is due to the force of a vast body of biased research on sex differences which lends quasi-scientific support to the continued oppression of women. Three aspects of the research will be examined for androcentric bias. These aspects are: The definition of the problem, the terminology, and the reporting and discussing of results. The following three sections of Chapter II are devoted, respectively, to these three aspects of research on sex differences. In a fourth section, alternative interpretations and suggestions for increasing the social value of research on sex differences are proposed. A final section summarizes the conclusions of this review.

The research reported here has been selected primarily from three sources. A search of the Current Index to Journals in Education and of the Research in Education Index from January, 1969 through June, 1971 was



made using the descriptors males, females, sex differences, social change, women, and women's education. Approximately fifty titles of articles which dealt in a major way with sex differences were collected. An annotated bibliography by Westervelt, Fixter, and Comstock which included a section on sex differences suggested an additional thirty titles. The summaries and discussions of the entire field of research on sex differences available in Tyler, Maccoby, and Witkin's works provided a broad context for the individual studies examined.

The Research Problems: You Can't Find What You Don't Look For, Or, Asking Is Believing

Research on sex differences can be undertaken to point out what differences exist between the sexes or to understand the factors underlying or related to those differences. Most research problems fall under the first category. In studies exploring aggression, dependency, anxiety, conformity, and affiliation in terms of adjustment and maladjustment, the focus is on demonstrating the fact of sex differences. Tyler, in citing and summarizing this research, reports that on inventories of neuroticism or maladjustment, women's averages tend to be closer to the maladjustment end of the scale than men's. The items which point to this maladjustment provide norms showing that women are "more neurotic, less self-sufficient, more introverted, less dominant, less self-confident, and more socially dependent than men." Tyler concludes her discussion of this research area by describing a study which indicates that the apparent differences in neuroticism are not false. She states:

When college students who had been given tests for identifying maladjustment were interviewed by two experienced counselors, it was found that the excess of neurotic trends in women appeared even more markedly in the clinical diagnosis than in test scores. Some other investigations of children by non-questionnaire methods--fear responses, nervous habits and so forth--suggest also that females may really be somewhat more unstable emotionally than males.<sup>74</sup>

There are some problems here which may be traced to the formulation of the research problem. This research, as reported by Tyler, focussed on establishing the fact of sex differences and on describing the nature of those differences.<sup>75</sup> If you look for differences in a society which trains males and females to behave differently, you are likely to find them. If you define as "adjusted" characteristics that men are taught to develop and define as "maladjusted" characteristics which women are taught to develop, then you will find sex differences in terms of adjustment and maladjustment. As long as the questions pursued are within the circle, the pattern of sex differences can only be confirmed, never understood.

Research investigations which seek to understand the factors underlying observable differences are much rarer. In the study, by Broverman and others of clinical judgments of mental health, the purpose was not to confirm or describe the presence of sex differences, but to investigate relationships underlying the manifestation of differences in the area of

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<sup>74</sup>Leona Tyler, The Psychology of Human Differences, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1965, p. 257.

<sup>75</sup>Similarly, most studies on aggression, affiliation, anxiety, etc. are concerned with establishing the existence of differences. See R. M. Getzel's "An Annotated Bibliography and Classified Summary of Research on Sex Differences," The Development of Sex Differences, edited by Eleanor Maccoby, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966.

health and adjustment. The major hypotheses of the study were aimed at testing the notion that:

Clinical judgments about the traits characterizing healthy, mature individuals will differ as a function of the sex of the person judged. Furthermore, these differences in clinical judgments are expected to parallel the stereotypic sex-role differences previously reported.

Finally, the present paper hypothesized that behavioral attributes which are regarded as healthy for an adult, sex unspecified, and thus presumably viewed from an ideal absolute standpoint, will more often be considered by clinicians as healthy or appropriate for men than for women. This hypothesis derives from the assumption that abstract notions of health will tend to be more influenced by the greater social value of masculine stereotypic characteristics than by the lesser valued feminine stereotypic characteristics.<sup>76</sup>

The approach to and formulation of the research problem govern the conclusions and their effect. The studies reported by Tyler support and help to perpetuate negative and stereotyped attitudes toward women. The Broverman study, by examining the powerful social factors which influence and bias investigations of adjustment, dependence, anxiety, etc., place the findings of sex differences within their proper social framework. Unfortunately, the field is dominated by research which fails to recognize this context.

The approaches defined above are not dichotomous in the "good-bad" sense as the examples may suggest. Cultural bias also operates in research aimed at examining causal relationships. One particularly interesting manifestation of bias in this type of research is the focus on males. This emphasis is obvious in studies dealing with elementary school children. These two problem statements are fairly typical of educational research involving sex differences:

To test the theory that male elementary school students have lower self-concepts than female students because of the lack of male elementary school teachers.<sup>77</sup>

To determine whether the association and competition between boys and girls during crucial junior high school years resulted in significant differences in the development of boys.<sup>78</sup>

In a study by Stanchfield, the objective was to "investigate sex differences in beginning reading," but the hypotheses centered on the achievement of boys using materials designed to interest boys.<sup>79</sup>

The assumptions present in these three studies were fairly explicit and predictably resulted in observations as to: the feminine nature of schools which is good for little girls and bad for little boys; the need to make schools better (i.e., more masculine) for boys; and the inability of female teachers who are basically mothers to impart male knowledge and thinking processes to boys.

Another assumption, that female teachers are prejudiced against boys, results in research problems directed toward demonstrating this bias as a cause for little boys' inferior performance in elementary school. Many studies investigating teacher-pupil interaction, same sex class organization, and teacher sex/pupil sex interaction while maintaining the assumption of female teacher bias as a directing influence

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<sup>77</sup>H. S. Sweely, "The Effect of the Male Elementary Teacher on Children's Self-Concept," Paper presented to the American Educational Researchers' Association, Spring, 1970, ERIC 039 186.

<sup>78</sup>Joseph Ellis, "The Effects of Same Sex Class Organization on Junior High School Students' Academic Achievement, Self-Discipline, Self-Concept Sex-Role Identification, and Attitudes Toward School," ERIC 035 939.

<sup>79</sup>Jo M. Stanchfield, "Differences in Learning Patterns of Boys and Girls," Paper presented to the International Reading Association Conference, 1969, ERIC 033 000.

find no evidence of sex bias.<sup>80</sup> Reviews of the literature conducted as part of the above studies also revealed little evidence of sex bias related to teacher sex. Despite the lack of evidence, these investigators defined and researched the problem in terms of the female teacher's negative affect on boys.

In suggesting new directions for further research, Goldman and May ask:

Does the female model provide a developmental sequence that supports and encourages the role of the male? . . . The young male who is continuously striving to imitate the adult male both physically and verbally has an additional handicap in having a female model for observation and identification.<sup>81</sup>

The question of the female teacher's effect on male students has been researched and evidence would seem to indicate that teacher sex is not a significant variable in the cognitive achievement of self-concept of boys.<sup>82</sup> Clearly, the popular cultural givens governing male-female differences and relationships are powerful and deeply ingrained; evidence

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<sup>80</sup>See for example: Helen Felsenthal's "Sex Differences in Teacher-Pupil Interaction in First Grade Reading Instruction," paper presented to the American Educational Researchers Association, Spring, 1970, ERIC 039 106; Leo Schell's "Investigation of Sex Bias in Teacher Assessment of Reading Achievement of Elementary School Pupils," ERIC ED 039 118, 1969; and Louis Scheiner's "Pilot Study to Assess the Academic Progress of Disadvantaged First Graders Assigned to Class by Sex and Taught by Teachers of the Same Sex," ERIC ED 035 462, 1969. (In fact, Felsenthal's study, "Sex Differences in Teacher-Pupil Interaction," found teacher-pupil interactions favoring boys.)

<sup>81</sup>William Goldman and Ann May, "Males: A Minority Group in the Classroom," Journal of Learning Disabilities, Volume 3, Number 5, 1970.

<sup>82</sup>Again, see Schell's "Investigation of Bias in Assessment of Reading," Sweely's "Effect of Male Teacher," and Scheiner's "Pilot Study."

which contradicts these assumptions is not readily accepted. Sherfy's experience in endocrinology as cited in the previous section, indicates that this type of male bias is pervasive across disciplines. Cultural bias and the resultant emphasis on males in the research is also evident in the types of questions raised. For example, the type of question posed by Goldman and May above underlies the call for more male teachers.<sup>83</sup> Much less frequently is the effect of male instructors on female students questioned, even at the college level where most instructors and counselors are male. Regardless of the probable findings of such research were it conducted, the point is that the question is not considered. Closely related to this is the intervention dimension of research concerning boys and the lack of it when focussing on girls.<sup>84</sup>

Research which points to the differences in males' and females' self-concepts and relationships between self-concept and sex-role identification or adjustment is frequent and illuminates in yet another way the biased nature of the problems studied. The results of this research indicate that females' self-concepts are significantly lower than males' overall. When male-female scales are used, femininity is consistently

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<sup>83</sup> See, for an example of this, the article "Male Teaching Career Day" in Massachusetts Elementary School Principals' Association Bulletin, Winter, 1971, p. 18.

<sup>84</sup> R. Dykstra and R. Tinney study, "Sex Differences in Reading Readiness--First Grade Achievement and Second Grade Achievement," Reading and Realism, edited by J. A. Figurel (n.p.: International Reading Association, 1969); and Jo Stanchfield's "Differences in Learning Patterns" focus on boys and include an intervention dimension. D. Elkind's "Quantity Conceptions in College Students," Journal of Social Psychology, Volume 57, 1967, pp. 459-465, concerns girls and lacks such a dimension.

related to low self-evaluation.<sup>85</sup> To a large degree, self-concept studies examining sex differences are rooted in a theory of social and psychological adjustment. This theoretical foundation leads to research problems similar to Connell's which attempts to demonstrate that "the subjects of this age (mean age 13.5) with high sex role identification have more positive feelings of self-esteem than those subjects with low sex role identification."<sup>86</sup> Given the items generally used to identify the female sex role, it is ironic to seek self-esteem in relation to them.<sup>87</sup>

The studies reported by Tyler in her discussion of research on sex roles and the development of sex-role concepts further support that research has unequivocally described the negative valuation placed on being female and feminine and the superior status accorded males and masculine traits. The problem with the research is that differences in self-concept are not placed in a context which differentiates between inherent biological differences and culturally imposed ones. That is, the data are not presented as a means of understanding human behavior, attitudes, potentials, or limitations. Instead, culturally required behavioral differences are treated as outcomes of innate biological sex differences

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<sup>85</sup> Robert Sears' "Relation of Early Socialization Experiences to Self-Concepts and Gender Role in Middle Childhood," Child Development, Volume 41, Number 2, 1970; and Inge Broverman et al., "Sex-Role Stereotypes and Self-Concepts in College Students," Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, Volume 34, Number 1, 1970, demonstrate this point.

<sup>86</sup> M. Connell and J. E. Johnson's "Relationship Between Sex-Role Identification and Self-Esteem in Early Adolescents," Developmental Psychology, Volume 3, Number 2, 1970.

<sup>87</sup> For examples of femininity indexes, see Broverman's "Self-Concepts in College Students," or Margaret Bott's "The M-F Scale: Yesterday and Today," Measurement and Evaluation in Guidance, Volume 3, Number 2, 1970.

with the result that women are confined to the same limiting stereotype. This circular reasoning, interpreted on a societal level, supports an adjustment orientation in the research. That is, given that women are passive, for example, how should we structure an environment to be in harmony with this aspect of their nature? There is an alternative to this.

Research can pursue the development of sex role behaviors and self-concepts with a view toward locating potential areas and methods for effective change. It can become experimental rather than continue to be descriptive. Certainly, educational research bears a responsibility to recognize the social context and implications of its findings freed from an adherence to a prejudiced concept of what should be.

Several factors, then, appear to be operating in the development of the research problem statements and hypotheses. One influence is a culturally derived negative stereotype of women or those characteristics labelled feminine. Another is the acceptance of the status quo with regard to male-female roles. A third is a tendency to assume adjustment to the norm as an ideal. Finally, the problems researched tend to be descriptive in nature, dealing with the manifestations of sex differences. That there are significant differences between the sexes is a pervasive assumption. Only infrequently does one encounter the caution expressed by Tyler:

In most of the abilities we have considered, differences between the sexes are so small, and differences between individuals of the same sex are so large that it is possible to find an individual who, regardless of his or her sex, will show almost any specified degree of any special ability.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>88</sup>Tyler, op. cit., p. 247.



Ignoring this warning can result in research studies whose impact can only be to perpetuate women's lower status and perceived worth. The research begins with assumptions about the nature of the differences between the sexes based on accepted attitudes and roles. It then proceeds to depict those differences in a vocabulary loaded with value associations which discriminate against women. In conclusion, the findings are discussed with a view toward making them fit the procrustean bed of male-female roles.

The Terminology:  
What You Say Is What You Get

One failure of the research on sex differences is in the area of nomenclature. The use of poles labelled masculine and feminine to describe the behaviors of individuals necessarily results in descriptions categorized as masculine male, feminine male, masculine female, and feminine female. Such appellations are hardly neutral. To describe "distinctly masculine traits and distinctly feminine ones" is to suggest appropriate domains for males and females. The connotative aspects of the words cannot be ignored. In this society, things masculine are valued more highly than those interests, activities, attitudes, and traits characteristically thought of as feminine. At the same time, it is socially acceptable for males to be masculine and females to be feminine. The inverse of that scheme is perceived as neither desirable nor acceptable. The words masculine and feminine, then, are not merely descriptive; they carry a significant prescriptive dimension.

The connotative implications are not imposed on the research by the reader alone. The words used in designing, describing and reporting

the research appear to reflect the assumptions which are present and which are normally attached to the terms. For example, in a study by Fogelman which tested the concept of conservation of quantity among six and seven year-olds, the words "passive" and "active" were utilized to describe two testing procedures. The "active" procedure involved children in manipulating the materials while the "passive" one required children to observe a demonstration. The results of the experiment with procedures indicated that: boys and girls did equally well under the "active" one; more girls than boys did well under the "passive" condition; more girls did well under the passive situation than under the active one. The connotation of passive and active with respect to feminine and masculine should be clear to anyone raised in this society. The assumptions about the sexes which these words reflect are apparent in the discussion of these findings when Fogelman states:

Certainly in the home, if not so much in school nowadays, a boy is more likely to be encouraged in interests that are mechanical, whereas a girl's interests are more likely to be literary or aesthetic.

Consequently, a young boy will probably be happier in the "active" situation where he can manipulate the objects about which he must think. A girl will prefer the "passive" situation where she can pick up the verbal cues, which were more available to the "passive" group.<sup>89</sup>

The research findings do not really support the statement, for girls did as well as boys under the "active" condition. However, the words and their implicit stereotypic associations do suggest that conclusion.

Terman and Miles, authors of considerable recognition in the study of sex differences, recognize the values and associations raised

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<sup>89</sup>K. R. Fogelman, "Piagetian Tests and Sex Differences," Educational Research, Volume 12, Number 2, 1970.

by the term used in distinguishing masculine from feminine. They clarify for the reader thusly:

But we must define some of our terms more precisely, for instance, "aggressiveness" and "self-assertion." The evidence is for initiative, enterprise, vigorous activity, outdoor adventure; "aggressiveness" need not imply selfishness or tyranny or unfair attack. The compassion and sympathy of the female, again, appears from the evidence personal rather than abstract, less a principled humanitarianism than an active sympathy for palpable misfortune or distress. In disgust, in aesthetic judgment, and in moral censure, the evidence is rather for the influence of fashion and of feeling than of principle or reason. Our evidence need not imply the possession of a "truer" taste or a more discerning conscience.<sup>90</sup>

It is interesting to note that the terms chosen for clarification are those which are most likely to be construed as negative masculine traits and positive feminine ones. The nature of the clarification should provide further evidence of the built-in bias of our language as associated with sex differences. "Initiative," "enterprise," "vigorous activity" are clearly positive values in our society. They describe a male characteristic, "self-assertion." Female characteristics are clarified by the use of opposites: "sympathy for palpable misfortune," not "principled humanitarianism;" "influence of fashion and feeling," not "principle or reason." These poles are not value equal and what is meant by the feminine characteristics of compassion and sympathy is something less than positive.

Much research on sex differences explores cognitive abilities. Despite the caution expressed earlier as to the greater differences between individuals than between sexes, terminology frequently focusses on superiority and inferiority according to sex at various age levels and

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<sup>90</sup>As quoted in Tyler, op. cit., p. 261.

in various categories. The competitive structure provided by the words, places the differences discovered in a nonobjective context. Thus, in research such as Dykstra's, superior-inferior analysis results in a win-lose reporting of the data.<sup>91</sup> In this study, the one instrument on which there were no significant differences between the achievement of boys and girls was the Stanford Arithmetic Concepts Test. On all other tests, girls scored significantly higher than boys. Yet on the Stanford Arithmetic Concepts, an insignificant difference in mean raw scores (20.44, boys and 19.92, girls) is reported as "male superiority in arithmetic reasoning." It is quite possible that this type of misrepresentation of data occurs in part because of the assumptions about males and females which are part of the researcher's cultural heritage and the use of a vocabulary and syntax which, itself, directs the unfolding of implied progressions and oppositions, specifically in relation to those assumptions.

Reporting and Discussing Results:  
What You Want To Say Is What You Say

Two studies have been cited in the discussion above which suggest bias in reporting and discussing data. The example provided by the Dykstra study in which an insignificant difference is discussed in terms which falsely imply statistical importance is perhaps less common. More typical is the type of bias found in the Fogelman study on the concept of conservation. As indicated previously, the data, while presented initially in a chart, is discussed so that the differences

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<sup>91</sup>Dysktra, loc. cit.

between boys and girls' performance under the two experimental procedures is distorted. In Stanchfield's study of differences in learning patterns of boys and girls, the fact that girls as well as boys improved while using an experimental reader designed to interest boys is barely noted in the author's discussion of the importance of making reading more relevant and enjoyable to boys.<sup>92</sup> A conclusion not drawn by the researcher, but available from the same data, might be that current readers are not that interesting to anyone, or that both boys and girls would benefit from more exciting reading materials. Another related conclusion might be that sex differences in interests are certainly not rigid at the first and second grade levels.

In some cases, data are used to support conclusions which are more directly derived from sex-role stereotypes than from research findings. As indicated in the section dealing with terms, Fogelman does this in explaining that boys are "happier" in an active situation while girls "prefer" a passive one.<sup>93</sup> Elkind cites, as a probable cause for findings which show women's understanding of quantity conceptions increasing with age, the well-known fact that women go to college for "social opportunities" and therefore, only those that stick it out and assume "genuine" professional, intellectual, and scientific roles will develop the concept.<sup>94</sup> There is nothing reported in the study which would provide information on the attitudes toward college and post-college

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<sup>92</sup>Stanchfield, loc. cit.

<sup>93</sup>Fogelman, loc. cit.

<sup>94</sup>Elkind, loc. cit.

plans shared by the women who participated in this study. The critical problem in proposing cause-effect relationships based on current stereotypic conceptions of women is that those ideas are already extremely powerful and forceful. The impact of the type of statements made by Elkind and Fogelman is to perpetuate the power of those stereotypes.

Connell and Johnson found:

1. Boys with high sex-role adjustment (SRA) have greater self-esteem (SE) feelings than low SRA boys and high SRA girls;
2. No significant difference in SE feelings between high SRA girls and low SRA girls;
3. Low SRA boys had lower feelings of general SE than high SRA boys and low SRA girls;
4. In relation to feelings of SE based on peer group interactions: high SRA girls do not have significantly greater feelings of SE than low SRA girls; high SRA boys do have greater feelings of SE than low SRA boys.<sup>95</sup>

Note the focus and culturally determined logic operating in the discussion of these findings:

Society's definition of the male role may place emphasis on mastery and competence, whereas society, in defining the female role, appears to emphasize some apparently negative characteristics such as submissiveness, dependency. Consequently, the female may be positively reinforced for adopting certain male characteristics (e.g., competence) or she may be positively reinforced for fitting into stereotypes society has structured for her. The male has a much less ambiguous choice; the male role is the only sex role for which he can receive consistent positive reinforcement.<sup>96</sup>

One must question, given a society which values masculine men and feminine females, how much consistent positive reinforcement a woman receives for success in the male domain. Connell and Johnson's own data suggest

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<sup>95</sup> Connell and Johnson, loc. cit.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid.

that the patterns of reinforcement available to their female subjects failed to build strong feelings of self-esteem, no matter what their sex-role identification. Culturally inculcated sex bias must account for the emphasis in the discussion above.

The adjustment theory (structuring the environment to support women's nature, learning to adjust to one's gender role) also operates in research reporting. Reporting which solidifies sex differences as given constants and provides recommendations for adjusting expectations so that they will be congruent with the nature of these differences reflects this adjustment approach. This type of reporting is typified by Gallagher who found no sex differences on IQ and divergent thinking tests among high achievement boys and high achievement girls, but found significant differences in favor of boys in public classroom expressiveness. He reports that the differences are more attitudinal than cognitive and then concludes his discussion of the findings stating:

Finally, a clear warning should be given to future investigators that the literature no longer makes it possible to talk about gifted children without consideration of the sex dimension. These differences require the discussion of gifted boys and gifted girls in their own separate and apparently distinctive domains.<sup>97</sup>

In socially dictated behavioral differences, the researcher finds separate domains and deepens the chasm.

Tyler, directly addressing this issue though from a different perspective, states:

As many writers on the subject have pointed out the progress of science and the removal from the home of many kinds of work that

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<sup>97</sup>James Gallagher, "Sex Differences in Expressive Thought of Gifted Children in the Classroom," The Personnel and Guidance Journal, Volume 45, Number 3, 1966.

were once done there makes the restriction of women's activities to home and family increasingly inappropriate. The wide range of abilities in both sexes makes it appear that sex typing of occupations is not appropriate either. But the attitudes that both men and women have grown up with fit these practices better than they do the actual economic and psychological facts, and too great a deviation from the accepted attitude makes for maladjustment. There lies a challenging problem.<sup>98</sup>

The problem posed by Tyler is perhaps the wrong one. The prior issue is the price women pay for social and psychological adjustment in this society.<sup>99</sup> As Broverman states in the study of clinical judgments of psychological health:

It may be worthwhile for clinicians to critically examine their attitudes concerning sex-role stereotypes, as well as their position with respect to an adjustment notion of health. The cause of mental health may be better served if both men and women are encouraged toward maximum realization of individual potential rather than to an adjustment to existing restrictive sex-roles.<sup>100</sup>

In another study, Broverman and his associates again make the social context of their findings explicit and point to possibilities for further investigation and/or intervention. They explain:

The factors producing the incorporation of the female stereotype along with its negative valuation into the self-concept of female Ss, then, must be enormously powerful.

It is of the greatest importance, then, that attention be given to those factors responsible for sex-role stereotypes and their differential valuation.

And again:

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<sup>98</sup> Tyler, op. cit., pp. 271-272.

<sup>99</sup> It should be pointed out that there is not much evidence to suggest that women who embrace the wife-mother feminine role are particularly content in either social or psychological terms. See, for example, Freidan's discussion in The Feminine Mystique.

<sup>100</sup> Broverman et al., loc. cit.



If it is granted that today's society is changing with respect to prescribed sex-role behaviors, it is pertinent to ask what specific factors tend to accelerate or retard the rate of change.<sup>101</sup>

These two studies are exceptions in the body of research and literature on sex differences. For the most part, the aim has been to prove sex differences, not to suggest intervention and change. It might be argued that such goals more properly fall within the realm of sociological investigation. Yet psychological and learning theories and considerations cannot be divorced from their cultural setting. Much of the research on sex differences focusses on cognitive growth, classroom interactions, academic performance and interests. Certainly our schools are social institutions, and problems researched in that context ought to recognize society's influence, rather than pretend, as it now appears, that behavior is being viewed or performance is being measured in something akin to a vacuum.

In general, the research problems have been developed and the investigation carried out and reported to answer the questions relating to how men and women are different. In education, the question becomes: Why are boys inferior and girls superior in early school years? In later years, questions as to girls' inferior performance are raised. Answers to these questions are sought in females' low expectations, lack of specialized interests, preference for a nurturing role, emotional instability, personality characteristics such as dependency, submissiveness, and anxiety. It is plausible to conclude that these formulations of research questions are such that the manifested differences are preserved as given, constant and differentiating sex characteristics.

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<sup>101</sup>  
Ibid.

Mitigating the Male Measure:  
Some Necessary Changes

There are several changes which could be made in an attempt to increase the social and educational value of research on sex differences. First, the problems studied could be more positively defined in terms of seeking the boundaries of similarities between the sexes. Findings of such studies placed in the context of the broader social and educational implications would provide educators with a more accurate and less prejudiced understanding of the existence or absence of sex differences. Second, it is important that more research focus on discovering or disproving the existence of any biological differences between the sexes which might influence the cognitive development, creativity and social and emotional growth of individuals. A third change would call for researchers to recognize and address the complexities inherent in examining individual behavior in institutional settings where norms and expectations are the product of deeply rooted and powerful sex prejudices and where success and even survival are dependent upon compliance to those norms and expectations. Therefore, research on institutions and their separate effects upon sex roles and the manifestations of various sex differences within institutions is recommended.

On a larger scale, the question to guide future research must be understood to be centrally concerned with what is needed to make schools fully functioning institutions capable of facilitating all learners' growth. Current research on the elementary school, for example, describes how boys compare to girls in academic performance, conceptualizes research problems in terms of why boys do less well and what factors may be experimentally changed to result in their (males) improved

performance, and then supports educational policies aimed at equalizing male and female achievement or restoring males to their normal and desired superior position. A much needed change is to broaden the researcher's approach to a consideration of those factors which can be changed to result in both males' and females' maximum growth and development during the elementary school years. Clearly, this raises a fourth change. That is, a rigorous inspection of the assumptions operating in all phases of the research and reporting must be consistently undertaken with the minimum effect of making explicit those assumptions. Closely related to this is the need to sort stereotyped images from observed and substantiated cause and effect relationships. Finally, research in education, sociology and psychology have a social value which derives from their focus on humankind. The research on sex differences has had its value and credibility compromised because its positive concern and focus are reserved for the one sex to the detriment of the well-being of the other. It is obvious that research on biological sex differences and the irreducible effects of those differences on social behavior need to be separated from experimental social research along the lines suggested above. Only then can we begin to talk about sex differences free from the oppressiveness of androcentric reasoning.

The Sins of the Fathers Need Not Be Visited  
Upon the Daughters: An Exhortative Summation

The purpose of this review of research has been to identify and illustrate the sex bias which prevails in the research on sex differences. It is a bias which exists across the sciences, pure and applied, social and "hard." The varying manifestations of this prejudice in all phases

of research on sex differences--problem definition, terminology and the reporting of results--have been described and documented. Some beginning suggestions for improving the social and educational value of future research in this area have also been tendered.

The charge of bias supported here has not been made lightly. Sex research on sex differences has actively perpetuated negative attitudes toward women as a group and seriously limited the acceptance and even the development of women's intellectual and creative potential. It has supported the continuation of oppressive gender role definitions for women, measured women against those definitions, labelling them neurotic when they measured up and maladjusted when they did not. It has failed to place sex differences in a cultural context and allowed measures of mean differences in attitude and behavior to be taken as manifestations of inherent and controlling biological sex differences. It has worked on behalf of less than half of this society's population. It can not continue to do so. It will no longer be quite so easy, quite so comfortable, or quite so secure to serve male privilege, male needs, male ego, and male status. This is a new Age. It will be a time when women determine for themselves their ability, their potential, and their role in this society.

#### The Rationale Established: A Summary

Past educational ideologies have been supported by fundamental assumptions of male superiority appearing in the guise of objective scientific and social research. That the result of this has been both overt and covert discrimination against women in the field of education

has been well documented. The justification of that discrimination on the basis of women's "nature" or their differing function in society according to "nature's" own design as witnessed by observable biological differences has been shown not to hold in the light of culture's power in the development of gender roles. Finally, an analysis of the bias in research on sex differences points to the inadmissibility of most of what has been used to "prove" the differences between the sexes: It has been shown to be rooted in social rather than biological factors, and to stem from prejudice rather than objective investigation.

The rationale that emerges is one which supports an open and unlimited exploration of new social roles, a reassessment of what is possible and desirable. If there are boundaries, they are not currently known.

The remainder of this study will focus on how this reassessment might be translated into a new feminist ideology for women's education.

## C H A P T E R      I I I

### RESEARCH PROCEDURES

#### Introduction

In this chapter, the step-by-step process of developing a questionnaire, selecting a sample, and establishing the meaning and limits of validity and reliability for that questionnaire will be detailed. Additionally, this chapter will comment editorially on how the research processes, defined by a predominantly white male group, helped or hindered the development of a questionnaire aimed at sampling a political group which is, by definition, at odds with that white male group. An understanding of the interaction between the research and political objectives of this study is even more imperative given the charges of androcentrism which were leveled against research in the last chapter. This issue will be generally outlined below as part of the introduction to methodological considerations since it underlies the entire discussion.

While it is true that most research is consistently biased against women (which is different from the fact that all research is biased), and while it is also true that some standards are either inherently sex biased, or, more likely, manipulated in a male-protecting way (e.g., objectivity), there do exist research processes which are seemingly value free.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Elizabeth Steiner Maccia explicates both types of bias in her paper, "Prejudice Against Women and Bias in Educational Research," Paper presented to the American Educational Research Association, Chicago, Illinois, April, 1972.

It may be that currently, anyway, problems arise because research and politics are understood as mutually exclusive: One cannot have research muddied by political motives and subjectivity. Conversely, the immediacy of political analysis and response need not wait upon the process requirements of research: Why run like a tortoise when one can hop like a hare? But then again, the tortoise did win the race. As in the proverb, so in political action and social change there may be untold or unproven value in more frequently adopting the tortoises' strategy, just in case the hares get lost, the woods get thick, or the liberals start to shift ground.<sup>2</sup> Sometimes research may be able to support radical political change. By refuting oppressive myths or providing quantified data on the effects of oppression (glaringly contradicting what the culture purports to be), new syntheses of the status quo and radical change poles can be attained, thereby allowing for more radical positions.

This study is an attempt to join research and politics. In this chapter, where the combined perspectives were at odds or the yoking was uncomfortable, it will be pointed out.

The more critical problem of the union of politics and research lies in differing languages and audiences. While a process may be neutral, language never is. The language acceptable to research is not the one which speaks to the goals of political persuasion, needs or changes. Throughout the study, the choice of language is better suited to the academic research demands than to those of political rhetoric.

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<sup>2</sup>Evolution rather than revolution is not the point. The author finds that alternating plodding with hopping is very effective. Though inconsistent strategies, they are in fact complementary.

The chapter is organized into three main sections. The first describes how the questionnaire was developed, piloted, and finally revised. The second provides a rationale for using a feminist sample and explains how that sample was selected. The final part discusses the issues of validity and reliability specific to the use of this questionnaire.

### Questionnaire Development

#### Pilot Questionnaire

Use of local feminists in developing question areas. Having decided on a mail survey questionnaire to solicit feminists' perceptions of past schooling experiences and desirable future changes, the first step was to figure out which questions should be asked. Since it seemed that feminist women should participate in identifying what is important to women, a representative group from the local area was selected. It was hoped that use of this group during the development stage would increase the likelihood that questions or topics important to the final feminist sample would be covered.

In order to find out what questions feminists thought should be asked of other feminists, questionnaires which explained the purpose of the study and asked, "What questions do you think would be important to ask concerning women's past educational experiences and suggested areas for change?" were sent to the various women's centers in the Amherst-Northampton area. (See Appendix A for copy of questionnaire.) Fifteen women returned the questionnaire. Their responses identified seventeen aspects of the schooling experience that they felt were important and



specifically connected to being female. Table I lists the topics identified by this group.

Use of experts in developing question areas. To gain as broad a starting point as possible, writers in women's education were reviewed for the general topics they covered. The specific experts from whose work questionnaire topics were obtained are Oltman, Seelye, Wigney, David, Harbeson, Komarovsky, and Goldman. Due to a large degree of thematic repetition among the group, only twelve areas of women's education emerged. These are presented in Table I.

Since there was an obvious overlap between the expert and the feminist lists, the items were combined into a grouping of nineteen descriptive topics. In order to maintain an inclusive list, individual items or concerns that had been suggested were stated. For example, in responses from the feminist group, separate items such as courses offered, content of courses, different activities for boys and girls, and values in the curriculum had been subsumed under the heading, "Curriculum." In this phase, they were again specified. The complete listing of the specific items for each of the nineteen categories are provided in Appendix B. Nineteen categories proved to be conceptually unwieldy, so more general categories were sought. Five areas were finally used to group the initial nineteen: Counseling, curriculum, teacher attitudes, identity and self-concept, and leadership. It is important to recognize that this was an arbitrary categorization made to facilitate organization. The labels were intended to describe, not define, the categories; only the items placed under the labels indicate the specific meaning of the terms. The final grouping is presented in Appendix C. Generally, the process was one of specifying and categorizing--expanding and focussing.

TABLE I

Identification of Questionnaire Topics  
By Feminists and Experts

TOPICS SUGGESTED BY FEMINISTS	TOPICS DISCUSSED BY EXPERTS	INCLUSIVE SET OF DESCRIPTORS
---	counseling	counseling
---	career-marriage conflict	career-marriage conflict
---	continuing edu- cation	continuing edu- cation
curriculum	curriculum	curriculum
educational alter- natives	sexist content	alternatives
---	values	values
---	sex differences in interests	sex differences
---	sex differences in abilities	sex differences
leadership in class	leadership	leadership
teacher support	faculty attitudes	teacher attitudes
teacher suppression	---	teacher attitudes
teacher sex	---	teacher sex bias
teacher expectations	---	teacher sex bias
---	coeducation	coeducation
feelings about ex- pressing one's ideas in class	---	verbal expres- sion of ideas
criticism of work or style	---	evaluation
report cards	---	evaluation
physical education	---	physical education
---	extra-curricular activities	extra-curricular activities
recess	---	peer interaction
clothing	---	peer interaction
conformity	---	peer interaction
self-awareness	---	identity and self- concept
awareness of being female	---	identity and self- concept
models with which to identify	---	models

Identification of criteria for selection of questions. Having identified the topics for questioning, the second major step was to identify criteria for use in developing and selecting questionnaire items. Essentially, the criteria were divided into two categories--one for the selection of items and another governing specific question-wording. In terms of general item development, four major criteria were used.

Major criteria for selection of items specified. First, the stated purposes of the questionnaire served to screen questions as to their necessity or usefulness. Second, the desire to cover as many schooling levels (kindergarten to graduate degree work) as possible meant that decisions were based on appropriateness to a given level. Third, the need to cover the areas identified as fully as possible also worked as a general criterion. Fourth, practical considerations of length, simplicity and interest all worked to modify the other considerations. That is, a question or group of questions might meet the first three criteria and be eliminated on the basis of a more practical consideration. It was decided, for example, to eliminate items for the junior high, continuing education and graduate levels because of length.

Secondary criteria specified. Other general questions through which the emerging items were checked included: Is more than one question in this area needed; is there a balance in terms of the direction the questions take; do they all, for example, assume discrimination and thus direct a consistent response; is there a balance between concreteness and generalness; is this question one that can be answered? These considerations, in addition to the previous four, were used in deriving a first draft of the questionnaire items.

Another set of criteria was applied in determining the specific wording of each question. Two works were particularly helpful at this point. Both Payne's The Art of Asking Questions and Selltitz and others' Research Methods in Social Relations detailed critical considerations in drafting questions. Perhaps the most helpful criterion was clarity-- "Can the question be understood?" Another important consideration was that of bias or loaded language. This was an especially difficult criterion to apply since the author was looking for perceptions of sexism in past experiences from a group whose current politics might direct their recollections. On the other hand, it was clear that participants might be lost if the questions did not communicate an underlying political perspective and understanding of women's issues. Here is an excellent example of the kind of juggling necessary to combine politics and research. As a feminist, the author of the present study could approach other feminist women from the standpoint of assumed sexism and then explore its limits and manifestations. For research purposes, however, a language and syntax free from such assumptions was required.

Application of criteria explained. The first set of general criteria--necessity, coverage, appropriateness to level, practicality--produced a set of non-behavioral statements from the list of generalized topics presented in Table I and explained in Appendix B. The first draft of questionnaire items resulted in broad, neutral statements (e.g., physical education and "feelings about myself" rather than "feeling good about myself"). Appendix D lists these statements.

The second set of criteria was added to the first, then, to develop more concreteness and focus. So, for example, "physical education"

became "boys and girls did the same things in gym classes" and "I was encouraged to develop a strong and healthy body," since two ideas--differential access to activities and how females are taught to think about their bodies--actually compose the physical education dimension. The first phrasing is specific in that it locates activity in gym classes and asks for a comparison of boys and girls. However, the use of the word "things," a vague term, was selected over a more precise word such as games or equipment because the specific answer could vary. The intention was to get the respondents' overall sense and the more general term was felt to better serve that need. This example is fairly characteristic of the application of criteria that was carried on during the piloting phase.

Questions developed for school levels, separately. At first, questions were developed on what seemed to be a level applicable to all schooling experiences. However, upon considering differences in educational programs, services and environments, it became clear that some different questions were needed to accommodate the various schooling levels. Because of widespread differences in both availability and assumed importance of services at different levels, counseling questions were omitted in the elementary section, added for high school, and increased for the vocational-college level. Also, some questions were rephrased to be appropriate to different levels. A decision to develop separate statements for each schooling level was then made. The list of questions developed through this process for the elementary level is presented in Appendix E.

Need for second major questionnaire section explained. The fundamental purpose of the study as outlined in Chapter I was to explore components of an educational program for females that feminists thought important. The research questions concerning positive and negative perceptions of past schooling experiences were seen as indirect ways of isolating additional changes. It was in relation to these complementary questions that the first draft of the questionnaire was derived. In order to attain a direct answer to the major research question, a second questionnaire section was developed.

Use of feminists in developing pilot questionnaire, repeated. Again, feminist women were used to generate items for the questionnaire. This time, however, ten women were asked to operationalize the concept "an education that makes women strong (not physically, necessarily)." The first four steps of Hutchinson's model, "Operationalization of Fuzzy Concepts," was used to facilitate the process of specification.<sup>3</sup> Although the degree of concreteness did vary, the resulting statements were fairly specific. Hence, converting this list to a questionnaire required few criteria beyond parallel construction, simplicity of statement and a balance between generalness and specificity. In a few cases where some aspects identified in the first part of the questionnaire were not mentioned or only partially covered, the author used her own general knowledge of feminist demands and issues to create a more comprehensive and probing series of items. In this way, "coverage" also acted as a criterion.

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<sup>3</sup>Thomas Hutchinson and Larry Benedict, "Operationalization of Fuzzy Concepts," University of Massachusetts, September, 1970, (Xerox).

Political rather than objective language required. A general criterion for question-wording was that the language be political. This section of the questionnaire was intended to capture and portray political and personal feminist vision. In it, objectivity had no place, although the availability of options was important. The list of statements for the second section of the questionnaire is available in Appendix F.

Criteria for selecting response format articulated. Concurrent with decisions as to questionnaire items were decisions as to the best response format. Again, the first step in formulating and selecting among the alternatives was the establishment of key criteria. Some criteria were immediately apparent: The response format had to provide the information called for by the research questions; and it had to provide information on the different levels of schooling. It was also clear that the responses obtained should be usable. That is, the data had to eventuate in a form easy to analyze and interpret. Another apparent criterion was that of psychological appeal in sequencing and presentation. This was related to the criterion of a pleasing, simple, visual impact. Selltiz et al. and Oppenheim outlined additional criteria: uniformity and ease of format, facilitation of recall of ideas that bear on crucial questions, avoidance of resistance, and arousal of interest.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>A. N. Oppenheim, Questionnaire Design and Attitude Measurement, Heinemann Books on Sociology, London: Heinemann, 1966, pp. 49-78; Clair Selltiz et al., Research Methods in Social Relations, The Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, Rev. ed., New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963, pp. 235-276.

Major format decisions described. One major format decision centered on the handling of the different educational levels. Construction of several forms of response categories which included differentiated levels in responses proved too confusing. It was felt that recall would be more accurate if thinking was focussed on one level at a time. Accordingly, it was decided to list items separately for each level despite the repetition involved.

Another major decision focussed on the nature of the response to the items. A first attempt at developing a format identified the need to determine whether the item was essentially true or not true of one's schooling. This meant that the response format would have to first ask the true/false question and then allow for the respondent to categorize it as either positive or negative. Various formats were tried: continuums, single number and letter codes, headed response columns. Differing ranges in categories were attempted (e.g., true, false, positive, negative; liked this aspect of my schooling, felt this was an area in which my needs weren't met; totally true and positive, mostly true and mostly positive, etc.). Finally, it was decided that only the direction of feeling about the item, and whether mostly true or mostly false was manageable given the number of items and the repetition of items for each level. This resulted in mostly true, mostly false, or not applicable, and mostly positive or mostly negative response categories. It was felt that answers in this form could be interpreted to answer the research questions fairly directly.

An early decision was to use a pre-coded format so that the presentation of items could facilitate recall. Free response questions



could then follow the pre-coded questions having given the respondent time and stimuli to recall her experiences and feelings. For each level, then, open-ended questions which probed the research questions were added. A semantic differential was included at each level as the response format for a summation of one's feelings about being female connected with the level of schooling experience. It was included simply as an experiment to see if any significant data resulted.

A decision to use letters rather than numbers in the pre-coded sections was made in order to decrease confusion. It was also decided that an ordinal scale was not appropriate to the research purposes.

The second part of the questionnaire which was composed of possible elements of women's education required a different response format. Since a major purpose of piloting this section of the questionnaire was to identify any significant missing areas and to discover ways of rephrasing the items to increase their appeal, it was decided that the items should appear in a simple checklist. However, in addition to having the respondents simply check those items judged important, it seemed desirable to ask them to rewrite statements and to add new ones. It was hoped that this format would yield an expanded list. Open-ended questions were also included in order to see which type of response produced more information and also to generate additional items for the checklist.

Demographic questions included in the instrument. A set of demographic questions was added at this point in order to describe the range of characteristics among women grouped together as feminists. Age, ethnic identification, level of education, and income level were covered in

these questions. For age and income levels, categories of responses were provided. Due to space considerations, the questions asked on level of education attained was a fill-in-the-blank format. Ethnic identification was also a fill-in-the-blank, but for different reasons. Under the heading of "race," categories such as "jewish" would not have been appropriate. Race was seen as too specific while ethnic identification was so broad, all the possibilities could not have been listed. An open response seemed best.

One additional format decision was to include illustrations that would relate to the theme of women's education. Unfortunately, these could not be completed in time for the pilot questionnaire, but were provided for the final draft. The final outcome of these response format decisions is presented in Appendix G.

A pilot sample secured. To test the strengths and weaknesses of the questionnaire, a pilot sample of twenty women was drawn from the Women's Caucus of the School of Education's mailing list. An effort to select women who were not students was made. Each woman was sent the questionnaire included in Appendix G.

Screening questions to confirm feminism developed. A series of five screening questions preceded the body of the questionnaire. The purpose of these questions was to confirm that the respondents were feminists. Many of the women who participated in identifying areas for questioning also suggested questions to discriminate between feminists and non-feminists. Many of their suggestions, however, were either too general or were based on idiosyncratic ideological positions (e.g., Do you think women should assume responsibility for their own lives? What

do you think the goals of the Feminist Movement should be?). In the end, it seemed to the author that there were definite behaviors shared by feminists of all ideological persuasions. First, all feminists have friends who are also feminists. Fundamental to the Women's Movement are the notions of sisterhood, support, collaboration, and sharing. No one is a feminist alone because feminism is tied to growth with other women. Thus, the question "Do you have any friends who are feminists?" was developed. Second, feminists call themselves feminists. It is not a "scary" or negative word to them. This led to the straightforward question, "Are you a feminist?" Third, feminists have feminist friends who are active in some way in the movement. So, the question was asked "Do you have friends who participate in \_\_\_\_\_ (a set of possible activities were listed to be checked)?" This list included the category "other." Fourth, the same question was asked in terms of the respondent. Again, categories were provided. The rationale here was that feminism, as defined in this study and generally understood, is more than a sympathy with the issues. Finally, a question which queried the degree of involvement was added. It was felt that if a woman saw herself as only sympathetic, she had not made a commitment to feminism. In order for a returned questionnaire to be used then, a respondent would have to:

- (1) have at least one friend who was a feminist;
- (2) call herself a feminist;
- (3) have a friend who participated in a Women's Movement activity;
- (4) herself participate in at least one activity; and
- (5) classify herself as actively involved.

It was felt that these criteria would not exclude women on the basis of varying ideologies within the movement but would differentiate between the degree of involvement, thereby ruling out women who had only a sympathetic awareness of women's issues.

Pilot sample asked to cite problems in questionnaire. Since the questionnaire was being piloted, it was decided to ask the sample group to cite: questions and items that were unclear, format preferences--open-ended checklist, semantic differential, and their feelings while completing the questionnaire. It was felt that this information could point to necessary revisions. The sample group was also asked for names of feminist friends who resided out-of-state. These questions and the introductory directions for completing the questionnaire are included in Appendix H. The questionnaire, along with a stamped, self-addressed envelope, was mailed to twenty women. Sixteen were returned. This boded well for the final return rate.

Two analyses performed on pilot data. Two types of analysis were performed on the returned questionnaires. First, the data were analyzed to determine if the responses met the research purposes. One specific aspect of this analysis focussed on identifying what questions and which formats yielded useable data. Second, each question was rigorously reviewed in order to decide which questions should be eliminated, which revised, and which retained intact. The following discussion will describe the result of the questionnaire revision process. The criteria used in the revision process were those used in developing the pilot questionnaire.

Analysis of open-ended data accomplished. The open-ended questions yielded detailed, rich and personal responses. Despite unique situations, themes were frequently repeated. This repetition allowed for broad frequency tabulations and interpretations of the free responses in terms of shared perceptions. It was also found that the categories

derived for the questionnaire items concerning past schooling-curriculum, teacher attitudes, leadership, etc., provided a workable framework for grouping the free responses.

Open-ended questions in Part III eliminated. The only open-ended questions which did not seem to produce additional or useable information were those at the end of Part III, the section on a new education for women. Since length was a consideration, and since the responses to the checklist indicated a high degree of individual expression and enjoyment (there were many additions and rephrasings suggested in addition to enthusiastic exclamation points and comments on items) while the open-ended questions were answered only briefly, these questions were totally eliminated.

Format change for Part III required. The responsiveness to the items included in Part III, which asked women to indicate important elements of an education which would make women strong, was interpreted to mean that many of the items hit upon important aspects. Nearly three quarters of the statements reached a significant level of agreement (that level, called consensus here, was arbitrarily defined as sixty-six percent). Comments ranging from exclamation points to emphatic "no's," called for inclusion of a scale in the final questionnaire. It was decided that a simple three-point continuum would be adequate.

Content revision in Part III described. As a result of respondents' comments, seven items were rephrased. These changes are listed in Table II along with the rationale for each revision. Fifteen new items were suggested. Some, such as "women open social gathering places for their own use," seemed inappropriate to a schooling situation.

TABLE II

## Revision of Part III

ITEM IN PILOT QUESTIONNAIRE	REVISED FOR FINAL QUESTIONNAIRES	RATIONALE FOR CHANGE
Women compete with men in team sports	women play with men in team sports	Competition obscured the intent which was to inquire whether women saw themselves playing as equals with men in team situation. Revision was suggested by respondents.
women are educated in all female classes	women are usually educated in all female classes	Qualifier added because two respondents added "only in some cases." Since this item received a low response, it was felt the qualifier would allow for responses based on the feeling that women should be brought together in a segregated group at times.
women are defining personal goals; women are defining career goals	women are defining life goals	Personal and career are too divisive. Career did not allow for a variety of life work goals. Both items had high agreement levels so goal definition was clearly important--and life goals seemed both more open and more inclusive. The change was suggested by a respondent. Length also supported the decision.
women write stories about women in non-traditional roles	women write and read stories about women in non-traditional roles	The double activity was chosen because it was more inclusive and would open this aspect to women who do not see themselves as capable writers.

ITEM IN PILOT QUESTIONNAIRE	REVISED FOR FINAL QUESTIONNAIRES	RATIONALE FOR CHANGE
counselors encourage women to pursue a career	counselors encourage women to think about a career	The comment of one respondent "but don't lay guilt on women who have other preferences," indicates that the wording was too directing and not in harmony with the goal in the Women's Movement of opening up choice. It was felt that career counseling was important but the change would make it sound less "required."
women work in self-help medical clinics and rape crisis centers as part of their schooling	women work in self-help medical clinics, rape crisis centers, and other action projects as part of their schooling	The general category was added at a respondent's suggestion, again, for purposes of increasing possible responses to the general idea which was working in action projects

Others spoke more to institutional decision-making rather than to an educational program, as in the suggestion, "more medical and law schools are opened for women." Of the fifteen possible additions, five that represented political perspectives, content, or an opposing alternative not previously covered were added. These five are listed in Table III.

Finally, the items that received a low response level and seemed to be unrelated to women's issues and education, and ones that seemed repetitious, were eliminated. These statements are listed in Table IV.

TABLE III

## Additions to Part III Developed During Revision Process

ITEM ADDED	RATIONALE
the organization of the school is non-hierarchical with no titles, no pay differential, etc.	this item reflects a common concern with structure within the Movement not otherwise addressed in the questionnaire
women study the herstory of witches	this adds a new content and one growing in visibility and interest within the Movement
women learn to express and channel anger	a real oversight in not including this earlier--anger being a common phenomena in the Movement and outside it
women who have experienced problems in combining marriage and career serve as counselors	addition of this item provides for an opposing alternative (or complementary one)
women discuss their biological superiority	addition of this adds a political perspective not otherwise covered

TABLE IV

## Items Eliminated From Part III During Revision Process

ITEM ELIMINATED	RATIONALE
most tasks are done by groups rather than individuals	received very low response and did not reflect sex related assumptions, political perspective, feminist ideology
there is no visible leadership	received low response level with comments indicating that item was confusing
women do most work through independent study	received low response level (as in first item above)
women hold hands and smile alot	repetitious in purpose (see item on hugging) also, respondent pointed out that women smile too much



Questions that had low responses were not automatically eliminated. For example, only two respondents indicated that an important element of educating women is that "women go to school in a women's center." However, since that item represented a possible direction focussed on women's needs and alternative women's institutions, it was left in. Likewise, some statements which received low response levels were retained precisely because they were assessed to be incompatible with a feminist view of educating women (e.g., women competing with men for top grades, honors, awards is antithetical to a general value of cooperation within the women's movement, but it was kept as an item in the questionnaire). The final listing of statements with a three point response continuum is shown in Part III, Appendix J.

Frequency tabulations of Part II performed. The item analysis of Part II, perceptions of past schooling, showed dominant (two-thirds or more respondents in agreement), unanimous, and divided perceptions among the sample group with respect to individual items. The purpose behind this frequency and percentage tabulation of the data was to test whether the data received could be readily categorized and analysed. This was found to be the case and so the tabulations were used in reviewing each item.

First revision process for Part II explained. Since most questions were repeated at each level, it was decided to begin with an extensive review of the items at the elementary level and use that data, where possible, in reviewing the high school and post-secondary ones. As a first step, each statement was interpreted in terms of the information it disclosed. For example, "I knew boys were supposed to be

smarter than girls," was, given the data, interpreted to be, "It was a dominant perception (false and positive) that women knew males were not smarter and that they felt positive about that." Once this verbal interpretation had been completed, the second step was to rephrase the information. In this case, the interpretation indicated that the response told "how women perceived themselves in relation to males."

Illustrative cases provided. Further interpretation indicated that if the statement were changed to "women are not supposed to be smarter," then the response would show a perception of socialization. Or, if both items were used, then any gaps between what women perceive and what they know they're supposed to think would be identified. Responses to both might point to tensions for women in the sex role. Since consideration for changing the item emerged from this process, the statement was placed in an item revision category. This process was undertaken for each statement. During this interpretation process, items which might not be sex-related were also identified. For example, although there was a dominant perception that women did not feel confident in expressing their ideas, and found that lack of confidence negative, there was no way of ascertaining any sex-related aspects of that condition without additional questions. Since a major purpose of the revision was to weed out questions, this item was eliminated. The actual written interpretations for each item are listed in Appendix I.

Second approach to revision of Part II elaborated and dominant perceptions reviewed. The next approach to revision was to group items into four categories: dominant perceptions (two-thirds or more), no consensus, non-applicable (N/A) responses, and no responses. The categories overlapped in that an item might have produced a dominant perception and

also N/A responses. Two-thirds of the sample agreed that the statement, "women we studied about in my classes had the same kinds of jobs," was true and negative. However, three participants indicated that the item was "not applicable," and thus that statement appeared in both categories. Once the items were categorized, several considerations were raised within each grouping. First, all the questions which produced dominant perceptions were compared to determine if there was any repetition. An important criterion was length of the questionnaire since it had taken respondents from one to two hours to complete. Similar questions which received dominant perceptions were weighed and only one was retained. This was the case with the two questions on women in the curriculum, "In school we read and studied about interesting and exciting women;" and "women we studied about in my classes had the same type of jobs." Both the statements reached the level of a dominant perception. The first received one hundred percent agreement that the statement was false and negative while the tabulation on the latter showed only two-thirds agreeing that the statement was true and negative. Three respondents, as noted above, gave an N/A response. Since both questions were directed toward gaining a sense of women in the curriculum and since the first obtained stronger responses and did not produce N/A responses, it was kept while the other was eliminated. Where questions were similar, then, only the question which yielded the greater agreement was reserved.

No consensus responses reviewed. Second, in this phase of the revision process, the category of no consensus was reviewed to identify differing perceptions due to multiple interpretations, inappropriateness to level, or generalness. The statement, "as a girl, I was disciplined

in the same manner as a boy," produced agreement that the item was false, but no agreement as to whether the differential treatment was positive or negative. It was decided that the statement was less valuable because of its ambivalence than other questions which revealed perceptions of differential treatment with a consistent effect. That item was, therefore, eliminated. Questions within this category were also checked for similarity to items which attained a higher level of agreement. Where that was the case, only the question yielding a dominant perception was reserved. In cases where multiple interpretations, repetition, or appropriateness did not appear as problems and where the information was useable in terms of the research questions, the "no consensus" items were retained.

Non-applicable and no response answers examined. Third, all questions with N/A or blank responses were examined. Possible reasons--when not supplied--were projected. The statement, "my teachers encouraged me to be independent," received two N/A responses. It was projected that this item would be inapplicable if the teacher encouraged no one to be independent. Therefore, the question was changed to focus on a perception of sex differentiated treatment which neither requires the personal experience nor assumes teacher behavior. Similarly, the item on gym class activities received both N/A responses and no response. It was projected here that this might be due, in part, to an interpretation of the question as referring to coed gym classes. Since everyone in the sample attended a coed school, either there were no gym classes or else the classes were sex segregated. By changing the question to read, "boys and girls did the same things in their gym classes," segregated classes

could be assumed and further N/A responses could be interpreted to mean a lack of physical education.

Criteria for revision summarized and the author's subjective decisions explained. The major questions asked during the revision phase were:

1. What information do the answers provide; is that important to know?
2. If there are similar questions, does one provide clearer information; does one have a better response rate?
3. Are there questions that were difficult to answer because of wording or assumptions (indicated by N/A or No Response)/

The judgments as to what to change and how, which questions to eliminate and which to retain, were obviously subjective. The author relied on her assessment of what issues were implied, intended, or critical in any given area. For example, the item at the elementary level which concerned clothing (and which received a unanimous response) was changed to: "I consider myself to be very feminine." The criterion behind the change was the authors' personal assessment and knowledge of the importance to and underlying meaning of the clothing issue.

The results of this revision for the elementary level are demonstrated in Table V. The questions used in the pilot questionnaire appear in order in the left column; the revised question appears in the right.

The responses of the participants to the questions concerning directions which are unclear or questions which were confusing, pointed to additional revisions. The semantic differential was found to be totally confusing, in part, because of poor directions and was eliminated.

TABLE V

## Revised Items

ORIGINAL - PILOT	REVISED - FINAL DRAFT
I confidently expressed my ideas in class.	ELIMINATED
I knew boys were supposed to be smarter than girls.	I knew girls weren't supposed to be smarter than boys.
In my school, boys and girls did different things.	ELIMINATED
Classmates that I admired and wanted to be like were usually girls.	Classmates that I admired and wanted to be like were usually girls.
I talked about and displayed my achievements in school.	ELIMINATED
Teachers seemed to prefer their male students.	Teachers seemed to prefer their female students.
Boys and girls did the same things in gym classes.	Boys and girls did the same things in their gym classes.
I was a leader in my classes.	I was a leader in my classes.
As a girl, I was disciplined in the same manner as boys.	ELIMINATED
My teachers made it clear that boys should be boys and girls should be girls.	My teachers made it clear that boys should be boys and girls should be girls.
I went to a coeducational elementary school.	I went to a coeducational elementary school.
Teachers encouraged me to participate in active physical learning activities (building, experimenting) as much as boys.	Teachers encouraged me to participate in active physical learning activities (building, experimenting) as much as boys.
I was given as much individual attention as boys.	ELIMINATED
In school, we read and studied about interesting and exciting women.	In school, we read and studied about interesting and exciting women.

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**ORIGINAL - PILOT****REVISED - FINAL DRAFT**

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I was encouraged to develop a strong and healthy body.

My teachers encouraged me to be independent.

Materials we used in the classroom tried to teach me to value the position of wife and mother.

Women we studied about in my classes had the same kinds of jobs.

Teachers' expectations for my work as a girl were right for my interests and abilities.

Teachers used the same standards to evaluate boys and girls.

I was discouraged from taking some courses on the grounds that girls weren't interested in those subjects or that they weren't important for girls.

Boys were encouraged to be more independent than girls.

Girls wore dresses or skirts to school.

Boys and girls participated in the same extra-curricular activities on an equal basis.

I was encouraged to develop a strong and healthy body.

My teachers encouraged me to be independent.

My teachers told me that one day I would be a wife and mother.

ELIMINATED

Teachers' expectations for my work as a girl were right for my interests and abilities.

Teachers used the same standards to evaluate boys and girls.

I was discouraged from taking some courses on the grounds that girls weren't interested in those subjects or that they weren't important for girls.

Teachers encouraged boys to be more independent than girls.

I considered myself to be very feminine.

Boys and girls participated in the same extra-curricular activities on an equal basis.

Leadership in the classroom was assumed by boys.

I didn't want to seem to be too smart.

---

Pilot respondents confirm worth of questionnaire. The fact that five women spent over an hour and a half and no one spent less than forty-five minutes, as mentioned above, indicated that the questionnaire had to be shortened. But it also indicated that the content of the questionnaire was sufficiently compelling to hold the interest of women. Comments as to the participants' feelings while completing the questionnaire bear this out. Two-thirds of the women indicated that they remained interested throughout the entire questionnaire, although one woman added that she was tired at the end. A few women checked the response "frustration." Comments which were made in addition to this response cast their frustration in a more positive light. It appears that the need and desire to say so much created a frustrating situation. Excitement and impatience were also cited. The comment which powerfully reflected the importance of the questionnaire and the study, read, "pain--by all the history of frustration and set back it made me remember." For me--both my political and research purposes were strengthened by the implications of that disclosure.

The revised questionnaire is included in Appendix J. A comparison of it with the pilot questionnaire in Appendix G will suggest the direction of the revision. The interpretations of the questions and data in Appendix I will amplify the examples of revision decisions provided here.

The process of developing the questionnaire was a rigorous one. It was also sometimes painfully slow. Only through care at this stage, however, could important results be obtained in the end. The many small steps of the developing, piloting and revising process have been presented



in detail for several reasons. First, the involvement of feminists in developing the questionnaire contributes to the questionnaire's validity. Second, the specification and application of criteria for revision must be accessible for review also for purposes of establishing validity. Finally, since intuitive senses of what was appropriate were used in deciding on inclusion, elimination or phrasing of items and questions, it is important--both for legitimizing and understanding that process--to reveal as fully as possible the decision-making process.

### Sampling

Rationale for securing a feminist sample. Feminism is not an ideology compatible with traditional ideas as to women's ascribed role, place, sphere, class, or caste. Women who identify themselves as feminists have looked beyond societally imposed restrictions on women. They are a group who have assessed their own potentials as persons and understood on a deeply personal and individual level the effects of sex prejudice on women. Feminists represent a group of women who have become aware of and active against the oppression of women. They are, by definition, advocates of women's interests, needs and rights.

In this study, a feminist population was sought because it is the one whose views are not based on what society says is correct. It is because feminists are advocates for women, because their view of women's potential looks beyond limited and stereotypic roles, that they constitute the sampled group. It would be inappropriate and biased to ask a group of women--whose survival has been and continues to be dependent upon conformity to norms which severely restrict their goals,

aspirations, activities, and positive feelings about themselves and others of their sex--to discuss their past experiences as women and to project what would be good for women in the future. Feminists are the only identifiable group who are not biased in their perceptions in this limiting, negative way. They are, therefore, the group who can best speak to the development of future programs for women.

The sample, not a random one. The sample is in no way random. As suggested above, a random sample of women would have resulted in too biased a population. Since the total number or even the number identifiable through overt association of feminist groups is unknown, no immediate method of attaining a random sample of feminists was available. It may be that such notions are inappropriate any way in that feminists constitute a self-selected group by opting to participate openly in feminist activities and name themselves as feminists. The sample, then, is drawn from a self-selected group of self-identified feminist women.

The sample identification process detailed. Three sources were used in identifying an initial sample group. Women in the local feminist community, women who had participated in the pilot study, women who belonged to the Women's Caucus of the School of Education, women from the Valley Women's Center, and feminist friends of the author were asked for names of feminist women--preferably residing out-of-state--who might be willing to participate in the study. These women were also asked if their names could be used in an introductory letter explaining how and why the potential respondent had been contacted. One hundred and nineteen feminist women were selected for the sample in this way.

It was decided that an initial mailing to two hundred feminists would probably yield a manageable number of returns, since with a twelve

page questionnaire, a one hundred percent return rate was not anticipated. The remaining eighty-one participants were gathered from the contact lists of Everywoman's Center and the Women's Caucus of the School of Education, both at the University of Massachusetts. Feminist publications, women's centers and action groups were included in this part of the sample.

Letters to the sample, different. As some questionnaires were sent to groups rather than individuals, and some individuals had been recommended by a specific person, different letters to the sample groups were designed. Appendix K contains two different letters.

Inducements to respond, several. Several means were employed in an attempt to increase the normal return rate. First, the identification of the source of the respondent's name--in most cases, a friend--was thought to increase the initial perception of the study's credibility. Second, it was felt that identification of the author's involvement with the Women's Movement and a brief explanation of the purpose of the study and its political roots would increase willingness to participate. Questionnaires sent to women's centers and feminist publications included a copy of the Women's Caucus Newsletter of the School of Education as a third inducement to participate. Fourth, respondents were offered a summary of the findings. Finally, follow-up postcards requesting a response were sent to non-respondents two weeks after the initial mailing.

U.S. government as an independent variable in response rate.

The length of the questionnaire and the involvement required to complete it weighed heavily against the chances of a large return rate. It was felt that fifty percent would be adequate for the specified research purposes. Of the two hundred questionnaires, eight were returned marked, "Return to sender, address unknown." How many others were lost in the

mail or undelivered remains unknown. Several notes from women indicated that they did not receive the questionnaire until mid-June, although all questionnaires were sent out the last week of April and first week of May. To what extent the University Mailroom and the United States Government figured as independent and arbitrary factors is not clear.

Respondents, their number. The number of potential respondents, then, became one hundred and ninety-two. Of this group, one hundred and fifteen returned questionnaires. Twelve of those did not meet the five screening criteria to confirm that the respondent was a feminist and so their questionnaires were not included in the sample. The final sample was made up of one hundred and three women. The final response rate was sixty percent.

Rejection of non-feminist questionnaires: a political vs. research problem for the author. The questionnaires which were rejected on the basis of the screening questions posed another research-politics dilemma for the author. On the one hand, the screening questions had been set up to insure a feminist sample. On the other, women who took the time to complete the questionnaire deserve consideration of their ideas. It was difficult not to feel that the twelve women whose questionnaires were rejected had been betrayed. It became obvious that a way of being honest about seeking only women who met those five criteria--perhaps the option to screen oneself and opt in or out of the study--would be preferable. The author was sorely tempted to include some of the responses, but in the end, did not.

Effective functioning of the criteria summarized. Since the criteria had been established, the study, and therefore the author, were bound to them. While the behavioral bases used in forming the criteria

remain a good beginning toward a differentiating scale, it is evident that more subjective criterion need to be included for balance. The criteria seemed to eliminate those who shouldn't have been included, but they also excluded women who could have been a part of the sample.

Tone, a good predictor of feminism. It became clear that tone was as good, if not better, a predictor of feminism as the five questions. An excellent example is afforded by a respondent who met all the criteria except the last one. After indicating involvement in a support group and medical self-help clinic, the respondent classified herself as "sympathetic," thus disqualifying herself. The tone and quality of her responses, especially in the last section, suggested a high level of personal and political involvement and vision. In this case, guilt (e.g., "I'm not doing enough") or self-effacement (e.g., "What I do isn't that effective"), both of which are personal issues for most women in and out of the Movement, may have inhibited her classifying herself as "actively involved." In other instances, defensive responses such as "what do you mean by feminist, why don't you define your terms?," clearly pointed to women who were, appropriately, not included. Tone, in this case, gave support to the ruling of the established criteria.

The final sample broadly described. The one hundred and three feminists who constitute the final sample range in age from eighteen to over fifty-five and represent twenty-four states covering all major regions. One interesting finding produced by the demographic data was the large number of Jewish respondents (twenty percent). Whether this percentage reflects the participation of Jewish women in the

Women's Movement is not known. Another interesting finding was that despite a generally high level of education, thirty-seven percent of the sample lives on five thousand dollars or less. Many of the women checking this response noted that they were receiving welfare. Tables VI and VII summarize the demographic information obtained on the sample.

Involvement of sample in Movement, range of. In addition to all the items listed on the front page of the questionnaire under the heading, "Do you participate in any of the following," women added that they: edit feminist journals, staff lesbian hot lines, act as women's advocates at state universities, coordinate women's history libraries, take and teach women's self-defense, develop feminist theory, write books and articles on women's issues, play in feminist women's rock bands, organize lesbian action groups, run sexism workshops for teachers, work in women's theater groups, conduct research on women, belong to NOW task forces, organize Marxist-humanist women's groups, participate in divorced women's groups, edit lesbian-feminist publications, and participate in a variety of radical feminist action groups. A variety of life styles and political perspectives are reflected by this data.

Some obvious questions, not asked. Some obvious questions were not asked. As a single woman, the author personally objects to questions on marital status unless it serves a clearly visible purpose. It would have served no obvious purpose here. It might have been interesting to gather information on the life styles of the respondents, but such questions tend to be prying and either oppressively heterosexual and thus particularly offensive to celibate and lesbian women, or terribly long and involved if they seek to be all encompassing and neutral. The final decision was to ask as few demographic questions as possible with the

TABLE VI  
Summary of Demographic Information on Sample

AGE	ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION		EDUCATIONAL LEVEL		INCOME	
	N = 95 Category	%	N = 99 Category	%	N = 99 Category	%
18 - 25	WASP	33	8th or below	0	0 - 5,000	37
26 - 35	Caucasian	50	high school	5	5,001 - 10,000	23
36 - 45	Jewish	11	1 year/college	5	10,001 - 20,000	28
46 - 55	Eastern European	2	2-3 years/college	15	Over 20,000	11
Over 55	Irish Catholic	3	4 years/college	35		
	Polish Italian		Masters	31		
	Lesbian		Doctorate	8		

\*\* These percentages do not reflect the real numbers of persons with the backgrounds listed. Obviously, many people listed themselves as Caucasian without specifying ethnic roots.

TABLE VII

## Geographical Distribution of Sample

STATE	FREQUENCY
New York	20
California	17
Massachusetts	15
Michigan	8
Washington, D.C.	7
Pennsylvania	6
Minnesota	3
Ohio	3
Connecticut	2
Illinois	2
Maryland	2
Missouri	2
New Hampshire	2
Vermont	2
Washington	2
Kansas	2
Alabama	1
Arizona	1
Hawaii	1
Indiana	1
Florida	1
Maine	1
New Jersey	1
South Carolina	1

N = 103



limited purpose of merely sketching shared characteristics. While more specific demographic data might have proved helpful in generalizing about the sample, it was decided that length also precluded any additional questions.

The sampling summarized. The final sample, then, consists of one hundred and three self-identified feminist women. Recognition and use of feminists as an unbiased expert group for women is not widely practiced in educational or psychological research. Part of the significance of this study, therefore, rests in the use of a feminist sample. Because of this, it is important to recognize that it is not possible to know how representative the demographic data are of the entire population of all feminists: Such data on the whole are not available. The reader will have to assess for herself the degree to which the population described here, reflects her own knowledge of the characteristics of women in the Women's Movement. A representative sample is, however, not necessary for the research purposes. A commitment to feminism--especially in the context of envisioning long range future goals--may act as a leveler of differences in perspectives based particularly on age, ethnic identification, and educational level. The differing types of involvement in the Women's Movement reported here do suggest a range of political perspectives and ideological positions. That this range was obtained is perhaps most significant.

#### Validity and Reliability

Validity, a context for discussing. Any discussion of validity and reliability occurs within the context of the stated purposes of the

instrument for which validity and reliability must be established. In this instance, the instrument is, in the research hierarchy, a lowly one, and its task appropriately limited. The questionnaire developed and implemented for this study was designed to identify feminists' perceptions of what would be desirable in educating women. Two approaches toward this end were incorporated into the questionnaire and reflected the research questions. The first method was to locate needed changes through information as to positive and negative aspects of women's schooling experiences. The second means was to have women describe a more ideal profile of women's education. Given the goal and strategies, the essential questions of validity for the questionnaire become:

1. Does the questionnaire ask questions which in fact cover important aspects of women's education?
2. Are there important areas not covered that should have been included to yield a complete picture?
3. Does the questionnaire reflect and allow for the expression of critical areas of feminist ideology?

Use of experts described. These questions are most closely associated with the notion of construct validity. To answer them, two women, active nationally in feminist activities and women's education, Robin Morgan and Carol Ahlum, were sent the questionnaire, an abstract of the study, and the above questions. Their responses indicated that the questionnaire items were indeed adequate to the task of identifying feminists' perceptions of what a good education for women entails: Major aspects of women's education and feminism are covered. In Ahlum's response, she does suggest several additional topics not explicitly mentioned in the

questionnaire. The topics she lists did emerge as important in the open-ended responses and were, therefore, addressed. The full comments of both Morgan and Ahlum are included in Appendix L.

Validity also established in development process. The issues of validity were also addressed in the development, piloting and revision of the instrument through the use of feminists to identify areas and then to test the items. The credibility of the instrument in terms of both coverage and expression of feminism was enhanced through this process.

Validity shown through results. Further information as to the validity of the questionnaire was provided by the data itself. Challenges to the validity of the instrument on the basis of politically determined responses rather than actual remembered experiences were it not for two significant outcomes. First, the number of positive responses lends weight to the notion that recall is more likely to be obscured by romanticization than by unnecessarily negative or critical recollections. Second, a number of items aimed at identifying differential treatment based on sex which would presumably net the same response if answered on the basis of political analysis rather than personal experience, in fact showed split perceptions. So, for example, in the pilot study, half of the sample felt that they received as much individual attention as boys while half did not. Some perceived that teachers favored male students while others perceived no differential treatment. On other items, however, there was total consensus on the presence of differential treatment. Encouragement in favor of boys to engage in more active learning activities received a unanimous response. In these varying ways,

then, validity sufficient for the purposes here--description and prescription rather than generalization or prediction--is supported.

Application of results to female population, defended. The political-research duality comes to the fore at this point. The author feels totally comfortable in generalizing from a feminist sample to the whole female population. Just as it is obvious that the findings of a sample of doctors as to the best cure for diabetes is not restricted in application to the suggesting of cures for doctors, so is the application of feminist ideas to all women the logical and mandated step. Therefore, the point, as the research question states, is not to identify dimensions of a desirable education for feminist females, but to identify those important for all women.

The author as recalcitrant researcher makes concessions. Research, protective as it is of over generalization, puts limits upon analysis. In obedience to this, the following concessions will be made: In the course of analyzing and interpreting the findings of Part II--past schooling experiences--it will not be concluded that the schooling experiences of the sample reflect those of the female population, although that is quite likely since the women of the sample were female students before they were feminists; it will be stressed that the suggested changes reflect a feminist ideology. In this context, the recommendations and needs indicated by the sample will be applied to all women.

Reliability also an important concept. Reliability is an important, if somewhat fuzzy, concept particularly when one applies it to an instrument dependent upon perceptual data. Reliability becomes increasingly important as perceptual data is used to generalize and predict.

One question in terms of this questionnaire's reliability is whether or not the respondent would answer (remember) the same way over time. Since the questionnaire items were designed to isolate new directions in women's education, rather than to describe and discuss the past experiences of women, the reliability issue is not really central to the use of the questionnaire. It does not matter whether the responses are consistent over time in that many responses could be true and yet each serve to reveal a single shared perception of what is desirable. For example, a respondent might recall differential treatment and find it negative and also recall--perhaps thinking of a different grade level--equal treatment and remember it as positive. In either case, the implication for what should be is the same. The question of whether a respondent would answer consistently over time was explored in a minor way.

One woman's reliability established. A feminist woman in the local area who had been included in the final sample was asked if she would complete the questionnaire a second time. She agreed and responded to the questionnaire in both April, 1973 and October, 1973. It was felt that six months was a sufficient time lapse to eliminate any recollection of previous replies. Eighty percent of the responses to the second questionnaire correlated with the answers to the first. Table VIII presents the results. An example of the phenomena described above, that of differing responses isolating the same need, is demonstrated by the respondent's differing answers to the item, "my teachers made it clear that boys should be boys and girls should be girls." On the April questionnaire, the respondent answered the item as false and positive. The October response was the exact opposite--namely, true and negative.

TABLE VIII

## Test Retest Results

ITEM AND LEVEL	APRIL RESPONSE	OCTOBER RESPONSE	CORRELATION
<u>Elementary:</u>			
1	TP	FN	-
2	TN	TN	+
3	FP	TN	-
4	TN	FN	-
5	TN	TN	+
6	FN	FN	+
7	NA	FN	-
8	TN	TN	+
9	TN	TN	+
10	FN	FN	+
11	FN	FN	+
12	FN	FN	+
13	TN	TN	+
14	FN	FN	+
15	TN	TN	+
16	FN	FN	+
17	NA	NA	+
18	TN	TN	+
19	FN	FN	+
20	NA	NA	+
A			+
B			+
C			+
<u>High School:</u>			
1	FN	TN	-
2	TN	TN	+
3	TN	TN	+
4	FN	FN	+

ITEM AND LEVEL	APRIL RESPONSE	OCTOBER RESPONSE	CORRELATION
5	FN	TN	-
6	FN	FN	+
7	FN	FN	+
8	TN	TN	+
9	TN	TN	+
10	TN	FN	-
11	FN	FN	+
12	FN	FN	+
13	TN	TN	+
14	TN	TN	+
15	TN	TN	+
16	FN	FN	+
17	TN	TN	+
18	TN	TN	+
19	FN	FN	+
20	FN	FN	+
A			+
B			+
C			+
<u>College:</u>			
1	FN	FN	+
2	TN	TN	+
3	TN	TN	+
4	TN	TN	+
5	FN	TN	-
6	FN	TN	-
7	FN	FN	+
8	TN	TN	+
9	TN	TN	+
10	FN	TN	-
11	FN	FN	+

ITEM AND LEVEL	APRIL RESPONSE	OCTOBER RESPONSE	CORRELATION
12	FN	FN	+
13	TN	TN	+
14	FN	FN	+
15	TN	TN	+
16	FN	FN	+
17	TN	TN	+
18	TN	TN	+
19	FP	FN	-
20	FN	FN	+
A			-
B			+
C			-

Differing answers in Part III:

8	3	2
28	1	2
29	1	2
31	2	3
40	1	2
41	1	2
44	1	2
47	1	2
50	2	1
55	3	1
58	2	1
60	2	1
63	2	1
64	1	2
66	2	3



Essentially, both answers recommend the same policy--not stressing gender differences. Another example lies in the response to the high school level question, "I didn't want to appear to be too smart." On the first questionnaire, the response was false and negative while on the second it was true and negative. Again, either way, the "problem" of intelligence in women is identified. In cases where an item was perceived as true at one time and false at another, but negative whether true or false, the complexity and oppressiveness of the dammed-if-you-do-or-don't situation for women is highlighted.

Internal consistency explored. During the piloting phase, some issues of reliability were addressed through limited measures of internal consistency. Questions nineteen and fifteen at the elementary level sought perceptions as to the treatment of women in the curriculum. A negative correlation with respect to true and false responses and a positive correlation in terms of feeling about the item (e.g., false negative and true negative) between the two questions would indicate a consistent perception. Analysis of the responses to question fifteen showed the one hundred percent of the pilot sample perceived that they did not read or study about interesting or exciting women (a unanimous false negative response). The response to item nineteen was that women studied in the classroom did have the same type of jobs (sixty-six percent agreeing that the statement was true and negative). Another twenty-five percent of the sample responded with "not applicable" to this item on the basis of not studying women at all. The indication here was that responses were consistent.

At the high school level, two questions were asked on encouragement to consider non-traditional careers. To the question, "I was encouraged to consider careers traditionally dominated by men," eighty-one percent of the sample agreed that it was false and negative. The matched question, "I was encouraged to consider jobs beyond those expected of women in this society," received seventy-five percent agreement with the response false and negative. The actual difference, then, was one response which could easily be accounted for through word changes. Again, the indication was that respondents were answering consistently.

Two questions at the college level which pointed to perceptions of sex preference on the part of teachers resulted in an exact positive correlation. Question seven, "Instructors expressed or implied a preference for female students," resulted in a spread in responses: twenty-seven percent answered false and positive; thirty-three percent answered true and negative; and forty percent circled NA. The similar question, "More respect and support was extended by instructors to male students than to women students," received the exact same breakdown of responses.

The direction of these simple and limited measures suggests some reliability in response patterns. Further use of the data would require an extension of these analyses.

Some aspects of the research procedures outlined in this chapter are particularly interesting because they might be considered tainted by the same standards that have brought us tomes of sex prejudiced research. This study openly admits to: using feminists to develop the questionnaire, demonstrating the researcher's political perspective and understanding through question wording, topic inclusion, and correspondence with the

potential sample; making final decisions on question items based on the author's intuition as to what would be appropriate; securing a feminist sample to prescribe what is desirable in the educating of all women.

Detailed descriptions of the procedures used in developing, piloting and revising the questionnaire, securing the sample, and establishing validity and reliability have been provided so that the foundations on which this study rests can be understood. In the next chapter, the findings of the questionnaire will be presented and interpreted.

## CHAPTER IV

### PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION OF THE DATA

#### Introduction

In order to obtain information which would reveal the changes in the education of women that feminist women consider necessary to promote development of women's potentials, two approaches were taken. While an obvious tack would have been to directly ask feminists what changes they would recommend, it seemed that the context of what exists--current institutions, curricula, staffing patterns--might have inhibited responses. To avoid limiting possible responses, the practical constraints of the current situation were removed by asking, instead, for a future oriented vision. In so doing, important long range goals and components of feminists' views of women's education were sought. It was also more likely that the responses gathered through this approach would be more directly applicable to a discussion of a feminist ideology of women's education. The research question guiding the data collection was stated as: What do feminist women perceive as important aspects of an education for women which promotes the development of women's potentials.

Additional information as to feminists' perceptions of their own schooling experiences was deemed necessary to strengthen the investigation in two ways. First, data on feminists' perceptions of what in their schooling experience was positive for them is useful in identifying

additional components of an education which promotes the development of women's potential, albeit in a less direct manner. Second, information about what was dissatisfying or negative for them as women at various times both confirms the need for change and identifies other necessary changes. Two research questions were advanced to guide this second approach to the study: What aspects of their schooling experiences do feminists perceive as having been mostly positive for them as women; what aspects of their schooling experiences do feminists perceive as having been mostly negative for them as women? The three research questions, then, are conjoined in this study to provide a data base from which changes in the education of women can be discussed.

The Quality of Education  
Is Not Improved But Attenuated

Perceptions of Negative Schooling  
Experiences: Item Analysis

To answer the research question, "What aspects of their schooling experiences do feminists perceive as having been mostly negative for them as women," responses to the items at each level are analyzed to reveal consensual perceptions of negative conditions as well as negative trends in perception (less than two-thirds of the sample, but more than perceived the item positively). Following the item analysis, the open-ended questions concerning unmet needs and dissatisfactions are analyzed. Together the analyses of the items and the open-ended questions for each level form the response to the research question. That order--item analysis (first consensual, then trends) and then open-ended responses (first unmet needs, then dissatisfactions)--will be followed. At the

end of the discussion of dissatisfying schooling experiences, the findings will be summarized.

Consensual perceptions. Responses to individual items at the elementary, high school and post-secondary levels reveal some interesting patterns of negative perceptions among the sample. Table IX presents all the items to which at least two-thirds of the respondents gave the same answer--that is, items receiving a consensual response.

TABLE IX

## Consensual Perceptions of Negative Aspects of Schooling

<u>ITEM</u>	<u>RESPONSE</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>Elementary Level:</u>		
My teachers made it clear that boys should be boys and girls should be girls.	TN	70
In school, we read and studied about interesting and exciting women.	FN	89
Teachers encouraged me to participate in active physical learning activities (building experimenting) as much as boys.	FN	73
<u>High School Level:</u>		
I was encouraged to consider careers traditionally dominated by men.	FN	67
Teachers made it clear that women should be feminine and men masculine.	TN	73
Men and women took the same physical education program.	FN	68
Women we studied were interesting and exciting.	FN	72
I was taught to develop a strong and healthy body.	FN	66
<u>College Level:</u>		
I was encouraged to consider careers traditionally dominated by men.	FN	67
Most leadership responsibilities were assumed by men.	TN	73

The consensual perceptions in Table IX point to conditions which most respondents perceived as essentially negative. Overall, in terms of the positive-negative dimensions, at least half of all the items at each level show a higher percentage of negative responses than positive ones.

The meaning of each item listed in Table IX will be discussed fully in the context of the other similar items in its category. Briefly, the five categories used to organize the responses are: Curriculum, Teacher Attitudes and Behavior, Counseling, Leadership, Identity and Self-Concept as a Woman. These categories are defined in Appendix B. Again, it should be noted that these categories are arbitrary and serve only to facilitate organization. Also, some items could be placed in more than one category.

Curriculum: perceptions of negative conditions. Five items at both the elementary and high school levels and four at the college-vocational training level point to the negative impact of certain situations falling within the broadly designated category, curriculum. Table X lists the items with frequent negative responses found at each level.

Physical education, women in the curriculum and extra-curricular activities emerge as dissatisfying elements for women. While the responses to the questions on physical education programs are lower than the two-third point selected as a cutoff for dominant (consensual) perceptions, the high number of "not applicable" (NA) responses increases the weight of the false-negative (FN) responses. That is, if nineteen percent (twenty persons) respond "NA," then the sample responding to the item is reduced to eighty-three. The actual number of women

TABLE X

## Perceptions of Negative Aspects of the Curriculum

	<u>ITEM</u>	<u>RESPONSE</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>Elementary Level:</u>			
N = 103			
* 7.	Boys and girls did the same things in their gym classes.	FN NA	54 19
*11.	In school, we read and studied about interesting and exciting women.	FN F	89 5
12.	I was encouraged to develop a strong and healthy body.	FN TP	64 24
14.	Teachers encouraged me to participate in active physical learning activities (building, experimenting) as much as boys.	FN NA	73 8
16.	Teachers used the same standards to evaluate boys and girls.	FN TP	43 25
*20.	Boys and girls participated in the same extra-curricular activities on an equal basis.	FN TP	58 15
<u>High School Level:</u>			
N = 103			
7.	Men and women took the same physical education program.	FN NA	68 13
11.	Women we studied were interesting and exciting.	FN NA	72 17
12.	I was taught to develop a strong and healthy body.	FN TP	66 19
20.	Men and women were given the opportunity to participate on an equal basis in all extra curricular activities.	FN NA	63 11
<u>College, Vocational, Professional Training Level:</u>			
N = 99			
7.	The physical education program was the same for men and women.	FN NA	62 21
11.	Women studied in my courses were interesting and exciting.	FN NA	61 25
12.	I was encouraged to develop a strong and healthy body.	FN TP	62 20
20.	Men and women had the opportunity to participate on an equal basis in extra curricular activities.	FN TP	60 17

\*Item maintained similar trend at all three levels.



responding "FN" at the elementary level to statement seven was sixty-one. The real percentage of FN responses, then, is seventy-three percent--a significant percentage of agreement among those responding. For this reason, where the NA score is the next highest, it has been listed. With reference to question seven, it should also be noted that a negative perception is maintained despite word and meaning variations. At the elementary level, the response indicates that boys and girls did different things in their gym classes. At the high school level, the response indicates that the physical education program taken by men and women was different, while at the college level, respondents were asked if the program was the same regardless of whether they participated. In all cases, the FN response dominated.<sup>1</sup> Perceptions of physical education programs were investigated by a second question, question twelve. This, too, received a consistent FN response at all levels of schooling. The responses to this question reveal a major failing of the physical education programs shared by these women: They perceive that they were not taught to develop strong and healthy bodies. A question as to the goals of physical education programs must surely be raised by this finding.

That women are not included in the curriculum also emerges as dissatisfying for women. The responses suggest that while at no period were interesting and exciting women studied with any frequency, the problem seems to have varied from level to level. At the elementary level,

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<sup>1</sup>This is hardly surprising. Of 450 administrators polled by Nation's Schools, seventy-six percent admitted that girls' athletic programs get significantly less in terms of funding, facilities and coaches. See K. McEngle, "Revolution in Sports: The Greening of Girls' Sports," Nation's Schools, (92) XCII, Spring, 1973, pp. 27-34.

the low number of NA responses could suggest that women are in the curriculum to some extent--but definitely not as interesting or exciting persons. The increase in NA responses for high school and the even larger one for college-vocational schooling indicate that women may be eased out of the curriculum at each successive stage. When the percentages are refigured without respondents answering "NA," the breakdown of FN responses becomes: elementary--eighty-nine percent; high school--eighty-one percent; and college, vocational--eighty-five percent. Clearly, not only are women less visible in the curriculum as the years advance (as the increasing NA response suggests), but even when present they are not portrayed as interesting or exciting. This is consistently perceived as overwhelmingly negative.

The third area which is identified as dissatisfying at all three levels is that of extra curricular activities. Like physical education, perceptions of extra curricular activities were explored in two different ways--in terms of actual participation and in terms of opportunity for participation. The results show that participation was on an unequal basis in grade school and that opportunity for participation was unequal at the high school and college levels. The true and positive responses at the elementary and college-vocational levels as the second highest responses (even though very low) suggest a compatible perception. That is, inequality in extra curricular activities is perceived as negative while equal access and participation is perceived as valuable or positive. While this may seem simplistic, the compatible perceptions suggest the importance and single direction of the item.

At the elementary level, the items concerning evaluation and learning opportunities also showed trends of negative perceptions.

Question fourteen points to the frequency of sex differentiated learning activities and the perception of female students of the negative effects of that division in the learning situation.<sup>2</sup> Item sixteen, on evaluation, while repeated at all three levels, shows up as being negative only at the elementary level. What is interesting is that this negative sense of the evaluation process at the elementary level runs counter to the prevailing notion that girls are more favored and helped by the evaluation standards of female elementary teachers.

Teacher attitudes and behaviors: perceptions of negative effects.

The effects of teacher expectations on students' behaviors has been well established in the field of education.<sup>3</sup> In the questions grouped under this general category, varying perceptions of teachers' differential attitudes toward male and female students and the effect upon female students were surveyed. Table XI lists the items that disclosed perceptions of differential attitudes which were negatively experienced by a significant number of the sample.

The one aspect of teachers' attitudes which emerges as a negative factor at all three levels is the assumption of rigid gender role qualities labeled masculine and feminine. The discussion of gender roles and masculinity and femininity in Chapter II should provide an adequate context for understanding why female students should perceive a directive to be "feminine" as negative. In many ways, femininity, as it is defined

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<sup>2</sup>K. R. Fogelman, "Piagetian Tests and Sex Differences," Educational Research, Volume 12, Number 2, 1970.

<sup>3</sup>Rosenthal and Lenore Jacobson, Pygmalion in the Classroom, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1968.

TABLE XI

Perceptions of Negative Aspects  
of Teacher Attitudes and Behavior

<u>ITEM</u>	<u>RESPONSE</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>Elementary Level:</u>		
3. My teachers made it clear that boys should be boys and girls should be girls.	TN	70
	FP	14
10. My teachers encouraged me to be independent.	FN	47
	TP	38
18. Teachers encouraged boys to be more independent than girls.	TN	49
	FP	19
13. My teachers told me that one day I would be a wife and mother.	TN	53
	FP	22
<u>High School Level:</u>		
3. Teachers made it clear that women should be feminine and men masculine.	TN	73
	FP	10
6. Teachers expressed or implied a preference for their female students.	FN	28
	TN	13
	NA	14
	FP	12
	TP	11
10. Teachers encouraged me to be independent.	FN	45
	TP	42
18. Men were encouraged to be more independent than women students.	TN	48
	FP	14
13. My teachers' comments indicated that they expected me to be a wife and mother some day.	TN	54
	FP	25
<u>College, Vocational, Professional Training Level:</u>		
3. Instructors made it clear that women should be feminine and men masculine.	TN	52
	FP	26
6. Instructors expressed or implied a preference for their female students.	FN	45
	F	14
	FP	12

and ascribed to women, is antithetical to participation in a stimulating learning environment. The fact that high school is the period during which this seems to be most frequently perceived may be related to an overall increase in gender role socialization pressures for females during adolescence. The drop in negative perceptions at the college level might reflect more enlightened and less sex determined treatment of female students. On the other hand, the difference might be due to a decrease in student-teacher interactions or some other generalized institutional factor. At any rate, it is clear that attempts to restrict female students to "femininity" was perceived as negative. At all three levels, there were no responses that indicated that the statements were positive when true or negative when false.

Independence, a trait normally assigned to and assumed of males rather than females, is shown to be a source of dissatisfaction in terms of teachers' differential encouragement of the sexes. Analysis of the data indicates that at both the elementary and high school levels, more respondents recalled a lack of encouragement to be independent than recalled support for independence. Moreover, respondents perceived that boys were encouraged to be more independent than female students.

Question thirteen, which appears as a negative perception at both the elementary and high school levels, also reveals the negative impact of gender role expectations on female students. The compatible response, that of not being told that one would be a wife and mother, indicates that freedom from this gender role guide is perceived as positive. Only one respondent at the high school level and none at the elementary level (and none at the college level where the overall response was false and positive) indicated that the statement was true and positive.

The question designed to disclose teacher preference based on sex provides a very mixed response. In part, this may be due to ambivalent feelings as to whether being "preferred" is good or bad, helpful or harmful. This conclusion is supported by the number of FP responses. At both the high school and college-vocational levels, the larger number of responses indicating that female students were not preferred and that the result was perceived as negative may be implying that not only were females not preferred, but males were and that this preference of male students was negative. Unfortunately, the question was not asked in such a way as to produce a clear account. The only conclusion that can be drawn is that females were definitely not a preferred sex at the high school and college levels.

Negative perceptions of counseling. The absence of counseling facilities in many schools, the likelihood of counseling by teachers rather than designated counselors in high school and college result in a de-emphasizing of questions stated in direct counseling terms. Items grouped under this category focussed on course and career counseling and not on personal counseling. It was felt that course and career counseling would more specifically pinpoint sex biased or sex related negative perceptions. No questions were asked regarding counseling at the elementary level. Two questions were repeated at both the high school and college levels. Table XII reports the findings of negative perceptions at each level.

The lack of career counseling aimed at opening possibilities for exploration of male dominated fields was perceived by a significant number of the sample as negative. It is interesting that while the percentage

of FN replies remains constant, the compatible response, true and positive, drops. This may indicate an increased awareness of and concern with career decisions at the college-vocational level. Or, it may point to attrition in aspirations. The decrease in positive responses might also reflect poorer or more restrictive counseling in terms of sex bias at the college level. Whatever the cause, the negative perceptions and effects of limited career counseling are certainly indicated.

TABLE XII

## Perceptions of Negative Aspects of Counseling

	<u>ITEM</u>	<u>RESPONSE</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>High School:</u>			
1.	I was encouraged to consider careers traditionally dominated by men.	FN	67
		TP	18
17.	I was discouraged from taking some courses on the grounds that the subjects weren't really of interest or of importance to women, or that they were really men's fields.	TN	48
		FP	26
<u>College, Vocational, Professional Training Level:</u>			
1.	I was encouraged to consider careers traditionally dominated by men.	FN	67
		TP	11

It is interesting that question seventeen shows a negative trend only at the high school level. The response identifies a perception of negative sex bias in course counseling at the high school level shared by almost half the sample. It may be that women at the high school level are still trying to keep their choices open and that, therefore, they attempt more often to enter "male" courses and that this accounts for the

trend of negative responses at the high school level. Attrition might then account for fewer rejections at the college level.

Negative perceptions of leadership development. Negative perceptions of aspects of leadership are found only for high school and college-vocational schooling. As might have been predicted, women are increasingly overtaken in the realm of supported and sanctioned leadership. Appropriately, leadership responses are positive at the elementary level and increasingly negative at the high school and college-vocational levels. Table XIII presents the data on perceptions of negative dimensions of leadership for women in high school and college-vocational institutions.

TABLE XIII

## Perceptions of Negative Aspects of Leadership

<u>ITEM</u>	<u>RESPONSE</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>High School Level:</u>		
2. Most important leadership responsibilities were assumed by boys.	TN	60
	FP	21
14. I was helped to develop leadership ability.	FN	55
	TP	31
<u>College, Vocational, Professional Training Level:</u>		
2. Most leadership responsibilities were assumed by men.	TN	73
	FP	10
14. I was helped to develop leadership abilities by the institution.	FN	61
	TP	22

The data shows that leadership was perceived as important to the extent that not being helped to develop leadership was perceived as negative.



The responses to question two suggest that the prevalence of men in leadership roles was perceived as negative. The two questions taken together lead to the conclusion that it was negative for women to find men undertaking most leadership positions because women were being denied either subtly or directly those positions. On the other hand, it is possible that the assumption of leadership by men was negative for women because of the nature or style of the leadership displayed by men. Of course, it is also possible that both are true. The important point is that the two dimensions of leadership explored here--both the numbers of men in leadership roles and the failure to train women for those roles--create a negative situation for women in high school which seemingly becomes worse at the college-vocational level.

Identity and self-concept as a woman: negative perceptions of negative conditions. As is frequently pointed out, schooling does not simply teach cognitive learnings. Rather, whether by intention or not, schools also teach values, social behavior, morals, and again, whether willingly or not, must perforce come to terms with the learner as a social, psychological, emotional being--in short, a multi-faceted and developing person. This means that an awareness of the schools' effect upon the development of learners' feelings about themselves and their developing identity cannot be overlooked. Under this category, several questions were asked at each level to establish the degree to which schools might be helping to support or create positive feelings about themselves within female students. Table XIV offers the questions and responses in this category which reveal predictable negative feelings.

TABLE XIV

Perceptions of Negative Conditions  
Related To Identity and Self-Concept

<u>ITEM</u>	<u>RESPONSE</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>Elementary Level:</u>		
4. Classmates that I admired and wanted to be like were usually girls.	TN	17
	FN	19
	TP	35
15. I knew girls weren't supposed to be smarter than boys.	TN	40
	FP	39
<u>High School Level:</u>		
4. Classmates that I identified as having characteristics I admired and wanted to adopt tended to be female.	FN	32
	TN	12
	TP	28
15. I knew women weren't supposed to be smarter than men.	TN	59
	FP	24
19. I considered myself to be very feminine.	FN	22
	TN	21
	FP	35
<u>College, Vocational, Professional Training Level:</u>		
4. Students I admired and wanted to be like were usually female.	FN	38
	TP	33
15. I knew women weren't supposed to be smarter than men.	TN	59
	FP	31

The split in responses to the question of admiring and wanting to be like other females suggests that women are in the peculiar position of not easily looking to their own sex for models or even identification. The percentages, reviewed by levels, do not indicate that this is a problem resolved with age. Clearly, women who admire males end up dissatisfied with that identification. But then again, women who admired other women did not always perceive that identification as having a positive

effect on them. These perceptions suggest another conflict in women's gender role socialization and obviously one not helped by differential treatment based on sex. The precise role that the school plays in supporting the conflict cannot be determined, although the evidence for its role in producing other sex related negative effects is clear. What does come to light is that this is a problem for women which is not remediated by the school environment for very many female students.

Question fifteen points to another kind of gender role conflict for women. The question was stated such that it would reveal the role expectation rather than the respondent's view of what was actually the case. Presumably, a schooling environment does not foster the notion that one group is supposed to be smarter than another, but in fact, develops more democratic ideas as to potentials. Yet, at all three levels and with increasing numbers, women "knew" that they were not supposed to be as smart as men. It is interesting that at the elementary level, perceptions as to the truth of this statement were almost evenly divided only to have the females who thought they were equal begin to experience the pressure that they weren't supposed to think it even if it were true. Something must be present in the learning environment which allows this pressure to be maintained along with its negative effects.

In several instances, pressures have seemed to be somewhat more visible at the high school level. This overall trend in differences between the levels would seem to be further supported by the negative response to question nineteen only at the high school level despite the fact that it is repeated at each. The findings here confirm the conflicts in gender role already described. Approximately equal numbers of women find that not considering themselves to be feminine is negative and that

considering themselves to be feminine is negative. A total of thirty-five percent did not consider themselves feminine and managed to find rewards of some kind for that rebellion. One can only wonder at the numbers of men who, during high school did not consider themselves masculine and found that identification positive or did consider themselves masculine and felt that was negative. Again, the point is that schools are necessarily in the sex role socialization business and that business too often negatively affects women.

The force of women's negative experiences--the pain, anguish, anxiety, and frustration of schooling experiences such as those described above--cannot be adequately depicted by percentages and limited responses to pre-stated conditions. In the next section, the women speak for themselves and vividly describe educational needs that were not met and those aspects of their schooling experience which were dissatisfying.

#### Unmet Educational Needs of Women: Analysis of Open-Ended Responses

To understand more fully what aspects of women's schooling experiences produced dissatisfaction or a residue of negative feelings, a question on unmet needs was included. Stated at the college-vocational level, the question reads: "As a woman in this educational institution, I wished that my instructors had recognized and met my needs in the area of. . . ." To sort the responses to this question, many of which contained several ideas, a set of categories similar to those used in grouping the questionnaire items was established. Respondents' statements were initially recorded under the headings Academic, Social, Physical, Self-Concept, Teacher Expectations, and other. In the following discussion

the categories Curriculum, Teacher Attitudes, Counseling, Leadership, and Identity and Self-Concept as a woman will be used so that comparative information on item responses and open-ended statements will be more accessible. The academic and physical groupings are presented in the section on Curriculum; Teacher Expectations appear in the section Teacher Attitudes and Behavior; appropriate items initially listed under Other are discussed under Counseling and Leadership; and the responses initially listed as either Social or Self-Concept will be discussed as Identity and Self-Concept as a woman. Additionally, the category Other will be included so that items not easily placed under one of the other headings can be presented separately. This discussion format will be utilized in the analysis of each of the free response questions.

Curricular needs. As might be predicted, given a question on educational needs, more responses pointed to academic climate or content concerns than to any other general area. Some curricular concerns are expressed as needs not met at all schooling levels. Creativity, inclusion of women in subject content, women's studies, and the pursuit of one's own interests are cited at all three levels. Table XV presents the frequency tabulations of the curricular responses. It is interesting to note that creativity is mentioned less frequently the higher the schooling level. This may reflect improved programs in creative expressions at the upper levels, or it may reflect changing interests of the respondents. What clearly emerges from these data is a need for improved curricula in creative development.

TABLE XV

## Expressed Unmet Curricular Needs

<u>RESPONSE LABEL</u>	<u>FREQUENCY OF RESPONSE</u>
<u>Elementary:</u>	
Physical education/developing a strong healthy body	30
Artistic development/creativity	16
Sciences	13
Women in subject areas (history for example)	9
Sex education	8
Simple technology/mechanical skills	8
Development of own interests	5
Exploration of masculine subjects	1
Religion free from prejudice against women	1
<u>High School:</u>	
Physical education/developing a strong healthy body	20
Sexuality education (NB: not sex education)	13
Manual training/mechanical skills	10
Women in subject areas	10
Sciences	8
Artistic development/creativity	8
Intellectual development	8
Skills of critical thinking	4
Political consciousness	2
Development of own interests	2
Social sciences	1
<u>College/Vocational:</u>	
Women in my field/women's studies	13
Intellectual stimulation	10
Practical skills/relevance to life	5
Physical education	4
Creative development	3
Independent study	3
Learning about sexism	2
Sex education	2
Political consciousness	2

The frequency of responses expressing the need for women in the curriculum should be assessed in relation to the item analysis which reveals a further high percentage of responses indicating that women--when present in the curriculum--are not portrayed as interesting or exciting.<sup>4</sup> The open-ended responses confirm the findings that women are included in the curriculum less as the years progress and that even when they are included, it is not in a powerful or positive way.

Statements describing pursuit of one's own interests as a need were not as numerous as statements concerning creativity or women in the curriculum. They nevertheless suggest a long-standing general curriculum concern. It may be that more of the respondents experienced a similar need, but chose not to express it in this context because they sought to identify needs more directly a result of their sex.

While it will be evident throughout that many of the needs, dissatisfactions and negative feelings may have been shared by male students, such extrapolation or concern is beyond the interest or intent of this study. Therefore, an attempt will be made to highlight those conditions more likely to have negatively or positively affected female students. General schooling concerns not necessarily sex based or biased are examined, but only in terms of their implications for the education of women.

Some perceptions are clearly sex specific. The large negative response to statements probing inequality in women's physical education compared to men's is not likely to reflect a similar problem shared by

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<sup>4</sup> Refer to Table II for the item analysis of perceptions of negative aspects of the curriculum.

males. The negative perception of physical education reappears in the open-ended responses. Women express unmet needs in physical education more often than any other single item in any category.

Women's varying descriptions evidencing discontent with their physical education experiences point more to serious and complex interconnected patterns of circumscribed limitations than to disgruntlement over boys' bigger and better sports program. One woman, for example, highlights the connection between not being taught to build and value a strong body and the overall support of passivity in women. She wishes that teachers had met her need:

Building physical strength. Because I was very bright in elementary school, I was given comparatively free rein to progress at my own rate intellectually (I suspect other girls were not so fortunate). I did get trapped, by the combined feminine and intellectual image, into physical passivity which it has taken me years to overcome (016).

Another respondent recalls that although she was allowed to participate in sports, the meaning of that participation was restricted. For her, the attitudes and expectations, the hidden curriculum in physical education, could not allow for her needs to be met. Her need was for:

Sports. I was well coordinated and excelled in sports. While I was never discouraged in grade school from playing as well as I could, I was never given the idea that I could choose a life-time occupation involving a sport (043).

For both these women, physical education continued to be an unmet need through high school and, in fact, became more serious as the restrictions on women's athletic and physical freedom were more rigorously enforced. As the second woman states: "By the time I was in high school, I thought athletic women were lesbian or masculine--of



course by then I didn't want to be either. . . (043)." Physical education, its content, low status, de-emphasized value, and assumed incompatibility with being female is dissatisfying for many women at all levels, but most significantly, during elementary and high school years.

Three other content areas emerge from the free response question as sources of unmet needs, particularly during elementary and high school. All three point to content areas not available to women. None are directly addressed in the pre-selected items and the open-ended responses serve, here, to identify additional dimensions to be considered in redefining women's education. The three new areas identified are science, sex education, and mechanical skills.

Comments on science as an unmet need disclose two aspects of discrimination. One is overt and direct discouragement as described by the following statement concerning high school: "I was actively discouraged from taking an accelerated science program even tho (sic) I scored in the ninety-nine percent on the aptitude, the highest in my junior high school class (037)." The impact of this discouragement has been far-reaching for she notes, "I've since developed the interest but not the confidence to pursue these ('hard skills')."

For others, the discouragement is more subtle and manifests itself in the knowledge that the "hard" sciences are male subjects. One comment speaks for many in describing this sense of sex appropriateness even at the elementary level:

Although my academic performance was outstanding in all areas, by the time I had reached the fourth or fifth grade, it had become clear to me that the "hard sciences were too rigorous for child-women and males much better suited to them (015).

Even in cases where a woman manages to maintain participation in a science through high school, the support or encouragement for her ability in career terms is missing. One woman describes this problem in math:

I continued to attend an honor math class throughout high school. Even though I felt comfortable with the course material, it did not seriously occur to me to go into any math related career simply because I felt I couldn't compete with men (015).

One wonders that it was allowed: the wasted potential that these women repeatedly point out.

Unmet needs in the area of sex education focus on the total absence of sex information, or on the treatment (or ignoring) of sexuality. That is, even for women who participate in a sex education program, critical needs of theirs are not addressed. These needs range from developing a sense of security about one's sexuality, to gaining meaningful information, to overcoming problems of social acceptance related to actual or ascribed sexual behavior. Three comments express this range of needs in:

Assimilating my new experiences in sexuality (sex education was mechanical, dogmatic, whereas sex was inspirational) (031);

Developing understanding and confidence in my self as a sexual being (057);

Social acceptance as opposed to being labeled "whore" and ogled by male teachers in halls and classrooms (067).

For many women, school is the source of critical incidents in emerging sexuality: Its inability to adequately meet women's needs is frequently cited in the open responses. One respondent recalls as critical:

One incident when my entire sixth grade class was chastized and lectured for the entire afternoon after some of us "boys and girls" were "caught" together rolling down one of the grassy embankments

next to the soft ball field. The teacher was male, the only male teacher in the school at the time, and reacted like a drill sergeant stalking back and forth and shouting about the "dangers" of intimate contact. This was very intimidating; (and) provoked doubt and fear of my own sexual feelings (003).

While the incident described above may be more dramatic than most, it certainly highlights the need for change in the handling of sexuality in women's education.

The specific subjects requested in the area of technical skills and manual training include woodworking, auto mechanics, carpentry, and electrical wiring and repair. It is clear from respondents' statements that these were simply not open to women no matter how strong their interest.

Related to this on the college-vocational level is the broader category, practical skills. At the college-vocational level, a lack of opportunity to learn skills useful in daily life, in earning a living, and in assuming responsibility for maintaining oneself and one's environment cause concern and dissatisfaction. The specific content requests for elementary and high school become subsumed at the college-vocational level under the more general dissatisfaction with the non-application of abstract knowledge to the business of real life. In short, respondents repeatedly expressed a need for "skills that would be useful in any other than the academic world (001)."

Other curricular content needs are raised only by one or two respondents. These include: learning about sexism directly; studying religion free from negative assumptions about women as "evil," "sinful," "less than," etc.; providing a political perspective in content analyses and discussions; and more exposure to the social sciences at an earlier age.

Two aspects of the curriculum which are not mentioned in response to the open-ended question but which reveal strong negative perceptions through the item analysis are extra-curricular activities and differential encouragement in active learning activities. An inclusive listing of curricular needs not met as disclosed by both closed and open response questions would show differential access to extra-curricular activities at all three levels and the lack of active learning opportunities at the elementary level in addition to those items listed in Table XV.

Needs not met due to teacher attitudes and behavior. Responses to both the items and the open-ended questions reveal that being educated together does not mean being educated the same. Four major sources of problems related to teacher attitudes and behaviors are disclosed by the analysis of statements grouped under this heading. They are: differential treatment; manifested in a variety of ways; lack of encouragement or support; failure to take students seriously; non-recognition of ability.

Differential treatment (some would substitute deferential, but still it comes out the same), contrary to much popular belief, does not emerge as a source of positive feelings or good experiences. In elementary school, respondents note that only boys carried books, furniture and equipment even though many girls were bigger. While insignificant in itself, this image does suggest the larger pattern. One woman declares: "Boys could run for office, speak out however empty the naive rhetoric may have been, girls could support the boys, doing dances for publicity and frequently being intimidated by teachers and boys when forthright and verbal. . . (013)." Another offers concrete evidence of

the differential expectations: "Recently, I found a note to my parents from an elementary school (kindergarten) teacher stating that my only "behavior problem" was "wanting to play with the boys (025)."

Women indicate that during high school, girls were treated "as somehow insignificant (064)." One comment that may be related to this sense of female students being categorically treated as less comes from a woman who simply wishes that her instructors had not treated her as or allowed her to be "just a good student like other girls." Kemer's study of teachers' perceptions of good female and good male students supports this notion of differential expectations at the high school level.<sup>5</sup>

It is during post-secondary schooling that differential treatment is recalled most frequently. The comments take two forms--citations of overt sex discrimination and descriptions of the validation of ideas based on sex. For some women, the discrimination was specific and hard as in the case of grading. A woman writes:

Most (teachers) seemed to grade women harder than men so to improve their curves since women's grades didn't matter anyway. . . . I once got screwed by a teacher in a sociology course on the family as I was less strict on my opinion of women's role than he. I failed the course (D), (087).

For others, the experience of sex discrimination is perceived as both more constant and more generalized. One respondent states: "In my college, the women were smarter than the men. Most of the teachers reluctantly gave into this situation, but few realized how tough it

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<sup>5</sup> B. J. Kemer, "A Study of the Relationship Between the Sex of the Student and the Assignment of Marks by Secondary School Teachers," cited in Florence Howe's "Sexual Stereotypes and the Public Schools," paper presented to the New York Academy of Sciences, May 12, 1972.

was for a woman to persevere with the constant insults of dumb males ringing in her ears (017)." Another woman notes that sexism had never touched her much before but, during college, "The sex roles really came down hard. . . few female professors, a marked preference for male students, no women's courses. . . (063)." Within those responses specifically pointing out differential treatment in the acceptance of ideas, the general theme is expressed by the following description:

Acceptance of my ideas as equally valid as male ideas. Indeed, acceptance of anything not male defined. Someone once suggested that by the truth in packaging law, the place should be called "           College for Male Studies"--all the courses were subjects interesting to men--all the non-academics were similarly male-defined. . . (016).

It would seem that acceptance, when it was extended, was on the premise that bright women were "slightly freaky, fascinating rarities."

When this last perception is expanded, it suggests the theme of not being taken seriously, a theme expressed at both the high school and college levels. At this point, only the need for having women's work taken seriously will be explored. A closely connected theme, that of not being taken seriously as a whole person, will be discussed in the context of identity and self-concept.

Perhaps no comment sums up the frustration of women being denied seriousness and purpose than this: "Boys were taken seriously, not girls. Honors I earned went to boys because, according to the principal, "young men need these things on their record (020)." The increased number of responses speaking to this point at the post-secondary level suggests that it is an issue which is more oppressive at the very levels where seriousness should, presumably, be assumed. Note the matter-of-fact tone in the following summary: "As a woman, they did not take me seriously--

consider my ambition or enthusiasm. I studied architecture--a male field. As an "A" student, my instructors, all male, did not treat me as a male "A" student." This woman then continued to describe how male instructors would comment on her dress rather than on her work. Not surprisingly, she feels that she and others who shared variations on her situation were not taken seriously. And many of these women describe themselves as outstanding achievers. The question of course is what happens to women who either aren't "outstanding" or aren't visible.

One answer appears in the responses which express a need for encouragement which was never met. For some, there was no encouragement and no rewards. Their unmet needs lay in simply wishing that the school had recognized: "my talents and abilities. Because my handwriting was messy and my spelling poor, I got none of the rewards that most girls got (076)." For others, only selected and appropriate elements were encouraged--as one woman describes it: "I was discouraged to study math and science which made it tough as I continued my education. Essentially, they recognized only part of what I had, encouraged that and ignored the rest. . . . Much of the rest was so-called masculine (088)."

The effects of this lack of encouragement become clear when descriptions are taken from high school and college. A woman describes her need at the high school level for:

Some kind of antidote for the sexism I was imbibing from every other aspect of the culture, some sense that women were full human beings like men and that if you didn't get married, your life wasn't a failure. No one actively inhibited me, but no one encouraged me either and that in itself soon became the equivalent to inhibition (069).

Another states that by the college-vocational level:

All my earlier ambition was gone. At the same time, I was being offered challenging advanced materials, I wanted to take advantage of this opportunity to learn (especially after those wasted high school years) but I was demoralized about my own abilities, lacking encouragement from any of my teachers [I(we) were expected to perform as if nothing had been done to us all those years], I turned to the long sought success in my social life for satisfaction (091).

The picture is certainly a grim one painted in terms of the basic needs denied these women. The short term effect is to inhibit women's development and pursuit of their interests and abilities. The long term impact is to terminate it entirely, but in such a way that the women feel that they have no worthwhile abilities or interests and are therefore freely choosing a more appropriate "path." Another dimension of this lack of encouragement is the absence of challenge. The frequency of this comment and its more frequent appearance at the elementary level may point beyond low educational standards or generally poor instruction to the effects of not using girls' demonstrated general superior ability upon entering elementary school in determining differential treatment. The frequency of request for intellectual stimulation within academic life at all levels suggests a major failure of our teaching system.

Somewhat different dimensions emerge from the open-ended question than from the item analysis. In part, this is due to the fact that the items under teacher attitudes which covered gender role prescriptions and independence were stated in terms of being taught by instructors. These same areas of unmet needs are elaborated in the open-ended responses but are more frequently stated as an identity problem. For this reason they are discussed under the category, Identity and Self-Concept as a Woman. (This is an example of where the overlapping categories did not particularly help.)



In fact, only one negative perception disclosed by the item analysis was also stated in terms of teacher attitudes in the open format and that was teacher preference for male students which, under the open format, was cited as one of many examples of generalized sex discrimination and differential treatment. Table XVI lists the areas of unmet needs identified through the open format. This can be compared with Table XI which identifies those aspects of teacher's attitude and behavior previously perceived as negative.

TABLE XVI

Teacher Attitudes and Behaviors  
Related to Unmet Needs

<u>RESPONSE LABEL</u>	<u>FREQUENCY OF RESPONSE</u>
<u>Elementary:</u>	
Recognizing/challenging my ability	11
Encouragement/support	9
Different rules for boys' and girls' participation in activities	2
Different activities for boys and girls	1
<u>High School:</u>	
Encouragement/support	4
Being taken seriously	2
Recognizing my ability	1
Getting out of good girl syndrome	1
<u>College-Vocational:</u>	
Taking my work seriously	8
Encouragement/support	5
Sex discrimination	3
Acceptance of my ideas as equally valid as males'	3
Treatment as an equal	1

Unmet counseling needs. The two counseling statements which received negative responses in the item analysis concern encouragement to explore male dominated career fields and discouragement from taking "male" subjects. Four types of counseling are revealed through the open-ended question as lacking or inadequate when measured against women's counseling needs. They are: counseling for further schooling, career planning, realistic future goal setting, and recognizing role options. Table XVII presents the breakdown of aspects of counseling perceived as unmet needs.

TABLE XVII

## Unmet Needs in Counseling

<u>RESPONSE LABEL</u>	<u>FREQUENCY OF RESPONSE</u>
<u>Elementary:</u>	
Career planning	4
Further schooling	1
<u>High School:</u>	
Career planning	14
Further schooling	7
Goal setting	6
Personal	1
Feminist	1
Drug	1
<u>College-Vocational:</u>	
Career planning	19
Goal setting	5
Sex role options	4
Further schooling	3

Women at all three levels, but most frequently during the high school period, record a need for counseling for further schooling. Even women whose experiences were fairly positive overall point to inadequate counseling:

The teachers were great and helped me in many ways, but counseling about colleges was limited to local institutions within a twenty-five mile radius. I had a 95.4 overall high school average from a top high school in my state, but the only college scholarship I got was one hundred dollars awarded for a poem. By contrast, I won three graduate fellowships--to Columbia, Radcliffe, and U.C.L.A. So it really was lack of counseling before (009).

For other women, there was simply no perspective on long range educational planning.

Closely related to the lack of education counseling is the lack of career counseling at all levels, with the charge being leveled most frequently against the college-vocational institutions. In elementary school, women cite either no consideration of possible vocational choices or having their career thoughts treated as "unusual" or "amusing."

During high school, the need for career guidance is more direct and explicit. One woman, who considers herself to have been ambitious and career oriented, simply "needed some guidance to a field that would be good for me." In response to a later question, she notes that she was "encouraged to become a teacher (060)."

Career counseling at the college level seems to have failed to meet the needs of many women in several ways. First, women depict the lack of expectation "that I would 'make it' in a chosen field (055)." Second, women point to the lack of concern with women's post graduate plans. As one woman states, she needed encouragement "to pursue my areas of interest after graduation," but "they failed to take the time

to care about individual women with potential (082)." Finally, and perhaps most obviously, for many, there was absolutely no vocational counseling. Women and women's vocational aspirations--whether developed or not--were their own business. One woman explains: "There was no vocational counseling for women at my college and I assumed for a long time that I would teach when I finished; when I dropped that idea, I was left with nothing (085)."

Very closely connected to this unmet need is that of realistic planning and goal setting--whether in career or life terms. Women report for both high school and college-vocational schooling a serious need for help in realistic preparation for the future and also for translating educational goals into social purpose. As one respondent explains: "My school gave us plenty of intellectual stimulation but little sense of using it for a specific purpose. Still a sense of education as ornamentation, rather than to be used for a social purpose (051)." For others, the question was less abstract and more practical in connection with post-secondary plans: What steps can I take now?

Women at the college level indicate that they found themselves without any access to practical advice about earning a living, or making professional contacts, or translating a "major" into a job. Clearly, these needs would be met in the more specific and practical phases of thorough career counseling. They are discussed separately here because they suggest the complexity of the pattern. Women who, either through the institution or through outside support or perhaps because of sheer personal fortitude, have attained a vocational focus still need practical assistance in moving from educational preparation or training into

a career field. Many have not received it. For women who did not develop career interests--whether by conscious decision or societally and institutionally imposed inhibitions--there is not even help in figuring out how to earn a living.

For women in this last category, the lack of counseling aimed at exploring options beyond gender role limitations constitutes a critical unmet need. Women at both the high school and college levels cite the need for counseling which would extend women's sense and acceptance of life style options--combining marriage and career, single life styles, options for living patterns when a career isn't desired.

These various counseling needs--educational, career, life style, and practical planning--are interrelated. Thorough counseling necessarily touches on all these aspects of one's life. Equally clear is the fact that counseling represents an area in which many women's needs have not been met and which has resulted in negative consequences in major life decisions. In understanding the importance of this area, it should be noted that many of these same needs are repeated but under other categories (e.g., practical skills is listed as a curricular need while support for deviating from the female role is discussed in the section Identity and Self-Concept as a Woman.) Testimony as to the negative effects of counseling (or lack of it) were also found in response to the question, "With what aspects of your schooling experience are you dissatisfied?"

Leadership needs not met. Leadership is not cited frequently as an unmet need and is only reported directly for elementary and high school. This is interesting in that responses to leadership situations

at the elementary level reported in Table XIII show positive responses at that early stage and negative responses only in high school and college. In reviewing the correlation between the item and free responses, at least one example was found of a positive response to the issue of boys assuming leadership in the classroom matched to a negative statement describing male dominance in extra-curricular activities. This difference between perceptions of classroom leadership and school-wide leadership is supported by the negative perception of unequal access to extra-curricular activities and the positive perception of women's classroom leadership at the elementary level.<sup>6</sup> The themes represented by questions two and fourteen also appear in the open-ended responses. Namely, leadership responsibilities are perceived as being assumed by men and conversely unavailable to women. Failure to recognize or attend to women's desire to develop leadership abilities is cited again as well. Table XVIII shows these responses.

At the college level, the only negative perception of leadership stated as an unmet need is from the perspective of inhibited verbal expression. One woman who had previously responded negatively to the set of leadership questions at the college-vocational level indirectly identified a problem clearly affecting leadership as she describes: "Expressing my thoughts in a classroom dominated by males--how difficult that is and how few teachers realize that in judging a woman student (024)." The fact that leadership does not emerge as a major need in the open-ended responses may be the result of several factors. First, perceptions of

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<sup>6</sup> See Table X for the reporting of these findings.

needs in leadership may be subsumed under more general issues in teacher attitudes--such as sex discrimination--or under personal issues--such as lack of self-confidence, ambivalence about self-assertiveness or aggression. Second, it may be that leadership is less significant than other areas. Third, many women involved in the Movement, having had negative experiences with male leadership and equating leadership with the male styles they've confronted, do not see "leadership" as a positive goal toward which they would aspire.

TABLE XVIII

## Unmet Leadership Needs

<u>RESPONSE LABEL</u>	<u>FREQUENCY OF RESPONSE</u>
<u>Elementary:</u>	
Allowing developing verbal expressiveness	3
Leadership development	2
Boys selected as leaders	1
<u>High School:</u>	
Leadership development	2
<u>College-Vocational:</u>	
Verbal expressiveness in male dominated classroom	1

Unmet needs in identity and self-concept as a woman. Two areas were circumscribed as unmet needs in the development of women's awareness of themselves as women. Aspects of both social relations and feelings about oneself as a woman reveal unmet needs. Table XIX summarizes the responses explored in more detail.

TABLE XIX

Unmet Needs in Identity and Self-Concept  
As A Woman

<u>RESPONSE LABEL</u>	<u>FREQUENCY OF RESPONSE</u>
<u>Elementary:</u>	
Reconciling being female with independence	13
Social skills	8
Being seen as a person	6
Reconciling being female with aggression	4
Support for feeling proud and strong as a female	4
Instilling self-confidence	4
Having to be smarter than anyone else	3
Intimidation by boys	1
Personal struggles	1
More female companionship	1
More contact with teachers I admired	1
Hating my teachers	1
<u>High School:</u>	
Someone to talk to who took me seriously	6
Having positive role models	6
Rejecting the female role	4
Reconciling being female with independence	4
Self-confidence	4
Resisting peer pressure to conform to female role	4
Developing myself/my identity as a woman	4
Giving primacy to relationships with women	3
Reconciling being female with intelligence	2
Reconciling being female with aggression	2
Awfulness of dating and dances	2
Developing respect for myself and women	1
<u>College-Vocational:</u>	
Having women role models	10
Support for/development of new women's consciousness	5
Schizophrenia (reconciling role and reality)	4
Taking my life seriously	3
Reconciling being female with independence	3
Relationships with professors	3
Expressing my feelings	1
Self-confidence	1
Being strong as a woman	1
Interpersonal relationships	1
Female identification	1



Under the rubric social relationships, unmet needs are identified in three major aspects of social interactions. These are relationships with peers, relationships with teachers, and social acceptance.

Patterns of alienation are described at the elementary level as women speak of needing to be free of intimidation by older boys, and to survive in the "out" group against the cliquishness of the social activities in and out of the classroom and school. One woman portrays her troubles in elementary school as: "Stemming from the social situation--the brutality of the boys, the cliquishness of the girls, which together kept me terrorized (041)." This woman had teachers she remembers as "wonderful and loving" and yet they were unable to meet her needs in this powerful area. Some women simply escaped. States one woman, "The reason I left high school after two years was because I was a 'misfit.' I wasn't interested in dating or the social scene, yet got no direction or encouragement for independence (049)."

Women at both the elementary and high school level perceive the need for increased female companionship and a concomitant increased value on such friendships. This perceived need for more important female relationships is one part of a broader concern with respecting one's self and sex, and developing a positive identity as a woman. One woman recalls her need in high school as that of "identifying myself with being a woman--who needs her own identity and closeness with other women (065)." Other women describe their needs for support in developing relationships with women and remember those relationships as being indirectly or directly thwarted by encouragement and support only for relationships with men. Competition rather than closeness was thereby fostered among women.

Underlying many comments, and explicit in others, is the bind of wanting to resist the norms and values of peer social interactions but needing social acceptance. Understanding and withstanding conflict represents another unaddressed set of needs. In addition to conflicts arising from wanting to behave in ways contrary to the norm, women describe social pressures to be "ordinary and likeable" which they perceived to be incompatible with academic excellence. Even women who don't remember any conflicts indicate that, especially at the elementary level, the development of social skills--knowing what to do to be likeable--constituted a critical unmet need.

Social acceptance is remembered as a central need at all three levels. The required social skills, the pressures of conformity, the inherent role conflicts--all created needs which the institutions failed to address.

Relationships with teachers define another source of unmet needs in the social domain. At the elementary level, women note needs stemming both from "hating the teachers" and from desiring to have more contact with them. During high school, the need seems to be one of developing a relationship with an adult who could provide a perspective on adolescent confusions. The college-vocational level points to a different order of need more directly related to the responsibility of the instructor in teacher-student interactions. Comments here indicate an insidious breach of that responsibility. One woman states: "Developing a friendly or intellectual relationship with professors was inhibited because they took such occasions as opportunities for flirtation (071)."

These social situations obviously affected the growth of women's identities as women, as human beings. The themes which emerge in self-awareness are powerful and speak to the levels and degrees by which women learn or resort to their "status."

Pressures to conform to feminine gender role (expectations) result in women's needs to reconcile their being female with: desires for independence or actual independent behavior, aggressive behavior, anger, and even intelligence. Some women express, as an unmet need, being allowed to be "aggressive and strong (100)." Others accepted the fact that independence and self-assertiveness were not appropriate to them and perceive their need to have been encouragement to develop those qualities, because independence and self-assertiveness were necessary to feelings of competency and worth. The following comment expresses this need: "The assumption that women are dependent was fully followed. I believed it and yet still wanted confirmation of my own worth and competency (040)."

Two women's separate but very similar comments indicate the real force of the socialization process on women who didn't fit the mold. Since it was hard to deny what one actually did, apparently it was "easier" to escape from an identification with one's sex. The first woman speaks to the need for feeling "strong and positive about myself, even if I was "too bright for a girl (085)."<sup>7</sup> The second describes her needs as being "everything," and then explains, "I wasn't a girl because I was too smart, and I certainly wasn't a boy (018)."

By the time college or vocational training arrives, needs are not expressed in terms of reconciling aspects of oneself with one's

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<sup>7</sup>My underlining.

role but are stated in terms of a schizophrenic situation. One woman defines her need as having instructors or the institution respond to the problem of:

Schizophrenia--I frequently detached myself from myself, observing my conflicts (innumerable) and deciding who this temperamental person was--aggression had never been reinforced, and there was the world, dominated by men, aggressively squashing the rest of us--I needed to be able to express the anger rather than being consistently taught to disguise it (013).

Another states:

They made no effort to deal with the gap between what was expected of me in college--i.e., to be immensely intelligent--and the fact that I was entering a world in which women were expected to marry men smarter than they. My college experience intensified my personal schizophrenia (069).

Institutions failed to meet women's needs by not:

recognizing the conflict I felt between being a woman (feminine) and being achieving. . . . The double bind women were put into by both male faculty and fellow students became more extreme and explicit. We are supposed to be pretty flirtatious "girls" who would readily sleep around, and still compete academically with the men in our classes. We had to balance the line between being "castrating females" and flunking out or quitting (039).

Many women found themselves to be "deviants" from the norm and needed support for their differences. One woman's expression of her unmet need points to changes in teachers' behaviors which might have alleviated the burden of "deviation" for her. She indicates that her need was to have teachers: "Being supportive of being different and communicating that support to other students to relieve the pressure of conforming (103)."

Others found themselves victims of their gender role and needed help in developing self-confidence and feelings of worth and competency. Again, not only were their needs not met but, as one woman states, "they

discouraged me from having any self-confidence (073)." Some women remember needing self-respect as a woman (062, 077). A partial solution to women's lack of confidence, self-respect and feelings of competency emerges through the expression of a need for female teachers and positive role models. Some women explain that they had no examples of "viable roles for intelligent women" and hence, no support for understanding and valuing themselves or other women.

A major theme throughout comments concerning self-awareness and one that also appears as a need in terms of teacher attitudes and behavior is that of being taken seriously. Women repeat consistently that their work, their aspirations, or simply they themselves as people, are not taken seriously. The following perceptions of needs which illustrate this theme serve adequately to demonstrate its scope and meaning:

Mainly recognition as myself, which happened to be less "feminine" than was the ideal (051);

Helping me to know my needs and understand that I had a right to them instead of teaching me to push my feelings down inside myself--to be independent, strong (062);

My counselors consistently told me to be satisfied and stop misbehaving and instead of dealing with me they told me I was "hopeless." Individual instructors tried various methods to force me to concede and behave. . . . Everyone was caught up in schedules, stereotypes and blind material. Had I been stimulated intellectually and understood emotionally, I think maybe I would have stayed. I chose to leave rather than tolerate any more shit (068).

Others were not so fortunate:

Seeing me as a person and instilling self-confidence in me. I was a good student to have in class, very quiet and invisible (028);

I wish I had been taken seriously. . . my teachers, my counselor all behaved as if I didn't exist. I do not remember one teacher and I'm certain not one remembers me (088).

Women reveal other motifs of this theme: developing an identity as women, expressing feelings, and developing a feminist consciousness. No matter what the exact formulation, the critical needs revolved around conflicts between women and gender role constraints, prescriptions, or expectations.

Other statements of needs not met. At each level, there were several non-responses and there were also statements at all levels as to the lack of unmet needs. As Table XX shows, there were not many of these responses. It is interesting that there was not one positive response--a denial of unmet needs at the high school level while there was at least one at the elementary period and four at the college-vocational stage. One woman's single response to all the open-ended questions depicts one pattern of a worsening situation as women move up the educational levels:

Generally, I don't remember much sexism in elementary school, though I'm sure it was there--girls were in the best reading group, did the bulletin boards and got most of the privileges. By high school, I was a miserable outcast--unwilling to be a typical sociable female, had an intense friendship with two other girls and was an excellent student. In college, I had a 4.0 average, was the head of several campus organizations, despised the other women, and was shocked by how unequally women were treated. It would be impossible to underestimate how destructive to my self-confidence and willingness to explore areas of ignorance my years in high school and college were. I left college, in general, because of my leftist politics, that college, in specific, because of my growing awareness of sexism and how it affected me (089).

For at least four women, that process was reversed: The series of comments showing one woman's perceptions at each level demonstrates the reverse experience:

Essentially they recognized only part of what I had, encouraged that and ignored the rest. . . . Much of the rest was so-called masculine (088, elementary);

. . . There wasn't one positive thing I can think of (088, high school);

I went to Hunter and to Pasadena City College and the New School for Social Research, Theatre Wing, Dramatic Workshop City College of New York. In all these schools, my education was most positive. Teachers recognized that I had an excellent mind. I made Phi Beta Kappa. My writing, acting was definitely encouraged by both male and female professors (088, college).

TABLE XX

## Other Unmet Needs

<u>RESPONSE LABEL</u>	<u>FREQUENCY OF RESPONSE</u>
<u>Elementary:</u>	
No response	5
Allowing freedom of dress	1
Don't remember	1
<u>High School:</u>	
No response	4
More personal attention	1
Challenging authority	1
Psycho-therapy	1
No sex related discrimination	1
<u>College-Vocational:</u>	
No response	7
No post high school	4
None	4
Individual attention	3
Psycho-therapy	1
?	1
Social revolution	1
NA employment training only	1
Everything	1

At the elementary level, one woman referred to the need for freer less inhibiting dress requirements for girls. At the high school period, women pointed to needs in the area of more personal attention; healthily challenging authority, and therapy. The need for personal attention and therapy were repeated at the college level. Additional perceptions of needs ranged from "everything" to nothing short of a "social revolution."

Aspects of Schooling Experiences With Which Women  
Are Dissatisfied: Analysis of Open-Ended Question

Responses to the second open question highlight schooling experiences which women remember as dissatisfying. Like the responses concerning unmet needs, they elaborate the meaning and thrust of the negative perceptions disclosed by the item analysis and answer, in part, the research question: What aspects of their schooling experiences do feminists perceive as having been negative for them as women?

The two open-ended questions did elicit many similar responses. In some cases, two participants would identify similar negative feelings but would reverse their placement in the categories of unmet needs or dissatisfactions. That is, some women describe a need for encouragement by teachers in response to the first open-ended question while others talk about teachers' failure to encourage them as a source of dissatisfaction, in response to the second.

Despite the similarity of ideas expressed, responses did differ somewhat in emphasis on the affective dimension of the problem area and were differentiated by overall category patterns. For example, curriculum



was the category in which the most needs were identified while it received few responses as a dissatisfying aspect. Social pressures and teacher attitudes received many more responses as sources of dissatisfaction than as unmet needs. While many statements of needs simply stated needs, the question of dissatisfactions tended more often to reveal the emotional impact of those unmet needs. In some cases, this dimension adds additional force or meaning to those previously identified.

Since many of the schooling experiences identified reiterate those previously described, no detail will be added in the following analysis. Only in instances where the impact, quantity, configuration or idea is different will elaboration by example be offered.

The same structure as governed the previous discussion will be used here. That is, the categories used to group the responses--academics, physical, social, self-concept, expectations, and other will be discussed in terms of Curriculum, Teacher Attitudes and Behavior, Counseling, Leadership, Identity and Self-Concept as a Woman.

Curriculum. As noted above, the question pertaining to dissatisfactions yields fewer responses classifiable under Curriculum. Of those responses that do refer to aspects of the curriculum, all but one points to dimensions previously cited. Competition for grades in elementary and high school and general competitiveness at the college-vocational level is the one new dimension, although it does not appear as a particularly central one. It may be that competitiveness was perceived as being negative by a larger number of the sample, but was also perceived as a general problem not specifically related to being female.

Table XXI presents the aspects of curriculum perceived as dissatisfying by respondents:

TABLE XXI

Perceptions of Dissatisfaction  
Within the Curriculum

<u>RESPONSE LABEL</u>	<u>FREQUENCY OF RESPONSE</u>
<u>Elementary:</u>	
Limited physical activity	19
Secrecy--negative attitude about our bodies	6
Lack of information on women in subject areas	6
Being discouraged in sciences	3
Competition for grades	2
Poor background in math and science	1
No manual training	1
<u>High School:</u>	
Sexuality education	7
Limited physical education program	6
Being discouraged in sciences	3
Competition for grades	3
No connection with one's life	3
Not allowed to take shop	2
No learning of practical value	1
<u>College-Vocational:</u>	
No connection with one's life (real world)	9
Limited physical education program	2
Lack of women's studies	2
Extreme competitiveness	2
Stifling of creativity	1
No political dimension to learning	1
No learning of practical value/skills	1

Differences in curriculum responses between the two open-ended questions lay in emphasis. For example, science proved a source of dissatisfaction for one woman because it was tied to negative feelings about herself. She recalls: "The destruction of my self-confidence and the further undermining of my humanness which at this point was sexual. I passed chemistry only because I am female--I was discouraged from taking trigonometry and physics because I am a woman. . . (023)."

Again, in physical education, comments highlight the individuals' feelings about the effects of whatever the program was and, more frequently, suggest the frustration of subtle discrimination. One woman remembers that:

. . . Although the community I lived in organized basketball and softball for girls every Saturday morning during the school year about fourth through eighth grades, no one picked up on the fact that I was very well coordinated physically. No one encouraged me to really develop my potential in swimming or gymnastics. I was just real good for a girl (046).

This is also true of Responses indirectly pointing to the lack of sex and sexuality education and institutional insensitivity to women's developing sexuality as dissatisfying aspects of the curriculum also reveal feelings the dissatisfying situation. The following two statements illustrate this well:

I suffered greatly at being one of two girls to wear a brassiere. On two days a week, girls could not wear full slips because we put our gym shorts on in a corner of the gym--no dressing rooms--just slipped off skirts. Sounds silly, but it left a permanent notion about my body--at least I was in late twenties before recovering completely (066);

And,

. . . I became sexually active in junior high, had intercourse with a man at age fifteen, and frequently thereafter. Much fear,

concealment, compensating behavior. My first erotic experiences were with women, one of them older. These were unspeakable (050).

While the above statements might appear to fall under the category, Identity and Self-Concept as a Woman, they are presented here because they depict so well the effects of the failure of this aspect of the curriculum.

Teacher attitudes and behaviors. Women identified four areas of teacher attitudes and behavior which constituted, for them, unmet needs. These areas were differential treatment, lack of encouragement, lack of challenge, and not taking women seriously. While the same categories are essentially repeated in responses to the question of dissatisfying aspects of the schooling experience, the specific manifestations of problems in these areas varies to the degree that elaboration of responses does amplify the understanding of women's negative perceptions.<sup>8</sup>

A major theme of dissatisfaction was aptly termed by one woman, "enforcement of femininity." At the elementary school level, this takes on many guises. A respondent pinpoints the motif of learning to help others, a typically feminine role, as she states her dissatisfaction with: "The intensive training I received in helping others instead of myself. (Smart boys were not expected to serve the teachers and other students as I was; they were given additional work--I was given more classmates to tutor.), (020)." Another woman notes a seemingly less disastrous expectation--that girls are better spellers. She, as it turns out, was not. If girls are better spellers, and a child is a poor speller, can she be a girl? In the case of expectations, the whole is a lot

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<sup>8</sup>Refer to Table XI for a listing of those items identified as unmet needs.

more than simply the sum of its parts. Each small piece repeats and expands the pattern and enhances its depth.

Many respondents simply summarize the broader picture of learning femininity as in the following quote:

That even at that young age, I was taught to believe that there were jobs, sports and other pursuits that girls didn't do that were somehow only open to men. That I was led to believe I could get most what I wanted by being feminine (i.e., prim, proper, subtly manipulating). That the most worthy goal for a girl was motherhood (072).

This woman's description of a process that left her dissatisfied reveals a similar indoctrination into femininity:

That we were encouraged to be "young ladies"--i.e., nice, passive, tactful, pretty. Also--the reward system was geared to "feminine" qualities--passivity, conformity, etc.--yet it was also communicated to us that boys were the more important people (039).

The above situation is one variation of "the good girl" syndrome.

At the elementary and high school levels, the general enforcement of femininity and female gender role take similar forms. Four different ways of enforcing femininity appear. Women recall learning to work for others' approval, learning always to appease, being rewarded for frivolous activities, and being confronted continually with limited notions of women's roles. The example provided by one respondent portrays the outright travesty of this enforcement and to teachers' culpability in perpetuating crimes against women: ". . . The emphasis on frivolous activities for girls. I received praise and encouragement as a cheerleader, etc. but was deprived of a college scholarship in sciences because it was 'supposed to go' to a boy (020)." One way in which women perceive they were subtly pruned to fit the designated shape was through the schools' presentation and belief in marriage and motherhood as the only options. The comment following illustrates this:

. . . Lack of interest in women's opportunities other than marriage and motherhood. Although college was suggested and desirable for some women, most teachers, (men and women) thought college was just a side-light to having a family (042).

At the college level, there were significantly fewer responses under this category, perhaps due to the focus on career and life planning which moved many responses into the domain of counseling. Women at the college level, when they speak of teachers' behavior, speak of teachers' assumption of home and family roles and interests.

Differential application of standards was perceived as true only for the elementary level in the item analysis.<sup>9</sup> Two responses to the open-ended question seem to support this finding:

The teachers' frequent conveyance of the attitude that a girl's success was less important than a boy's (085);

The general inertia I felt in terms of encouragement of women to do anything in an exceptional way. The golden mean was acceptable not too bad--but not too good, either--was the standard (051).

Lack of encouragement has been previously documented as an unmet need of many women. Significantly, special encouragement to boys shows up in elementary level responses as a source of dissatisfaction. According to one respondent, boys were specifically directed, though in a joking manner, to "beat the girls" (037).

The heading under which many comments on dissatisfying aspects of teacher attitudes appears is general and pervasive sex bias as detailed in the following report:

The constant emphasis for women in fields of social work, English, art (but don't become too competent!). The consistent warnings that it's difficult for women to have lives of careers and families,

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<sup>9</sup>See responses to question sixteen, "teachers used the same standards to evaluate boys and girls," reported in Table X.

and that any career is more difficult for women than men. Those with the power to accept, offer grants, etc. preferred males because they were less "risky." And imagine the assumption that I was supposed to adapt to shit courses of management (home) and not question its validity and importance because I was a woman. The leadership at school was male, spectator sports male, predominating ratio male, women their beauty-queen appendages--teachers overwhelmingly male (as opposed to previous schooling--gradually went from high female-male ratio to opposite). Observing women making props of themselves for men highly disappointing--yes, frightening--(013).

Encouragement and recognition of women's abilities have been well described within the framework of unmet needs. One brief statement from each level should serve to reinforce the destructiveness of this bias as described here as a dissatisfying aspect of the schooling experience. At the elementary level, it is fairly direct: "I was told that girls who were smart weren't liked by boys (male teachers), (037)." High school discloses a more subtle pattern of an absence of intervention such as that suggested in the following response:

Not being encouraged to take my education and future education seriously. Teachers didn't make explicit comments that I was to become a wife and mother--rather, the non-existent encouragement to be something gave me a sense that I was to be a "zero"--low expectations (064).

No one is telling the respondent that she is nothing. Rather, they are simply not telling her that she is anything. They thereby remove a stimulus for defense and conclusions she draws are, of course, clearly her own.

Again, at the college level, this lack of encouragement is couched in words of concern and caution as depicted in the following:

When I was about to apply to graduate school, a couple of my professors hesitated to write recommendations for me because I was a woman and might drop out and get married (although I ranked seventh in my class, was Phi Beta Kappa). Implicit in this was that it was more

appropriate for me to get married. As an alternative, they also suggested that I go into education or social work rather than psychology--though it was clear that they considered these to be second-rate professions--academically and intellectually (039).

The theme of not being taken seriously is one which occurs in many forms throughout respondents' comments. In response to this open-ended question, both teachers' not taking female students seriously and women's not taking themselves seriously emerge as important concerns. Because not taking oneself seriously most directly affects one's self esteem, that aspect will be presented under the section on Identity and Self-Concept as a Woman.

Table XXII lists the full range of responses related to teacher attitudes and behavior. A quick glance at Table XI and XVI will indicate the consistency and significance of women's negative perceptions of teachers' attitudes and behaviors.

TABLE XXII

Dissatisfactions in the Area  
of Teacher Attitudes and Behavior

<u>RESPONSE LABEL</u>	<u>FREQUENCY OF RESPONSE</u>
<u>Elementary:</u>	
Enforcement of femininity	27
Being told that boys didn't like smart girls	6
Awareness that less was expected of me	4
Not being challenged to capacity	3
Lack of encouragement to be independent	2
Expectation that I should "help others"	2
Being told that we were all potential whores	1
Expectation that girls were better spellers	1
Boys got more attention	1
Boys had power outside the classroom	1
Stress on conforming	1
Differential treatment in all ways	1



<u>RESPONSE LABEL</u>	<u>FREQUENCY OF RESPONSE</u>
<u>High School:</u>	
Enforcement of femininity	19
Boys got more attention	2
No positive role models	2
Madonna-prostitute theory	2
Having always to appease	1
Learning to work for others' approval	1
Limited aspirations	1
Put down of individuality	1
 <u>College-Vocational:</u>	
Sex discrimination	9
Lack of encouragement for my interests or abilities	8
Enforcement of female role	8
No female models	7
Middle class bias	1
Heterosexual bias	1

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Counseling. A survey of the responses indicating dissatisfaction with counseling yields comparatively few direct statements. Certainly, there are far fewer than occurred in responses to the first open-ended question. There are at least two factors other than satisfaction with counseling that might account for this decrease in responses. First, many of the situations which might have previously been perceived as counseling are presented in other terms. For example, instead of describing a situation in terms of being advised or guided, one might discuss it in terms of teachers' expectations or of a general and indirect pressure, encouragement, discouragement. Thus, the organizational process of categorizing used here may be a major factor. A second factor would seem to be the frequency of more generalized statements in response to this question.

Counseling appears as a source of dissatisfaction at all levels, although the elementary and high school levels produced only one and two such comments respectively. The same themes as presented in Table XVI are developed here. One interesting difference probably due to the question wording, is the expression of dissatisfaction with decisions made rather than an expression of a need for help in making them. Again, the request for positive role models appears. Table XXIII presents the tabulation of counseling comments.

TABLE XXIII

## Dissatisfaction With Counseling

<u>RESPONSE LABEL</u>	<u>FREQUENCY OF RESPONSE</u>
<u>Elementary:</u>	
No vocational direction	1
<u>High School:</u>	
Inept guidance counselors	2
Lack of direction	2
Poor career counseling	2
Being counseled to pursue "feminine" career	1
<u>College-Vocational:</u>	
No help in recognizing career options	7
No counseling	4
Lack of goals for myself	2
Discouragement to apply to top graduate schools	1
Discouragement to pursue non-feminine career	1

Leadership. Leadership was not expressed frequently as an unmet need. It also fails to emerge as a major source of dissatisfaction for many women. The few negative leadership responses appear only for elementary school which corresponds with the previous pattern of response. The concerns remain exactly the same as those signaled by the item analysis. Dissatisfaction is the result of leadership in the school having been dominantly male and of not being aided in the development of leadership skills. One woman notes the real breakdown in leadership as being: "Girls would have positions of power inside the classroom (e.g., monitor)--but boys had power with respect to the outside world--patrol boy, sports teams, etc. (039)." The other theme remained that of not being helped to develop leadership skills. In responding to the question of dissatisfaction, what emerges in the following another reveals the pain behind the dissatisfaction with:

The fact that the school did not build up my social confidence and help me to develop my leadership abilities. (Believe it or not, they would never even let me act in a skit or playlet, so my mother got me into the city-wide Children's Theater, where I did leads in full length plays for the city-wide audience. So much for the school's excuse that I wasn't qualified!) . . . Even now, remembering and writing about these things, fills me with tears and rage--and I'm 36! Children, like elephants, never forget (009).

Only four women cite leadership as a source of dissatisfaction. All four comments refer to elementary school experiences. One woman notes that leadership of the school was male. The rest charge the school and their teachers with failure to assist them in developing leadership.

Identity and self-concept as a woman. Identity and self-concept as a woman constitutes a major category for responses to the question of dissatisfaction. Table XXIV presents the responses in this category.

TABLE XXIV

Dissatisfactions With Identity  
And Self-Concept Development

<u>RESPONSE LABEL</u>	<u>FREQUENCY OF RESPONSE</u>
<u>Elementary:</u>	
Emphasis among peers on femininity, popularity, sexual games	12
Being hassled for tomboyishness	2
Being ridiculed by boys	2
Alienation from peers	2
Lack of confidence in abilities	2
Learning to base my self image on other people's opinions	2
Girlish girls	1
Lacking social confidence	1
Lack of importance given to relation- ships with women	1
Flirting of male teachers	1
Being a tomboy and confused about sex role	1
Feeling that being a girl wasn't good enough	1
Not fitting in with either boys or girls	1
<u>High School:</u>	
Social scene--popularity, dating cliques	39
Pressure to conform to (or actually conform- ing to) stereotype of femininity	10
Juggling the "act like a man" and "be appeal- ing to men" roles	4
Lack of self-confidence	4
Alienation from peers	3
Lack of importance given to relationships with women	2
Competitiveness among women	2
Sense of estrangement from men	1
Social sexual stigma	1
Class separation of women	1
Flirting of male teachers	1
<u>College-Vocational:</u>	
Relationships with men	5
Social pressures	5
Not taking myself seriously	5

<u>RESPONSE LABEL</u>	<u>FREQUENCY OF RESPONSE</u>
Self-limitations on what I did	4
Lacking self-confidence	3
Getting pregnant	2
Disregard for developing identity needs	2
Lack of social contacts	1
Being a woman	1
Seeing myself as an exception	1
Having to share the world with men	1

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In particular, there is a large increase in the number of expressions of negative social pressures. Accordingly, more time will be spent elaborating these responses at each level. As in the previous discussion of unmet needs, the format of analyzing first the social and then the personal identity dimensions will be used.

Women recall pressures during elementary school to be social and appealing. Two aspects of this cause dissatisfaction. Some women report dissatisfaction based on their failure to "make-it," as described here: "The immediate sense of little boys and girls being in pairs, 'going together'--people came in pairs even in grade school, except me (052)." Others struggled, but resent in retrospect the time and emphasis, as in the following woman's perception of:

The growing emphasis on looks and proper female behavior from first to sixth grade. The only shadow on my youthful triumph was that as I got older, I lost a lot of peer respect because other girls were becoming prettier than I was. They became the center of attention and I was forced to deflect some valuable time and effort to this problem (091).

Variations of these themes are reported as "hassels" for being a tomboy, not being feminine enough, not fitting in with either boys or girls, and lacking social confidence.

Another source of pressure is perceived as having come from interaction with male instructors. One woman describes: "The preference of male teachers to tease and flirt with the girls to the point of embarrassment and then being left out when boys would flock around him to have discussions about fishing and camping, etc. (087)." Ridicule was also meted out by male peers. One woman explains that she is not sure "what part the school played in that" (041), while another notes that there was no positive image of women for her to counter the "taunting and teasing" (058).

One other source of dissatisfaction at the elementary level, the lack of female friends, has also been previously discussed as an unmet need. Women look back to a lack of female friends or a lack of value in such friendships and to environments which supported that at all levels, in response to all questions.

During high school, women's perceptions depict strong peer pressure to be feminine. Two witnesses testify:

. . . That I kept ninety-nine percent of myself hidden. . . sneaking out to shoot baskets, not being able to discuss the books I consumed with the boys or girls I knew. . . playing dumb on dates . . . speaking only when spoken to. . . coloring my hair platinum blond. . . always having to have a boyfriend to get anything, etc. (037).

. . . The pressures were enormous to "date," be attractive, i.e., be like the magazine model is--thin, shapely--make-up, and the eternal diet!! Yuck! What a waste of emotional energy (080).

Other women describe more precisely the double bind which hit them hard:

The perpetual conflict in maintaining a high level of activity in student class government requiring that I "act like a man" to some extent while attempting to remain appealing to men sexually. . . sort of like acting out two miserable stereotypes (015).

The psychological pressure to be "popular," that is to date regularly, to not do well academically (if you were female), (085).

One had to be feminine, to date, to be popular in order to fit in and be accepted. Yet academic achievement and leadership could automatically either jeopardize that popularity or force one to lead two separate lives. The long-term effect of social pressures on women's lives is manifest in the following description: "Always having to play dumb, act passive, hide one's real ideas. I compromised and developed some really bad habits I have yet to shake. I am still often self-defeating in modes developed from junior high on (100)." Even in this description of what dissatisfied her, this woman seems to see her own failure, "I compromised," rather than the institutions' support for a set of demands that assured that she would grow up to be "self-defeating." One has to be awed by this degree of effectiveness of the institution.

When the norms for social acceptance were not followed, especially in the area of sexual behavior, pressure came not only from peers, but from teachers and administrators as well, as suggested by the following: "(I was the 'girl with the bad reputation.')

having the aura of a sexual reputation follow me in very negative ways among students, teachers and administrators (067)." Another woman described this as the pressure of the "madonna-prostitute theory."

Competition for males, which meant competition among women, was perceived as strong as indicated in the following description of:

The social scene of boy-chasing and all conversation with other women about boys or beauty or romance. I would have preferred an all-girls high school. Also watching other women in my classes begin to drop out of accelerated classes and drop in grades or into humanities so as to not compete with boys and spend more time attracting them instead. I found my friends playing "dumb" when boys were around. This I found totally nauseating as I knew how intelligent they really were with just women around (087).

Social intimidation in this push for acceptance, popularity and dates terrified more than one respondent. One woman states:

. . . I was much better off socially than before and was in with an academically oriented group, but I was still terrified of the socially with-it group (called "the crew"), including ball players, cheerleaders, and leaders of some school organizations, student government, etc. I was an ivory-tower newspaper editor, afraid of my own staff. (It was pure hell to have to go up to a football player in the cafeteria line and assign him an article; I was afraid he'd laugh at me or make fun of me or something.) So I wrote on abstractions while the school seethed with cliques and I knew very little of what was going on. I wish I'd had guts then (009).

The refrain of male teachers flirting with female students occurs again as it did in response to the question of unmet needs. The lack of female friends, which is hardly surprising, is also cited as an important source of dissatisfaction, though responses are split in terms of dissatisfaction at the time and dissatisfaction upon recollection.

Far fewer comments as to social pressures are made at the college level. Yet while the high school is clearly the most devastating period in terms of social pressures, the nature of social problems at the college-vocational level seems to be almost more serious. Women speak to intense dissatisfaction with their relationships with men: "Men who wanted to lay me to reaffirm their superiority in spite of their brains. Men who patronized, stereotyped, minimized my victories. Men who were threatened and slandered me in revenge" (050). They speak of dissatisfaction with getting pregnant and with outside household responsibilities which interfered with their work. Straight forwardly, it was, for one woman, all these things: "pregnancies, lack of money, lack of affection, too much shit work at home" (061).



A seemingly appropriate summation of the social pressure at the college-vocational level is offered by one respondent who notes that what had been true of high school--an emphasis on dating, popularity, enforcement of femininity and the female role--was also true of college, ". . . though the college was a difference of degree not kind" (030).

Three central ideas appear in responses describing dissatisfactions with schooling experiences related to feelings of self-esteem. One theme, which is apparent at all levels and which was also presented as a need, points to a lack of self-confidence and respect for one's self. As detailed below, it is not so much a request for help in developing self-confidence as a description of the destruction of one's confidence by the institution:

. . . I had to drop out of a class on J. Conrad because even when I said nothing, I was attacked. . . Conrad seemed so stupid to me-- a classic example of the men playing petty macho games that I could not take the whole thing seriously. Another class offered by my "experimental liberal arts college" was "The Albino Lesbian as a Movie Sex Symbol." You can imagine that. At this time also, the women clerical workers at Fruehauf were on strike. It was the coldest winter in years, the police were in riot gear, there was tremendous brutality and the strike lasted for six months! . . . I had gone to college for seven years and learned nothing that was to help me get a job or make it in the "real world." After going to school for eighteen years or so, I was in better shape as far as self-confidence and humanness when I was six than when I came out at twenty-four (023).

Another insidious idea which is recalled by several women is that of one's sex being a detriment--or as one woman suggests--not quite good enough. She remembers: "Somehow, I never felt being a girl was good enough--I always wanted the freedom of a boy--to wear pants--to jump fences without being scolded for tearing my dress--to have hair that didn't always have to be combed" (043). Another respondent describes:

My feeling of being a freak as an intellectually ambitious woman in a male world. By college, alas, I thought of myself as a secret male, an exception among women (for whom I felt chiefly contempt). It was clear that I was being educated to serve men, to be an adjunct to men, to enhance a man's image (041).

Finally, the dissatisfactions inherent in not taking oneself seriously are described. The impact of this on women seems to have been very similar to that caused by lack of intervention or encouragement on the part of teachers. It is not portrayed as a conflict between an antagonist and victim--an aggressor and defendant. Such conflicts may, and do, breed strength, as will be attested by women's comments concerning what helped them. Rather, the description of not taking oneself seriously points to the internalization of other people's not taking one seriously. And comments, couched in terms of "I limited myself" reflect the degree to which women are effectively made to see themselves as the source of their problems, and so it is more with regret than with anger that a woman "wishes" there had been someone to help her:

. . . Lack of individual attention, role models for professional women. A professor who felt I was the most promising he had had in a decade invited me to join a graduate seminar, yet only brought up once the possibility of graduate school. I announced I was getting married and he let it go. How I wish that somewhere in my lower-middle class, "female" background, someone could have shown me that graduate school was for me. I can't blame the university--my narrow vision was established well before (066).

Other dissatisfactions. Under this catch-all, one major idea not previously identified explicitly, through either the item analysis or question A, is that of education under patriarchy. Specifically, as Table XXV shows, women point to male authority, hierarchical structures, failure to provide day care, ignoring women's problems under the guise of equality, and basic sex prejudice and suppression, which includes

everything from differential awarding of scholarships, to discriminating against married women in admissions, to learning only about and from male perspectives and analyses. This response category discloses problems women confront as they are forced to learn and love an androcentric view of the world. As one woman ably defines the problem:

. . . I believe that ninety-eight percent of what I learned was not only a waste of time, but it took a lot of struggle to rid myself of this stuff. I learned to be a liberal and I resent it--I also learned to think in a way which is completely opposed to my true interest as a woman (073).

The only additional item mentioned for elementary school is having to wear dresses and conform to dress codes. Dresses do restrict activity. It is not surprising that they are particularly resented during elementary years when many girls have not yet given up physical activity for the delights of passivity and daintiness.

The remaining concerns presented at the high school level range from "the whole thing," to value conflicts with the institutions, to family problems, to having to fear authority. Most of these comments were brief as a result; it is not clear to what extent they reveal sex-based dissatisfactions.

Only four responses at the college-vocational level are not subsumed under the heading, Education under Patriarchy, as defined above. These responses concern the impersonality of the institution and the difficulties of combining schooling with working. Here, again, the function of sex in these dissatisfactions is not clear.

Lest it be thought that everyone was terribly dissatisfied with their schooling experiences, it is important to note that five women perceived their elementary schooling experiences as being positive, one

woman at the high school level had no dissatisfactions as did one woman at the college level. Each of these seven women did express needs not met, however, and none maintained a clean slate throughout all schooling stages.

TABLE XXV

## Other Dissatisfactions

<u>RESPONSE LABEL</u>	<u>FREQUENCY OF RESPONSE</u>
<u>Elementary:</u>	
No response	7
Only positive memories	5
Nothing sex connected	4
Wearing dresses	3
Everything	1
Education under patriarchy	1
<u>High School:</u>	
Everything	3
Having to submit to authority	1
Ignoring women's problems under guise of equality	1
No congruence between my values and the schools'	1
Pressure from parents	1
Not learning about prejudice against women	1
Having to fear authority	1
Lack of responsibility	1
Can't recall any	
<u>College-Vocational:</u>	
Living in sexist environment	13
Hierarchical male structure, values, etc.	6
No post high school	4
Impersonality	3
No response	2
Received less scholarship money	1
Having to work, too	1
Nothing	1
Household responsibilities	1
Parenting responsibilities	1
Not learning about prejudice against women	1

One further type of comment grouped under this category is that of "non-sex related" sources of dissatisfaction. For example:

It has nothing to do with femaleness--I was undermined as a human being. I was made to feel that I couldn't do anything, that I was stupid. When I did do something, I felt that it was because the task was very simple not because of any abilities I might have had. I never felt that women should be dumber than boys (not until high school, anyway). I knew that girls were supposed to be smarter and wondered why I wasn't. The thing that kills me about all this is that it has carried over into my adult life. I know my IQ is 156 and I shouldn't have had any trouble in school, but did. . . (023).

One can only speculate on what would have been the case if the child with the high IQ, not doing well, with no sense of ability, had been a boy. But the issue need not even be a comparative one. The point is that this woman's potential was undermined, and that can not continue to be the case for other women.

Summary: And the Answer to the  
Research Question is Not in Riddles

While a detailed answer to the research question is presented in the preceding tables and discussions, a brief summary of major themes is offered here. For purposes of summarizing, numbers of similar responses were taken to signal importance.

The theme underlying responses to all the questions which have been analyzed and reviewed is that depicted in Marge Piercy's poem:

The bonsai tree  
in the attractive pot  
could have grown eighty feet tall  
on the side of a mountain  
till split by lightening.  
But a gardener  
carefully pruned it.  
It is nine inches high.  
Every day as he  
whittles back the branches

the gardener croons,  
 It is your nature  
 to be small and cozy,  
 domestic and weak;  
 how lucky, little tree,  
 to have a pot to grow in.  
 With living creatures.  
 one must begin very early  
 to dwarf their growth:  
 the bound feet,  
 the crippled brain,  
 the hair in curlers,  
 the hands you  
 love to touch.<sup>10</sup>

Careful and consistent pruning in the name of what destiny requires results in the desired design. Some women, unlike trees, have the mobility, the inner strength, or a saving political or personal perspective which allows them, finally, to determine their own design, to begin to redefine themselves. The perceptions of negative experiences, dissatisfactions, and unmet needs are those of women who look back on their schooling experiences and see the shaping processes--whether through the curriculum, teachers' attitudes, counseling, whatever--and its negative effect upon them then, and now.

It is interesting that the themes these women identify match so closely those identified by the Women on Words and Images' study of elementary school readers. Their analysis of readers identifies two sets of themes--one which characterizes stories about boys and one which characterizes stories about girls. The "active mastery themes" (boys') include: ingenuity, cleverness; industry, problem-solving ability; strength, bravery, heroism; creative helpfulness; apprenticeship, acquisition of skills, coming of age; earning, acquisition, unearned

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<sup>10</sup> Marge Piercy, "A Work of Artifice," To Be of Use, Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1973.

rewards; adventure, exploration and imaginative play. "Second sex themes" (girls') are described as: passivity and pseudo-dependence; altruism; goal constriction and rehearsal for domesticity; incompetence, mishaps; victimization and humiliation of the opposite sex.<sup>11</sup>

Major charges against schools at all levels reflect these themes. Women cite most frequently the failure of schools to provide adequate physical education, the lack of support for their participating in active learning opportunities, the confusion of feelings accompanying emerging sexuality, the lack of women in the curriculum, and discouragement in the sciences as negative aspects of the curriculum. Strength, exploration, the development of important skills, and an awareness of choices are perceived as being denied women at the same time that passivity and domesticity are encouraged.

The most consistent perception of teachers' attitudes and behaviors is that they supported, perpetuated, and enforced the ideal of femininity for their female students. They encouraged women less, challenged them less, demeaned their aspirations, punished their independence, failed to take them seriously, and told them, explicitly, that they should and would be wives and mothers only.

Women most often perceive the lack of adequate career counseling. They recall no intervention from counselors, no help in developing an awareness of their career options or of what steps to take in planning a career. From elementary school on, women cite the total lack of attention

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<sup>11</sup>Women on Words and Images, Dick and Jane as Victims: Sex Stereotyping in Children's Readers, Princeton: Women on Words and Images, 1972, p. 54.

paid to their career interests, or the ridicule they received for even having them.

In most instances, the open-ended responses tended to elaborate and support the findings of the item analysis. This was not the case, however, for leadership development. While responses to the items concerning leadership shows a fairly strong negative perception (see Table XIII), very few responses to the open-ended questions mentioned leadership development as either an unmet need or a source of dissatisfaction. This discrepancy is most likely due to the fact that among the sample, a high percentage report that they achieved leadership positions in their schools while at the same time indicating that leadership was predominantly male. Male leadership was perceived as being a negative aspect of the schooling experience at the high school and college-vocational levels.

The emphasis, among peers, on femininity, the pressures to be socially active, socially acceptable and accepted, the difficulties of reconciling being female, with who one is and what one admires (being smart and valuing independence, for example) are the most important negatively perceived dimensions of identity and self-concept issues for women (in terms of frequency, but also in terms of long range effects).

These perceptions, then, form the essential answer to the question, What aspects of their schooling experiences do feminists perceive as having been mostly negative for them as women? The next section of this chapter reports feminists' perceptions of what was positive for them as women.



Surviving Schooling and Society:  
Perceptions of What Was Positive

The research question, what aspects of their schooling experiences do feminists perceive as having been mostly positive for them as women, is answered in two ways. First, an analysis of positive responses to the set of closed-response items at each level provides an overview of those situations generally perceived as positive. Second, presentation of responses to the open-ended question, what helped you to do what you wanted to as a woman, allows for a richer understanding of those aspects of the schooling experience already described as positive, and for identification of additional sources of satisfaction.

Perceptions of Positive Aspects of  
Schooling Experiences: Item Analysis

Curriculum. Perceptions of positive aspects of the curriculum vary among levels with only one item maintaining a positive perception as all three levels. Another item perceived is as positive only for high school and college-vocational levels. Table XXVI lists the statements at each level for which more positive than negative responses were received. No item reveals a significant degree of consensus in a positive direction, and none can be classified as dominant perceptions.

The one situation which emerges as positive at all three levels, that of attending a coeducational school or having coeducational classes, suggests at least one conclusion: women do not blame men for their negative experiences in school. It may be further deduced that women, in fact, see men as a necessary part of life and therefore important to learn to be with. On the other hand, it might be suggested, on the basis

of this finding that women see positive benefits accruing because of the presence of men. Exactly which interpretation corresponds to the intended meaning cannot be determined without support from an analysis of the open-ended responses.

TABLE XXVI

## Positive Perceptions of the Curriculum

<u>ITEM</u>	<u>RESPONSE</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>Elementary Level:</u>		
9. I went to a coeducational elementary school.	TP	52
	TN	20
<u>High School Level:</u>		
9. My classes were coeducational.	TP	48
	TN	21
16. Standards used to evaluate me were the same used for male classmates.	TP	32
	FN	31
<u>College-Vocational Professional Level:</u>		
9. I attended a coeducational institution.	TP	46
	T	15
16. Standards used to evaluate me in my courses were the same as those used to evaluate men	TP	44
	FN	28

The fact that standards for evaluation are seen as equal for males and females with increasing frequency (from a negative perception at the elementary level to an almost exact split in perceptions for high school to a dominance of positive perceptions at the college-vocational level) suggests that many women feel that the expressed structure assumed

equality. It may reflect either a real lack of sex bias in evaluation or it may point to a perception of the institutions' maintenance of a single set of standards against which all students were measured equally. As one woman so eloquently pointed out, such equality frequently results in women's special needs, interests, etc. being ignored.<sup>12</sup>

Teacher attitudes and behaviors. Since items in the category Teacher Attitudes and Behaviors received predominantly negative responses, it is not surprising that few items concerning teachers' attitudes and behaviors are responded to positively.<sup>13</sup> In fact, no statements are perceived as having been positive for high school. Table XXVII presents those items for which the largest single response category is positive. None reveal positive perceptions at a level of consensus (sixty-six percent or more).

Items one, six, and ten, which concern expectations, teacher preference and encouragement to be independent, were stated in the questionnaire for each level. Differences in positive perceptions suggests differences in perceptions of problem areas and of supportive situations according to educational level. These differentiating responses lend additional support to the claim that remembrances rather than politics form the basis of the perceptual data.

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<sup>12</sup> Britt Guttman, in a speech to the Phi Delta Kappans, University of Massachusetts, March 5, 1974, pointed out that the norms used in developing and implementing university policies and practices were those appropriate for "young, single, white, able-bodied, middle-class males."

<sup>13</sup> Table XI presents the items which showed negative trends in responses.

TABLE XXVII

Positive Perceptions of Teacher  
Attitudes and Behaviors

<u>ITEM</u>	<u>RESPONSE</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>Elementary Level:</u>		
1. Teachers' expectations for my work as a girl were right for my interests and abilities.	TP	48
	FN	30
6. Teachers seemed to prefer their female students.	TP	29
	TN	24
<u>College-Vocational Professional Levels:</u>		
10. Instructors encouraged me to be independent.	TP	53
	FN	34
13. Instructors assumed that it was more important to me to be helpmate, homemaker and mother than to have a career.	FP	39
	TN	36

Significantly, some logical assumptions do not hold in correlating the findings. For example, one could logically infer (especially given white middle class male norms) that, in a situation where teachers are perceived as preferring their female students, those preferred students would be encouraged to be independent. This is not the case. It should be noted regarding this question, however, that the percentage of both positive and negative responses is small, together accounting for just slightly more than half the sample. This may indicate that teacher preference based on sex, even if it is your sex, is not necessarily good. The negative perception at the college-vocational level reported in Table XI suggests that not being the preferred sex can indeed be negative. It

would not seem reasonable to conclude from these data that women find clear positive feelings derived from that one time in their schooling careers when they may have been preferred.

Of course, the most obviously significant finding is that nothing is perceived as positive in terms of teacher attitudes and behaviors during the high school years. This confirms what seems to emerge as a pattern for many women of extreme negative experiences during high school.

Counseling. Only one item focussing on counseling shows a positive response. At both the elementary and college levels, women perceive that they were not discouraged from taking courses because of their sex. Table XXVIII presents the responses at these two levels. Depending on whether counselors or teachers reviewed and suggested courses, this finding may reflect either the behavior of counselors or that of teachers.

TABLE XXVIII

## Positive Trends in Perceptions of Counseling

<u>ITEM</u>	<u>RESPONSE</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>Elementary Level:</u>		
17. I was discouraged from taking some courses on the grounds that the subjects weren't really of interest or importance to women, or that it was a man's field.	FP	32
	NA	24
	TN	24
<u>College-Vocational Professional Training Level:</u>		
17. I was discouraged from taking some courses on the grounds that the subjects weren't really of interest or importance to women, or that it was a man's field.	FP	42
	TN	32

What surfaces here is the clear notion that not being discriminated against is perceived as positive. The finding alone does not reveal whether there really is quantitatively less discouragement at the elementary and college levels or whether differing frequencies in attempting to take courses, or a lessening of aspiration to take "male" subjects accounts for the false positive response. The large number of "N/A" responses at the elementary level suggests that the quantitative interpretation should not be assumed.

Leadership. One item pertaining to leadership is perceived as consistently true and consistently positive across all three levels. For once, high school is the most overwhelmingly positive period, as Table XXIX shows. The item analysis indicates that women were in positions of leadership more frequently than not, and perceived being a leader as positive. The context seems important. Leadership was achieved despite a situation, which they depict at the high school and college-vocational levels, of men dominating leadership positions and of women not being helped to acquire or develop leadership skills.

TABLE XXIX

## Positive Perceptions of Leadership Development

<u>ITEM</u>	<u>RESPONSE</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>Elementary Level:</u>		
2. Leadership in the classroom was assumed by boys.	FP	44
	TN	32
8. I was a leader in my classes.	TP	50
	FN	22

<u>ITEM</u>	<u>RESPONSE</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>High School Level:</u>		
8. I achieved recognition and leadership positions.	TP	65
	FN	16
<u>College-Vocational Professional Training Levels:</u>		
8. I achieved leadership positions and recognition.	TP	40
	FN	34

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Identity and self-concept as a woman. Again, responses are not consistent across the schooling levels. Rather, only one item is perceived similarly at two levels. At the elementary level women recall, with positive feelings, admiring other female students. They also perceive themselves to have been unfeminine and point to that lack of femininity as overwhelmingly positive. It is significant that both these perceptions which counter the conventions of gender role prescription occur as positive only for elementary years. For high school and college-vocational levels, women perceive themselves as avoiding the bind of having to hide their intelligence--although this feeling is more clearly established by college and appears to be more tenuous for high school. A small percentage, the thirteen percent who during high school found not concealing their intelligence to be negative, reveal the trap of gender role prescriptions for women. Table XXX reveals the full findings in this area.

TABLE XXX  
Positive Perceptions of  
Identity and Self-Concept

<u>ITEM</u>	<u>RESPONSE</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>Elementary Level:</u>		
4. Classmates that I admired and wanted to be like were usually girls.	TP	34
	FN	19
19. I considered myself to be very feminine.	FP	48
	TN	13
	FN	14
<u>High School Level:</u>		
5. I didn't want to appear to be too smart.	FP	44
	TN	30
	FN	13
<u>College-Vocational Professional Training Levels:</u>		
5. I didn't want to appear too smart.	FP	52
	TN	19

What Helped: An Analysis of Responses to the Open-Ended Question

Answers to the open-ended question, "As I look back on my schooling experiences, the thing that most helped me to do what I wanted as a woman was," identify many sources of positive experiences which were not anticipated in the items. As in the previous presentations of the findings, the frequency distribution of responses for each category precedes an anecdotal elaboration. The general categories are those used throughout the study: Curriculum, Teacher Attitudes and Behaviors, Counseling, Leadership, and Identity and Self-Concept as a Woman.



While the responses to the series of true-false, positive-negative statements revealed few strong positive perceptions, and the open-ended format does not encourage frequency tabulations showing a level of significance (in strict research terms), nevertheless, the freedom of the open format permits women to describe and define those aspects of their experiences which they recall as being important and positive. Despite the limited positive responses to the items, then, the range of specific situations perceived as beneficial, not just generally but because one is female, is offered through respondents' comments.

Curriculum. Women's perceptions of positive aspects of the curriculum are listed with the corresponding frequency of response in Table XXXI. As before, it is important to remember that the categorization of responses is arbitrary in that the items define the label rather than vice-versa (e.g., in the case of academic success, it is through the author's interpretation of meaning that the response is discussed under Identity and Self-Concept rather than Curriculum).

Skills and curriculum content form two important sets of responses. Comments concerning the development of skills and helpful subjects or bodies of knowledge point, for the most part, to the acquisition of basic intellectual and learning tools--self-expression, abstraction, self-motivation and direction--and catalytic or supportive contact with rewarding fields of study.

An enlightening perspective on the way in which content may serve to support women's needs covertly and unintentionally is provided by one respondent who describes as most helpful:

TABLE XXXI

## Perceptions of Helpful Aspects of Curriculum

<u>RESPONSE LABEL</u>	<u>FREQUENCY OF RESPONSE</u>
<u>Elementary:</u>	
Being active in sports	5
Learning to read (enjoying it)	3
Learning outside the classroom	3
Having sex-segregated physical education classes	2
Learning to pursue independent projects	1
Learning to express myself in writing	1
Developing an ability to use abstract concepts	1
<u>High School:</u>	
Creative development	4
Extra curricular sports	2
Being in an all female school	2
Reading poetry and philosophy	1
Knowledge and skills learned	1
Getting credentials for college	1
Rigorous sports	1
Interests outside of school	1
<u>College:</u>	
Women's studies	4
Skills learned	2
Reading	1
Flunking out	1
Taking male-oriented courses	1
Opportunity to study philosophy	1
Opportunity to study child development	1
Opportunity to go to law school	1
Opportunity to enter program of interest	1
Self-defense	1

Reading. A lot of Russian novelists, Dostoyevsky, Tolstoy and poetry (T. S. Eliot, Vozneshensky, Yevtushenko)--Since most recognition of who I wanted to be and what I wanted to do was unsatisfying (specifically because I was a woman, and those things were "too hard" for a woman) reading served as the most influential reinforcer (013).

Women's studies, taking male courses, developing creativity, and being active in sports, all emerge as positive aspects of the curriculum. All are predictable since their absence has been previously defined as negative. Noteworthy is the infrequency of these responses. The infrequency of responses to these items supports the findings that indicate their absence and their importance.

Another interesting aspect of the curriculum responses is the indirectness (as in the description of poetry) and temporariness of the helpfulness. Regarding sports, one woman notes: "Really liked to be active in sports which was wonderful. Tomboyishness o.k. at this level. I appreciate this now since I am doing self-defense (033)." Lurking beneath many of the comments as to what helped are the shadows of prior and upcoming negative pressures, as in the previous qualifier, "tomboyishness o.k. at this level."

Two comments point to less positive sources of helpfulness. One woman cites "flunking out" and another obtaining the credentials necessary to get into college as the only aspects of their college and high school experiences, respectively, which helped them to do what they wanted. Neither of these would seem to be desirable prescriptions for women's schooling--yet a theme that reappears throughout the responses to the open-ended question is that of the negativity of the situation forcing resistance and thereby creating a necessary and "helpful" building of endurance.

Despite the fact that coeducation was perceived as positive at all three levels, it is not mentioned as a schooling dimension that helped women. Rather, only the opposite is reported here. While far from supporting, through overwhelming numbers, sex segregated schools, coeducation as a beneficial situation, per se, is not confirmed by the free responses.

Teacher attitudes and behaviors. Women's perceptions of positive aspects of their schooling experiences most frequently isolate dimensions of teachers' attitudes and behavior or women's identities and self-concepts. A major concentration of responses focusses on teachers' displays of confidence in a woman's ability. While the specific manifestations of that recognition and support vary somewhat among levels, the significance of the item is maintained for all schooling stages. The response does occur, however, more frequently at the elementary level. Table XXXII presents the full findings considered aspects of teachers' attitudes and behaviors.

The significance of teacher intervention is demonstrated in three statements. Note in each some of the reflective, qualifying refrains: I was an exception--not like other girls; or, I was only encouraged then--not later. Three women describe what helped them during elementary school:

The encouragement I got in the area of art--actually, I got lots of encouragement, in general, back then (080).

Being able to learn at my own rate and having a lot of encouragement as far as intellectual achievements. My teachers, parents and peers all had respect for my mind and my ideas. I do think, however, that other girls who weren't so "exceptional" didn't have the same encouragement to achieve intellectually--it was assured that they wouldn't need the knowledge (016).

TABLE XXXII

Positive Aspects of  
Teacher Attitudes and Behavior

<u>RESPONSE LABEL</u>	<u>FREQUENCY OF RESPONSE</u>
<u>Elementary:</u>	
Confidence shown in my ability	17
A few teachers who showed that they cared for me personally	3
Equal expectations for males and females	2
Encouragement to be independent	2
Being considered bright without the stigma of being unfeminine	1
Encouragement of my competitiveness	1
Encouragement to view myself as a person, not as a "little girl"	1
<u>High School:</u>	
Having a teacher who cared about me	7
Encouragement to pursue my talents	6
Encouragement to excel	4
Being considered an exception	3
Expectation that I would achieve	2
Encouragement to explore many options	1
Encouragement by one teacher to risk an unapproved of career	1
<u>College:</u>	
One teacher (or a few) who cared for and encouraged me	15
Being accepted as an equal	6
Approval for my ability	3
Demands that I achieve	2
Minimum emphasis on sex	1
Assumption that I could be anything	1
Being considered an exception	1
Encouraged to enter a Ph.D. program	1

I was a wonder child in my rural, depressed area elementary school. I got to be a leader in every field I had any interest in. I was pampered and petted and could have used much, much more of the same treatment! It was the last encouragement I was to have for eleven years (091).

At the high school level, encouragement of abilities is sometimes placed in the context of a general academic "push," as in the case described below:

I was encouraged to excel academically (though this was part of a generally elitist system with tracking and pressure to get into "prestige" colleges). Nevertheless, they gave me sufficient back-up and motivation to somewhat remove myself from pressures from home (my mother), to aspire to get a B.A. and then marry and raise a family (039).

For women in high school also, encouragement produces the feeling of "being an exception within or to one's sex." One woman recalls as helpful:

Encouraging my independence and creativity. Many teachers had stereotyped views of the female role, but they allowed an occasional exception. I was one of the exceptions. Not knowing how to deal with me, they (sometimes) gave me freedom and encouraged my creativity (029).

Again, the undercurrent of negativity is clear. What is perceived as having helped is also perceived as originating from a quandry over how to handle a bright woman. Again, the effect of coming to see oneself as an exception is noted.

Perceptions of high demands for performance, approval for ability, and encouragement, again from instructors, to continue on to graduate school are cited for the college-vocational level. Here too, however, the positive aspects had an unpleasant catch for some women. As one woman states:

The fact that I was asked to work hard and be bright. The school operated on the assumption that regardless of sex, you could be anything you wanted. As a woman student, I was not subjected to patronizing attitudes. But there were no role models, either as teachers in the school or in the material studied, so I was being prepared to be something which didn't exist (069).

For others, their "exceptionality" was the basis for attention:

Being considered especially bright and given special treatment on that account. My college--St. John's University--was not a very good school. In not very good schools, the girls rather than the boys stand out. Smart boys go to good universities (017).

A dimension of teachers' attitudes linked to women's perceptions of being treated as an exception, and one which emerged as an unmet need, is that of being taken seriously. Women report, in response to the open-ended question, that they and their ideas were taken seriously. For at least one respondent, it was a long time in coming. What helped, finally, were: "My experiences on the post-graduate level. By this time, I was considered a peer by my professors. When I had gained that respect, it helped my confidence a great deal (059)." One new and different expression of being taken seriously is reflected in a woman's remembrance of being encouraged to stop seeing herself as a little girl and to start seeing herself as a person.<sup>14</sup>

In some cases, women report being helped simply by a teacher showing that she or he cared about the student. While more women indicate that female teachers extended support, male teachers are also mentioned. In some instances, the sex of the teacher is not specified.

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<sup>14</sup>It is probably significant, it is at least interesting that she does not recall the experience in terms of being urged to see herself as a woman: Women like little girls are usually not considered serious people (serious sexual people, maybe).

The relationship described below is obviously not available by fiat from the administration, but its benefits are undeniably rich:

A woman instructor who told me that I was beautiful and right-on--the first encouragement I received in a whole long time. She talked with me about what I was going through, gave me security in a mass of insecurity, functioned as a sounding board for my ideas and supported me to the hilt when it was necessary and all other times. She stepped out of her role as an instructor and extended her friendship to me--the most human act I ever saw an "instructor" make (068).

For some women, it was not so much special treatment as it was equal treatment. A woman recalls the helpful experience of being praised for being bright, free from any stigma of "unfeminine." At the college level, the woman notes: "The minimum of emphasis on sex. As I have never been interested in what was considered male--dominated fields, I have encountered a minimum of sex discrimination" (095). In this case, of course, the framework is that of involvement in a non-male field. The irony is presumably clear without additional comment.

Women refer to the positive experiences of being encouraged in independence and competitiveness only at the elementary level. The lack of more similar responses, in part, due to the fact that many women describe their independence and assertiveness as self-developed characteristics. These responses--because they reflect positive feelings about oneself--are detailed under "Identity and Self-Concept as a Woman."

Counseling. The above description of those teachers' attitudes and behaviors perceived as helpful to women reveals teachers performing many advising or counseling functions. Though describing counseling activities, the responses were presented under Teacher Attitudes and Behavior because they described perceptions of important interactions between instructors and students. It is quite likely that the responses



to the item concerning discouragement from taking courses should be interpreted as reflecting teacher behavior, not "counselor" behavior. (In either case, it was a counseling behavior and this again simply highlights the problems of categorizing.) The reader is again cautioned to think in terms of the specific statements discussed in each section rather than the headings. Under the category Counseling, then, fall references to counselors performing counseling--or counseling behaviors not described in terms of student-teacher interaction. This presentation is brief. Only one respondent refers to a counselor counseling (no one cites unspecified counseling behaviors). This single statement dramatically highlights how little counseling services offer. The incredible element of chance in important life decisions is also underscored by the respondent for whom this represents. The sole thing that helped her during high school was: "In my senior year, a female counselor told me to take a scholarship exam" (067). One can only wonder how many women have not received that last minute intervention.

Leadership. The themes women identify continue to be those identified through the item analysis and the responses to other open-ended questions, although, here, they are stated in positive terms. Table XXXIII presents the findings.

Despite the apparent agreement as to the benefits of developing and exercising leadership, perceptions of the long range impact of this leadership training differ. One woman describes with relief, the social acceptance and personal growth accruing from her leadership in high school. She depicts:

The marvelous chance to be accepted for myself and for what I was, not for my family's social standing (which was solidly respectable but not outstanding in any way). It was like dying and going to heaven to realize that I could actually be a part of things and could achieve in areas other than the purely academic ones (being president of the drama club, for example, and editor of the school newspaper). Incidentally, the high school was public (009).

On the other hand, one woman describes the betrayal inherent in the high school situation which allowed her to assume degrees of leadership later to be denied her in the "outside world." She states:

I don't think of anything really significant here except possibly that I was allowed to run the school as much as I wanted. But it was all a joke. It had little relation to the real world where power was clearly in the hands of men (069).

TABLE XXXIII

Perceptions of Helpful Aspects  
of Leadership Development

<u>RESPONSE LEVEL</u>	<u>FREQUENCY OF RESPONSE</u>
<u>Elementary:</u>	
Encouraging girls in leadership roles	4
Being given responsibility in the classroom	2
<u>High School:</u>	
Leadership and responsibility within high school	7
<u>College:</u>	
Leadership and responsibility within the institution	4

It should be noted that despite the high numbers of women indicating that they held leadership positions and perceived that positively, relatively few lend weight to the importance of this leadership to them through open-ended responses.<sup>15</sup>

Identity and self-concept as a woman. While previous responses in this category described personal growth and feelings about oneself which respondents felt reflected needs that schooling experiences had either failed to meet or, indeed, had helped to create, responses to this open-ended question highlight sources of strength, in social interactions and within women themselves, that helped women to do and become what they wanted as women. Table XXXIV presents the range of responses and the frequency tabulations.

In the domain of social relationships, one response takes precedence over all others. At each level, strong positive relationships with other women is the most frequently cited helpful social interaction. During elementary school, women recall the benefits of strong female friendships in terms similar to those of the following respondent who describes:

Strong peer group affiliations with other girls--an extremely important source of intellectual/psychological/social/political experimentation--creating (e.g. plays) in a group where trust permitted such experimentation. . . conversations with friends essential to learning and confidence in an overall scheme of high competition (females vs. female) and callousness (013).

Women also point to benefits derived from both dissociation from men and supportive relationships with other women during high school. What helped

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<sup>15</sup>By contrast, both the item and open-ended question analyses revealed the negatively perceived absence of adequate physical education for women.

one woman was: ". . . My one woman friend (and later lover) who shared my perceptions and took me as seriously as I took her" (022). For another woman, help in becoming who she wanted to be as a woman came from: "Not digging men, thus I was more independent, hung out with women more and was more of a whole person" (062).

At the post-secondary level, the opportunity to encounter women in an atmosphere which debunked the myths of women's role, femininity, and all the rest is perceived as helpful. As one respondent describes it:

Seeing other women as smart and worthy of close friendship. Going to a woman's college protected me from the intellectual destruction that would certainly have been achieved if I constantly had to deal with men. Living with women, "competing" with women (in class), I feel has had a great deal to do with my current confidence in myself and other women to free themselves (091).

These respondents were able to interact with women and to develop relationships with other women. They did respect their sex and found importance in intra-sex relationships.

A significant theme--not in frequency but in implication--is that listed in Table XXXIV as "ability to play necessary roles." Two responses here pinpoint a familiar and oft travelled path. In brief, it is, as described by one woman: "Being attractive, again let me get away with being smart" (011). Another woman elaborates:

. . . Unquestioning attitude, an acceptance of my role, an ostensible "buying into" the sorority (status), and my future career, and a silence about things meaningful to me except to a few close women friends considered queer (037).

It is, of course, a dangerous approach to survival. Negative comments describing feelings of schizophrenia--which arose from juggling feminine roles and intelligence--appeared as both needs not met and dissatisfactions, and clearly indicate the disastrous long term effects.

TABLE XXXIV

## Positive Perceptions of Identity and Self-Concept

<u>RESPONSE LABEL</u>	<u>FREQUENCY OF RESPONSE</u>
<u>Elementary:</u>	
Good women teachers and principals	10
Being smarter/better than anyone else	9
Developing skills through anger and resentment necessary to resisting and surviving	5
Intellectual confidence	4
Strong peer affiliation with other girls	4
Feeling that I was special	3
My own internal strength	1
Other girls who asserted themselves	1
Desire to be independent	1
Positive associations with my peers	1
A certain toughness with males	1
<u>High School:</u>	
Being smarter than anyone else	9
Women role models	8
Led me to develop skills to resist	6
Close contact with other women	5
Feeling competent enough not to conform	3
Friends	3
Social success	3
Friends who saw me as a whole person	3
Ability to play the necessary roles	2
Rejection of the dating game	2
Being an exception	1
Being a feminist	1
Me	1
Strong male identification	1
Seeing myself as a person--not as a man or a woman	1
Love relationships with women teachers	1
<u>College-Vocational:</u>	
Other women who supported me	18
My own assertiveness/initiative	5
Being independent	5
Belief in myself	5
Women teacher role models	3
Friends	3
Blatant discrimination against women which forced strengthening responses	2
Being intellectually outstanding	2
Being a Lesbian/gay liberation	2
Being a feminist	2
Relationship with a professor	2
Developing skill in relating to others	2
Acceptance of my role	2
Using anger constructively	1
Gaining insight into myself	1
Standing up to men	1
Mate	1
Being related to as a whole person	1

Love relationships and close friendships with instructors are also described as important. Beyond the predictable benefits (or those assumed) of intimate relationships, there is the suggestion that relationships with teachers provide an additional learning for women. As one respondent notes: ". . . Several love affairs with male teachers who responded to me intellectually as well as sexually. Without such intimacy, I doubt I would have known that they were impressed by my abilities" (041).

Finally, it is significant that despite the dissatisfaction created by not fitting in well with the social scene, social success is not perceived as having helped respondents to do what they wanted as women. While three respondents did indicate that social success was a help, two other respondents at the high school level saw rejection of the "social scene" as positive. It may well be that the conditions for success are too costly and that the desirable direction for change is not that of helping women to gain social success in its current terms, but of removing the pressures for, and the existing norms of, success. Of the women who mention social success as a help, one cites social success within the context of a strong affiliation with other women; another notes the importance, for her, of simply belonging to a group; a third describes social success, along with academic success, as a factor which allowed her to gain the self-confidence needed to pursue independent non-conforming plans. For those who rejected it, greater independence is perceived having been the reward. One woman states that what helped her to do what she wanted as a woman was: "My concentration in developing my mind and my intolerance for playing the 'dating game.' I chose

to be independent and this was encouraged by my parents (not my high school)" (085). Another suggests both the positive and negative effects of rejecting social acceptance and success:

Relating to movement people outside the high school scene (which did not interest me at all; it seemed like an extension of what the 1950's was like). School affairs seemed completely irrelevant, too much focus on athletic competitiveness, school spirit, ad nauseum; I sought an alternative identity and alienated a lot of people by getting tight with people from SNCC, became an "outsider;" was far too self-righteous toward other students, but also more independent, and enjoyed it (003).

The social sector is not, after all, perceived as a major source of benefit: perceptions of oneself as independent, different or outstanding, however, are.

A major theme in comments pertaining to feelings about one's self is that of "feeling smarter than anyone else." This theme is manifested in two refrains: "I was an exception," and "I had to be better." The rewards are confidence and a reduction in the pressure to conform. Two responses at the elementary level point to these ideas: "Succeeding academically. . . gave me the confidence to defy a lot of norms later on" (094); and ". . . I excelled in all areas--scholarship, athletics and leadership. Being "better" than the other girls and boys helped me become confident" (032). There is, in addition, the notion of escape and encouragement only through exceptionality: "Again--I beat shit out of everybody at everything. Clearly, I was operating as a superwoman because I knew it was my only chance--but I was so outstanding that I got tremendous encouragement" (032). For some, exceptionality had, as its side effect, seeing oneself as "sexless." One woman reports that for high school: ". . . we were going to be 'intellectuals' and were above all that Philistine stuff, like sex and dating. I was

enabled to be a sort of sexless exception to the human race, that's all" (018). Underlying some comments on being outstanding are references to basic survival. One respondent recalls:

Probably what helped me most was continuing to be intellectually outstanding (by their measuring sticks) so that I couldn't be ignored and had to be somewhat respected. The fact that I was bright in the head kept me feeling somewhere it was worthwhile to the world that I stayed alive (050).

Closely linked to feelings of having to be better is the theme of "feeling unique" or "seeing myself as special." This theme reveals respondents' more directly positive feelings about themselves. Yet, a variation of this theme also expresses the removing of oneself from one's sex as is implicit in the comments of the respondent who remembers seeing herself as: "A person rather than a man or woman, thus not getting locked into female expectations. . ." (059).

For some bright women, their intelligence brought self-confidence. For others, it brought them freedom from pressures to conform to social norms. Still others emerged with a sense of specialness, of being an "exception," which brought longer-range escape from role limitations. And yet, some perceived a price extracted by the social environment for this escape in the form of arrogance, competitiveness, a dissociation from other women, and from one's own sex.

Another important source of benefit to women is identification with strong women role models--both teachers and peers. One woman recalls the positive effect identification with other strong assertive



girls had on her during elementary school.<sup>16</sup> In many cases, women role models were perceived as models for entire life styles, as in this report of: "Strong, positive role models of competent, intellectual women, often living alone or with other women and pursuing their self-defined lives" (100). One woman who describes "a female health and physical education instructor who provided me with a strong female role model," also notes that her independent and leadership activities came out of "a very strong male-identification" (015). One model along the way may not be sufficient. Again, this woman's comment points out the difficulty many women experience in matching their biological sex, defined and understood in gender terms, with their behavior. Some opted out through sexlessness. Others assumed a male identification.<sup>17</sup>

Independence--both the desire for and the fact of--is seen as helpful, as is confidence in dealing with men a closely linked phenomenon. For some women, this confidence emerges as a "certain toughness"; for others, as the ability not to take men seriously.

Anger bred resiliency for some of the respondents. It developed in them an ability to fight the system. It is perceived as an outcome

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<sup>16</sup> Again, it should be noted that many of the responses described as close relationships with other girls actually point to the kind of identification and aspiration suggested by the term "role model." However, these were described in terms of friendship rather than behavior models and thus do not appear here. Categories do overlap and cross connections must be made to develop the full import of each area.

<sup>17</sup> The author would note that the extent to which the male role model is incorporated is frequently unknown and emerges in subtle ways. The author, for example, found that when teaching on the college level, she was wont to stroke an imaginary beard and gesture as if holding a pipe. Such may be many women's fate who have had mainly male faculty and male mentors.

of the process of learning that it takes more to "make it" if you're female. At the elementary level, women speak of teachers:

Telling me directly and indirectly that I couldn't be what I was and wanted to be; my parents telling me to behave, etc. My talent and technique for fighting for my rights were developed due to innumerable chances I had. For some reason, I refused to quit or give in (068).

Another describes: ". . . They made being a woman to be unbearable. Womanhood could be alright, I figured, but not what they termed to be "womanhood," so I simply changed the definition" (086). The result was a garnering of strength. For example, one woman reports that during high school, she: ". . . bucked the system then (quietly) and gathered strength to stand-up against role pressure later" (058). Two motifs are heard at the college level. One is that anger results in an additional impetus to pursue academic skills; the other refers to the insight afforded women by the display of overwhelming and obviously negative attitudes toward women. One respondent recalls in a statement of what helped her as a woman: "The terribly obvious transparency of most male instructors--their contempt for women showing through" (022).

For some women, a belief in themselves or simply unspecifiable inner strength helped them. For others, it was a specific feeling, like anger or developed characteristics such as competitiveness, ambition or initiative as these women describe:

. . . I felt that although "the boys" may excel in organized sports --(but not in over-all physical competence) as well as beginning to take on attitudes of superiority toward females, I could still defeat them academically and intellectually. That I develop whatever creative or intellectual potential I had become that much more important. Call it survival (015).

My strong drive to earn my higher degree--to be equal to anyone in experience and qualifications, and to have space to work (080).

Still others found new insights and self-growth helpful. Finally, some women were able to achieve strong and supportive political and deeply personal identifications as either feminists or Lesbians.

Other perceptions of what helped. Table XXXV outlines the responses which do not readily fall under any of the five major categories.

TABLE XXXV

## Other Perceptions of What Was Helpful

<u>RESPONSE LABEL</u>	<u>FREQUENCY OF RESPONSE</u>
<u>Elementary:</u>	
Nothing	17
Don't remember	7
Family	5
Money	1
Knowledge that men were superfluous	1
Getting older	1
Learning to handle teachers	1
Being physically active outdoors at home	1
<u>High School:</u>	
Nothing	12
Family	8
No response	6
Love affair with nature	2
Being physically active outdoors with women	1
Rebellion from family	1
<u>Post-Secondary:</u>	
Nothing	7
Women's liberation movement	6
No response	5
No post high school schooling	4
Money	2
Family	2
Political action	2
Missed some role programming	1

The number of "nothing" responses is significant, especially when compared to the small number of "nothing" responses to the question of unmet needs and dissatisfactions. Of the seventeen women reporting that nothing helped them to do what they wanted as women during elementary school, five maintained that perception for high school as well. Only one woman perceived no support at any level. Her comment at the college-vocational level reveals an important distinction between being encouraged or supported generally, and being helped to do what one wants as a woman in this society. She declares: ". . . I want to integrate my humanity (which I was allowed to develop, even encouraged) with my being a woman. Everything muddled the issue and encouraged the split" (018).

Most of the responses recorded here are rather straight forward. Some point to conditions which can be effected and affected by the educational institutions such as relationships with teachers, role programming, and physical activity. Others, which report situations totally outside the schooling environment as the only source of help, serve to further support the need for changes and the failure of schools to meet women's needs.

Perceptions of Positive Aspects of  
Women's Schooling Experiences: A Summary

An examination of those aspects of the curriculum perceived as positive and helpful reveals no confirmation of the item analysis (which showed positive perceptions of coeducation for all levels and equal standards applied to males and females during high school and college-vocational schooling) by the open-ended responses. Levels of agreement and

the overall number of responses are, themselves, low in the open-ended response category Curriculum. This strongly suggests that aspects of the curriculum are not widely perceived by feminists as having been positive. The tendency of responses describing helpful aspects of the curriculum to hint at the unintended or negative bases of the "help" extended further supports the conclusion that the curriculum is generally not perceived positively.

Perceptions of positive aspects of teachers' behaviors and attitudes disclosed in responses to the items and to the open-ended questions reveal that high school is the time of fewest remembered positive interactions. During elementary years, more than at any other time, women perceive teachers' expectations for and confidence in them to be appropriate for their abilities. Both the item and open-ended question analyses confirm this finding. At the college-vocational level, the item analysis reveals a positive trend in perceptions of teachers' encouragement of women to be independent. The analysis of open-ended responses yields a more general response--namely, that what was helpful was simply having a teacher who cared and who was generally encouraging. Encouragement to be independent may well be subsumed under the more encompassing descriptions in the free responses.

There is no indication that counseling is a positive aspect of any woman's schooling experience. The item analysis shows only one counseling statement perceived as positive more often than negative, and that statement merely indicates that some women, mostly at the college-vocational level, do not perceive themselves to have been discouraged from taking "male" courses. The data are not clear or strong even

on that one item. Here was only one response to the open-ended question which referred to a counselor. It is clear that whatever counselors have been doing in schools, they have not been positively affecting women and their lives.

Leadership also fails to emerge as a solid base of support for women. Here, the findings indicate a gap between positive perceptions of having held positions of leadership, as expressed through responses to question eight, "I was a leader in my class," and the few statements of leadership development as an aspect of the schooling experience which was perceived as helpful. The lack of responses concerning leadership development suggests that it is less important, generally, than other aspects of the schooling experience. It may also indicate that leadership development and the attaining of leadership positions may be problematic as well as beneficial for women.

Being able to affirm one's intelligence to oneself and to others is an important trend for both high school and college-vocational institutions. The most similar statement in free responses is that of "being smarter than anyone else." What seems to emerge in the joining of these two findings is the notion that if a woman is going to be openly smart, there is a tendency for her to feel compelled to be outstanding. After all, if you're not outstanding, what justification can there possibly be for not conforming to your prescribed gender role?

While positive identification with other women is only shown at the elementary level through the item analysis, a related situation, being supported by other strong women, is revealed in the open-ended analysis as being present mostly at the college-vocational level. Visible women role models was described as having helped women at all schooling levels.

Perceptions of what was helpful to women which did not fall under any of the five major categories point mostly to situations, influences and interactions outside the schooling domain--money, family, nature, etc. One finding which suggests the failure of schools to respond to women's special needs was the increased number of "nothing" responses. Whereas very few women reported no unmet needs or dissatisfactions, many more claim that nothing helped them to do what they wanted as women (e.g., there was a total of seven responses indicating no dissatisfaction with schooling experiences, while the total of responses stating nothing helped was thirty-six).

It would seem reasonable to conclude from the limited and qualified positive responses following the indicting negative perceptions that schools at all levels have failed to provide curricula, teachers or counselors capable or willing to respond to the needs of women growing up female in an androcentric misogynistic society. What women prescribe for themselves, as part of a woman centered education, will be reviewed in the next section.

#### Feminists' Perceptions of Important Parts of an Education for Women Which Promotes the Development of Women's Potentials

In order to answer the question, what do feminist women perceive as important aspects of an education for women which promotes the development of women's potentials, respondents were asked to visualize an education which would make women strong, independent, confident, competent, and more. They were then asked to select from a list those items which depicted parts of their fantasy. Responses to each item were restricted

to a continuum from very important to unimportant. Many respondents added responses such as definitely not, perhaps, and don't know. The data are discussed mainly in terms of what is perceived as important, with items not indicating a widespread perception of importance being used only to indicate the differentiating elements in selection patterns. One intent of the analysis is to point to ideological foundations in the responses.

The data are presented in several ways. First, perceptions shared by two-thirds of the sample are offered. Then, since the responses "very important" and "important" are compatible, the two categories will be combined and those statements whose important and very important categories together yield a consensual perception (two-thirds or more) are presented. This process reveals the total set of feminists' ideas as to essential features of a desirable educational program for women.

A second presentation of the data is based on grouping the responses into categories similar to those utilized in the previous discussions. In this way, a comparative and inclusive set of implications for women's education can be more easily derived.

Finally, related items which are significantly differentiated in the response patterns are examined in order to highlight criteria used in selecting components. In this way, items identified through other sources and through the previous analyses can be later melded into a more complete answer to the research question.



Consensual Perceptions

The consensual perceptions as to what is very important in educating women are presented in Table XXXVI. Both the absolute frequency of response and the percentage are provided. Because of the large numbers of items feminists perceive as very important, the meaning of each item will be discussed in the context of other related items. The large number of positive responses does suggest that the checklist does reflect issues, conditions, situations important to feminists. This would seem to confirm the appropriateness of having feminists participate initially in developing the questionnaire items.

TABLE XXXVI

Perceptions of What is Very Important

QUES. NO.	STATEMENT	V.IMP. F/%	IMP. F/%	UNIMP. F/%	NR F
5.	The teacher is a feminist.	86 84%	11 11%	4 4%	1
6.	Women are helping one another with various subjects.	83 81%	16 16%	2 2%	2
7.	Learning activities take place in small groups usually.	70 68%	24 23%	7 7%	2
9.	Leadership is shared by the group.	72 70%	24 23%	5 5%	2
10.	Women practice non-traditional female roles.	91 89%	10 10%	1 1%	1
12.	Everyone has a vote.	68 66%	24 23%	3 3%	6
14.	Women take shop (carpentry, mechanics, etc.)	76 74%	23 22%	1 1%	2
15.	Women discuss their mothers' work, lives. . .	70 69%	25 24%	6 6%	2
25.	Women talk about their strengths.	88 86%	11 11%	1 1%	3
26.	Women praise the strengths and abilities of other women.	92 90%	9 9%	0 0%	2

QUES. NO.	STATEMENT	V.IMP. F/%		IMP. F/%		UNIMP. F/%		NR F
27.	Women discuss the need for changed sex roles.	91	89%	9	9%	1	1%	2
28.	Women ask other women, "Can I help you with that?"	75	73%	21	20%	5	5%	2
29.	Women ask other women, "Will you help me with this?"	73	71%	21	20%	6	6%	2
33.	Women are defining life goals.	91	89%	8	8%	1	1%	3
37.	Women examine texts and other books for examples of sex bias.	69	67%	29	28%	2	2%	3
38.	Women learn about their bodies.	90	88%	10	10%	1	1%	3
39.	Young girls and older women work together on a variety of projects.	80	78%	18	18%	2	2%	3
40.	Women are reading biographies of women.	82	80%	18	18%	0	0	3
41.	Women's herstory is an important subject.	87	85%	13	13%	0	0	3
42.	Problems of living in a nuclear family are discussed.	73	71%	23	21%	3	3%	4
43.	Women write and read stories about women in non-traditional roles.	82	80%	18	18%	0	0	3
45.	There is a lot of careful listening.	70	68%	26	25%	3	3%	4
47.	Women are meeting in support groups to talk about problems, fears, needs related to being a woman.	73	71%	20	20%	3	3%	6
48.	Women talk openly about their sexuality.	81	79%	14	14%	1	1%	5
49.	Women are discussing the politics of racism, sexism and capitalism.	82	80%	15	15%	0	0	6
52.	Women talk about celibacy, lesbianism, and bisexuality.	74	72%	25	24%	0	0	4
55.	Counselors encourage women to think about careers.	74	72%	15	15%	6	6%	7
58.	Women talk about alternatives in raising a family.	71	69%	26	25%	0	0	6

QUES. NO.	STATEMENT	V.IMP. F/%	IMP. F/%	UNIMP. F/%	NR F
59.	Women learn to express and channel anger.	79 77%	17 17%	2 2%	5
60.	Women talk about alternatives to marriage.	78 76%	21 20%	0 0	4
61.	Women discuss the viability of a feminist revolution.	68 66%	27 26%	3 3%	5

Additional detail to this sketch of a new educational program for women is afforded by those statements which are perceived as important by at least two-thirds of the sample are listed. These are presented in Table XXXVII.

TABLE XXXVII

## Perceptions of What is Important

ITEM NO.	STATEMENT	V.IMP.	IMP.	TOTAL %	UNIMP.	NR
4.	The teacher is a woman.	53 51%	22 21%	72%	23 22%	2
8.	There is a lot of movement, pantomime, role playing as learning experiences.	44 43%	38 37%	80%	14 14%	3
19.	Decisions are arrived at by consensus.	46 45%	40 39%	84%	12 12%	3
22.	The organization of the school is non-hierarchical with no titles, no pay differential, etc.	51 50%	31 30%	80%	18 18%	3
23.	Women are making films.	42 41%	44 43%	84%	13 13%	5
30.	Men and women share all tasks and activities in the school equally.	67 65%	18 18%	83%	11 11%	6
31.	Men talk about how sex roles oppress them.	57 55%	28 27%	82%	10 10%	5

ITEM NO.	STATEMENT	V.IMP.	IMP.	TOTAL %	UNIMP.	NR
34.	Women build tables, room dividers, and other things needed in the class.	55 53%	33 32%	85%	10 10%	5
36.	Women practice self-defense exercises.	59 57%	35 34%	91%	5 5%	4
44.	Women read books put out by feminist publishers.	67 65%	28 27%	92%	3 3%	4
46.	Women initiate projects in their local community.	64 62%	29 27%	89%	3 3%	3
50.	Women write ideological statements dealing with feminism.	47 46%	35 34%	80%	13 13%	6
51.	Women refer to themselves as feminists.	49 48%	29 28%	76%	16 16%	7
53.	Women study the gynocracies (women dominated societies)	54 52%	35 34%	86%	5 5%	8
54.	Women read research on sex differences.	50 49%	37 36%	85%	9 9%	7
56.	Women hug each other a lot.	45 44%	32 31%	75%	17 17%	8
57.	Women study the herstory of witches.	46 45%	32 31%	76%	18 18%	7
62.	Women help women campaigning for public office.	30 29%	47 46%	75%	18 18%	6
63.	Women from different professions come to talk about career planning.	53 51%	38 37%	88%	6 6%	6
64.	Women work in self-help clinics and rape crisis centers or in other action oriented projects as part of their schooling.	67 65%	27 26%	91%	3 3%	6
67.	Men (boys) take classes in parenting and homemaking.	60 58%	29 28%	86%	6 6%	8
68.	Women pursue science and math.	63 61%	31 30%	91%	3 3%	4

The items presented in Tables XXXVI and XXXVII can be arranged into five categories similar to those used previously. There are some modifications in the categories warranted by the content of this section of the questionnaire. Instead of curriculum, items will be discussed under the heading, Content and Process of the Educational Environment. The emphasis in statements perceived as important is on both how women interact with one another while they learn as well as on very specific aspects of the content. A quick review of the items in Tables XXXVI and XXXVII reveals that respondents are not suggesting new additions to the old curriculum, but an entire recasting of it. A more descriptive heading underscoring this emphasis seems important.

Similarly, statements perceived as very important do not really address teachers' attitudes and behaviors as much as they speak to changed values. The category used in this discussion most directly connected to teachers' interactions with women is Teacher and Institutional Values.

Leadership is expanded through the statements here to include decision-making processes. The category heading is therefore altered to reflect the additional focus, and is labeled Leadership and Decision-Making.

The remaining categories are the same as those employed previously. They are: Counseling, and Identity and Self-Concept as a Woman.

#### Content and Process in The Educational Environment

Having identified those aspects of an educational program for women, perceived by at least two-thirds of the sample to be either

important or very important, pieces can be examined in terms of the desirable schooling experiences they describe. The bulk of the responses fall under what has been referred to as curriculum and what is named, here, Content and Process in the Educational Environment. Table XXXVIII presents those items belonging most appropriately within this category. The statement numbers are listed so that the frequency distribution and percentages can be referred to in Table XXXVI or Table XXXVII. Those items which were perceived as "very important" by two-thirds or more of the respondents are starred.

TABLE XXXVIII

## Content and Process in the Educational Environment

QUES. NO.	QUESTION STATEMENT
* 6.	Women are helping one another with various subjects.
* 7.	Learning activities take place in small groups usually.
8.	There is a lot of movement, pantomime, role playing as learning experiences.
*10.	Women practice non-traditional female roles.
*14.	Women take shop (carpentry, mechanics, etc.)
*15.	Women discuss their mothers' lives, work. . .
23.	Women are making films.
*26.	Women praise the strengths and abilities of other women.
*27.	Women discuss the need for changed sex roles.
*28.	Women ask other women, "Can I help you with that?"
*29.	Women ask other women, "Will you help me with this?"
31.	Men talk about how sex roles oppress them.
34.	Women build tables, room dividers, and other things needed in the class.
36.	Women practice self-defense exercises.
*37.	Women examine texts and other books for examples of sex bias.
*38.	Women learn about their bodies.

QUES. NO.	QUESTION STATEMENT
*39.	Young girls and older women work together on a variety of projects.
*40.	Women are reading biographies of women.
*41.	Women's herstory is an important subject.
*42.	Problems of living in a nuclear family are discussed.
*43.	Women write and read stories about women in non-traditional roles.
44.	Women read books put out by feminist publishers.
*45.	There is a lot of careful listening.
46.	Women initiate projects in their local community.
*48.	Women talk openly about their sexuality.
*49.	Women are discussing the politics of racism, sexism and capitalism.
50.	Women write ideological statements dealing with feminism.
*52.	Women talk about celibacy, lesbianism, and bisexuality.
53.	Women study the gynocracies.
54.	Women read research on sex differences.
57.	Women study the herstory of witches.
*59.	Women learn to express and channel anger.
*61.	Women discuss the viability of a feminist revolution.
62.	Women help women campaigning for public office.
64.	Women work in self-help clinics and rape crisis centers or in other action oriented projects as part of their schooling.
67.	Men (boys) take classes in parenting and homemaking.
68.	Women pursue science and math.

The content of an educational program designed to promote the development of women's potentials, then, covers traditional subjects--sciences and math--but also many non-traditional subjects--carpentry, mechanics, self-defense, women's herstory, women's lives, sex bias, racism, sexism and capitalism, feminist ideology, gynocracies, research on sex differences, wicca, anger, and feminist revolution. The curriculum

emerging here also makes explicit, and treats from a feminist perspective content areas previously implicit or hidden in the traditional curriculum, namely, sex roles, the nuclear family, and sexuality.

Some of the processes identified are traditional reading, writing, discussing, examining, etc. But others reflect important values and demands of feminists. That is, women are depicted as cooperating and helping one another, working in small groups rather than independently, working with and learning from women of different ages, recognizing and praising the abilities of other women, listening to one another, working in the community, building their own environment, practicing new roles and behaviors, making films, participating in learning processes other than traditional verbal ones (e.g., movement and pantomime), role playing and sharing thoughts, feelings and needs, as both legitimate learning process and valid, important content. That close, mirroring relationship between content and process emerges as critical.

#### Teacher and Institutional Values

The content and processes outlined suggest the role and responsibilities of the instructor in creating a learning environment in which the content is available and the processes are modeled and developed. Whereas previous responses have pointed to the teacher as the giver of praise, encouragement, and support, in this projection of an educational program those rewards are shared--both extended and received--by the entire group and are, in fact, implicit in many aspects of the curriculum--the kind of processes and the focus of the content. All things speak to the importance of each woman, her heritage, her needs, her present strengths, and her future. The teacher in this situation is



described, along with the institutional structure, in terms of the values and perspective held and manifested. Hence, this section describes teacher and institutional values. Table XXXIX presents these items.

TABLE XXXIX

Perceptions of Necessary  
Teacher and Institutional Values

QUES. NO.	QUESTION STATEMENT
4.	The teacher is a woman.
* 5.	The teacher is a feminist.
22.	The organization of the school is non-hierarchical with no titles, no pay differential, etc.
30.	Men and women share all tasks and activities in the school equally.

The importance of the teacher's being a feminist is overwhelmingly supported. This is perceived as more important than the teacher's being a woman (having a man as a teacher is reported as definitely unimportant). In turn, this suggests that it is the perspective and values assumed by the label, feminist, that are desired--not merely more women teachers. Rather, the mandate is for a definite point of view on women, their roles, their potentials, their political oppression, etc. The response to the question on a non-hierarchical structure points to the general consensus within the sample group that hierarchical structures are essentially not helpful for women. This finding appears to address, constructively, the problems perceived as resulting from the dominance of patriarchal institutions. The concept of facilitating, instead of instructing, seems more in keeping with the type of interactions described

under curriculum, with the value of non-hierarchical structures supported in this section, and with the shared decision-making outlined below in the section on leadership.

### Leadership and Decision-Making

Since leadership in itself is not always perceived as a positive characteristic, perhaps because leaders have usually been men and leadership has frequently meant manipulation and the exercising of power over other people, leadership as a desirable dimension of the classroom was probed in terms of who should exercise it and how should decisions be made. What emerges from the responses is a collaborative model wherein leadership is shared by everyone and decisions are arrived at by consensus with everyone having a vote. Table XL lists those items classifiable as leadership or decision-making.

TABLE XL

#### Perceptions of Desirable Leadership and Decision-Making Activities

QUES. NO.	QUESTION STATEMENT
* 9.	Leadership is shared by the group.
*12.	Everyone has a vote.
19.	Decisions are arrived at by consensus.

### Counseling

While some questions referring to counseling activities are specific and define counselors' activities, others describe interactions among women themselves and activities which originate as responses to

counseling needs but which address those needs through processes other than one-to-one interactions with a counselor. Thus, the items presented in Table XLI suggest the ways in which women see counseling needs as met under a changed educational program for women.

TABLE XLI

## Perceptions of Desirable Counseling Activities

QUES. NO.	QUESTION STATEMENT
*33.	Women are defining life goals.
*55.	Counselors encourage women to think about careers.
*58.	Women talk about alternatives in raising a family.
*60.	Women talk about alternatives to marriage.
63.	Women from different professions come to talk about career planning.

The fact that all but one of these items is perceived as very important by over two-thirds of the respondents suggests the centrality of these activities. The processes outlined in these statements-- talking about alternatives and defining goals for oneself appear to take precedence over more external strategies. For example, feminists did not find it important to have women who combined marriage and careers, either successfully or unsuccessfully, serve as counselors. This may indicate that the role model notion is somehow less significant than the fostering of discussion and exploration of problem among women.

#### Identity and Self-Concept as a Woman

Most of the concerns previously identified under this heading are addressed through changes prescribed under curriculum content and

processes. Items selected for discussion here are those that identify specific behaviors reflecting feelings about oneself and others which can be understood to emerge from the components described thus far. Table XLII presents these.

TABLE XLII

Perceptions of Important Dimensions  
of Identity and Self-Concept

QUES. NO.	QUESTION STATEMENT
*25.	Women talk about their strengths.
51.	Women refer to themselves as feminists.
56.	Women hug each other a lot.

Warmth, strength, a pride in one's self, a commitment and responsiveness to other women characterize feminists' perceptions of what would be desirable for all women to feel and share as women.

Understanding Some Important Distinctions

One final method of exploring the results of this section of the questionnaire and enriching the answer to the question, what do women see as important components of women's education, is that of comparing similar items where one was selected as important and the other rejected as basically unimportant. In this way, some patterns of selection, and thus criteria for differentiating among items, may become clear.

Three questions were asked pertaining to men and sex roles. Of these three, two are perceived as important. They are: Men talk

about how sex roles oppress them (number 31), and men (boys) take classes in parenting and homemaking (number 67). The one statement which was not accepted as important is, "women help men to understand their sexism." The differentiating factor is fairly obvious. The first two point to men exploring alternatives to current sex roles, thereby supporting women's struggle. Also, by learning skills previously only assigned to females they are preparing to assume more of the responsibilities in the home and, thus, unburden women to a greater extent. The latter question describes women using their time and energy to teach men, which is obviously not as helpful to either as having men do it themselves.

To take another example from the content and processes selected versus those not selected, women did not see the practicing of yoga as important, but did find both self-defense exercises and building tables, room dividers and other things for the environment important. This was one of the few curriculum components not selected and the reason is not so apparent. The rationale behind the two selected is clear. Both teach practical skills useful in everyday life. Both represent activities usually not open to women. Perhaps it is in precisely this that yoga fails to be perceived as important. As a more passive, although physically beneficial, medium, it does not provide a skill outwardly or necessarily strengthening to women. In contrast to other selected activities--making films, pantomime, movement and role-playing, it appears that not only does yoga not teach a practical and previously denied skill, but also it does not allow for the translation of women's experiences into action which is a characteristic shared by all the others. Furthermore, while almost all other activities foster sharing and communication among women, yoga is more inwardly and individually focussed.

Thus far, then, two tentative criteria can be stated. First, to be important, a component must be helpful to women directly--that is, energy expended results in a giving back of something positive in terms of women's needs. Second, content and processes must be directly related to women's needs and experiences, create opportunities for increased sharing and communication, and should allow for the translation of those experiences into action.

In leadership and decision-making, it was agreed that everyone have a vote. At the same time, women rejected the notion of a girl's being elected president of the class. Women who did respond positively to this item frequently added a qualifying statement such as "if there has to be a president." It would seem that the class election situation was perceived as contradicting the notion of leadership being shared. This suggests that by having a vote, competitive use of that vote is not intended. Rather, voting is understood as part of a collaborative and consensual process. A third criterion, then, might be that any component should be harmonious with that collaborative and consensual model.

Two other questions which were not selected and which seemingly point to the same criteria are those depicting women playing with men in team sports and women competing with men for top honors and awards. Despite the earlier emphasis on sports, playing team sports with men was not perceived as important. This suggests that the model being developed here is not based on allowing women to participate equally in what men do (Mother, forbend) but, in fact, on a different and cohesive value structure. It may be that playing with men was perceived as inherently competitive. Or, it may be that the notion was rejected because women

did not see interacting with men in that way as desirable. The second question which suggests competition with men points clearly to women's desire to avoid the competitive traps. Perhaps, in the context of women's lack of support for the idea of discussing their biological superiority, this also indicates that women are interested in building a positive vision for themselves rather than defining their goal as being equal with, opposed to, against, or on top of men.

The set of responses most overwhelmingly rejected were those speaking to the sex breakdown of the school and classroom and in addition, its location. While women did see having a woman as a teacher as important and a feminist as very important and rejected having a man as a teacher (the criteria in that case being evident), they did not see as important either only women being present or both men and women being present. When the questions were rephrased in terms of all female classes and coeducational setting, neither were perceived as important factors. What this suggests is that who is present is not critical. What we make happen to those present is.

Each of the three research questions has been answered. Women's perceptions of positive and negative aspects of the Curriculum, Teachers' Attitudes and Behaviors, Counseling, Leadership, and Identity and Self-Concept development have been presented. Answers as to which aspects of their schooling experiences feminists perceived to have been mostly positive and which mostly negative for them as women have identified existing conditions within the limitations of current schooling patterns and values which are desirable or harmful. Answers as to what would constitute an education for women enabling them to develop their potentials

have provided initial guidelines for framing a program free from the constraints of what is. Such visions play an important part in the development of ideas as well as institutions. In the next chapter, the three separate answers to the research questions will be brought together in a discussion of the implications of the findings for women's education.



## CHAPTER V

### SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

#### Introduction

This chapter summarizes the investigation of feminist women's perceptions of their schooling experiences and their recommendations for new directions in the education of women. Also, implications of the findings are advanced as guidelines for educating women. These implications serve as a first step in the formulation of a feminist ideology for women's education. To provide continuity and congruity between the implications expressed here and the data presented in the previous chapter, the categories of Curriculum, Teacher Attitudes and Behaviors, Counseling, Leadership, and Identity and Self-Concept as a Woman will be used as the means of presentation.

#### Summary

This study explored the changes in the education of females that feminist women considered necessary to foster the development of women's potential. One hundred and fifteen women initially participated. One hundred and three feminist women from various parts of the United States constituted the final sample after non-feminist respondents had been eliminated. The participating women completed and returned a twelve-page questionnaire containing 129 fixed response items and nine open-ended questions eliciting perceptions of elementary, high school, and

post-secondary schooling experiences. The distribution of responses for each item was tabulated and percentages calculated in order to ascertain the degree of consensus in perceptions of positive and negative aspects of previous schooling experiences and in perceptions of desirable components of future schooling programs for women. While responses to the open-ended questions did not yield consensus at a level of sixty-six percent agreement, consensus of perception at that two-thirds agreement level was found for one-sixth of the closed format items. Only these dominant perceptions are summarized here.

The specific research questions that guided the study were:

1. What do feminist women perceive as important aspects of an education for women which promotes the development of their potentials?
2. What aspects of their schooling experiences do feminists perceive as having been mostly positive for them as women?
3. What aspects of their schooling experiences do feminists perceive as having been mostly negative for them as women?

The findings showed consensus of perception for almost one-half (forty-five percent) of the items naming components of a woman's educational program designed to foster women's capabilities. Many of the responses which revealed a dominant perception define areas of new or revised content--racism, capitalism, feminism, celibacy, lesbianism, problems of living in a nuclear family, or women's herstory, for example. Some pointed to the need for different processes and interactions. Among others, feminists felt it was important for young girls and older women to work together, for women to practice new roles, for

women to talk about their individual strengths and those of other women, and for leadership to be shared by the group. Other aspects of schooling found to be significant included a feminist teacher, decision-making by consensus, and extensive counseling, with an emphasis on peer counseling activities.

In reviewing those items to which the combined responses of important and very important comprised over two-thirds of the sample, a concrete and detailed image of a new educational program emerges. In several instances, however, items which were not considered very important or important by two-thirds of the respondents served to highlight the criteria used in selecting important components. In their own way, then, the rejected items were essential to an understanding of what was deemed important.

The data revealed no dominant perceptions of positive aspects of schooling experiences at the elementary, high school, or post-secondary level. All items which yielded a dominant perception, that is agreement by sixty-six percent or more of the sample, described aspects of the schooling environment which were perceived as negative.

Analysis of negative perceptions of schooling experiences indicated that at the elementary level, eighty-nine percent of the sample experienced a lack of interesting and exciting women in the curriculum materials. Another seventy-three percent agreed that teachers failed to encourage girls as much as boys in engaging in active physical learning activities. Another seventy percent of the respondents recalled teachers who reinforced separate and sex-appropriate spheres of behavior, attitude and expectation.

While no single item at the high school level received as high a degree of consensus as eighty-nine percent, there were more items reaching the level of a dominant perception. Both the exclusion of women from the curriculum and teachers' expectations of masculine men and feminine women are repeated at the high school level as consensual perceptions of negative conditions. Added to these were perceptions of sex differentiated physical education programs and the failure of the schools to teach women to develop strong and healthy bodies. The lack of encouragement to consider traditionally male careers also emerged as a frequently shared perception (sixty-seven percent).

This lack of encouragement to explore male careers also appeared at the post-secondary level as a dominant perception. The only other item attaining a level of significance is that concerning men in leadership roles. That men dominated such positions was perceived as true and negative by seventy-three percent of the sample.

Responses to many items about previous schooling, while not yielding dominant perceptions, do indicate the desirability of aspects of schooling at a level of agreement that merits attention. For example, the respondents did not agree at the set level of consensus (sixty-six percent) in response to the item: "Boys and girls participated in the same extra-curricular activities on an equal basis." Yet, the trend of perceptions are complementary, not contradictory. All those who found the item to be true felt it was positive and the overwhelming majority (eighty-five percent) of those who found it to be false felt it was negative. This suggested that participation in extra-curricular activities on an equal basis is desirable and, hence, perceived at a level of consensus as positive.

Responses to the open-ended questions failed to provide dominant perceptions. They did, however, provide additional meaning as direct recollections of experiences stated in women's own words. While recognizing that one woman's stated experience is no base from which to generalize about women's schooling experiences--it is important to see the open-ended responses as points from which to extrapolate what would be beneficial for women, what harmful. It is for these functions that they have been presented in detail and are utilized in the discussion of implications.

In some cases, the lack of dominant perceptions or clear trends isolated areas of conflict. For example, the item: "I considered myself to be very feminine," showed conflicting perceptions. Considering oneself to be feminine was perceived as false and negative, true and negative, and false and positive, with the number of false and negative (twenty-three) and true and negative (twenty-two) responses nearly equal in all cases. Items which resulted in such contradictory responses were found to isolate what may be the most problematic dilemmas for women--the damned-if-you-do-or-don't crunches. Although these failed to show dominant perceptions through statistical analyses, their importance can be understood through qualitative analysis. Some dilemmas reflected in the data are: concealing or showing one's smartness; considering oneself to be feminine; and selecting characteristics of female classmates to admire.

#### Implications

In Chapter IV, responses to the questionnaire were reported as distinct answers to the three major research questions. At this point,

the findings are conjoined within the overriding purpose of this study, the exploration of necessary changes in women's education from a feminist perspective. Both the quantitative and qualitative analyses designate implications.

One issue which underlies the implications presented here is that the items concerning past experiences centered on three distinct stages of schooling while questions concerning the vision of a new educational environment for women did not. It was believed that it would be unwieldy for respondents to envision, within the confines of a questionnaire, an entire educational program at each stage of schooling. Also, it was predicted that connections among needs, dissatisfactions, and negative conditions identified through responses to similar items for different levels would portray interlocking patterns of problematic areas for women. The resulting patterns, combined with perceptions about new directions for women's education, generate implications for important changes.

The problems identified at each level through the item analysis could be used to define more specific and immediate objectives and points for educational reform. That step is not included within this study. The aim here was not a plan for improving current school curricula, but conceptualizing an educational program to foster the development of women's potential. Thus, in discussing implications of the findings for change in the curriculum, specific content changes at varied stages of schooling, such as might be derived from the item analysis for each level of schooling, are not addressed. Rather, the broader implications of change are discussed.

As guiding assertions, aims and values for educating women derived from the responses of 103 feminist women, the implications presented here constitute an initial formulation of elements of feminist ideology for women's education. They suggest key elements of a socio-political program.

The purpose of an ideology, generally, is to aid decision-making. It defines certain goals, articulates basic assumptions, sets forth the supporting funded knowledge. Transposed into the field of education an ideology governs decision-making at the highest level: What are the goals of education; what are the purposes of the educational institution?

Some obvious problems remain. First, while feminism had been defined as change in the organization and status of women, the precise processes and outcomes of that reorganization and change of status for women and for this society are currently unknown. Some means-ends can be identified, non-hierarchy, for example, but a description of what non-hierarchy would look like in society is probably only available to the most creative of minds. In most cases, the means-ends of feminism are not definitively or correctly known. We define many of our important goals in "non" terms; non-hierarchical, non-competitive, non-oppressive, etc. We are sure there are concepts for which we yet lack any label. Clear and widely shared short and long term goals--both their separate definitions and their interaction--are not easily expressed amidst unknowns. So, many of us seek to hold before us undefined ideas, attempting through research, struggle and intuition to help them take shape; Female Principle, gynocracy, feminist revolution (to name only a few). This is feminism for many women these days: a painful struggle to find, recognize, name, and explore women's own alternatives to and within this

society. The unknowns, the search for the names and meaning of the alternatives embraced by diverse feminist perspectives are revealed in the implication that willingness to quest is important. Where the implications seem general or open-ended that does not mean a failing of the ideology.

A second problem underlying the presentation of implications is that of ideological differences within the Women's Movement. These differences are apparent in even the most cursory survey of feminist writings. Feminism was purposely defined in this study so that women of varying ideological positions could be included in the sample. The implications for women's education reflect shared ideological tenets. It is likely that beyond those shared perceptions each woman has elements of her own feminist ideology which are not included in the implications. It is therefore important to recognize that these implications represent the translation of only some tenets of feminism into women's education.

#### Implications for the Curriculum

It is important to note that the changes described here are not those which can be attained by the purchasing of new non-sexist readers or by the addition of a new course to the traditional curriculum. They do not constitute a clamoring for equality. Instead, the suggested changes support woman-centered concepts of the educational process. It is not a design for an educational program for all people, though it may model such a program. It is a vision of what one sex--denied a past, a voice in the present, and a hope for the future and offered instead the confining myths of motherhood and femininity--needs in order to grow fully and to develop in this society.



The changes demanded in schools' curricula will be discussed in two parts. First, changes in curricular content will be offered. Second, critical changes in the learning processes and the characteristics of the learning environment will be presented.

### Content Changes

The changes in curriculum content which are directly stated or inferred from statements of dissatisfactions and unmet needs can be understood within the framework of three interconnected types of content: that having practical value; that aiming at political and social change consciousness; and that connecting with one's life.

Agreement that carpentry and mechanics and self-defense would be studied suggests the significance of the practical value dimension. The needs implicit in the selection of these components (ninety-six percent and ninety-one percent respectively) and directly expressed through statements of unmet needs and dissatisfactions (Tables VII and XV) support the development of concrete skills necessary to control elements of one's daily physical environment. To be sure, this is a goal of many courses. The implication here is that it is an important goal for women who, as a group, have not been the designated and approved recipients of such learning in the past. It is hardly innovative to suggest that people be taught basic living and survival skills--household maintenance, electrical repair, auto mechanics, for example. It becomes much more so to demand that those skills be developed among a group normally and overtly denied them. It becomes political and potentially revolutionary when one examines the learning of such skills by women in

the context of assumed biological femininity or in the context of the notion that such knowledge is power. Have our schools, with the sanction of society, really forbade women even the choice for such basic control over their environment? The findings here imply that they have.

A second dimension of the curriculum, which comes into focus as needs and new directions are identified, is that of political and social change consciousness. Proposed content change assumes, fosters or emerges from changed or changing economic, political and social systems. Sometimes the political dimension is rather submerged as in the case of studying women's herstory, wicca or the evidence of the gynocracies. Through this content, women are afforded the opportunity to explore and develop connections with their past, with models of different life styles, and martyrs of political and religious principles opposed by patriarchal authority. The content and the personal identification it allows are inherently political. That politicization generates and nurtures ideas for social change.

In other instances, as with the study of racism, sexism and capitalism, feminist revolution, non-traditional gender roles, and community action projects such as medical self-help clinics or rape crisis centers, the development of political and social change awareness is clear. The implication for educating women which surfaces here is that part of an education which makes women strong is providing for a connection with one's heritage as a woman, an understanding of social economic, religious, and political structures as they affect women and society in the present, and participation in building and exploring alternatives for the future.

The third aspect of the curriculum, emphasized both through statements of needs and agreement on important new components for women's education, is applicability to one's current experiences. This is manifest in the need for exploring the range and meaning of sexuality, learning about one's own body, dealing with anger, discussing problems of living in a nuclear family, practicing non-traditional roles, and examining one's mother's life. The significant implications for educating women is simply that their bodies, their sexuality, alternatives in life styles and living arrangements, and the lives of important women around them constitute meaningful content in which learning should not be minimized or denied, but encouraged.

Two aspects of the existing traditional curriculum are cited as being important for women. One is physical education. The other is science, including math. The implication for females' physical education is that the basic goals, attitudes and values of athletic programs would be supportive of women. An appreciation for strong and healthy bodies as a long range goal is called for: Women want to be physically competent, to be secure in their bodies' capabilities. More opportunities for women to become involved in physical education programs, encouragement for their participation, and recognition and development of women's abilities and interests in physical activities suggest the changes implied by responses to both open and closed format questions. Another implication to be drawn from the sheer numbers of negative responses concerning physical education would be that this is an issue around which wide-scale support for change could be gained within local communities.

Science and math are mentioned in open-ended statements as problematic subjects for women. In a vision of an education aimed at

strengthening women, the pursuit of science and math is cited by ninety-one percent of the sample as being important or very important. Since science and math courses are usually sufficiently plentiful in the curriculum, the issue is not, directly, availability. The implication is that genital sex, as the criterion for assuming math and science aptitude and competency, must be eliminated. Stated positively, the implication is that women be encouraged and reinforced for developing their knowledge, interests and abilities in science and mathematics.

#### Processes and Interaction in the Learning Environment

In an article entitled "Reflections on Teaching Women's History," Janet Fireman outlines several problems arising from the teaching of such a course. She names as concerns, fair grading, expectations of a "liberationist" perspective, emotionalism, and having to stay ahead of her students, or as she quotes, "All you need to know to teach a dog a trick is a little more than the dog."<sup>1</sup> She finds that when "contemporary understanding," "consciousness awareness," or personal identification seem on the verge of erupting, it is necessary that she, "reassume the position of professor, pronounced master of the proceedings, dominant figure, leader, male-type authoritarian. . . . I guess I fear the revolution will come into my classroom. . . ." <sup>2</sup> Her reflections are offered here as

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<sup>1</sup>Janet R. Fireman, "Reflections on Teaching Women's History: First Down and Goal to Go!" Journal of the West, Volume XII, Number 2, April, 1973, p. 209.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

an example of why curricular content changes can not stand alone as responses to the needs identified by women in this study. A women's history course taught within the framework identified by Dr. Fireman would not be congruent with the direction of the changes implied by the findings of this study. Process is content, modifies content, articulates content. Implied by the findings of this study is the centrality of certain processes to the educating of women.

The learning environment depicted by selected components reveals a great deal of caring and respect: Women are offering help; working together with other women; listening carefully; praising others' strengths, hugging one another. Affection openly displayed is perceived as an important aspect of the environment. For women, liking other women and physically displaying that feeling constitutes a denial of old myths and taboos. One implication, then, is that liking other women, being affectionate with women, and respecting women is essential for a woman's own growth.

Trust also characterizes the interactions among women as they talk openly and freely ask for help when it is needed. The implication is that these supportive non-competitive modes of interacting also are central to the development of women's potentials.

A further implication is that the values by which respect for another is awarded are altered. Respect is not gained by being the "rugged individualist," by standing apart and independent of others--neither seeking help nor sharing one's own knowledge. Rather, respect is gained by being able to ask for help, to admit needs, to recognize one's own strengths but also those of others. It is gained by being

able to integrate individual needs and solutions with those of the group in which one participates.

Since importance is placed on the individual's interactions within a group, learning processes must reflect that emphasis. One implication to be drawn from the learning opportunities supported by respondents is that becoming strong, competent and capable in the sense intended is not an outcome of listening to lectures on the subject of feminism or reading biographies of famous women. Rather, it is understood as an outcome of translating new knowledge into new behaviors. The reflexively coherent processes proposed by the respondents are those which call for active learning--initiating and participating in local community projects, working with women in the local community, filming, role playing, building, developing non-verbal modes of communication, working collaboratively, sharing ideas through writing as well as discussion. The implication for change is precisely what Dr. Fireman feared. It is bringing the revolution into the classroom.

One broad implication to be drawn from the above is that women's studies is not the answer if all that title means is new content. It is essential to find new ways of structuring the environment so that non-competitive modes of learning and opportunities for supporting and being supported by other women evolve.

The women participating in this study have lived, worked and been schooled in an environment which values and fosters competition, isolation, possessiveness of ideas, things, and people, and self-sufficiency. They are as a group trying to unlearn the system and to explore alternatives, but there are few operating models. So, while many women

know that they don't value competitiveness and believe that it's opposite is more desirable, it is difficult to translate that belief into the full range of behaviors implied: What does non-competitiveness look like? The items identified through the questionnaire which suggest a non-competitive atmosphere begin only to sketch the dimensions of the change. The full implications and ramifications of a non-competitive environment are unknown. One implication for educating women is simply that the exploration of those unknowns is critical. A further implication is that a tolerance for lacking the "correct" answer, a willingness to risk failure and to share the learning arising from that failure with other women must also be developed. These radical changes in the schooling environment and, particularly in the norms for interactions among learners, call for extensive changes in the role of the teacher. New definitions of that role, new responsibilities, new values are all implied.

#### Implications for Teacher Attitudes and Behavior

Changes in teachers' behaviors and attitudes can be directly derived from changes described in the learning environment. The clear implication is that the teacher must be capable of creating an atmosphere of caring, respect and trust. The teacher must be able to foster a non-competitive atmosphere, and hold such a task as a goal.

Another important implication derived from the processes and interactions described above is that teachers would no longer be the sole givers of valued rewards and support. Instead, a peer and self-support system is implied. Consonant with this is the shared belief

that the school should operate on a non-hierarchical basis. The implication is that the teacher's role as an "authority" is eliminated. Since most of the items describing possible aspects of a new schooling program for women were stated in terms of what the learners rather than the teachers would be doing, desired teacher attitudes and behaviors must be deduced from two selected items: (1) that the teacher be female; and (2) that the teacher be a feminist. Perceptions of previous teachers' positive and negative behaviors and attitudes at different schooling levels also serve to identify desirable characteristics.

One implication of the support for the feminist teacher is that there are some values inherent in feminism which must pervade any educational program for women. It can be assumed that feminism is perceived as supporting previously identified values--non-competitiveness and non-hierarchical structures, for example. Since the primary demand was that the teacher be a feminist (the sex of the teacher being perceived as less important), it is clear that the values implied by the term feminism are perceived as more significant components than the teacher's being female. An effeminist male, holding a commitment to the values and goals described by the respondents, would be acceptable--values being the differentiating criterion.<sup>3</sup>

Some important teacher behaviors are described only in negative terms. That is, respondents identified the specific undesirable attitudes and behaviors, those related to expectations and enforcement of femininity, for example, but did not describe the inverse. The direct

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<sup>3</sup>The best description of effeminism is found in an article by Kenneth Pitchford entitled "Faggot Militants: From Sexual Liberation to Revolutionary Effeminism," The Double-F Journal, No. 1, Summer, 1972.



implication in this case is that teachers should not enforce femininity and female role constraints. The more indirect implications, derived from the negative description, but also from women's perceptions of experiences are that teachers must: encourage independence; encourage female students to recognize and develop their abilities; expect female students to perform at the highest level of their abilities; challenge women's abilities; accept and encourage female students' intellectual ability; take the ideas and concerns of their women students seriously.

Another dimension of teacher behavior implicit in perceptions of positive teacher behaviors and the learning environment described is that of responsiveness to, and concern for, individual students. For many women, it was one teacher's personal interest in and concern for them that helped. That's a flimsy life line for over half the population. While it is clear that in the proposed educational environment, responsiveness and concern for individual women would not be dependent upon the teacher alone, an implication for immediate intervention is identified.

#### Implications for Counseling

Some implications for counseling are obvious: personal as well as vocational and career counseling must be provided; planning for future schooling must be supported; processes of life planning and the defining of personal goals must be taught; and choices, knowledge of one's options should be stressed.

Other important changes are implied not in the focus or improvement of counseling services but in who actually counsels. Many of the

counseling functions are seen as occurring within peer groups through discussion of personal experiences, concerns, and possible alternatives. Beyond the implication that some counseling be undertaken at the peer level is the implication that processes to support that function be taught.

Another change in counseling method is indicated by the support for "practicing non-traditional roles" and role playing generally. The implication there is that women need not only an intellectual awareness of their choices, but also opportunities to test those for themselves in a supported situation.

#### Implications for Leadership

Women found learning to be verbally assertive, achieving recognition and leadership positions helpful. They found having boys in leadership roles negative. One implication to be derived from those findings is that women need opportunities to "lead." However, women also rejected the election of a girl to class president as a characteristic of an educational program designed to foster women's development. Furthermore, women stated that leadership shared by the group was a desirable component. It is the gap between what was perceived as having "helped" in the past and what was perceived as desirable for women in the future that identifies the significant changes to be made. The implication is that while leadership is a viable concept, "leader" is not. In other words, leadership as a function of certain skills that can be learned and utilized by all members of a group at varying times to varying degrees is desirable. In that context, women can learn and practice

useful skills such as verbal assertiveness. But the notion of a leader who takes sole responsibility and credit for leadership behaviors is unacceptable. This is consistent with the expressed support for non-hierarchical structures as well.

Another important implication derived from support for consensual decision-making and voting is that the process of decision-making and participation in decision-making is critical. Again, the emphasis is on shared participation rather than individual control and power.

#### Implications for Identity and Self-Concept Issues

The findings of this study confirm Broverman and others' hypothesis that femininity is in conflict with socially valued traits and perceptions of self-worth.<sup>4</sup> The implication here is that femininity as a standard by which women assess themselves must be eliminated; that one cannot foster the development of women's potential and at the same time seek to help women adjust to being submissive, dependent, fearful, indecisive, and not smarter than men. Instead, the implication is that women must develop positive feelings about their individual intelligence as well as intelligence as a right and characteristic of their sex.

It is a serious reflection on our schools that, because they were bright, so many women have had to struggle to come to terms with their identity and to achieve a semblance of a positive self-concept.

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<sup>4</sup>Inge K. Broverman et al., "Sex-Role Stereotypes and Clinical Judgements of Mental Health," Readings on the Psychology of Women, edited by Judith Bardwick, New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1972.

Implied in this is the teaching of the notion that intelligence is not determined by genital sex. In other words, the implication is that women must be taught that it is man who has attributed to his sex power, authority, brains, and that the rights and privileges assumed exist only as long as they remain unchallenged.

For the most part, the implications of this study do not concern women in relation or comparison to men. Rather, they focus on women--the changes seen as necessary to support their growth, the changes in their identifications as women resulting from a supportive and strengthening environment. This emphasis on women and their interactions with one another is clear in the items on affection between women, the frequency of perceptions of relationships with other women as being critically helpful (see Table XXXIV, "What Helped"). The implication drawn from these responses as well as from the negative responses to the constraints of the female gender role, competition between women, and the social pressures that women need to see themselves as independent from men, that is, not only in relation to them. A further implication is that relationships between women would be increasingly valued and definitely fostered.

An outcome of this and an additional implication is that women would be able to identify positively with other members of their sex. This would constitute a major change for women who have frequently had to protest their not being like other females. Certainly, the conflicting responses to the item, "Classmates that I identified as having characteristics I admired and wanted to adopt tended to be female," while reflecting that such identification is possible, also indicate that

identification has been problematic for many women. In the past, the implication for change based on such a finding would be aiding women to adjust to their femininity and role. Here, the implication is that the concept of femininity, the definition of gender roles, and the association of traits with the female sex need drastic revision in terms of real women's real needs, traits, abilities, etc. Again, it is no longer acceptable to define women by the opposites of what men ascribe to their sex or by whatever is left of the humble pie.

The implication of the importance of women's referring to themselves as feminists is that women need to be able to name themselves independently of a male definition. It also implies an act of affirmation, of one's pride, strength and identification as a woman while at the same time acknowledging a connection with and caring for other women. It is a statement of unity rather than competitiveness or isolation. It is also an expression of commitment to radical change in the political, social, economic, and religious structures of society. The implication is that unity is important for women and further, that together women can gain the strength to create alternative institutions.

#### General Implications

Since no questions revealed a dominant positive perception, and since all perceptions receiving two-thirds agreement were negative, and that of sixty items less than one-third received even a majority of positive responses, it becomes clear that the women sampled are more dissatisfied than pleased by their schooling experiences. Without falling prey to the sin of overgeneralization, one could deduce from the data that

some educational institutions in various parts of the nation fail to meet important needs of some women.

Schooling, which inculcates cultural values, is a political tool. Schools are institutions which both reflect and teach "the culture." While schooling may not be liberating for either sex, it has been particularly damaging for women. Learning that boys don't cry is, indeed, limiting for males. But learning that girls are dumb is ultimately more damaging for women as a sex.<sup>5</sup> The implication that schooling must be changed is clear. The changes demanded in curriculum, teachers, counseling, learning processes, support for self-development are not easily made. Surface changes--new texts, bulletin boards on women's careers--won't achieve the sociopolitical goals expressed here. The implications speak to revolution--structural, economic, emotional, value, social, religious, and political. It is for this reason that feminists must begin to articulate at the schooling levels where profound changes are expressed and disseminated, the translation of their feminist ideology into an ideology for women's education.

Women must begin, as respondents in this study did, by translating their ideology into educational programs. Feminists must utilize schools as their own political tool, as an agent of change for women's political ends, and as a transmitter of feminist values. This translation must be the outcome of a rigorous and careful transposing of feminist ideology into feminist education. Short term changes and "equality" cannot answer women's educational needs.

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<sup>5</sup>Most of us have learned not to confuse the damage to the sensibilities and souls of racists by their racism with the powerful social psychological, economic and political effects of racism on Third World peoples: Just so with sexists and their sexism.

### Implications for Further Feminist Research

The review of the literature has suggested several implications for feminist research. First, the review of the literature on sex differences pointed to the need for research which focusses on discovering or disproving the existence of any biological differences between all men and women that would necessitate differentiated sex roles. Such research has been lacking and its nonexistence has conveniently served patriarchal political ends.

Second, the review of the literature on sex differences revealed the need for research which explores the interactive effects of institutions and sex roles. That is, research could be useful in describing how institutions participate in teaching, perpetuating, or prescribing "sex differences," and in turn, what behaviors represent responses to perceived sex role expectations. The specification of this interaction as a social problem could, additionally, locate points for effective social intervention and change.

Finally, the review of the literature clearly disclosed a lack of attention or commitment to female learners' needs. Research founded upon a belief in women's potential to participate fully in all sectors of this society must be undertaken if the damage of past androcentric research is to be redressed.

Some implications for further research can be drawn from the limitations of the present study. For example, this investigation was concerned only with the perceptions of feminist women, with feminism defined so as to be inclusive of many points of view. A study to explore shared perceptions of desirable schooling components among feminists and effeminists

or among feminists of varying ideological positions would serve to increase our understanding of how feminist ideology may be translated into a feminist ideology for women's education. Such an investigation is suggested by the limited range of the sample in terms of age, educational level, and ethnic identification. It is also suggested by the lack of information provided as to the ideological positions represented by the sample. Future studies which would seek not only wider ranges of characteristics among the sample, but which would seek also to describe more fully those characteristics are also implied.

While this study used demographic data on the participants only for descriptive purposes, future feminist studies which would attempt to correlate responses concerning women's education with age, ascribed class, educational level, income level, and life style could increase our understanding of the diversity of views within shared demographic positions, or the unity of vision among women who are different in many respects. We need to be able to name ourselves and our ideas in such a way that we can embrace and learn from whatever patterns exist among us.

The data of this investigation were limited by the distance imposed by a questionnaire format. In particular, the items on leadership, teacher preference, and femininity which resulted in conflicting responses, require additional investigation in order to isolate what about them is positive and what negative for many women. Future studies should carefully consider creative ways of blending questionnaire and interview techniques.

The one-time questionnaire format also fails to allow for the in-depth understanding of the fluid developmental nature of a growing feminism in a patriarchal society. Change in oneself, in one's understanding of



personal, political and social meanings of feminism and changes in one's feminist vision are central to what is termed "consciousness raising." A feminist vision of education can not be static. It can only be minimally articulated through a single questionnaire. Further research could add to our understanding of feminism as well as to processes of translating that vision into educational terms by undertaking, in longitudinal studies or case histories, the study of feminists concerned with women's education.

The dilemma revealed in the study is that of seeking to express a vision but being constrained to employ a single, printed, codable instrument. The entire field of research would benefit by research on how to facilitate imagining so that many women's visions could be communicated, synthesized and disseminated. Certainly, feminists need to experiment with ways of gathering our collected and collective visions. Current methodologies seem inappropriate and new conceptualizations are required if feminist goals are to be served by research.

A final set of implications are derived from the findings of this study which only began an articulation of needed changes in educating women. This study sought to identify needed changes in women's schooling through an analysis of adult women's remembrances of their schooling experiences. A study which using these perceptions as a base, explored current students' perceptions of what is positive and negative, and which through its design mitigated the good-girl syndrome, would be particularly useful in identifying and advocating specific changes within schools.

The need for experimental and descriptive studies serving to articulate the meaning and impact of non-hierarchical, egalitarian structures emerges strongly from the respondents' emphasis on non-hierarchy as

a goal and from its unknownness. Without narrowing the possibilities or projecting a correct view, such descriptive and experimental research could help us all in what is an ideologically common but geographically isolated struggle to create alternatives to current structures.

Descriptive studies and case studies of feminist schooling, wherever it is happening, emerging, or being planned are critically needed. Both the review of the literature and the gap between what women perceived as true of their schooling and what they perceived as desirable elements for schooling women support this implication for research.

Finally, research must be unburdened of the bias and confines of past androcentric research--its assumptions, findings, tone, style, and methodology as necessary. Perhaps the strongest and most pervasive implication for further research is that it be controlled and directed by feminist values, goals, assertions, and aims and be undertaken in direct and positive response to a personal and political vision of change in women's role and influence in this society.

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A P P E N D I C E S

## APPENDIX A

## Letter Requesting Help in Developing Questionnaire

October 10, 1972

Dear Sisters,

I am currently in the process of developing a questionnaire which will be used to gather information on what changes in education FEMINISTS think are necessary based on their own experiences in schools and their FEMINIST perception of women's potential, emerging roles, life patterns, and needs. The information collected will be used as the basis for my doctoral dissertation.

I want to make sure I ask the right questions--the ones that will result in data from which I can draw conclusions about what needs to be done to make schools future oriented healthy places for females. I need your help.

Please look at the questions below. Essentially, I'm asking you to tell me what question you would ask another woman if you wanted to find out what changes in education she would recommend, based on her personal experiences and her concerns as a feminist. If you could take ten minutes to jot down some suggestions, I'd appreciate your contribution. Don't censor yourself. The questions don't have to be smoothly worded.

Your responses can be dropped off at the Valley Women's Center, Everywoman's Center, my box in Room 126 of the School of Education, or at 264 Main Street, Easthampton. If you're interested in what I'm doing and have some ideas, suggestions, concerns--whatever--I'd like to hear from you. I can be reached at 527-6957 or 545-2047.

Many thanks for your help,

Kathryn Girard

WHAT QUESTIONS DO YOU THINK IT WOULD BE IMPORTANT TO ASK CONCERNING WOMEN'S PAST EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCES AND SUGGESTED AREAS FOR CHANGE?

(use your own experiences in schools to guide you. Think about what question you would ask other women about their school experiences--all levels.)

CAN YOU THINK OF A (SOME) QUESTION(S) WHICH WOULD DIFFERENTIATE BETWEEN FEMINISTS AND NON-FEMINIST?

## APPENDIX B

Important Aspects of Women's Education As  
Identified by Feminists and Other Experts  
on Women's Education

## INCLUSIVE LIST OF AREAS IDENTIFIED BY FEMINISTS AND EXPERTS

1. Counseling
2. Attitudes, Assumptions, Encouragement/Discouragement  
academic  
personal
3. Curriculum  
courses offered  
content within courses  
learning opportunities  
values in the curriculum
4. Values  
in elementary school  
in high school  
in college
5. Sex Differences in Interests and Abilities  
own sense of  
teacher behavior based on  
peer expectation of
6. Alternatives  
educational  
life
7. Career-Marriage Conflict  
preparation for  
occurrence of
8. Evaluation  
manner of--report cards, etc.  
type of (style or content)  
focus of  
feelings about
9. Verbal Expression of Ideas  
frequency  
quality  
feelings about
10. Continuing Education  
content  
process  
value of
11. Teacher Attitudes  
supportive  
encouraging  
discouraging  
toward individuals  
toward sex groups
12. Coeducation  
at what level  
with what effects
13. Peer Interaction  
recess  
lunch  
conformity  
status  
clothing as it affected
14. Extra-Curricular Activities  
participation in  
personal-skill development  
through
15. Physical Education  
sex differences in requirements  
restrictions  
importance of

16. Teacher Sex
  - preference for males or females
  - on teacher's part
17. Leadership
  - own participation
  - sex dominance
  - type of
  - response to
18. Identity and Self-Concept
  - when
  - with what sense
  - with what help, support
19. Models
  - available through course content
  - among teachers
  - among peers
  - what effect on you



## APPENDIX C

## The Five Major Question Categories

## CATEGORIES AND THEIR DEFINING ELEMENTS

## I. CURRICULUM

goals, learning opportunities, evaluation,<sup>1</sup> values, extra-curricular activities, content organization, coeducation, physical education

## II. TEACHER ATTITUDES

teacher sex

## III. IDENTITY AND SELF-CONCEPT

when, with what support, with what feelings, peer interaction, sex differences, models

## IV. COUNSELING

academic, personal, attitudes, assumptions, career-marriage conflicts, alternatives

## V. LEADERSHIP

verbal expression of ideas, own participation, sex dominance, type of response to

---

<sup>1</sup>Those items underlined refer to items in addition to the major headings, which were listed as categories in Appendix B.

## APPENDIX D

List of Non-Behavioral Statements  
Developed from Categories

## CATEGORIES AND STATEMENTS

## I. CURRICULUM

teacher direction of my educational goals  
 self-direction of educational goals  
 type of evaluation of my work  
 manner of evaluating my work  
 my feelings about being evaluated  
 my feelings about the evaluation  
 what was being evaluated  
 values taught within the classroom  
 extra-curricular activities  
 course content  
 you as a learner  
 learning methods within the classroom  
 coeducational physical education

## II. TEACHER ATTITUDES

influence of teacher's sex  
 positive teacher attitudes toward you  
 positive teacher attitudes toward sex group  
 negative teacher attitudes toward you  
 negative teacher attitudes toward sex group

## III. IDENTITY AND SELF-CONCEPT

awareness of myself as "woman"  
 feelings about myself as "female"  
 my status within the classroom  
 conformity  
 interactions with peers during recess and lunch  
 my sense of sex differences  
 influence on me of others' assumptions about sex differences  
 identification of role models found through course content  
 identification of role models found among your peers

## IV. COUNSELING

academic counseling you experienced  
 personal counseling you experienced

academic counseling not given to you  
lack of personal counseling  
attitudes of counselors toward you  
assumptions guiding counselors  
preparation for making life decisions  
preparation for making career-marriage plans  
awareness of alternatives in educational opportunities  
awareness of alternatives in life styles

#### V. LEADERSHIP

sex dominance in leadership roles  
your ability to verbally express your own ideas  
frequency of your verbal expression  
your feelings about your verbalizing

## APPENDIX E

Example of First Comprehensive List of Questions  
Stated for the Elementary Level

## QUESTIONS FOR THE ELEMENTARY LEVEL

1. I felt comfortable expressing my ideas non-verbally in the classroom.
2. I felt confident in verbally expressing my ideas in class.
3. I knew boys were smarter than girls.
4. Most initiative and leadership in the classroom was taken by boys.
5. I was a leader in my classes.
6. I had teachers who I admired and wanted to be like.
7. I enjoyed doing the things girls were supposed to do.
8. I was aware that boys and girls do different things.
9. Peers that I admired and wanted to be like were usually boys.
10. I had close girl friends.
11. During recess, boys and girls would play together.
12. I felt pressured to underplay and hide my achievement in school.
13. I was pressured to conform to my teacher's ideas of what girls should be and do.
14. As I began to develop physically, I liked being a girl.
15. Most teachers seemed to prefer their male students.
16. My teachers encouraged me to be independent and creative.
17. Boys and girls did the same things in gym classes.
18. Girls were disciplined in the same manner as were boys.
19. My teachers made it clear that boys should be boys and girls should be girls.

20. I went to a coeducational elementary school.
  21. I participated in physical learning activities (building, experimenting) as much as boys.
  22. I was given as much individual attention when needed as boys.
  23. Women we read and studied about were as interesting as the men.
  24. I was expected to be as competent and capable of learning as boys in all academic areas.
  25. I was encouraged to develop and be proud of a strong healthy body.
  26. I was helped to be aggressively articulate in the classroom.
  27. I was taught to value the position of wife and mother.
  28. Many of the "heroes" presented in the classroom were women I could identify with.
  29. Women were depicted in a variety of roles in the classroom.
  30. Expectations for my work were right for my interests and abilities.
  31. The same standards were used to evaluate boys and girls.
  32. I was excluded from taking some courses on the grounds that girls are not interested in those subjects or that they're not important for girls.
  33. Boys and girls participated in the same extra-curricular activities on an equal basis.
  34. (write your own)
  35. (write your own)
- A. As a girl in elementary school, the most important educational need of mine that was not met was. . .
  - B. As I look back on my elementary schooling experiences, the thing that most helped do what I wanted as a woman was. . .
  - C. The aspect of my elementary schooling experience with which I am most dissatisfied in terms of my being female is. . .

Any other comments about your elementary schooling?

## APPENDIX F

First Draft of Statements Projecting  
Desirable Aspects of a New Education for Women

DIRECTIONS: Take a few minutes and imagine what an educational program for women that is designed to make them strong would be like. Let your fantasy take you where it may. Then look through the list which follows and check off those things that you think would be an IMPORTANT PART OF AN EDUCATION WHICH MAKES WOMEN STRONG. Add anything else that you think is important but which is not listed. Modify items below so that they reflect your ideas.

AN EDUCATION WHICH MAKES WOMEN STRONG WOULD BE ONE IN WHICH:

- only women are present
- men and women (boys and girls) are present
- the teacher is a man
- the teacher is a woman
- the teacher is a feminist
- people are helping one another with different subjects
- things happen in small groups for the most part
- most things are done by groups rather than individuals
- there is a lot of movement, pantomime, role playing as learning exercises
- there is no visible leadership
- women practice assuming non-traditional female roles
- a woman (girl) is elected president of the class
- everything is decided democratically
- women take shop (carpentry, mechanics)
- women compete with men in team sports
- women are making films about their mothers' work, lives

- \_\_\_ things are decided by consensus
- \_\_\_ women are educated in same sex schools
- \_\_\_ women are educated in same sex classes
- \_\_\_ women go to school in a women's collective
- \_\_\_ women go to school in a women's center
- \_\_\_ women are competing for the top grades and honors
- \_\_\_ women identify with their fathers as role models
- \_\_\_ students are saying "can I help you with that"
- \_\_\_ students are asking "will you help me with this"
- \_\_\_ students are describing their strengths
- \_\_\_ students are praising the strengths and abilities of others
- \_\_\_ students are discussing sex roles
- \_\_\_ students are defining personal goals
- \_\_\_ women are building tables, room dividers, and various things needed in the class
- \_\_\_ women are practicing yoga
- \_\_\_ women are practicing self-defense exercises
- \_\_\_ women are examining texts and other books for examples of sex bias
- \_\_\_ women are learning about how their body functions
- \_\_\_ young girls and older women are working together on a variety of projects
- \_\_\_ women are reading biographies of women (Sojourner Truth, S. B. Anthony, Catherine Greene)
- \_\_\_ women's herstory is an important subject
- \_\_\_ problems of living in a nuclear family are discussed
- \_\_\_ women are writing stories about women in non-traditional roles
- \_\_\_ women are reading books put out by feminist publishers

- \_\_\_ writing their own books for use in the class
- \_\_\_ there is a lot of careful listening
- \_\_\_ women initiate (frequently) projects in their local community
- \_\_\_ women are meeting in support groups to talk about problems, fears, needs related to being a woman
- \_\_\_ women talk openly about their sexuality
- \_\_\_ women are discussing the politics of racism, sexism and capitalism
- \_\_\_ women write ideological statements as a group
- \_\_\_ women refer to themselves as feminist
- \_\_\_ women talk about their celibacy, homosexuality, bisexuality
- \_\_\_ women hug each other a lot
- \_\_\_ women are reading and talking about THE FIRST SEX
- \_\_\_ women are holding hands and smiling a lot
- \_\_\_ women are studying the gynocracies (women dominated societies)
- \_\_\_ women are reading research on sex differences
- \_\_\_ women are encouraged by counselors to pursue a career
- \_\_\_ women from different professions are frequently brought in to serve as role models
- \_\_\_ women who successfully combine career and marriage serve as counselors
- \_\_\_ women are required to pursue science and math
- \_\_\_ women are discussing the viability of a feminist revolution
- \_\_\_ women are helping a woman in her campaign for mayor
- \_\_\_ women are working in self-help medical clinics and rape crisis centers as part of their schooling
- \_\_\_ (write your own)
- \_\_\_ (write your own)



A. What one change would you recommend at the elementary school level in order to better insure the development of women's potential:

B. What changes would you recommend in courses taught at the high school level to better insure the development of women's potential:

in method of teaching:

in the institution, generally:

C. In order to insure the development of women's potential in college, vocational, or professional institutions, women have to be taught. . . by. . .:

## APPENDIX G

## Pilot Questionnaire

Part One

Directions: In this section, read each of the statements and decide whether it suggests a situation that was MOSTLY OR TOTALLY TRUE (T) or MOSTLY OR TOTALLY FALSE (F). Circle either the T or the F, depending on whether it was mostly or totally true of your schooling experience or mostly or totally false. If the statement DOES NOT APPLY at all, circle NA. Example:

Boys and girls participated in the same gym program T F  NA

NA is circled because in the respondent's school, there was no gym program at all.

Once you have decided whether the item was true or false of your schooling experiences, you then decide whether the effect upon you as a woman in that school was POSITIVE (P) or mostly NEGATIVE (N). If the effect was mostly positive, circle the P. If the effect was mostly negative, circle the N. Example:

Boys expressed their ideas in class more frequently than girls. T F NA  
P N

---

ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS BASED ON YOUR EXPERIENCES AT THE ELEMENTARY LEVEL.

- |                                                                        |   |   |    |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|----|
| 1. I confidently expressed my ideas in class.                          | T | F | NA |
|                                                                        | P | N |    |
| 2. I knew boys were supposed to be smarter than girls.                 | T | F | NA |
|                                                                        | P | N |    |
| 3. Leadership in the classroom was assumed by boys.                    | T | F | NA |
|                                                                        | P | N |    |
| 4. In my school, boys and girls did different things.                  | T | F | NA |
|                                                                        | P | N |    |
| 5. Classmates that I admired and wanted to be like were usually girls. | T | F | NA |
|                                                                        | P | N |    |

- |                                                                                                                                                         |        |        |    |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|--------|----|
| 6. I talked about and displayed my achievements in school.                                                                                              | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| 7. Teachers seemed to prefer their male students.                                                                                                       | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| 8. Boys and girls did the same things in gym classes.                                                                                                   | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| 9. I was a leader in my classes.                                                                                                                        | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| 10. As a girl, I was disciplined in the same manner as boys.                                                                                            | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| 11. My teachers made it clear that boys should be boys and girls should be girls.                                                                       | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| 12. I went to a coeducational elementary school.                                                                                                        | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| 13. Teachers encouraged me to participate in active physical learning activities (building, experimenting) as much as boys.                             | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| 14. I was given as much individual attention as boys.                                                                                                   | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| 15. In school, we read and studied about interesting and exciting women.                                                                                | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| 16. I was encouraged to develop a strong, healthy body.                                                                                                 | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| 17. My teachers encouraged me to be independent.                                                                                                        | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| 18. Materials we used in the classroom tried to teach me to value the position of wife and mother.                                                      | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| 19. Women we studied about in my classes had the same kinds of jobs.                                                                                    | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| 20. Teachers' expectations for my work as a girl were right for my interests and abilities.                                                             | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| 21. Teachers used the same standards to evaluate boys and girls.                                                                                        | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| 22. I was discouraged from taking some courses on the grounds that girls weren't interested in those subjects or that they weren't important for girls. | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |



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ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS BASED ON YOUR EXPERIENCES AT THE HIGH SCHOOL LEVEL.

- |                                                                                                                                       |        |        |    |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|--------|----|
| 1. I confidently expressed my ideas in class.                                                                                         | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| 2. I was encouraged to consider careers traditionally dominated by men.                                                               | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| 3. School helped prepare me to make decisions about my future.                                                                        | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| 4. The school tried to teach me the distinctions between what women are supposed to be and do and what men are expected to be and do. | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| 5. Classmates that I identified as having characteristics I admired and wanted to adopt tended to be female.                          | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| 6. I openly talked about and displayed my achievements in school.                                                                     | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| 7. Teachers expressed or implied a preference for their male students.                                                                | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| 8. Men and women took the same physical education program.                                                                            | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| 9. I achieved recognition and leadership positions matching my potential.                                                             | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| 10. As a woman, I was disciplined in the same way as male classmates.                                                                 | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| 11. Women's varsity sports and athletics were as important to my school as men's.                                                     | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| 12. My classes were coeducational.                                                                                                    | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| 13. I was encouraged to consider jobs beyond those expected of women in this society.                                                 | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| 14. I was given as much individual attention as male classmates.                                                                      | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| 15. Women we studied were interesting and exciting.                                                                                   | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| 16. I was taught to develop a strong and healthy body.                                                                                | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |

- |                                                                                                                   |   |   |    |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|----|
| 17. Teachers encouraged me to be independent.                                                                     | T | F | NA |
|                                                                                                                   | P | N |    |
| 18. School tried to teach me that being help-mate, homemaker and mother were most important.                      | T | F | NA |
|                                                                                                                   | P | N |    |
| 19. I was counseled to follow a program of study that fit my interests and abilities.                             | T | F | NA |
|                                                                                                                   | P | N |    |
| 20. I knew women weren't supposed to be smarter than men.                                                         | T | F | NA |
|                                                                                                                   | P | N |    |
| 21. Standards used to evaluate me were the same used for male classmates.                                         | T | F | NA |
|                                                                                                                   | P | N |    |
| 22. There were no classes closed to me because I was a woman.                                                     | T | F | NA |
|                                                                                                                   | P | N |    |
| 23. Men were encouraged to be more independent than women students.                                               | T | F | NA |
|                                                                                                                   | P | N |    |
| 24. I considered myself to be very feminine.                                                                      | T | F | NA |
|                                                                                                                   | P | N |    |
| 25. Men and women were given the opportunity to participate on an equal basis in all extra-curricular activities. | T | F | NA |
|                                                                                                                   | P | N |    |

PLEASE ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS AS COMPLETELY AND SPECIFICALLY AS YOU CAN. USE THE BACK OF THIS SHEET IF YOU NEED ADDITIONAL SPACE.

- A. As a woman in high school, I wish that my teachers had recognized and met my needs in the area of. . .
- B. As I look back on my high school experiences, the thing that I think most helped me to do what I wanted as a woman was. . .
- C. As a woman in high school, the most dissatisfying aspect of that schooling experience was. . .

D. As a woman in my high school. . . (Respond to this idea by reading the following pairs of words and checking the box that best expresses your feelings.)

fair	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	unfair	strong	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	weak
clean	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	dirty	heavy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	light
good	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	bad	active	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	passive
valuable	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	worthless	fast	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	slow
large	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	small	hot	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	cold

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ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS BASED ON YOUR EXPERIENCES AT THE COLLEGE, VOCATIONAL (POST HIGH SCHOOL), OR PROFESSIONAL TRAINING LEVEL.

- |                                                                                                             |   |   |    |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|----|
| 1. I hesitated to express my ideas in class.                                                                | T | F | NA |
|                                                                                                             | P | N |    |
| 2. I was encouraged to consider careers traditionally dominated by men.                                     | T | F | NA |
|                                                                                                             | P | N |    |
| 3. The institution helped prepare me to plan for my future.                                                 | T | F | NA |
|                                                                                                             | P | N |    |
| 4. Instructors' comments indicated that they had different expectations for their male and female students. | T | F | NA |
|                                                                                                             | P | N |    |
| 5. Students I admired and wanted to be like were female.                                                    | T | F | NA |
|                                                                                                             | P | N |    |
| 6. I openly talked about and displayed my achievements in school.                                           | T | F | NA |
|                                                                                                             | P | N |    |
| 7. Instructors expressed or implied a preference for male students.                                         | T | F | NA |
|                                                                                                             | P | N |    |
| 8. The physical education program was the same for men and women.                                           | T | F | NA |
|                                                                                                             | P | N |    |
| 9. I achieved leadership positions and recognition matching my potential.                                   | T | F | NA |
|                                                                                                             | P | N |    |
| 10. Rules and discipline were the same for men and women.                                                   | T | F | NA |
|                                                                                                             | P | N |    |
| 11. Women's physical strength and athletic ability was valued and admired.                                  | T | F | NA |
|                                                                                                             | P | N |    |

- |     |                                                                                                                       |        |        |    |
|-----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|--------|----|
| 12. | I attended a coeducational institution.                                                                               | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| 13. | More respect and support was extended by instructors to male students than to women students.                         | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| 14. | I was as competent and capable of achievement in my area of study as my male classmates.                              | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| 15. | Women studied in my courses were exciting and interesting.                                                            | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| 16. | I was counseled into a field of study that is traditionally a woman's.                                                | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| 17. | I had women instructors I admired and wanted to be like.                                                              | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| 18. | The school tried to teach me that it was more important to be help-mate, homemaker, and mother than to have a career. | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| 19. | I was helped to develop leadership ability by the institution.                                                        | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| 20. | I knew women weren't supposed to be smarter than men.                                                                 | T      | F      | NA |
| 21. | Standards used to evaluate me in my courses were the same as those used to evaluate men.                              | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| 22. | No courses were closed to me because I was a woman.                                                                   | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| 23. | I was encouraged to be aggressive.                                                                                    | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| 24. | I considered myself to be very feminine.                                                                              | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| 25. | Men and women had the opportunity to participate on an equal basis in extra curricular activities.                    | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |

PLEASE ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS AS COMPLETELY AND SPECIFICALLY AS YOU CAN. USE THE BACK OF THIS PAGE IF YOU NEED ADDITIONAL SPACE.

- A. As a woman in this educational institution, I wished that my instructors had recognized and met my needs in the area of. . .





Part Two

Directions: Take a few minutes and imagine what an educational program designed to make women strong, independent, confident, competent, and more would be like. That is, what would foster the development of each woman's potential? Let your fantasy take you where it may.

Then, read through the following list and place a CHECK next to those items that you consider an IMPORTANT AND NECESSARY part of an education that makes women strong. If an item is not clear, or not exactly what you think--REWRITE the statement so that it reflects your ideas. If you've thought of things that aren't suggested in the list (which is quite likely), ADD them at the end of this section.

AN EDUCATION WHICH MAKES WOMEN STRONG WOULD BE ONE IN WHICH:

- Only women are present.
- Men and women (boys and girls) are present.
- The teacher is a man.
- The teacher is a woman.
- The teacher is a feminist.
- Women are helping one another with various subjects.
- Learning activities take place in small groups for the most part.
- Most tasks are done by groups rather than individuals.
- There is a lot of movement, pantomime, role-playing as learning experiences.
- Leadership is shared by the group.
- Women practice non-traditional female roles.
- A woman (girl) is elected president of the class.
- Everyone has a vote.
- Women compete with men in team sports.
- Women take shop (carpentry, mechanics, etc.).
- Women discuss their mothers' work, lives. . .

- Women are educated in all female schools.
- Women are educated in all female classes.
- Women are educated in a coeducational setting.
- Decisions are arrived at by concensus.
- Women are schooled in a women's collective.
- Women go to school in a women's center.
- There is no visible leadership.
- Women are making films.
- Women are competing with men for top grades, honors, awards.
- Women talk about their strengths.
- Women praise the strengths and abilities of other women.
- Women discuss the need for changed sex roles.
- Women ask other women "Can I help you with that?"
- Women ask other women "Will you help me with this?"
- Men and women share all tasks and activities in the school equally.
- Men talk about how sex roles oppress them.
- Women help men to understand their sexism.
- Women are defining personal goals.
- Women are defining career goals.
- Women build tables, room dividers, and other things needed in the class.
- Women practice yoga.
- Women practice self-defense exercises.
- Women examine texts and other books for examples of sex bias.
- Women learn about their bodies.
- Young girls and older women work together on a variety of projects.
- Women are reading biographies of women.

- Women's herstory is an important subject.
- Problems of living in a nuclear family are discussed.
- Women write stories about women in non-traditional roles.
- Women read books put out by feminist publishers.
- There is a lot of careful listening.
- Women initiate projects in their local community.
- Women are meeting in support groups to talk about problems, fears, needs related to being a woman.
- Women talk openly about their sexuality.
- Women are discussing the politics of racism, sexism and capitalism.
- Women do most work through independent studies.
- Women write ideological statements dealing with feminism.
- Women refer to themselves as feminists.
- Women talk about their celibacy, lesbianism, bisexuality.
- Women study the gynocracies (women dominated societies).
- Women read research on sex differences.
- Counselors encourage women to pursue a career.
- Women hug each other a lot.
- Women hold hands and smile a lot.
- Women talk about raising a family.
- Women talk about alternatives to marriage.
- Women from different professions come in to talk about career planning.
- Women pursue science and math.
- Women discuss the viability of a feminist revolution.
- Women help women campaigning for public office.
- Women work in self-help medical clinics and rape crisis centers as part of their schooling.

— Women who successfully combine career and marriage serve as counselors.

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A. What one change would you recommend in courses taught at the elementary school level in order to better insure the development of women's potential?

in method of teaching?

in the institution generally?

B. What changes would you recommend in courses taught at the high school level to better insure the development of women's potential?

in method of teaching?

in the institution generally?

C. In order to insure the development of women's potential in college, vocational or professional institutions, women have to be taught:

Part Three

Directions: In order to give meaning to this research, I have to be able to describe (generally) the characteristics of the respondents. Without a minimum of background data, the research findings can be dismissed as not representing anything more than the opinions of the 150 women who respond. Therefore, please answer the following background questions.

1. Age:  18 - 25  
 26 - 35  
 36 - 45  
 46 - 55  
 over 55
  
2. Ethnic identification: \_\_\_\_\_
  
3. Level of education: (last grade completed) \_\_\_\_\_
  
4. Income level:  
 0 - 5,000  
 5,001 - 10,000  
 10,001 - 20,000  
 over 20,000

## APPENDIX H

Screening and Feedback Questions  
for Pilot QuestionnairePart One

Directions: The following five questions fall under the general category of background information. Please answer each question by checking the appropriate box.

1. Do you have any women friends who are feminists?  YES  NO
2. Are you a feminist?  YES  NO
3. Do you have any friends who participate in any of the following?  
(Check as many as appropriate.)
  - support group
  - women's collective
  - stop rape project
  - women's medical self-help clinic
  - consciousness raising groups
  - women's welfare rights counseling
  - other: (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_
4. Are you involved in any of the following? (Check as many as apply.)
  - support group
  - women's collective
  - stop rape project
  - women's medical self-help clinic
  - consciousness raising group
  - women's welfare rights counseling
  - other: (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_
5. With regard to feminist issues, would you say you were:
  - actively involved
  - sympathetic

- somewhat interested
  - disinterested
  - opposed
- 
- 

#### Part Four

Directions: Please answer the following questions in order to help me improve the questionnaire.

1. How did you feel while filling out the questionnaire?

- |                                       |                                        |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> excited      | <input type="checkbox"/> bored         |
| <input type="checkbox"/> impatient    | <input type="checkbox"/> annoyed       |
| <input type="checkbox"/> frustrated   | <input type="checkbox"/> disinterested |
| <input type="checkbox"/> indifferent  | <input type="checkbox"/> interested    |
| <input type="checkbox"/> other: _____ |                                        |

2. Were there any parts or specific items that you found confusing? If so, please list here by page and number.

3. Were the directions clear? If not, which ones need work? Any suggestions?

4. Are there any important things that you feel were left out?

5. Did you prefer the open-ended questions or the checklist type ones?



6. Do you know any feminists (preferably out of state) that you would be willing to suggest as a possible recipient of the questionnaire (I'm trying to collect a feminist sample population). If so, please print name and address below:

Can I use your name as the woman who suggested the above person? If so, please print it below:

MANY, MANY THANKS FOR YOUR TIME!!

Time Spent: \_\_\_\_\_

## APPENDIX I

Sample Review of the Information Provided By  
Each Item Stated for the Elementary Level

## INTERPRETATION OF EACH ITEM AT ELEMENTARY LEVEL

<u>ITEM</u>	<u>INTERPRETATION</u>
1. I confidently expressed my ideas in class.	Tells whether women felt confident in verbal ability not necessarily giving data that is sex related. Perhaps no one felt confident. Perhaps lack of confidence was not related to being woman.
2. I knew boys were supposed to be smarter than girls.	Tells how women perceived themselves in relation to males. If changed to "women not supposed to be smarter," then get perception of socialization. If both questions are used, gap between what women perceive and what they know will be identified. Points to tension for women within sex role.
3. Leadership in the classroom was assumed by boys.	Indicates perception of males' participation in classroom.
4. In my school, boys and girls did different things.	Tells if differentiation was perceived and whether that seemed of benefit to women. Presumably, if the things girls were doing were satisfying, they would not recall differentiation as negative.
5. Classmates that I admired and wanted to be like were usually girls.	Indicates how women saw other women as people they wanted to be like-- as people they didn't identify with as wanting to be like. Could point to ambivalence about being female.
6. I talked about and displayed my achievements in school.	Tells whether women were proud of their achievements and were able to show them off. May not reveal sex related phenomenon.

ITEM

## INTERPRETATION

- |                                                                                                                             |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 7. Teachers seemed to prefer their male students.                                                                           | Indicates perception of teacher attitudes/behavior in sex preference. Either supports or contradicts myth of biased elementary teachers.                                                                                                                     |
| 8. Boys and girls did the same things in gym classes.                                                                       | Tells whether women perceived differential treatment in area of athletics as having positive or negative influences.                                                                                                                                         |
| 9. I was a leader in my classes.                                                                                            | Tells whether women perceived themselves as leaders. Also tells whether they perceived leadership as important to them.                                                                                                                                      |
| 10. As a girl, I was disciplined in the same manner as boys.                                                                | Tells whether women perceived differential treatment in area of discipline--also whether that helped or hurt them.                                                                                                                                           |
| 11. My teachers made it clear that boys should be boys and girls should be girls.                                           | Tells how women perceived teacher direction in sex role socialization process and how they perceived its effects.                                                                                                                                            |
| 12. I went to a coeducational elementary school.                                                                            | Indicates how many women went to a coed school and how they felt about that. Also indicates whether they blame negative effects on presence of men.                                                                                                          |
| 13. Teachers encouraged me to participate in active physical learning activities (building, experimenting) as much as boys. | Perception of differential treatment in direction of learning activities. Teacher assumptions of appropriate styles.                                                                                                                                         |
| 14. I was given as much individual attention as boys.                                                                       | Tells how women perceive differential treatment in terms of individual attention. May be that in this case, personality is deciding factor rather than sex. Also suggests that questions not answered on basis of bias but on actual remembered perceptions. |
| 15. In school, we read and studied about interesting and exciting women.                                                    | Tells how women perceived the women studied about in the curriculum.                                                                                                                                                                                         |

ITEMINTERPRETATION

- |                                                                                                                                                         |                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 16. I was encouraged to develop a strong healthy body.                                                                                                  | Indicates how women perceived the importance of developing a strong and healthy body. Also the degree to which the institution/teacher recognize/supported this.                        |
| 17. My teachers encouraged me to be independent.                                                                                                        | Tells perception of teacher support for their being independent. Also shows importance of independence to them. Not necessarily sex related-- except as seen in connection with No. 23. |
| 18. Materials we used in the classroom tried to teach me to value the position of wife and mother.                                                      | Tells perception of value orientation or socialization aspect of classroom materials.                                                                                                   |
| 19. Women we studied about in my classes had the same kinds of jobs.                                                                                    | Perception of the narrowness of work roles in which women are depicted in the classroom shown.                                                                                          |
| 20. Teachers' expectations for my work as a girl were right for my interests and abilities.                                                             | Perception of teacher expectation for women students.                                                                                                                                   |
| 21. Teachers used the same standards to evaluate boys and girls.                                                                                        | Perception of differential standards in evaluation. Weak data would indicate students generally weren't given enough information to know what standards were used for anyone.           |
| 22. I was discouraged from taking some courses on the grounds that girls weren't interested in those subjects or that they weren't important for girls. | Perception of sex bias in the direction/admission of women into various courses revealed.                                                                                               |
| 23. Boys were encouraged to be more independent than girls.                                                                                             | Perception of differential teacher behavior in encouragement of independence. Sex related bases clearly compare with No. 17.                                                            |
| 24. Girls wore dresses or skirts to school.                                                                                                             | Perception of positive/negative influence of having to wear dresses, skirts to school.                                                                                                  |
| 25. Boys and girls participated in the same extra-curricular activities on an equal basis.                                                              | Perception of differential participation of males and females in extra-curricular activities. Not clear whether peer interaction problem/teacher problem.                               |

## APPENDIX J

## Final Questionnaire

Educating Women: A Questionnaire

The purpose of this questionnaire is to find out what changes in the area of women's education women think are important. In order to answer the questions, you will need to think back to your own schooling experiences and to decide what an improved education for women might be like. That is, given your experiences in schools, what do you think needs to be changed? What helped you? What hurt you? What might help other women? It isn't necessary to be an educator, a visionary, or a philosopher in order to answer these questions. You only need to be willing to think about your experiences, concerns, hopes, and assumptions and to share them.

It does take time to sort through past experiences and the questionnaire will probably take between thirty minutes and an hour to complete. It would be best if you could complete the questionnaire in one block of time, though this is not necessary. Women who responded to the first draft of the questionnaire spent up to two hours on it. Their comments helped in revising the questionnaire and making it more manageable. I appreciate the time they spent and in advance, I appreciate and thank you for yours.

You need not put your name on any part of the questionnaire. The responses are intended to be anonymous. If you would like to receive a brief summary of the results, please fill in the name and address blank included with the questionnaire. This form will be separated from the questionnaire immediately so that the responses will remain anonymous.

Throughout the questionnaire, there are open-ended questions in addition to preselected lists. In many ways, these are the most important parts of the questionnaire since the direction of the answers comes totally from you. Lists can only attempt to get at those things that are important to you. In the open-ended questions, you are not tied to what others have suggested as important. Please answer those questions as fully as you can or wish.

When you have completed the questionnaire, please return it in the enclosed envelope, or send it to:

Kathryn Girard  
Women's Caucus  
School of Education  
University of Massachusetts  
Amherst, Massachusetts 01002

(If you decide not to do the questionnaire, please consider passing it on to another woman who might be willing to participate. Many thanks.)

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Part One

Directions: The following five questions are simply for background information. Please answer each question by checking the appropriate box.

1. Do you have any women friends who are feminists?  YES  NO
2. Are you a feminist?  YES  NO
3. Do you have any friends who participate in any of the following? (check those that apply.)
  - support/consciousness raising group
  - women's collective
  - women's center
  - stop rape project
  - women's medical self-help clinic
  - women's welfare rights counseling
  - teaching feminist studies courses
  - other: \_\_\_\_\_
4. Do you participate in any of the following? (check all that apply.)
  - support/consciousness raising group
  - women's collective
  - women's center
  - stop rape project
  - women's medical self-help clinic
  - women's welfare rights counseling
  - teaching feminist studies courses
  - other: \_\_\_\_\_
5. With regard to feminist issues, are you?
  - actively involved
  - sympathetic
  - somewhat interested
  - disinterested
  - opposed

Part Two

Directions: In this section, read each of the statements and decide whether it suggests a situation that was MOSTLY OR TOTALLY TRUE (T) or MOSTLY OR TOTALLY FALSE (F) about your schooling experiences. Circle either the T or the F depending on whether it was mostly or totally true of your schooling experience or mostly or totally false. If the statement DOES NOT APPLY at all, circle NA. Example:

Boys and girls participated in the same gym program. T F  NA

NA would be circled if in the respondents school there was no gym program at all.

Once you have decided whether the item was true or false of your schooling experience, you then decide whether the effect upon you as a woman in the school was MOSTLY POSITIVE (P) or MOSTLY NEGATIVE (N). If the effect was mostly positive, circle P. If the effect was mostly negative, circle the N. Example:

Boys expressed their ideas in class more frequently than girls.

T F NA  
P N

ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS BASED ON YOUR EXPERIENCES AT THE ELEMENTARY LEVEL.

- |           |                                                                                         |        |        |    |
|-----------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|--------|----|
| (10)___1. | Teachers' expectations for my work as a girl were right for my interests and abilities. | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| (11)___2. | Leadership in the classroom was assumed by boys.                                        | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| (12)___3. | My teachers made it clear that boys should be boys and girls should be girls.           | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| (13)___4. | Classmates that I admired and wanted to be like were usually girls.                     | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| (14)___5. | I didn't want to seem to be too smart.                                                  | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| (15)___6. | Teachers seemed to prefer their female students.                                        | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| (16)___7. | Boys and girls did the same things in their gym classes.                                | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| (17)___8. | I was a leader in my classes.                                                           | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |

- |            |                                                                                                                                                     |   |   |    |
|------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|----|
| (18)___9.  | I went to a coeducational elementary school.                                                                                                        | T | F | NA |
|            |                                                                                                                                                     | P | N |    |
| (19)___10. | My teachers encouraged me to be independent.                                                                                                        | T | F | NA |
|            |                                                                                                                                                     | P | N |    |
| (20)___11. | In school, we read and studied about interesting and exciting women.                                                                                | T | F | NA |
|            |                                                                                                                                                     | P | N |    |
| (21)___12. | I was encouraged to develop a strong and healthy body.                                                                                              | T | F | NA |
|            |                                                                                                                                                     | P | N |    |
| (22)___13. | My teachers told me that one day I would be a wife and mother.                                                                                      | T | F | NA |
|            |                                                                                                                                                     | P | N |    |
| (23)___14. | Teachers encouraged me to participate in active physical learning activities (building, experimenting) as much as boys.                             | T | F | NA |
|            |                                                                                                                                                     | P | N |    |
| (24)___15. | I knew girls weren't supposed to be smarter than boys.                                                                                              | T | F | NA |
|            |                                                                                                                                                     | P | N |    |
| (25)___16. | Teachers used the same standards to evaluate boys and girls.                                                                                        | T | F | NA |
|            |                                                                                                                                                     | P | N |    |
| (26)___17. | I was discouraged from taking some courses on the grounds that girls weren't interested in those subjects or that they weren't important for girls. | T | F | NA |
|            |                                                                                                                                                     | P | N |    |
| (27)___18. | Teachers encouraged boys to be more independent than girls.                                                                                         | T | F | NA |
|            |                                                                                                                                                     | P | N |    |
| (28)___19. | I considered myself to be very feminine.                                                                                                            | T | F | NA |
|            |                                                                                                                                                     | P | N |    |
| (29)___20. | Boys and girls participated in the same extra-curricular activities on an equal basis.                                                              | T | F | NA |
|            |                                                                                                                                                     | P | N |    |

PLEASE ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS AS COMPLETELY AND AS SPECIFICALLY AS YOU CAN.

- A. As a girl in my elementary school, I wish my teachers had recognized and met my needs in the area of. . .



B. As I look back on my elementary schooling experiences, the thing that most helped me to do what I wanted to as a woman was. . .

C. The aspect of my elementary experience with which I am most dissatisfied in terms of my being female is. . .

---

ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS BASED ON YOUR EXPERIENCES AT THE HIGH SCHOOL LEVEL.

- |            |                                                                                                           |        |        |    |
|------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|--------|----|
| (30)___1.  | I was encouraged to consider careers traditionally dominated by men.                                      | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| (31)___2.  | Most important leadership responsibilities were assumed by boys.                                          | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| (32)___3.  | Teachers made it clear that women should be feminine and men masculine.                                   | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| (33)___4.  | Classmates that I identified as having characteristics I admired and wanted to adopt tended to be female. | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| (34)___5.  | I didn't want to appear to be too smart.                                                                  | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| (35)___6.  | Teachers expressed or implied a preference for their female students.                                     | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| (36)___7.  | Men and women took the same physical education program.                                                   | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| (37)___8.  | I achieved recognition and leadership positions.                                                          | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| (38)___9.  | My classes were coeducational.                                                                            | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| (39)___10. | Teachers encouraged me to be independent.                                                                 | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |

(40)___11.	Women we studied were interesting and exciting.	T P	F N	NA
(41)___12.	I was taught to develop a strong and healthy body.	T P	F N	NA
(42)___13.	My teachers' comments indicated that they expected me to be a wife and mother some day.	T P	F N	NA
(43)___14.	I was helped to develop leadership ability.	T P	F N	NA
(44)___15.	I knew women weren't supposed to be smarter than men.	T P	F N	NA
(45)___16.	Standards used to evaluate me were the same used for male classmates.	T P	F N	NA
(46)___17.	I was discouraged from taking some courses on the grounds that the subjects weren't really of interest or of importance to women, or that they were really men's fields.	T P	F N	NA
(47)___18.	Men were encouraged to be more independent than women students.	T P	F N	NA
(48)___19.	I considered myself to be very feminine.	T P	F N	NA
(49)___20.	Men and women were given the opportunity to participate on an equal basis in all extra-curricular activities.	T P	F N	NA

PLEASE ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS AS COMPLETELY AND AS SPECIFICALLY AS YOU CAN.

- A. As a woman in high school, I wish that my teachers had recognized and met my needs in the area of. . .
- B. As I look back on my high school experiences, the thing that I think most helped me to do what I wanted as a woman was. . .

C. As a woman in high school, the most dissatisfying aspect of that schooling experience was. . .

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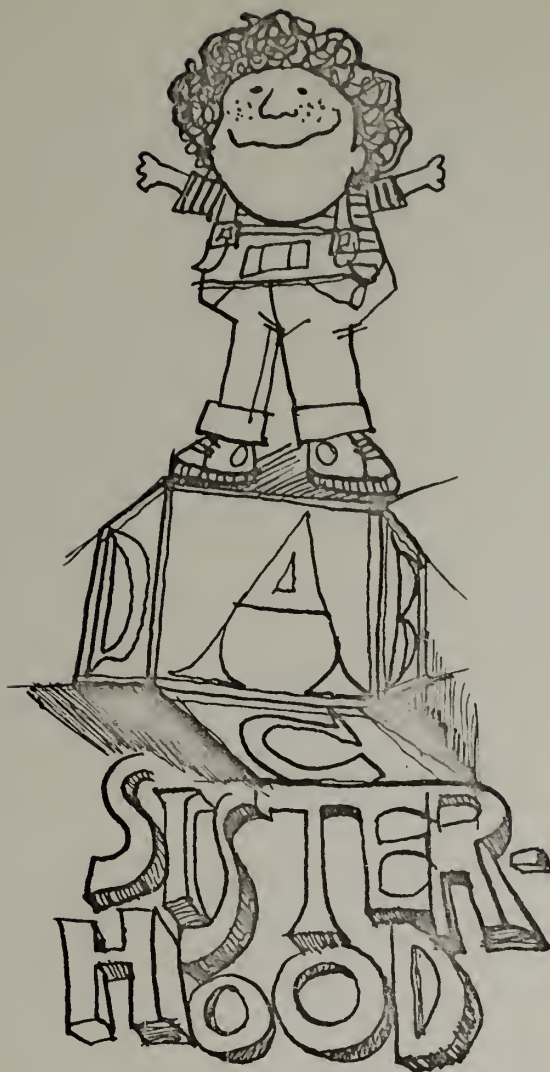
ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS BASED ON YOUR POST HIGH SCHOOL EXPERIENCES (COLLEGE, VOCATIONAL, OR PROFESSIONAL TRAINING LEVEL).

- |         |     |                                                                                                                    |        |        |    |
|---------|-----|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|--------|----|
| (50)___ | 1.  | I was encouraged to consider careers traditionally dominated by men.                                               | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| (51)___ | 2.  | Most leadership responsibilities were assumed by men.                                                              | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| (52)___ | 3.  | Instructors made it clear that women should be feminine and men masculine.                                         | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| (53)___ | 4.  | Students I admired and wanted to be like were usually female.                                                      | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| (54)___ | 5.  | I didn't want to seem to be too smart.                                                                             | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| (55)___ | 6.  | Instructors expressed or implied a preference for their female students.                                           | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| (56)___ | 7.  | The physical education program was the same for men and women.                                                     | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| (57)___ | 8.  | I achieved leadership positions and recognition.                                                                   | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| (58)___ | 9.  | I attended a coeducational institution.                                                                            | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| (59)___ | 10. | Instructors encouraged me to be independent.                                                                       | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| (60)___ | 11. | Women studied in my courses were interesting and exciting.                                                         | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| (61)___ | 12. | I was encouraged to develop a strong and healthy body.                                                             | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| (62)___ | 13. | Instructors assumed that it was more important to me to be helpmate, homemaker, and mother, than to have a career. | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |

- |            |                                                                                                                                                              |        |        |    |
|------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|--------|----|
| (63)___14. | I was helped to develop leadership abilities by the institution.                                                                                             | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| (64)___15. | I knew women weren't supposed to be smarter than men.                                                                                                        | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| (65)___16. | Standards used to evaluate me in my courses were the same as those used to evaluate men.                                                                     | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| (66)___17. | I was discouraged from taking some courses on the grounds that the subjects weren't really of interest or importance to women, or that it was a man's field. | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| (67)___18. | I felt I was competent and capable of achievement in my area of study and/or vocational preparation.                                                         | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| (68)___19. | I considered myself to be a feminine woman.                                                                                                                  | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |
| (69)___20. | Men and women had the opportunity to participate on an equal basis in extra-curricular activities.                                                           | T<br>P | F<br>N | NA |

PLEASE ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS AS COMPLETELY AND AS SPECIFICALLY AS YOU CAN.

- A. As a woman in this educational institution, I wished that my instructors had recognized and met my needs in the area of. . .
- B. As I look back on this part of my schooling, the thing that helped me most to do what I wanted as a woman was. . .
- C. As a woman, the most dissatisfying aspect of my education at this point was. . .



---

### Part Three

**Directions:** Take a few minutes and imagine what an educational program designed to make women strong, independent, confident, competent, and more would be likewise. That is, what would be happening in a school or learning environment that would foster the development of each woman's potential? Let your fantasy take you where it may.

Then, read through the following list and decide which items would be a part of the educational program you think would make women strong. For each item, place a CHECK indicating whether you think the statement suggests something that is VERY IMPORTANT, IMPORTANT, or UNIMPORTANT to an education aimed at making women strong. If something which you think is very important is not included in the list below, ADD the item at the end of the list.

---



---

AN EDUCATION WHICH MAKES WOMEN STRONG WOULD BE ONE IN WHICH:

		VERY IMP.	IMP.	UNIMP.
(5)___	1. Only women are present.	_____	_____	_____
(6)___	2. Men and women (boys and girls) are present.	_____	_____	_____
(7)___	3. The teacher is a man.	_____	_____	_____
(8)___	4. The teacher is a woman.	_____	_____	_____
(9)___	5. The teacher is a feminist.	_____	_____	_____
(10)___	6. Women are helping one another with various subjects.	_____	_____	_____
(11)___	7. Learning activities take place in small groups usually.	_____	_____	_____
(12)___	8. There is a lot of movement, pantomime, role-playing as learning experiences.	_____	_____	_____
(13)___	9. Leadership is shared by the group.	_____	_____	_____
(14)___	10. Women practice non-traditional female roles.	_____	_____	_____
(15)___	11. A woman (girl) is elected president of the class.	_____	_____	_____
(16)___	12. Everyone has a vote.	_____	_____	_____
(17)___	13. Women play with men in team sports.	_____	_____	_____
(18)___	14. Women take shop (carpentry, mechanics, etc.)	_____	_____	_____
(19)___	15. Women discuss their mothers' work, lives. . .	_____	_____	_____
(20)___	16. Women are educated in all female schools.	_____	_____	_____
(21)___	17. Women are usually educated in all female classes.	_____	_____	_____

		VERY <u>IMP.</u>	<u>IMP.</u>	<u>UNIMP.</u>
(22)___18.	Women are educated in a coeducational setting.	_____	_____	_____
(23)___19.	Decisions are arrived at by consensus.	_____	_____	_____
(24)___20.	Women are schooled in a women's collective.	_____	_____	_____
(25)___21.	Women go to school in a women's center.	_____	_____	_____
(26)___22.	The organization of the school is non-hierarchical with no titles, no pay differential, etc.	_____	_____	_____
(27)___23.	Women are making films.	_____	_____	_____
(28)___24.	Women are competing with men for top grades, honors, etc.	_____	_____	_____
(29)___25.	Women talk about their strengths.	_____	_____	_____
(30)___26.	Women praise the strengths and abilities of other women.	_____	_____	_____
(31)___27.	Women discuss the need for changed sex roles.	_____	_____	_____
(32)___28.	Women ask other women, "Can I help you with that?"	_____	_____	_____
(33)___29.	Women ask other women, "Will you help me with this?"	_____	_____	_____
(34)___30.	Men and women share all tasks and activities in the school equally.	_____	_____	_____
(35)___31.	Men talk about how sex roles oppress them.	_____	_____	_____
(36)___32.	Women help men to understand their sexism.	_____	_____	_____
(37)___33.	Women are defining life goals.	_____	_____	_____
(38)___34.	Women build tables, room dividers, and other things needed in the class.	_____	_____	_____

		<u>VERY</u> <u>IMP.</u>	<u>IMP.</u>	<u>UNIMP.</u>	
(39)	___35.	Women practice yoga.	_____	_____	_____
(40)	___36.	Women practice self-defense exercises.	_____	_____	_____
(41)	___37.	Women examine texts and other books for examples of sex bias.	_____	_____	_____
(42)	___38.	Women learn about their bodies.	_____	_____	_____
(43)	___39.	Young girls and older women work together on a variety of projects.	_____	_____	_____
(44)	___40.	Women are reading biographies of women.	_____	_____	_____
(45)	___41.	Women's herstory is an important subject.	_____	_____	_____
(46)	___42.	Problems of living in a nuclear family are discussed.	_____	_____	_____
(47)	___43.	Women write and read stories about women in non-traditional roles.	_____	_____	_____
(48)	___44.	Women read books put out by feminist publishers.	_____	_____	_____
(49)	___45.	There is a lot of careful listening.	_____	_____	_____
(50)	___46.	Women initiate projects in their local community.	_____	_____	_____
(51)	___47.	Women are meeting in support groups to talk about problems, fears, needs related to being a woman.	_____	_____	_____
(52)	___48.	Women talk openly about their sexuality.	_____	_____	_____
(53)	___49.	Women are discussing the politics of racism, sexism and capitalism.	_____	_____	_____
(54)	___50.	Women write ideological statements dealing with feminism.	_____	_____	_____
(55)	___51.	Women refer to themselves as feminists.	_____	_____	_____
(56)	___52.	Women talk about celibacy, lesbianism and bisexuality.	_____	_____	_____



		<u>VERY</u>	<u>IMP.</u>	<u>UNIMP.</u>
(57)___53.	Women study the gynocracies (women dominated societies).	_____	_____	_____
(58)___54.	Women read research on sex differences.	_____	_____	_____
(59)___55.	Counselors encourage women to think about careers.	_____	_____	_____
(60)___56.	Women hug each other a lot.	_____	_____	_____
(61)___57.	Women study the herstory of witches.	_____	_____	_____
(62)___58.	Women talk about alternatives in raising a family.	_____	_____	_____
(63)___59.	Women learn to express and channel anger.	_____	_____	_____
(64)___60.	Women talk about alternatives to marriage.	_____	_____	_____
(65)___61.	Women discuss the viability of a feminist revolution.	_____	_____	_____
(66)___62.	Women help women campaigning for public office.	_____	_____	_____
(67)___63.	Women from different professions come to talk about career planning.	_____	_____	_____
(68)___64.	Women work in self-help medical clinics and rape crisis centers or in other action oriented projects as part of their schooling.	_____	_____	_____
(69)___65.	Women who combine marriage and careers serve as counselors.	_____	_____	_____
(70)___66.	Women who have experienced problems in combining marriage and careers serve as counselors.	_____	_____	_____
(71)___67.	Men (boys) take classes in parenting and homemaking.	_____	_____	_____
(72)___68.	Women pursue science and math.	_____	_____	_____
(73)___69.	Women discuss their biological superiority.	_____	_____	_____

ADD ANY ADDITIONAL ITEMS BELOW:

Part Three

Directions: In order to give meaning to this research, I have to be able to describe (generally) the characteristics of those who respond. Without a minimum of background data, the research findings can be dismissed as not representing any more than the opinions of the 150 women who respond. Therefore, please answer the following questions by checking the appropriate box or writing in your answers.

1. Age:  18 - 25  
 26 - 35  
 36 - 45  
 46 - 55  
 over 55

2. Ethnic identification: \_\_\_\_\_

3. Last grade/level completed in school:

- eighth grade or below  
 high school  
 one year of college  
 2 - 3 years of college  
 4 years of college  
 Masters  
 Doctorate

4. Income level (if you are partially supported by someone else, please include that income in the total you check):

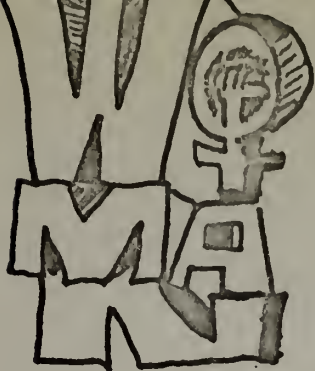
- 0 - 5,000
- 5,001 - 10,000
- 10,001 - 20,000
- over 20,000



MANY THANKS FOR YOUR TIME  
AND SHARING!!

APPENDIX K

Letters to Sample



April 23, 1973

Dear Sister,

I'm in the process of doing a political dissertation on women's education. I am specifically looking for feminists' points of view as to the changes that need to be made to insure the development of women's potentials in schools.

I've been involved in the woman's movement for the past three years and work actively at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst and at its School of Education on feminist issues. I am deeply committed to improving the schooling experience for women. I helped to start a women's caucus at the School of Education, which is now active in supporting women doing research (like mine) which has a clear and strong feminist perspective. (I hope this will serve as minimal introductory credentials.)

My hope is that the responses to this questionnaire will support a feminist ideology of women's education which will challenge most of the 'experts' as to the hows and whys of educating women. In order for this to happen, I need feminist women to participate and contribute their ideas through the completion of the enclosed questionnaire.

If you can do it--great. If you can give it to another woman who will complete it, that's fine too. I need to get responses back as soon as possible (and hopefully, preferably no later than the end of May).

Many, many thanks for your time and help.

In sisterhood and struggle,

*Kathryn Girard*

Kathryn Girard  
 Women's Caucus  
 School of Education  
 University of Massachusetts  
 Amherst, Massachusetts

(A copy of our Caucus Newsletter is enclosed just for your information. Good things are happening all over).



April 23, 1973

Dear

gave me your name as a woman who might be willing to participate in a study I'm doing on changing the way women are educated in our schools. My concern is that women have the support and opportunities to explore and develop their potentials.

I hope that you'll take the time to look at the questionnaire and then decide to complete it. My hope is that the responses to this questionnaire will support a feminist ideology of women's education which will challenge most of the 'experts' as to the hows and whys of educating women. In order for this to happen I need women to contribute and share their ideas and concerns.

If you can complete the questionnaire--great. If, instead, you can give it to another woman to whom you think it would be important, that would be fine. I need to get responses back as soon as possible, and hopefully no later than the end of May.

Many, many thanks for your time and help.

In sisterhood,

Kathryn Girard  
Women's Caucus  
School of Education  
University of Massachusetts  
Amherst, Massachusetts

APPENDIX L

Statements From Experts

109 Third Avenue  
New York City  
New York 10003  
8 July 1973

Ms. Kathryn Girard  
Women's Caucus  
School of Education  
University of Massachusetts  
Amherst, Massachusetts 01002

Dear Kathryn Girard:

Thank you for sending me a copy of the questionnaire with relevance to your dissertation. I apologize for not having replied earlier but have been traveling almost solidly during the spring and early summer, mostly lecturing on the subject of women.

I found the questionnaire extremely interesting, timely, and capable of eliciting much-needed information about women and education in general, and the area of women's studies in particular.

It should be apparent by now to even the most nineteenth-century oriented of education-administrative minds that women are grossly discriminated against in their educational processes. This ranges from the unsubtle "tracking" and often required "feminine" courses (home economics, etc.) way back in grade school and junior high, through the administrative and, by that time, peer pressure against high-school women to conform to the "feminine role" (women are still most frequently barred from taking "shop" or from many sports, as well as being subject to special dress codes, lack of contraceptive information--and, of course, outright sexist "advice" on NOT choosing careers in medicine, law, business, etc., but are instead steered and often shoved into marriage, motherhood, secretarial jobs, and for those who insist on a profession, teaching and nursing, of course). This means that many fewer women reach college than would have desired to go, had their spirits not been utterly broken by that time. Not that emancipation opens up at the college level, however. In fact, all the earlier techniques (more subtly shaded) are still in force, plus sexual pressures (from male students and from administrative and faculty views on "what women really want--not a B.A., but a MRS."), advisors advising against graduate school, dorm rules for women (but not men), and a lack of contraceptive, abortion, and general psychological counseling for women from a non-mysoqymistic perspective. This, in addition to the usual lack of curricula that relate to women's history, women's culture, or the present worldwide political movement to end women's oppression. My point is that very, very few aspects of women's schooling help them do what they want to do as women--indeed, most aspects seem ranged to deliberately prevent them from even discovering what they might wish to do.

We must assume that the educational needs of women (more than half the population, I remind you) are simply not being met--a crime not only against women, but one for which society as a whole suffers, having lost more than half its creative potential. I base such an assumption, myself, not only from my own experience as a female ex-student and indeed ex-faculty member in a patriarchal society, but also from having carefully observed women (particularly those in upper education) all over the United States, in various degrees of frustration and unrest at schools and capuses where I have spoken. The veritable explosion in women's studies programs and courses is only one (and still new and growing) product of this unrest.



The emerging vital question, then, would seem to be: what changes in women's education do feminist women think necessary, in order to ensure the development of women's full potential?--and here is where your questionnaire comes in.

I think your approach is not only valid but indispensable re. this question, for at least two reasons:

- 1) Since women are the people who have felt the sting of discrimination and in fact forced ignorance in their education, it would follow that women are the people best suited to know a) what, how, and where things went wrong for them, and b) what, how, and where things should be remedied. This seems only logical, as well as humane.
- 2) Within the general "category" of women, it would also seem most logical and humane that research and consultation be held with those particular women who have devoted much study and commitment to the issue at hand--women who are active feminists. Any absurd implications of "bias" here are as ridiculous as would be a notion that historians are biased about history, doctors about medicine, artists about art--or any serious expert about his/her field of study. If such "bias" exists, it would be similar to the "bias" of any dedicated researcher with a legitimate concern about the importance of her/his subject not being given sufficient attention to enable significant contributions to humankind. Of further importance, I think, is the still mushrooming and vastly changing composition of the Feminist Movement. In other words, what once might have been considered a "white, young, college-age, middle-class" movement, now widely embraces housewives, grandmothers, high-school women, maids, secretaries and factory-workers, welfare mothers--and women of all classes, ages, races, economic levels, and sexual persuasions--and these women are more and more calling themselves feminists, even radical feminists, since it becomes increasingly clear to larger and larger bodies of women that radical change is inherent in the genuine freeing of women. Radical feminists, then, are uniquely capable of speaking best to the issues raised in your questionnaire, and of speaking in a manner truly representative of all women.

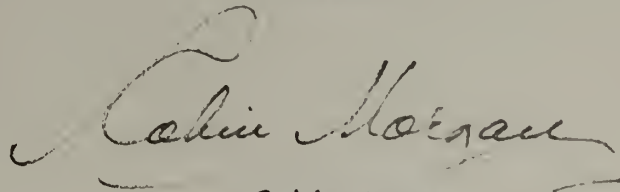
In addition, I feel your questions are valuable in that they tend to focus the issues; in the past three years, in particular, feminists have talked about different possible solutions to the problems women have in obtaining a good and fair education. These proposed solutions range from more women teachers, more men teachers (at grade-school level); more courses on women and women role models; more and better women's studies and feminist studies programs; pro- or con co-ed schools; more women faculty and administration at higher-education levels; entirely and openly feminist colleges and universities, etc. The concern has been voiced in and out of the women's movement, in professional caucuses, on campuses, among students and among community women. Your questionnaire, in its focussing and in its remarkably exhaustive depth as well, will, I think, give us all some very real and important answers--at least with regard to what emphases should be placed on which approach or approaches.

Lastly, there is yet another theme in your method that I admire, and also think will be very fruitful in evoking honest and relevant responses. You have not assembled superficial questions, but have rather included (in addition to all the obvious and necessary academic, sociological, and psychological factors) questions evocative of very personal and even intimate replies. The oppression of women (like that of other oppressed peoples, but even moreso) involves humiliations, degradations, and subtle "put-downs" as well as ridicule, innuendo, and outright cruelty. Since these extract a heavy emotional toll, it takes questions compiled with a fine and sensitive hand to create the objective yet supportive "environment" which will bring forth honest answers. I congratulate you on having succeeded in doing this.

In summation, I believe you have asked the correct questions in order to answer the research questions--and that you have asked them in an efficient, exhaustive, thorough, and sensitive manner.

I look forward to seeing the results of your study, and wish you all good luck with it, and with future endeavors.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Robin Morgan". The signature is fluid and elegant, with a long, sweeping underline that extends to the right.

Robin Morgan

THE CLEARINGHOUSE ON WOMEN'S STUDIES  
WOMEN'S STUDIES NEWSLETTER

31 January 1974

Kathy Girard  
School of Education  
UMass/Amherst  
Amherst, Mass. 01002

Dear Kathy,

I don't believe I still haven't written to you with my reactions to your proposal and questionnaire. As I told you on the phone, my difficulty has been in not having many critical comments to make. But here goes and please forgive this delay. (I guess it comes too from not really feeling like an "expert.")

I like the major questions of the proposal because they state the very questions we feminist have been asking ourselves and have begun to ask of educational institutions. It will be good to see these same questions written about in a formal dissertation .

About the questionnaire. The questions that I don't find asked as I would have liked are ones about sexuality. In the last part of the questionnaire there are items about sexuality, but I wonder if you purposely omitted such questions from the three specific areas on educational background, etc. Certainly initiation and experiences with sexuality differ for boys and girls and from the feminist movement we know this part of our life had detrimental effects on us because of sex role expectations.

Also, other issues that we've developed in the three ed. areas that I think are an important area of ed. experience and ones that I'd like to know other feminists response to: something about intellectual achievement and achievement motivation. I know you ask feminists to ~~report~~ respond to: women weren't supposed to be smarter than men---but there are other aspects of intellectual development that affect women. Women got better grades, etc. Did women really do more intellectual work than male students especially in elementary and high school because of our "good" girl way of working--that in most cases didn't get translated into intellectual aggressive, independence of questioning in the classroom? Do you know what I'm getting at that could have been asked as other items under each ed. area.

education  
projects  
of

the  
feminist  
press

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Also, how about the issue of role models as another item that might be important for feminists to look at in terms of their development in ed. institutions? I know for myself that three women teachers had and in two cases still have an important influence on me--I mean from high school. Does this same thing happen for males--or has it happened? And are role models taken after the same sex, or are the ones that have influenced feminists been women instead of men. Why? I infact answered the open-ended questions on the questionnaire by filling in "role models" for the thing that most helped me do waht I wanted in high school.

Also my additional points may be dealt with in these opened-ended questions.

I think the questionnaire generally is a good one for feminists and I think feminists are going to be the ones that influence the development of educational systems that further the eudcation of both girls and boys, women and men, in ways that aren't based on sex. So we need to ask the people who have been thinking the questions that you ask and these are feminists.

Kathy, I hope this is an adequate response for your work. I'm interested to see the finished product. And sorry again that I never did this sooner. And by the way, I am looking for a job for September. Have decided that I want to work in a straight educational institution or even another kind of institution, but not at an all time-consuming job as the Press has been for the past two years. If you hear about anything from teaching elementary school to college to any kind of community ed. work, etc. let me know. I'm going to be applying to anything I hear about and Mass. is one area. I'm anxious to know what you'll be doing next year too. Off to teach somewhere??

I jsut looked at the questionnaire again and remember telling you how much I enjoyed the graphics. Could the friend who did they do some for the Women's Studies Newsletter or could we simply use these two for a future issue. We'll give credit, etc. We've been looking for graphics that speak about feminism and sexism in ed. and haven't found many. And we're tired of all print, no pictures. Let me know about this.

In sisterhood,



Carol Ahlum

