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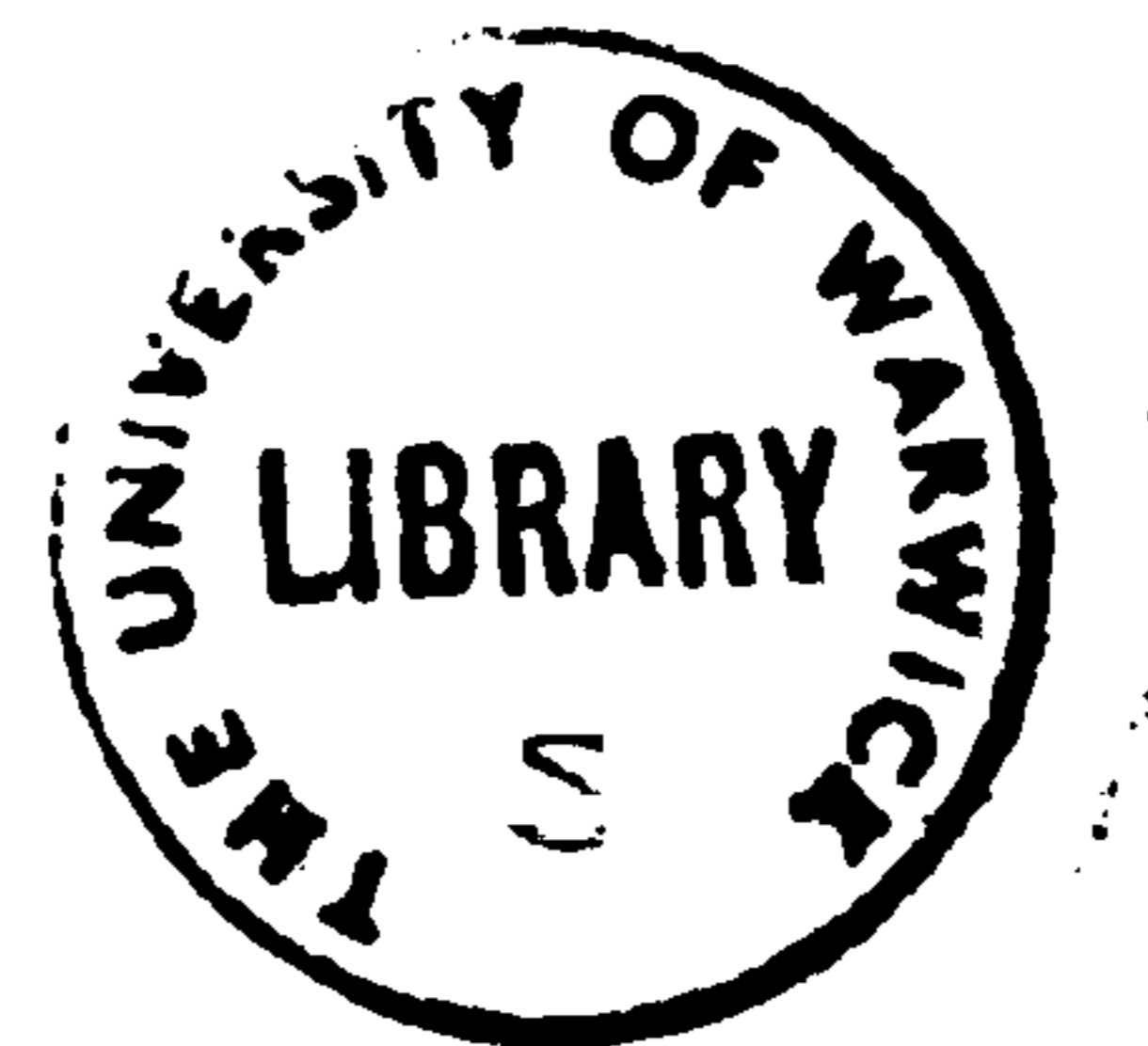
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**FEMINISM AND SOCIOLOGY:
PROCESSES OF TRANSFORMATION**

A Thesis submitted to the University of Warwick
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

Elaine Pullen



Department of Sociology

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SUMMARY

This study seeks to explicate the processes through which feminist analyses and perspectives were during the early 1970s incorporated into undergraduate sociology degree programmes. The narrative it presents is based on data produced through semi-structured interviews with sixteen women sociologists whose political and professional biographies identify them more or less closely with these events, and on evidence obtained from a range of documentary and other secondary sources. I argue that feminism's curricular achievements may be understood as outcomes both of developments within the feminist public sphere and the institutionalised discipline of sociology and of struggles concerning the definition and structure of the 1970s sociological field. Only when attention is directed towards the social relations of academic production and the broader political, institutional and intellectual contexts in which these are located does the challenge of feminist sociology become fully apparent.

GUIDE TO TRANSCRIPTION OF INTERVIEWS

In the transcription of interviews the following conventions were followed:

Three dots (...) within the text indicate that a short passage of speech has been deleted

Six dots (... ..) within the text indicate that a longer passage of speech has been deleted

Three dots (...) at the end of a passage indicate a tailing off of speech

Square brackets [] indicate that text has been added

Italics indicate that the word or words were stressed

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION: ONCE A FEMINIST

This thesis concerns the relationship between feminism and academic sociology. Specifically, it provides an account of the processes through which feminist knowledge found its way into the sociology curricula of British institutions of higher education during the early 1970s; and attempts to understand these processes as products of political and intellectual struggle.

The last twenty-five years have witnessed a proliferation of distinctively feminist sociological analyses and perspectives. Since the early 1970s feminists working within or at the margins of academic sociology have contested the scope and basis of existing knowledge claims, identifying fresh areas of sociological inquiry and new ways of understanding the social world. The products of this scholarship populate the pages of publishers' catalogues and women's studies journals and have become institutionalised within university teaching at both under- and postgraduate levels. Feminist sociology has, in the words of Sasha Roseneil, come of age (Roseneil 1995).

Throughout its lifetime, feminist sociologists have debated the definition and purpose of their enterprise, and the tenability of their association with the "white, male, heterosexual, competitive academic establishment" (Ramazanoglu 1987: 63). Less consideration has been given to the origins of feminism's sociological presence or to the significance of its achievements within the undergraduate curriculum. In the pages that follow I attempt to track the rise of feminist sociological perspectives and to uncover the processes through which these were, during the 1970s, incorporated into sociology degree programmes. The analysis I offer involves attention both to the histories of the women's liberation movement and academic sociology, and to the politics of sociological practice. Only when consideration of the political, institutional and intellectual contexts of change is accompanied by an exploration of the social relations of academic production can the processes of intellectual innovation and transformation be fully grasped. Attention to the 'micro-politics' of the British sociological field and to the (inter)relations of gender and scientific authority on which its structure depends has much to offer an analysis of feminism's challenge to contemporary sociology.

1. Research as Process

The life of a research study may be long and complex.

While findings and outcomes have traditionally and inevitably dominated accounts of research projects, the last three decades have seen a growing and complementary concern with all aspects of the research process. This critical attention to research process marks a (re)recognition amongst sociologists that social research is both reflexive and subjective (Bell & Newby 1977: 9-29). Conceived in part as a challenge to what have come to be identified as restrictive positivistic definitions of social science, the sociological research process literature has since developed an impetus of its own, sparking debates that have continued through the 1990s.

The positivistic stereotype represents social research as a purely objective and rational pursuit. The alternative formulation is marked by a determination to acknowledge that research is "infinitely more complex, messy, various and much more interesting" (Bell & Encel 1978: 4) than is implied by the natural scientific ideal, and to own the contributions that subjectivity, irrationality, feeling and hunch make to its outcomes. Championing a perspective that can be traced to the methodological insights of Max Weber (Weber 1949: 49-188 [1903-17]), and finds implicit

and more contemporary articulation in Charles Wright Mills' treatment of the sociological imagination (Mills 1959: 195-226), the authors of this position have identified the sociological task within the interaction of subjectivity and objectivity, chance and rigour, imagination and method, intuition and reason. Early contributions to the new 'process' literature, which has typically, although not exclusively, taken the form of edited collections of essays, focused primarily on the researches of the established and well known within the profession (Hammond 1964; Habenstein 1970). Those compiling more recent volumes have, for the most part, been at pains to represent the broader sociological community, variously creating space for the experiences of women, research assistants and graduate students (Bell & Newby 1977; Bell & Encel 1978; Platt 1976; Irvine, Miles & Evans 1979; Roberts 1981a; Bell & Roberts 1984; Burgess 1984a; Stanley 1990a; Walford 1991; Bryman and Burgess 1994).

Such publications challenge the sociologist to subject every aspect of the research process in which s/he is involved to thorough and ongoing scrutiny. Professional decisions - the selection of a research area, theoretical and methodological choices, judgements relating to sources

and to the production and presentation of research findings - as well as the researcher's orientation towards and experience of the project must be held up for regular critical personal, and where possible peer, examination, with the aim of rendering explicit both the workings of the specific research process and the philosophical, sociological and political assumptions upon which it rests. The call to reflexivity and professional openness, and to the soul baring these may entail when plans go awry and research experience contrasts with intention, can be seen as the first among several interlocking themes to emerge from the research process literature.

Others include a focused attention to the practical realities of doing research, in all its guises, and a recognition of its status as personal, social and political as well as professional activity. The research process is traditionally portrayed as a logical and orderly progression from 'hypothesis' or research question to results, analysis and conclusion. "Descriptive methodologies", as Bell and Newby term the contributions to their volume, expose the fluidity of the process that links problems, theories and methods (Bryman & Burgess 1994: 2). In contrast to the 'stages' model sketched above and still rehearsed in social research textbooks

(see for example Bell 1993), researchers move between the sequences and procedures of the research process throughout the course of a project.

The redefinition of research as objective and subjective constitutes an acknowledgement of the role of autobiography within the research process. An understanding of the ways in which personal lives and projects (Platt 1976: 113-171) intersect and interact is among the richest fruits of reflexivity, and one that has been particularly emphasised within feminist accounts of research process (Roberts 1981a; Stanley 1990a; Cotterill and Letherby 1993; Stanley and Wise 1993; Potts & Price 1995; Bertram 1997). Research is simultaneously a social activity, bringing the sociologist into relationship with a range of groups and individuals. Fellow participants in the research process include those who commission and fund research, other research workers and, of course, study populations. All social relationships, including those engendered or developed in the context of research, however close (Finch 1984; Oakley 1981) or remote (Bell & Encel 1978: 7-9), can be vehicles for power and thus abuse. Only when research is identified as social as well as scientific process can its ethical implications be fully addressed. Feminist, anti-racist and other

commentators have posed questions about the extent to which research processes replicate and thus perpetuate conventional "relations of ruling" (Smith 1988) and their consequences (Edwards 1990), and examined the effects of professional and social hierarchy within institutional settings or when wielded by study respondents (Scott 1984; Smart 1984). Understood as a locus of social power research also emerges as a political activity pursued within a political context. This recognition may guide methodological choices (Lather 1986, 1988; Kelly 1988, 1990) as well as those relating, for example, to the employment of research findings (Finch 1984: 78-87).

In practice, the personal, social and political dimensions of the research process are frequently intertwined, an observation that has led some sociologists to embrace an action or 'praxis' model of research which sets the accumulation of information directed towards social and/or political change among its goals (Kelly 1985; Lather 1986; Orme 1997). This inter-relatedness, and the fact that consideration of these factors, singly or in combination, is relevant to the entire research process, creates presentational difficulties that are little discussed within the process literature. The majority of

publications cited above take the research process as their sole focus. How are the products of an attention to process to be handled within the context of a research report or a doctoral thesis? As an alternative to the reflexive appendix approach favoured by some sociologists (Pahl & Pahl 1971) I attempt to incorporate the observations generated by my attention to and experience of the research process, in all its dimensions, into the narrative of the thesis. This decision reflects my own understanding of the inseparability of procedure and outcome within sociological research. (For a different evaluation of the 'reflexive turn' in sociology see Silverman 1997a). In consequence, aspects of the lengthy process through which this study was planned and produced are discussed where, within the context of the thesis, they seem most sociologically and practically relevant.

Chapters Two and Five incorporate descriptions of the library resources on which they respectively rely. The methodological consequences of my recognition of the research process in which I have been engaged as social and political activity are described in Chapter Four. Two issues receive particular attention: the implications for the research process of my identification as a feminist, and the significance of power within the

researcher/respondent relationships generated by the study. Chapter Six, which draws extensively on official and quasi-official documentary and statistical evidence, outlines the origins and limitations of these sources, since it is at this point that this brief explication is most pertinent.

The remainder of this introductory chapter falls into four parts. My initial decision to research feminism and sociology owed much to the kind of "idiosyncrasies of person and circumstance" (Johnson 1975, cited Bell & Newby 1977: 9) the research process literature aims to uncover. 'Becoming a Feminist' locates the origins of the project within my own political and intellectual biography.

'From Research Proposal to Project' attempts to convey something of the intellectual processes through which the research undertaken acquired its final form. Thomas Kuhn has noted that "the temptation to write history backward is both omnipresent and perennial" (Kuhn 1970: 138). In an attempt to counterbalance any tendency towards *post hoc* justification (Bryman & Burgess 1994: 8) this account is constructed from research journal entries, notes produced for supervision meetings, university required progress reports and submissions to external bodies such as

conference committees and the Economic and Social Research Council. This part of the chapter also signals the importance of conceptual resources found within the work of Pierre Bourdieu for my analysis of feminism's encounter with institutionalised sociology. Methodological issues arising from this act of conceptual appropriation are considered in Chapter Three.

'Sociology as History' locates the project as both sociology and history of sociological change. This discussion marks my response to the challenge, posed by myself and "significant others" (Hughes 1994: 45) at various moments during the research, to demonstrate that the study constituted more than 'simply history', a construction which as we will see is in its own right revealing. It is thus itself a product of the research process. The final part of the chapter relates the themes of the research to the structure and organisation of the thesis.

2. Becoming a Feminist

This study was born of my own experiences as a sociology undergraduate during the mid 1980s, although my interest in feminist ideas predated this period by several years. The Women's Liberation Movement formed a political

backdrop to my childhood. I was five years old when the first national women's liberation conference (Wandor 1990) was held in 1970, and fourteen the year of the last (Bouchier 1983: 132). Growing up on the semi-rural outskirts of a seaside town in South Dorset I knew nothing of these events, nor of the importance the political upheavals they signalled would have for my adult life. At home my brother, sister and I were expected to contribute equally to household chores connected with mealtimes and the condition of our bedrooms. When we were teenagers our mother announced the end of hand-washing (if we must buy garments requiring special treatment we could care for them ourselves) and, with the exception of school uniforms, withdrew her ironing services. She continued to shop, cook and clean and to undertake kinship work (Di Leonardo 1987) for the whole family. Unlike Sheila Rowbotham (1990: 294) I am unable to recall a time when I did not regard housework as work. If my brother and I fared equally in relation to domestic tasks, double standards were also apparent. He was permitted a newspaper round, I, inexplicably, was not. When we developed independent social lives I was forbidden from cycling home after dark yet he, two years my junior, faced no such prohibition. I regarded these inconsistencies as examples of random parental injustice, only later

recognising them as specific manifestations of a gendered social order.

Feminist consciousness came slowly. No Damascus road conversion, my rejection of taken for granted or *doxic* (Bourdieu 1994: 160) ideas about women and gender relations crystallised during my late teens, as I studied for A levels and then at the local college of art. Particular moments and individuals stand out: the fellow student who terminated a verbal dispute with the assertion that what I, his antagonist 'needed' was 'a good lay'; the teacher who dwelt with evident relish and an all female class on the (hetero)sexual undertones of every poem, play and novel on the English Literature syllabus. Sixth form common room and classroom cultures were explicitly (hetero)sexual and -sexist. My response was not unambivalent: as a young straight woman I enjoyed the attention of my male counterparts (and even that of certain teachers) as long as such encounters were negotiated and mutually defined. All too frequently they were not, and by the age of seventeen, following two particularly frightening incidents and influenced by the analyses of a more politically astute woman friend, I was questioning the dynamics of a social relationship which

enabled men to demand sexual intimacy in return for company, transport and alcohol.

The next few years passed in a blur of activity. I obtained A levels, completed a diploma in art and design and worked for two years in London as a volunteer among boys with severe emotional and behavioural difficulties. It was during this period that I encountered the term feminism: positive political force and expression of ridicule and abuse. After reading *The Women's Room* (French 1978) and *The Colour Purple* (Walker 1983), both gifts from my feminist friend, I embraced the former definition. Although I did not assume the title for myself, between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one I adopted a way of life congruent with my understanding of feminist principle and practice. My political analysis was both limited and naïve. Feminism was a strongly felt but in my case poorly formulated dissatisfaction with the distribution of social power, combined with a rejection of restrictive cultural expectations. My 'life-style politics' (Wilson 1980a: 38) found expression in a series of minor but daring violations. I learnt to drink beer in pints and claimed my right to hold doors open for men and walk home alone. I became Ms and abandoned conventionally feminine modes of dress (Marshment 1993: 143). Feminism,

as witnessed by these rebellions, was about personal liberation. It was an individual crusade based on gut feelings and vague notions of natural equality. It made me feel good but had relatively little to do with other women. Historical movement, collective struggle, theoretical battleground - none of these figured within my teen-aged definition of feminism.

In 1985 I began a degree course in sociology and social administration. During my first year I became active within the Students' Union and, swept along by the enthusiasm of new friends secured election to its seven member Women's Committee. Dedicated to the promotion of 'women's interests' within both Union and University this group was from the start a site of intense political conflict. Specific campaigns, such as that aimed at compelling Union building door stewards to uphold existing anti-sexist policy by refusing admittance to wearers of a particularly objectionable Rugby Club tee-shirt fostered unity of purpose and temporary harmony but could not counter the differences on which the Committee finally foundered. Divergences between Left aligned (I among several identified as socialist) and other feminist perspectives (Lown 1995: 107-116) represented within the group offer one explanation for the clashes that sealed

the Committee's ultimate fate; the much debated, and related, fragmentation of the Women's Movement (Coultas 1981) another. Neither analysis was available to me at the time. I was out of my political depth and had been from the outset. Acknowledging this at last I pleaded work commitments, stood down and devoted myself to my studies.

Paradoxically, it was here that I found the political education I craved. My grasp of feminist ideas had been little advanced by my brief period of political office; in contrast degree level sociology provided answers to questions I had scarcely managed to formulate. Across a three year programme feminism's imprint was entirely absent from only one of the three mandatory and eight elective undergraduate courses I followed within the neighbouring departments of Sociology and Applied Social Studies. In some cases its mark, which was far from even, took the form of a focus on women's experiences of a specific social domain or process, or of feminist responses to a particular sociological debate. These excursions typically occupied a single lecture-seminar slot late in the syllabus and the term. In others, questions of gender were woven more intricately into the fabric of course content. In such cases women were more

likely to appear as both subjects and objects of sociological inquiry. Both approaches - and their hybrids - were represented at each stage of the sociological curriculum, their products equipping me with a vocabulary of oppression and the confidence to use it. Introductions to social structure and to welfare institutions and process brought a new awareness of gendered social order, political movement and historical change; courses in social and sociological theory, research practice and the sociologies of development, communication and gender introduced tools that might make sense of them. Feminism itself emerged as a rich if surprisingly, and at times confusingly diverse repository of analysis and action. I encountered the discipline an aspirant social worker and graduated finally a feminist.

At the time I did not question feminism's curricular presence, although not all of my peers were willing to allow the relevance of gender-sensitive analyses for the meritocratic mid eighties. The (then) new university I attended clung to an earlier reputation for political radicalism, and parallels between Union-floor and seminar debate regarding social class, 'race' and nation, as well as gender, appeared unremarkable. Yet these continuities provoke a number of questions about the relationship

between feminism and the institutionalised discipline of sociology, and about the interaction of feminist and sociological thinking. How can feminism's sociological manifestation, as represented by my undergraduate training, be explained? When and how did its influence originate, and through what processes was its permeation of the discipline achieved? What was the extent of this interposition? Can my introduction to sociology be regarded as typical? Would the impact of feminist perspectives have been equally evident had I studied not at a young university but at Cambridge or the London School of Economics, or within the polytechnic sector? Were issues of gender as firmly embedded within the undergraduate curriculum as both I and students of anti-feminist sympathies imagined? Why were feminist analyses integral to some courses, appended to others and in a third instance entirely absent? These historically specific inquiries indicate broader issues of knowledge, gender and power. Their answers are of more than historical significance for they may point the way towards a fuller understanding of the relationship between feminism and sociology today. A number of these questions, in particular those relating to the origins of feminism's curricular presence, lie at the heart of the study described in the following chapters yet few of them

had been formulated at the start of the research. Like its outcomes, the questions on which the project centres must be regarded as products of research process.

3. From Research Proposal to Project

This study was conceived as an exploration of feminism's relationship with sociology. As my initial research proposal (Appendix 1) reveals, emphasis was placed from the outset on the processes through which feminist perspectives have become incorporated into the practice of the discipline. Two further observations are possible. First, process was defined primarily in terms of intellectual change. The opening paragraph of the proposal implies the content and structure of traditional sociological knowledge as feminism's target, as do the publications cited in the corresponding section of the indicative bibliography. No reference is made to the institutional contexts in which such challenges are brought and transformations resisted or achieved. Second, although the focus on process promised to distinguish my investigation from existing commentaries (see for example Roberts 1981a; British Sociological Association Standing Committee on the Equality of the Sexes 1986; Maynard 1990), the project's aims and parameters were at this point only loosely defined. Feminism's encounter with

sociology was to be focused through a case study of the sociology of the family but the form and content of this investigation had yet to be formulated.

During the course of the research process the study underwent a gradual shift in focus, as I came to recognise the processes under investigation as social, political and institutional products. This reconceptualisation in turn facilitated a sharper specification of the project's objectives and boundaries. How were these transformations achieved? Charles Wright Mills has cautioned against the over refinement of research proposals, warning that in their production researchers risk commitment to projects that are "rounded out in some arbitrary manner before [they] ought to be" (Mills 1959: 197). The alternative lies in a continual process of criticism and review which guards against premature and inappropriate research plans. The key to this process is to be found in a creative and reflexive dialogue with relevant disciplinary literatures, for it is only in relation to these that new research problems become fully sociologically visible. Although considerably less comfortable in practice than in anticipation or retrospect, this procedure, enlivened and frequently enlightened by meetings with my supervisor,

enabled the project's transition from proposal to completed study.

Feminist debates about epistemology and accounts of the women's liberation movement featured prominently within my early reading. From the former I hoped to develop my analysis of feminism's critique of traditional knowledge forms, whether located within natural or social scientific perspectives, and to structure a historically informed view of feminism's engagement with specific academic disciplines. The literature concerned proved better equipped to assist with the former task than the latter. The history of the women's liberation movement yielded by the second body of library resources was at this point afforded the status of relevant background information, only subsequently emerging as a key aspect of the study narrative. Although they were not immediately apparent, my parallel engagement with these literatures had important consequences for the research. By chance rather than by design, and less than systematically, I began to recognise the bearing of one upon the other, and to identify points of connection and convergence between the two. In particular, my improved understanding of second wave feminist politics led me to question the sociological plausibility of separating feminism's intellectual

achievements from the circumstances of their production. Over time I was increasingly persuaded of the interdependency of intellectual and social transformation in the history of feminism's disciplinary challenge. The term materialist has been claimed by those close to radical (Delphy 1984; 1980) and marxist (Kuhn & Wolpe 1978; Barrett & McIntosh 1979) feminist perspectives, and more recently for deconstructive (Landry & McLean 1993) and postmodernist (Hennessy 1993) feminist projects. Materialism, as defined by these theorists, implies a theory of history grounded in the historically specific unity of the subjective and the objective (Marx & Engels 1974 [1845-46]; Marx & Engels 1977 [1848]). Despite the differences arising from the specific political and theoretical moments of their formulation, feminist and other (Turner 1991a) materialist analyses share an understanding of what Rosemary Hennessy calls the "materiality of knowledge" (1993: xiv), whether this is conceptualised as a connection between "intellectual production [and] social relationships" (Delphy 1984: 213), "theory and 'practice'" (Kuhn & Wolpe 1978: 5), consciousness and material conditions (Barrett & McIntosh 1979: 103) or as demanding an attention to the mutual construction of text and context (Landry & McLean 1993: 77) or "the material relation between the discursive ... and

the nondiscursive" (Hennessy 1993: xvi). Observations of this kind have led David Morgan (Morgan 1981) and Liz Stanley (Stanley 1990b) to adapt Terry Eagleton's reflections on the "literary mode of production" (Eagleton 1976: 45-46) in the service of a materialist sociology of sociology. Chapter Two includes consideration of the practical analytical adequacy of this formulation. The significance of the women's liberation movement and the material circumstances of its emergence for feminism's advance on sociological practice may be readily apparent to those whose autobiographies have placed them within these historical processes. To a member of a political generation influenced less by the politics of the "feminist public sphere" (Felski 1989: 8-12) than by the feminist critique of sociology itself (Roberts 1981a: 1) these continuities are less immediately visible.

My conceptual relocation of feminist epistemological work led me to look afresh at the politics of the women's liberation movement and to reassess their relationship with feminism's critique of sociology. It also enabled me to broaden the scope and focus of the project. Intrigued by the interaction of social and political circumstance and feminist intellectual production, and encouraged by the professional insights of my supervisor, I began to

look more closely at sociology's part in the feminism/sociology encounter, a process which opened my eyes to a disciplinary context both more complex and significant than I had previously allowed. Conceived initially in terms of its response to feminism's challenge, sociology now emerged as a dynamic force in its constitution. Feminism's sociological intervention could no more be analytically separated from the institutional and intellectual history of the discipline than from the political circumstances of its evolution.

Other changes in study design followed. My initial proposal suggested a library resourced exploration of the sociology of the family as an appropriate route to the elucidation of feminism's relationship with the discipline. Now I decided to refocus the study, concentrating instead on the development and delivery of undergraduate training. Despite the circumstances of its genesis the project initially framed identified sociological education and its documentary products as supplementary resource rather than object of analysis. Placed at the centre of the study, the content and organisation of undergraduate teaching offered access to the historical processes with which I was concerned, situating them firmly in time and space and providing a

clear focus for the construction of a materially grounded research narrative. The narrative produced was developed from a combination of sources, key among which were the autobiographically based insights of a group of women whose political and professional histories tie them, individually and collectively, to the emergence of feminism's sociological challenge.

Nicky James has noted the importance of intellectual flexibility early in the research process (James 1984). What retrospectively passes for tractability may be experienced as confusion, indecision and worse. Research journal entries from the first year of my project reveal frustration as I grappled with obstacles to the theoretical and practical delimitation of my study. With hindsight it is possible to identify features of the final study amongst the mass of questions and answers that at times threatened to overwhelm me. Thus early research notes are scattered with references to the women's liberation movement, perceived then as crucial context setting for feminist theoretical debates within and outside the discipline of sociology. Only later did its direct significance for feminism's disciplinary intrusion become apparent. Similarly, the idea of 'generation', employed as a sociological shorthand within early research

jottings reappeared as a tool for the conceptualisation of political and intellectual cohorts (Pilcher 1994, 1995, 1992; Mannheim 1952 [1923-29]).

Other analytical resources emerged further on in the research process. As I have indicated, my early formulation of the research question isolated feminism's intellectual challenge from the material circumstances of its production, cutting it adrift from the historically specific contexts in which it was formed and developed. Interview data confirmed feminism's critique as a site of social and political process involving relations of conflict and domination, but it was only through the sociology of Pierre Bourdieu that I was able to access the dynamics of this interaction. In her account of analytic process within an ethnographic study of stepfamilies Christina Hughes suggests that familiarity with the data and with the social relations to which they belonged impaired her capacity to distinguish between everyday and sociological knowledge during the fieldwork phase of her project (Hughes 1994: 39-41). As a feminist sociologist researching feminism's interpolation of the sociological field I too struggled to balance the research benefits of "insider" (Merton 1972) status with those of sociological distance. Conceptual distinctions offered by a previously

unexplored literature proved analytically "revelatory" (1994: 43) for Hughes, enabling her to reassess both her data and theoretical stance. Bourdieu's sociology of practice (Bourdieu 1977, 1990a; Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992a) transformed my approach to the present study in a similar way. Its impact lay less in the creation of fresh analytical structures than in a reorganisation and development of existing understandings. Crucially, it provided a conceptual vocabulary - *habitus, field, capital, orthodoxy, heterodoxy, doxa* - capable of rendering the familiar unfamiliar, the well-known strange, enabling me to blend personal and sociological insights towards the production of an account of historically concrete relationships between material process and intellectual change. These concepts are defined and explained in Chapter Three.

Retrospective narratives of research process risk replicating objectivist representations by portraying the life history of a project as an inevitable incremental progression towards positive meaning. As I have tried to convey, this study is the product of historically specific decisions and choices, one of many possible studies of change within an intellectual discipline. Its achievement marks the conclusion of a journey during which questions

have been formed and reformed, answers claimed or relinquished. As a creative process (Woods 1985) it has been immensely rewarding and unexpectedly costly, giving and demanding more than I had imagined or planned. Colin Bell and Howard Newby note that "as research workers we ... become different people through the process" (Bell & Newby 1978: 16; see also Bell & Encel 1978: 8-11; Platt 1976: 157-171; Clarke 1975). Just as autobiography feeds into the research process so this process leaves its marks upon our autobiographies. One consequence of my attempt to combine doctoral research with part and subsequently full time employment was a vulnerability to myalgic encephalomyelitis/chronic fatigue syndrome (ME/CFS), with which I have lived since 1994. The research process has therefore transformed me not only intellectually, professionally, socially and politically but also physically. My experience of this process has in turn been shaped by my diminished physical capacity. In the first place I have come, like Dorothy Smith, and Tracey Potts and Janet Price (Smith 1974a, 1988; Potts and Price 1995) to recognise academic work as fully embodied labour carrying corporeal requirements and significance. As Potts and Price point out, physically debilitating illness challenges the epistemological assumptions of a productive mode oriented towards the "life of the mind" (1995: 104),

forcing confrontation with the bodily demands of library use, reading, writing and typing, as well as the materiality of cognitive processes. Second, successive periods of sickness absence, the shortest a month, the longest a year, have fragmented and extended the research process and separated me from the structures of professional and personal support among which academic production, including doctoral research (Parry, Atkinson & Delamont 1997) typically proceeds. Paradoxically, isolation from the demands of the institutionalised academy (Woods 1985: 88) has helped to ensure the completion of the research; while the goal of completion has contributed form and purpose to a frustratingly long, slow, and indeterminate recovery process.

4. Sociology as History

The relationship between historical and sociological modes of inquiry has long been debated. The so-called conventional view identifies the former with the narration of events through time, the latter with the analysis of social phenomena at fixed historical moments. According to this construction the scholarship of historians, directed towards the retrieval of empirical detail, relies upon the techniques of factual discovery while that of sociologists, motivated by the pursuit of explanatory laws

and systems, depends upon the instruments of theoretical analysis (Bulmer 1974: 138; Goldthorpe 1984: 162-65). The strict dualism of this formulation has been modified by sociologists and historians who regard their specialisms as non-identical but mutually enriching. Thus John Goldthorpe has argued that historical and comparative researches supply structural frameworks into which "detailed studies of social milieux can be fitted in a meaningful way" (Goldthorpe 1984: 170), but remains convinced of the fundamental distinction between historical investigations, defined and confined by finite and incomplete "discovered evidence" and the data-generating possibilities of sociological scholarship (Goldthorpe 1991, 1994; for responses to this typification see Hart 1994; Bryant 1994). Others separate historical and sociological projects on the basis of their "logics and methodologies" (Mouzelis 1994) or their intellectual goals. Michael Mann suggests that sociology entails the pursuit of systematic knowledge of social formations, present or past, while history need not (Mann 1994).

A third analysis, and one vigorously resisted by adherents of the 'different but complementary' perspective, presents sociology and history as components of a single enterprise, the specification of social process in time

and space. For Anthony Giddens, acknowledgement of the temporality of social interaction renders history and sociology "methodologically indistinguishable" (Giddens 1979: 8, 230-33; see also Thompson 1965, 1980 and Mills 1959: 143-64), while Philip Abrams discerns within each specialism a fundamental preoccupation with the 'problematic of structuring', with "showing how people's action is shaped by the historically given social structures within which they find themselves and how their action becomes a process through which those structures are in turn changed" (Abrams 1982: 14). Abrams' account accords historical analysis a role beyond structural context-setting:

Doing justice to the reality of history is not a matter of noting the way in which the past provides a background to the present; it is a matter of treating what people do in the present as a struggle to create the future out of the past, of seeing that the past is not just the womb of the present but the only raw material out of which the present can be constructed (Abrams 1982: 8, original emphasis).

The "sociology of becoming" thus indicated offers a solution to the paradox of social agency - the conundrum that "people make their own history ... but under definite circumstances and conditions" (Abrams 1982: 6-7, xiv) - and hence the possibility of more adequate human science. Significantly Abrams lists Pierre Bourdieu among those

scholars whose work confronts the challenge of history - or process - for sociological analysis.

Building on such insights Theda Skocpol depicts historical sociological studies as investigations which:

ask questions about social structures or processes understood to be concretely situated in time and space ... address processes over time, and take temporal sequences seriously in accounting for outcomes ... attend to the interplay of meaningful actions and structural contexts, in order to make sense of the unfolding of intended as well as unintended outcomes in individual lives and social transformations ... [and] highlight the *particular* and *varying* features of specific kinds of social structures and patterns of change (Skocpol 1984: 1, original emphasis; see also Smith 1991).

This thesis concerns processes of intellectual transformation understood as temporally specific sites of convergence between social actions - the conscious and purposeful interventions of feminist and other sociologists - and structure - the political, institutional and intellectual circumstances by which these actions are framed. It can therefore be viewed as a contribution to the historical sociological project.

5. Thesis Structure

Liz Stanley has suggested that "understanding the process of the formation of ideas necessitates 'biographising' social structure and 'structuralising' biography":

attending to the interplay of individual and collective experience as it inhabits historically specific political and social contexts (Stanley 1997a: 8). This study combines the evidence of secondary and documentary data relating to the women's liberation movement, the discipline and profession of sociology and feminist curricular initiatives within institutions of higher education with the insights of women whose political and professional life-histories identify them individually and as a cohort with feminism's challenge to academic sociological practice. From these sources I attempt to construct an analysis of feminist curricular intervention sensitive to the interaction of biography and structure in the formation, and *transformation*, of sociological ideas.

In Chapter Two, *Feminist Knowledge: Sociological Knowledge*, I locate the present study within contemporary debates about the definition and purpose of feminist sociological scholarship. I also review two approaches to the conceptualisation of intellectual change and ask to what extent these facilitate a sociological analysis of feminism's critical engagement with academic sociology.

Chapter Three, *Tools for Thinking: Bourdieu's Sociology of Practice*, introduces Pierre Bourdieu's version of the

'sociology of becoming' - the "constructive structuralism" or "structural constructivism" (Bourdieu 1990b: 122) by which he seeks to overcome the dualism of action and structure - and the concepts by which it is organised. Bourdieu's accounts of *field* and *habitus*, and of *capital*, *orthodoxy*, *heterodoxy* and *doxa*, figure centrally in the last chapter of the thesis. The analytic deployment of 'patriarchal' discourse generates political and methodological dilemmas for feminist scholars: following Toril Moi (Moi 1991), I argue for a strategic feminist appropriation of conceptual resources produced outside or in ignorance of a feminist frame of reference.

Bourdieu himself favours a pragmatic approach to sociological analysis: "theory in my work ... is a temporary construct which takes shape for and by empirical work" (Bourdieu 1985: 11). Chapter Four, *Constructing the Narrative*, describes the processes of data collection and analysis associated with the empirical component of the study and relates these to issues of authority and power within the interviewer/interviewee relationship.

The remainder of the thesis traces the trajectory of feminist sociological scholarship from women's movement to women's studies classroom. Chapters Five and Six, *The*

Women's Liberation Movement and The Coming of Age of British Sociology, explore the political, institutional and intellectual origins of the new feminist studies. In Chapter Five I link feminist sociological perspectives to the personnel and preoccupations of the contemporary movement for women's liberation. In Chapter Six I examine the relationship between the status and profile of academic sociology and the institutionalisation of feminist intellectual priorities.

Chapters Seven and Eight focus on feminism's encounter with the undergraduate sociology curriculum during the 1970s. Chapter Seven, *Heretical Inventions: The New Women's Studies*, links respondents' biographies to the structural processes outlined in Chapters Five and Six, and describes the introduction of new teaching on women and gender relations. Chapter Eight, *From Heterodoxy to Orthodoxy: Transforming the Sociological Field*, brings the analytic resources of Bourdieu's sociology of practice into dialogue with interviewees' accounts of curricular intervention and change. Here I consider the relationship between the intellectual and social composition of the sociological field and its implications for the analysis of intellectual challenge and change. Only when attempts to redefine disciplinary knowledge are recognised as bids

for academic power can the political significance of
feminist curricular interventions be fully grasped.

CHAPTER TWO

FEMINIST KNOWLEDGE: SOCIOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE

During the course of the last three decades British academic sociology has been transformed by feminist social understandings. Once considered synonymous with sexual difference and at best incidental to disciplinary scholarship gender, however this is conceived (Rubin 1975; Oakley 1985; Wittig 1981, 1982), is now recognised as a crucial determining relation within and across social formations already acknowledged to be structured by class and 'race'. Liz Stanley has suggested that "in Britain ... feminism has had more of an impact, and from an earlier date, on and within sociology than any other discipline" (Stanley 1990c: 3). This study seeks to uncover the processes through which gender analyses have become institutionalised within one sphere of academic sociological activity, that of undergraduate education.

As I have indicated, my interest in feminism's relationship with sociology stems from my own experience as a sociology undergraduate. The gender-sensitive teaching I received during the mid 1980s had its origins in an intellectual revolution which began in the early 1970s and continues to challenge and change sociological

practice to this day. This chapter situates the present investigation of curricular transformation within recent and ongoing debates about the interaction of feminism, sociology and the academy. As Helen Crowley and Susan Himmelweit have observed, the term women's studies can connote both the study and studies of women (Crowley & Himmelweit 1992: 1). This chapter considers each, as well as feminism's relationship with the institutionalised contexts in which such activities typically occur. The final section of the chapter describes two possible approaches to the analysis of intellectual transformation. The publications on which the chapter relies include those associated with attempts to define a distinctively feminist sociological practice, accounts of feminism's relationship with the 'mainstream' academy, and 'impact' literature which seeks, more or less successfully, to chart the intellectual and institutional achievements of feminist sociologists from the 1970s to the present day.

1. Women Knowing

Sasha Roseneil has suggested that "feminist sociology is above all a project committed to the transformation of knowledge and thereby the transformation of gender relations" (Roseneil 1995: 196). During the last twenty-five years feminist scholars from across the academic

disciplines have devoted substantial intellectual energy to the elucidation of traditional knowledge forms and the flawed and partial assumptions about the configuration of social and scientific universes on which they rely. Specifically, feminists have argued that "masculine bias in social inquiry has consistently made women's lives invisible ... distorted our understanding of women's and men's interactions and beliefs and the social structures within which such behaviours and beliefs occur" (Harding 1986: 85). In one of the first British versions of this critique Ann Oakley traced the "sociological bias against women" to the founding "interests, concerns and methods" of the discipline, women's under-representation within the sociological field and an "underlying ideology of gender roles" which identified women with certain social locations and excluded them from others (Oakley 1974a: 21, 23, 24). Canadian sociologist Dorothy Smith explained women's eclipse from mainstream sociology as the consequence of conceptual practice organised by the characteristics of a distinct and dominant "male social universe" (Smith 1974a: 7). Both accounts posit women's historical exclusion from the defining processes of scientific production as crucial to their collective absence from or marginalisation within its discourses. Hilary Rose, whose analysis describes feminism's critique

as one of several contemporary demonstrations that "scientific knowledge is structured through its social genesis" (Rose 1982: 358) cites women's responsibility for reproductive labour, incorporating the activities of heart, hand and brain, as the source of their physical and thus discursive absence from both the practices and products of scientific endeavour.

"Feminism does not live by critique alone" (Stanley 1993: 256) and from the mid 1970s feminist attention to the inadequacies of androcentric science has been accompanied by a quest for more satisfactory approaches to the production of knowledge. Philosopher Sandra Harding differentiates between three feminist epistemological projects. Adherents of *feminist empiricism* suggest that the distortions of traditional scientific practice can be overcome through more rigorous compliance with the methodological principles of science itself and cast women scientists, who are by definition sensitive to the operation of masculinist bias, as the protectors and promoters of scientific integrity. *Feminist standpoint* theorists identify the future of scientific analysis with the perspectives of women, whose dominated social location yields a clarity and depth of understanding beyond the grasp of men within or outside the academic community.

While both empiricist and standpoint impulses are revisionary in character, *feminist postmodernism* strikes at the foundations of science and the assumptions about language, truth and reason on which its definition depends. Here the stability of scientific narrative is undermined by the fractured social identities and knowledge claims of the modern world, which are united only by political contingency (Harding 1986: 24-29, 1992).

Perhaps because of their materialist bent, standpoint epistemologies have held particular resonance for feminist sociologists. Dorothy Smith locates her "feminist sociology" in the problematic generated by "disjuncture ... between the forms of thought, the symbols, images, vocabularies, concepts, frames of reference, institutionalised structures of relevance, of our culture, and a world experienced at a level prior to knowledge or expression, prior to that moment at which experience can become 'experience' in achieving social expression or knowledge, or can become 'knowledge' by achieving that social form, in being named, being made social, becomes actionable" (Smith 1988: 49-50).

Sociological discourses, organised and defined by the "working worlds and relations" (Smith 1988: 62) of men,

their production and dissemination implicated in the institutionalised relations of ruling, provide no opportunity for the articulation of women's experiences. Yet it is precisely their location outside the sociological "frame" that privileges women's accounts of the social universe. Through women's narratives, which speak of a world at odds with the representations of social science, the founding assumptions of sociological theory and practice become apparent. Developing Alfred Schutz's account of the 'scientific attitude', Smith presents sociology as an endeavour requiring the bracketing or suspension of subjectivity such that "consciousness is reorganised to drop away the particular and local organisation from subject as centre, as well as relevances arising out of work or activity in relation to the subject's own interests or projects in the everyday world" (Smith 1988: 70). That the abstracted conceptual mode thus created exists in a relation of dependence with the bodily mode is evident only from the standpoint of women, whose daily activities typically provide its material support:

Organising the society in an abstracted conceptual order, mediated symbolically, must be articulated to the concrete and local actualities in which it is necessarily and ineluctably located. That must be a work, must be a product of labour. To a very large extent the direct work of liberating men into abstraction ... has been and is the work of women ...

Women keep house, bear and care for children, look after men when they are sick, and in general provide for the logistics of their bodily existence ... They do the clerical work, giving material form to the words or thoughts of the boss. They do the routine computer work, the interviewing for the survey, the nursing, the secretarial work. At almost every point women mediate for men the relation between the conceptual mode of action and the actual concrete forms on which it depends. Women's work is interposed between the abstracted modes and the local and particular actualities in which they are necessarily anchored. Also, women's work conceals from men acting in the abstract mode just this anchorage (Smith 1988: 83-84).

Both the particularities of the bodily mode and its significance for its conceptual counterpart are obscured by women's discursive exclusion. Women's standpoint, "a determinate position from which society may be known" (Smith 1988: 98), exposes the relationship between these two modes of action and paves the way for a radical redefinition of the sociological project.

Smith's pursuit of a sociology fitted to the concerns and perspectives of women leads her towards the everyday world as problematic, a formulation which indicates not an object of study but a source of sociological questions, a basis of inquiry. Since the everyday world is "neither transparent nor obvious" (Smith 1988: 91) such an enterprise inevitably involves the explication of relations and processes - in particular those associated

with corporate capitalism - outside its domain and control. Its aim is to make available to any member of society "a knowledge of the social organisation and determination of his or her directly experienced, everyday world" (Smith 1988: 88).

For Smith the methodological implications of such an approach are several. The standpoint of women directs the sociologist towards "an 'embodied' subject located in a particular actual local historical setting" (Smith 1988: 108), a knowing agent who contributes actively to the generation of sociological understandings:

A sociology for women must be conscious of its necessary indexicality and hence that its meaning remains to be completed by a reader who is situated just as she is - a particular woman reading somewhere at a particular time amid the particularities of her everyday world - and that it is the capacity of our sociological texts, as she enlivens them, to reflect upon, to expand, and to enlarge her grasp of the world she reads in, and that is the world that completes the meaning of the text as she reads (Smith 1988: 106).

The subject's contribution constitutes a necessary but not sufficient basis for sociological inquiry. The feminist sociologist must develop ways of thinking and writing which at once preserve the voices of women and provide access to the unseen relations and processes to which their everyday worlds, and her own, belong. Second-order

sociological constructs privilege the narrative of the *sociological* knower and impose the "temporal structure of the observational moment" (Smith 1988: 119) onto a moving and changing lived reality. Smith's alternative lies in an ethnomethodological investigatory mode which identifies the social within the concerted discursive practices of "actual individuals" (Smith 1988: 125) and the task of the sociologist with its retrieval, a process which involves reaching back or through texts of "human sensuous activities" (Smith 1988: 127) to discern the extended social relations by which they are organised.

The method Smith proposes is perhaps more easily specified than applied. In addition, although she suggests otherwise (Smith 1988: 78, 99, 107), the notion of a women's standpoint implies a commonality of social location which other feminist sociological investigations belie (Bhavnani 1993: 38-39). That the lives and experiences Smith claims for feminist inquiry are structured and defined by participation, whether in positions of subordination or power, within relations of 'race' and social class as well as those of gender raises epistemological and political difficulties for a sociology constructed from the standpoint of women. As Maureen Cain has pointed out, "knowing from a feminist standpoint is

not the same as ... knowing from a working class or black standpoint" (Cain 1986: 265). Nor can the coincidence of political interests arising from these perspectives be assumed. It is also unclear how we are to value the standpoints of women, including those interviewed during the course of this study, whose work locates them within the abstracted conceptual mode, at least some of whom are all too aware of its reliance upon the labour of women situated within other productive modes (Stanley 1990b, Stanley 1997a: 3).

Smith's standpoint sociology also generates methodological dilemmas regarding the relative status of 'social' and 'sociological' knowers' versions of reality. While she is anxious to privilege women's own accounts of their experiences her approach also relies upon the sociologist, whose role it is to "offer something like a map or diagram of the swarming relations in which our lives are enmeshed" (Smith 1988: 122). On the question of how the narratives thus produced are to be weighted in instances in which they yield "conflicting accounts of reality", in which, for example, a feminist sociologist constitutes as manifestations of patriarchal social relations marital relationships which women do not experience as oppressive (Ramazanoglu 1989: 433-34) she remains silent.

Liz Stanley and Sue Wise have defended Smith's standpoint epistemology, detecting within its terms of reference an approach fundamentally accommodating to contemporary feminist concerns (Stanley & Wise 1990). Specifically, and in contrast to its representation within Sandra Harding's epistemological typology, Smith's inclusive formulation of the sexual division of labour enables the expression of "feminist pluralism" (Stanley & Wise 1990: 28), the epistemological consequence of women's diverse and complex social location. The methodological implications of this complexity, and in particular if and how feminist sociologists should attempt to disentangle the (co)operation of distinct standpoints within a single perspective or group of perspectives, and indeed whether this is in practice possible (Bhavnani 1993: 40), are not addressed. Stanley and Wise also welcome Smith's refusal to value her own understandings above those of the women 'for' whom, according to Smith's representation, feminist sociology is undertaken, although they indicate no resolution to the political and methodological conundrums raised by the possibility of incompatible or conflicting accounts.

Tensions such as these are in part the product of the changing political and philosophical environment in which feminist and other epistemological debates continue. During the 1980s and 1990s poststructuralist and postmodernist problematisations of explanation, meaning and experience, in conjunction with women's assertion of their differing social locations and interests (Simmonds 1992) have generated profound questions about the basis of women's and feminist knowledge claims. While feminist sociologists have been slower than their colleagues within arts and humanities disciplines to embrace the "turn to culture" (Barrett 1992: 204), critical engagement with its constituent critiques, in particular those relating to the definition of the subject and the construction of meaning, have in recent years contributed to feminist accounts of social relations and processes (Nicholson 1990; McNay 1992; Barrett & Phillips 1992; Ramazanoglu 1993). Whether and how such understandings may be melded with those originating in standpoint analyses remains itself the subject of debate (Harding 1986, 1992; Stanley & Wise 1990; Cain 1993). The insights of poststructuralist and postmodernist thought have certainly contributed to more encompassing definitions of feminist materialism (Landry & McLean 1993; Hennessey 1993; Roseneil 1995).

2. Feminism and the Academy

Feminist empiricist, standpoint and postmodernist epistemologies are united in their insistence upon the social origins of knowledge claims. The suggestion that scientific analyses are socially situated and thus specific may constitute "the most revolutionary idea associated with feminism" (Stanley 1997a: 15) but it also raises uncomfortable questions for feminist academics, whose working lives identify them institutionally with masculine ways of knowing the social and natural worlds. Mary Evans has noted that participation in the nineteenth century academy required women to define their relationship to "[intellectual] debates and the nature of the institution" (Evans 1997a: 48). Similarly feminist scholars today must "work out what relationship we have not just to each other but also with the institutions we teach in" (Simmonds 1992: 58).

Concerns regarding the definition (Currie & Kazi 1987) and autonomy (Brunt, Green, Jones *et al* 1983) of feminist scholarship have led critics of feminist academic involvement to differentiate between "women's studies", entailing "rethinking everything in feminist terms" and integral to "the political activity of the Women's Liberation Movement" and "women's studies courses",

pursued within the context of established educational settings (Tamplin & Cecil 1973). Participation in the academy renders feminism accountable to "a whole framework of references and requirements ... antagonistic to its concerns" (Griffin 1994: 7) forcing both political and pedagogic compromise. In relation to teaching, the academic mode counters feminist principle in a number of ways. In the first place it fosters hierarchical relationships between teachers and taught, replacing an emphasis upon equality, participation and democratic process with a learning environment in which decisions regarding the content, scope and structure of teaching, as well as those concerning assessment methods and criteria are dictated by tutors operating within the frequently restrictive parameters of institutionally defined practice (Sheridan 1991). Second, and relatedly, "the academic model rests on the notion that there are experts whose job it is to initiate students (who are ignorant) into the mysteries of their subject (while ensuring that they always maintain their lead)" (Mahoney 1988: 104). As Liz Stanley has pointed out, the "theoretical imperialism" implicit in attempts to "name, ... theorise and ... colonise the experiences of others" (Stanley 1990c: 6) is antithetical to the definition of feminism and all too reminiscent of conventional academic postures: "speaking

'for the' women ... is the voice of the malestream, while speaking 'as a' woman is to speak sedition, involvement" (Stanley 1997a: 12; see also Stanley & Wise 1990: 36).

Third, while conventional scholarship elevates notions of generality and impartiality feminism, as Dorothy Smith rightly asserts, assumes the importance of "starting from where you are" (Aaron & Walby 1991: 3), relying politically and analytically upon the articulation of auto/biography, the local, interested and specific. As Kum-Kum Bhavnani notes, a determination to record "the ways in which human beings describe and discuss individual and personal feelings" (Bhavnani 1993: 41) need not preclude a concern for explanation and may instead signal the need for "integrative" scholarship, a commitment to "analysing experience in the light of theory and theory in the light of experience" (Bhavnani 1993: 44). Finally, in contrast with that sanctioned by the academy, feminist educational practice is explicitly political in motivation and intent:

The purpose of women's studies [is] to enable women ... to construct their own knowledge about women according to their own criteria as women; to empower themselves through knowledge making ... Central to the practices of women's studies scholarship [is] the principle that knowledges which [are] forged in its name should be subjected to rigorous scrutiny to ensure that the interests of women [are] being served and that a contribution [is] being made to the

development of a better world (Kramerae & Spender 1993: 3; see also Mahoney 1988: 105).

Ranged against these objections are a series of arguments in favour of feminist academic involvement. At their heart is the belief that feminist academic practice is integral rather than opposed to the purposes of women's liberation. While alert to the complexities of their position, defenders of academic engagement identify the creation of a "feminist intellectual space" (Aaron & Walby 1991) as crucial to the construction of a world free from gendered subordination. The empowerment of women's studies students is central to this process (Griffin 1994) as is the generation of analytic frameworks and resources fitted to the ever changing realities of women's lives and experiences (Whitlegg, Arnot, Bartels *et al* 1982; Beechey & Whitelegg 1986; Crowley & Himmelweit 1992; McDowell & Pringle 1992; Kirkup & Smith Keller 1992; Bonner, Goodman, Allen *et al* 1992; Richardson & Robinson 1993). In 1973 Diana Barker argued that as long as women students were found within higher educational settings women's studies should also be present (Barker 1973: 3,4). Cherris Kramerae and Dale Spender identify women's studies as a "safe house" for women within the academy (Kramerae & Spender 1993: 2), although bell hooks has challenged the assumption that "women best come to voice in an atmosphere

of safety", regarding a pedagogic environment in which students "may be afraid or see themselves at risk" as ultimately more conducive to critical thinking and empowerment (hooks 1989: 53). Other commentators suggest that feminism holds the potential to transform unsatisfactory academic structures "from within" (Griffin 1994: 8) enabling both pedagogic (Cambridge Women's Studies Group 1973: 3) and institutional (Barker 1973: 3) reform, as well as more adequate scholarship. In the words of Kum-Kum Bhavnani, "feminism, and its 'daughter' within the academy Women's Studies, is beautifully placed to understand and challenge the local and global directions and impetus of contemporary capitalism. In asking questions such as 'What is it that oppresses women? What shapes the lives and identities of women?', feminism can point to both the movement and organisation of capital across national boundaries, as well as to aspects of contemporary life in Britain" (Bhavnani 1993: 45). Further, the survival of feminist thought may depend upon its institutionalisation within existing knowledge frames. Without a foothold within the academy women's ideas may once again "fade and disappear" (Aaron & Walby 1991: 1; Spender 1983).

Despite such considerations feminist scholars have tended to experience their role in the production of knowledge "ambiguously and ambivalently" (Stanley 1990c: 5). Feminists within the academy have long debated the relationship between their scholarship and existing academic structures. While some equate feminism's interests with the creation of an autonomous institutional home for women's studies others pursue the transformation of mainstream disciplinary discourses. Identification with the first of these positions prioritises the establishment of specialist research facilities and curricula, association with the second suggests a strategic emphasis upon the reformulation of existing programmes of teaching and research. Each project has its strengths and limitations. The former ensures Kramerae and Spender's 'safe space' for women but carries the risk of academic and intellectual ghettoisation (Komarovsky 1988: 590). Integration may access greater resources and recognition for feminist scholarship but may result in "tokenism" or the "colonisation" or "appropriation" of women's studies (Frye 1992; Kramerae & Spender 1993: 2). A third analysis challenges the terms of the debate itself. Sasha Roseneil suggests that for historical and pragmatic reasons feminist scholarship often occurs at the interface between women's studies and other disciplinary

locations, taking its practitioners "continuously between and across" their institutional and intellectual boundaries (Roseneil 1995: 195).

Roseneil recommends a feminist academic practice committed at once to the strengthening of existing disciplines and to their combination in the creation of a "relatively autonomous feminist knowledge" (Roseneil 1995: 197). The extent to which women's studies can or should aspire to such *interdisciplinarity* (Brunt, Green, Jones *et al* 1983: 287) is a source of debate closely linked to that concerning institutional location. Jane Aaron and Sylvia Walby trace the growth of interdisciplinary women's studies to a tradition of feminist caucusing within hostile or indifferent institutional environments, but there are also questions of principle involved in feminism's rejection of conventional disciplinary distinctions and allegiances. To its advocates interdisciplinarity offers feminists a means of overcoming artificial and man-made barriers to the comprehension of women's lives and struggles: "women's studies ... must draw on and transcend a specific range of disciplines in order to investigate issues and questions that derive, not from these disciplines, but from the women's movement" (Sheridan 1991: 69). Failure to do so fragments women's

studies and inhibits "understanding of social processes as a whole, and the multifaceted nature of women's oppression" (Cambridge Women's Studies Group 1973: 1). Others view this project with scepticism, fearing that it relieves traditional disciplines of their obligation to engage with feminist critique - "the danger is that 'women' will be lifted out of context ... treated as a separate category ... and forgotten" (Davidoff 1973) - and is fraught with practical difficulties.

A second source of tension arises out of the relationship between feminist academic practice and the activities of the "feminist public sphere", which Felski defines as "an oppositional discursive arena ... structured around an ideal of a communal gendered identity perceived to unite all its participants" (Felski 1989: 9). The early history of women's studies is one of political collaboration between feminists within and outside the academy (Aaron & Walby 1991: 3). Critics then and since have argued that involvement with patriarchal academic institutions and organisations separates feminist scholarship from its roots, "deradicalising" (Currie & Kazi 1987) or "taming" (Aaron & Walby 1991: 1) both its processes and products. The spectre of incorporation looms equally large within concerns regarding the individual allegiances of feminists

inhabiting the academic mode. Thus it is argued that "by becoming part of what is an elitist, and essentially male system of higher education ... those who teach (and presumably also those who study) women's studies only serve their own professional interests and those of patriarchy and the male ruling class" (Evans 1982: 62).

Perhaps because, as the shift from 'feminist academic' to 'academic feminist' may signal, "collectively we are no longer the outsiders we once were" (Roseneil 1995: 193), the 1990s have found such debates once again at the forefront of feminist consciousness (Morley & Walsh 1995; Stanley 1997b; Evans 1997b). While positive evaluations of current relations between women's studies and women's movement perceive a pattern of reciprocity in which political concerns at once inform and are informed by the preoccupations of feminist scholarship (Evans 1997b :118) such that feminism and the academy occupy a relationship of steadily increasing interdependence (Stanley 1997a: 9), other accounts view the interaction of public and academic spheres with less complacency. A changed and changing women's politics (Scanlon 1990; Hobsbawm & Macpherson 1989; Gamman & O'Neill 1990) and the radical redefinition of academic life and labour (Green 1995; Davies & Holloway 1995; Halsey 1992; Williams 1993; Hoare 1995), as well as

the successes and achievements of academic feminism itself may be combining to produce a feminist academic practice ever further removed from the material experiences of women (Aaron & Walby 1991: 5; Roseneil 1995: 199-200). Critics suggest that the women's movement, once the "lifeblood of feminist scholarship" (Sheridan 1991: 69) currently comes a poor second to struggles for authority within the academy, a shift of emphasis which threatens to render feminism "'just' another academic subject" (Evans 1997a: 56). From this perspective feminism's recourse to poststructuralist and postmodernist thought can be interpreted as a "head-long rush for the security blanket of theoretical frameworks produced by men" (Roseneil 1995: 199). Further, as feminist scholars gain access to the professoriat, disparities of status and power *within* the feminist academic community increase in significance, as do the analyses of the still institutionally peripheral, whose view from "the margins" of academic life offer a crucial antidote to a feminist project identified ever more closely with its centre (Mirza 1995: 150).

3. Knowing Women

The position of women within the academy has long been a focus of feminist concern. 'First wave' feminists campaigned for the extension of higher education to women

throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century (Banks 1981: 39-47). At the end of the second world war women constituted a quarter of university entrants (Brooks 1997: 10) and by 1974/75 occupied 35% of (university) undergraduate places (Association of University Teachers 1977). In 1996 approximately half of all entrants to higher education were women (Brookes 1997: 17).

Throughout the twentieth century women have been under-represented within the professional ranks of the academy. Between 1912/13 and 1951 women's share of university appointments rose from five to twelve per cent (Brookes 1997: 13). Progress has also been uneven. Women academics were not admitted to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge until the 1930s and (late) 1940s respectively. Subsequent decades have brought some advances but women still comprise less than a quarter of the United Kingdom's academic population and are found clustered towards the lower end of the professional scale and disproportionately within higher education's growing "casualised" sector (Roseneil 1995: 198; Aziz 1990). In 1992 women held 14% of full-time higher education lectureships involving both research and teaching, 6% of senior lectureships and only 3% of professorships (Halsey 1992: 222). Non-white women comprise a tiny minority of women academics in Britain (Mirza 1995: 148-149).

Albert Halsey has suggested that women's professional participation in higher education is "patchy, passionate and peculiar because we are living through a period in which vigorous reforms are taking place with a view to establishing fair or equal chances in what remains, despite many slights and denials, one of the most attractive careers for women in paid employment in modern society" (Halsey 1992: 216). Others are less sanguine in their evaluations of the feminine academic role. While Halsey's account of women's status within the academic professions centres on their own commitments and orientations, referring for example to women's "continuous struggle to adapt to the conflicting pressures of the formal as distinct from the domestic economy" (Halsey 1992: 226), feminists emphasise factors relating to the demographic and cultural composition of the academy itself. Among the 'slights and denials' thus identified are overt and subtle forms of sexual discrimination (Bagilhole 1993), traditional and practically gendered definitions of productivity, women's under-representation within leadership and decision-making roles and the chasm between the letter and the application of equal opportunities strategies (Brooks 1997) as well as a range of undermining tactics including verbal and vocal violence and sexual harassment (Ramazanoglu 1987). Such mechanisms

operate against a backcloth of unspoken but powerful assumptions which equate masculine and academic practice:

The invisible colleges of high-position, high-status networks and associated processes of gatekeeping ... remain as important in academic life as ever they were, albeit cross-cut by an ethos of greater openness and the existence of procedures and practices apparently designed to regulate entry around formal qualifications and measurable attributes. The re/definitions of 'competence', 'skill', and 'importance' in gender terms is as important here as it has been in the workshops and factories of industrial capitalism. To [a] (marked) extent ... higher education remains if not the preserve then still the shelter and support of 'the good ol' boys' (Stanley 1997a: 7).

In these circumstances the strength of feminism's voice within academic sociology is all the more remarkable. Although women are better represented in sociology than within the academy as a whole and have, since the early 1960s consistently comprised over half of the discipline's undergraduate population (University Grants Committee 1961/62-1975), they remain professionally outnumbered by men. In 1963 19% of academic sociologists in Britain were women; in 1993 they still held only one in five appointments within the discipline (Association of Commonwealth Universities 1950-75, 1993). Yet during this time gender has become sociologically visible and feminists have created a firm disciplinary base for the study of women and sexual divisions. Feminist sociology has "come of age":

The past twenty years have seen an incredible flowering of feminist sociology. From a slow trickle of books and articles in the mid-1970s to a continuous torrent today, through which even the most determined reader struggles for a foothold, feminist sociology is being produced and published as never before (Roseneil 1995: 191-92).

Feminism's theoretical contributions to sociological scholarship include an attention to the interdependence of public and private spheres and the sexual division of labour by which each is structured, the assertion that gender, variously defined, has significance for all social analyses, and the problematisation of key sociological concepts such as work and social class (Maynard 1990: 271). Feminist sociologists also seek to explicate the mechanisms of male power (Segal 1990), the processes through which gendered subjectivity is formed or resisted (Lees 1986, 1993), and the interaction of both with other relations of dominance and subordination (Mirza 1992; Skeggs 1997).

These themes have entered undergraduate education via the introduction of specialist courses on women and gender and, to a lesser extent, the modification of teaching in 'core' and other sub-disciplinary areas. Research conducted in 1984 found examples of the former within fifty per cent of institutional settings surveyed (British Sociological Association Standing Committee on the

Equality of the Sexes 1986: 256); today optional courses on gender are "ubiquitous" (Roseneil 1995: 192), although the extent and character of its representation within other curricular locations is variable (Abbott 1991: 184). The 1980s and 1990s have also witnessed the proliferation of multi- or inter-disciplinary postgraduate women's studies. Feminists established Britain's first MA in women's studies at the University of Kent at Canterbury in 1980. The first formally designated doctorate in women's studies was awarded by the University of York in 1989 (Zmroczek & Duchon 1991: 12). Due in part to their popularity with students (Aaron & Walby 1991: 4) the number of taught and research degree programmes in both women's and gender studies continues to rise.

Although few feminist sociologists doubt the political or intellectual significance of these achievements less consensus surrounds the extent to which feminism's insights have been incorporated into the disciplinary mainstream. During the 1970s and early 1980s feminists found room for "cautious optimism" (Roberts 1981b: 79; Spender 1981a; Allen & Leonard 1991: ix) regarding the future of their project. Recent commentaries report a discipline broadly tolerant of 'separatist' feminist

initiatives but reluctant to engage with feminist analyses or to dispense with "ungendered orthodoxy":

Male academics continue to write about capitalism and post-capitalism as if gender divisions are irrelevant to their analyses of the social world. Where reference to gender is made this tends to be in a marginal fashion, as if gender can be taken into account without revising or rethinking any existing theoretical assumptions (Maynard 1990: 273),

Feminist theories are seen as, at best, relevant to women and to theorising research on women, but nothing more ... if gender is to be taken seriously then theories need to be developed that encompass the position(s) of women as well as of men and the relations between them at both an individual and a structural level (Abbott 1991: 189).

In relation to the curriculum too, gender tends to be dealt with as "an addendum - a criticism of received wisdom, or an additional sub-area worth a lecture or two, or something for the women to teach as a third-year option" (Abbott 1991: 181).

In both cases challenges to the traditional theoretical and methodological bases of the discipline have met the greatest opposition or inertia. Neither response is surprising. Feminist knowledge claims contest not only the intellectual priorities of sociological scholarship but the configurations of power from which they arise: "feminism is about political action, however small the 'p'" (Evans 1997a: 52). Sociology may, as Anna Yeatman has argued, be "in principle" (Yeatman 1986: 171)

accommodating to feminist critique (although the distinction between principle and practice thus implied is itself open to question). Accounts of feminism's impact suggest that defenders of sociological convention recognise feminism as the "radical oppositionary culture" (Aaron & Walby 1991: 2) and women's studies as the "implicitly disruptive idea" (Evans 1997b: 115) that feminist sociologists know them to be, with well-documented implications for participation in feminist and gender-sensitive scholarship (Spender 1981b; Ward & Grant 1985; Grant & Ward 1991). Although feminists now recognise the political and analytic distortions consequent upon the assumption of undifferentiated feminine or feminist identity, the extent to which 'mainstream' or 'malestream' (Abbott 1991: 181; Stanley & Wise 1990: 39) responses to feminism are themselves cross-cut by considerations of politics and power *beyond* those associated with gender has been little explored.

4. Understanding Intellectual Change

Analysts of feminist intellectual transformation typically adopt one of several stage models of change. In 1983 Sandra Harding and Merrill Hintikka identified two distinct but complementary intellectual moments within the feminist critique of orthodox scientific practice (Harding

and Hintikka 1983: x-xi). The first, "deconstructive" project involved feminist scholars in the demystification of previously taken for granted but masculine ways of knowing the social and natural worlds, the second, "reconstructive", project demanded the exploration of specifically feminine experience towards the production of more scientifically and humanly adequate modes of investigation and analysis. Other models incorporate a stage analytically prior to that of deconstruction, operating distinctions between feminist scholarship - typical of the early 1970s - which seeks simply to render women objectively visible within existing academic discourses and a subsequent rejection of the exclusionary conceptual and theoretical assumptions on which such discourses are founded (Stacey & Thorne 1985: 302). Elizabeth Gross (Gross 1986) contrasts an initial transformative phase, during which feminist scholars worked to establish women's right to appear alongside men as objects of empirical and theoretical investigation with a later commitment to women's distinctiveness as both objects and subjects of social scientific enquiry. Gross suggests that the former, inclusionary, tendency was marked by a readiness to work within existing theoretical frameworks; its successor by their "tactical" (Gross 1986: 193) deployment or a search for alternative theoretical

resources. Similar distinctions are drawn by Pamela Abbott and Claire Wallace, who differentiate between integrative, separatist and reconceptualising brands of feminist sociological scholarship (Abbott & Wallace 1997: 12-13; Abbott 1991). Stage models of intellectual transformation have also been applied specifically to processes of curricular change. Describing attempts to incorporate women's studies into American higher education, Margaret Anderson reviews several phase analyses from the 1980s, all of which map a broad evolutionary transition from recognition of women's absence from traditional discourses through attempts to import feminine experience into existing knowledge schemes and culminating in the reformulation of disciplinary concepts, methods and theories (Anderson 1987: 234-238).

Although she is careful to emphasise the fluidity of inter-phase boundaries and the limitations of rigidly linear models, Anderson recommends such analyses for their capacity to conceptualise the development of feminist critique as historical process (Anderson 1987: 234, 237). Stage model accounts of intellectual transformation highlight the progression of feminist thought regarding the structure and ownership of traditional knowledge forms and locate such discoveries within historical, and

political, time. Thus Elizabeth Gross is able to link 'inclusionary' and 'autonomous' moments of feminist critique with equal rights and self-determinist currents within the contemporary women's movement.

What these analyses lack is any or systematic attention to the social context of intellectual production and change, mechanisms for relating intellectual transformations to the social processes they inevitably entail. As we have seen, recognition that scientific knowledge, like its lay counterpart, is socially constructed and constituted, imbued in both form and content with the historically and culturally specific circumstances of its production, among them the distribution of material power, lies at the heart of the new feminist scholarship. Yet these accounts of its development offer little or no analytical purchase on the social relations of academic production. Thus Abbott and Wallace describe sociology as a "male dominated discipline" (Abbott & Wallace 1997: 1) but draw no explicit connections between this and attempts at, and responses to, feminist disciplinary reconceptualisation. Margaret Anderson notes women's studies' capacity to "challenge the authority of traditional scholarship" and thus "the egos of those who have invested their careers in this work" (Anderson 1987: 232) but the social

significance of this dislocation remains unexamined. Elizabeth Gross refers to feminist challenges to the structuring assumptions of patriarchal discourse as "more threatening" (Gross 1986: 192) than earlier inclusionary tactics but the precise meaning and implications of this observation remain unexplored. She also suggests that recognition of their status as subjects of knowledge was accompanied for women scholars by an understanding of intellectual production as a process of "sexual division" and "exclusion" (Gross 1986: 194), but again stops short of a fuller analysis. My purpose in highlighting these examples is not to devalue stage accounts of feminist intellectual transformation, since evidently exploration of the continuity of intellectual and social practice is not a principal part of their intention. However, I would argue that consideration of this continuity, and in particular of the kind of divisions and exclusions to which Gross alludes should lie at the heart of any *sociological* analysis of processes of intellectual change.

One possible route to such an understanding, and one pursued by a number of sociologists involves the appropriation of materialist analytic resources. Thus David Morgan (1981) and subsequently Liz Stanley (1990b) have harnessed insights from Terry Eagleton's 'Categories

for a Materialist Analysis' (Eagleton 1976: 44-63) and in particular his account of 'literary modes of production' in the service of a sociology of everyday sociological practice. For Morgan the notion of a 'sociological mode of production' offers analytic access to the social relations of sociological scholarship and their impact upon those processes through which "genuine or authentic" (Morgan 1981: 96) disciplinary work is attributed as such. Attention to the social organisation of sociological production suggests that men's disciplinary domination finds reflection first, in standards of 'sociological rationality' founded on gender-specific assumptions, and second in a masculine academic culture which operates routine, if unconscious, control over material and other disciplinary resources. Liz Stanley makes a case for understanding social scientific scholarship as material practice involving historically specific forces and relations of production, the former encompassing both human and inanimate "materials" and "tools of the trade" (Stanley 1990b: 5), the latter organised according to control, or otherwise, of academic processes and products. Her brief account of the academic mode conveys both the complexity and contingency of the social formation: for example, depending on context, students may be considered commodities, raw materials or co-producers (Stanley 1990b:

6). While Stanley, like Morgan and Eagleton, recognises continuities between patterns of power within and beyond academic modes, she rightly rejects any suggestion that the former imitate simple class or gender divisions.

Mode of production conceptualisations of academic practice can be regarded as more sociologically adequate than phase model accounts. Within them, intellectual activity is recognised as fully material practice located within historically particular relations of production and consumption. All aspects of intellectual practice, including the shape and status of knowledge forms, are implicated in these relations which, as both Morgan and Stanley point out, are structured according to the historically specific intersection of gender and other social divisions. The approach has less to recommend it in terms of its utility for detailed systematic analysis. Morgan admits that his is an "impressionistic" (Morgan: 1981: 108) account of academic practice, and Stanley's contribution is more a guide to possible paths of investigation than an analytic resource. Further, while Morgan focuses principally on the social and scientific consequences of the social organisation of sociological production, Stanley raises questions about its

constitution. Neither consider the *social processes* of intellectual production and change in any depth.

5. Towards a Sociology of Intellectual Practice

This study proceeds, in accordance with Dorothy Smith's recommendation, from research questions generated by 'lived experience'. It aims to identify the origins of feminist sociological practice and to plot its initial route into undergraduate teaching within British institutions of higher education. Published accounts of feminism's relationship with sociology and the broader academy clarify the basis of feminism's critique of traditional knowledge forms, indicating the ways in which sociological discourses have excluded and distorted the experiences of women, and their implications for the shape and structure of 'malestream' disciplinary understandings. In addition they identify feminist attempts to create and disseminate sociological analyses constructed from the lives and relevances of women, however these are determined, with the politics of the 'feminist public sphere' and in particular those of the contemporary movement for women's liberation. As we have seen, this relation is crucial to the definition and employment of feminist scholarship but renders its practitioners vulnerable to charges of theoreticism and elitism from

feminists sceptical about the compatibility of feminist and academic principle.

Less attention is given to the "politics of knowledge" (Spender 1981a) implicit within standpoint and other feminist epistemologies. If, as these analyses suggest, knowledge claims are socially located and politically laden, feminist sociology represents a challenge not only to dominant discourses but to the social relations by which they are structured, and responses to feminism's intervention can be expected to involve more than simple pro- or anti-feminist sentiment. Despite their advantages neither phase model nor mode of production conceptualisations of intellectual change provide detailed analytic purchase upon the social and political processes feminist 'reconstructive' projects entail. Conceptual resources contained within Pierre Bourdieu's sociology of practice offer one possible route to the analysis of academic politics and power. The key features of this approach are considered in Chapter Three.

CHAPTER THREE

TOOLS FOR THINKING: BOURDIEU'S SOCIOLOGY OF PRACTICE

As David Morgan and Liz Stanley demonstrate, academic sociology can be regarded as a mode of production structured according to the distribution of power within and beyond its boundaries. I have suggested that conceptual resources located within Pierre Bourdieu's sociology of practice facilitate the specification and exploration of the forces and relations on which this mode is based. Chapter Eight brings these resources into analytic dialogue with study respondents' accounts of feminist curricular change during the 1970s. This chapter identifies the key features of Bourdieu's approach and their advantages for a feminist sociology of sociology.

1. Bourdieu's Sociology of Practice

Several aspects of Bourdieu's scholarship militate against attempts to capture its defining characteristics. The first is its sheer scope. The products of his academic career, which dates from the late 1950s, span and frequently combine a range of social scientific and arts specialisms including philosophy, anthropology, sociology, cultural studies and literary criticism or 'philology'. While this intellectual catholicism is due in part to the

organisation of the French academy, which places less emphasis than its Anglo-American equivalents on the distinction between social and human sciences (Postone, LiPuma and Calhoun 1993: 7; see also Lemert 1981: 14-15) it is also a reflection of Bourdieu's own disrespect for formal disciplinary boundaries (Wacquant 1992a: 27). His interests within his primary field, sociology, are equally eclectic. Although best known in Britain for his investigations with Jean-Claude Passeron of the French educational system and its role in the inter-generational transmission of class and cultural privilege (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977, 1979) Bourdieu has also made influential contributions to, among others, the sociologies of taste (Bourdieu 1986), science (Bourdieu 1981) and sociology itself (Bourdieu 1993a; 1990a). Second, Bourdieu is a prolific writer. Over the last three and a half decades he has published twenty-five books and in excess of 260 journal articles, excluding foreign language translations (Wacquant 1992a: 2), in addition to numerous interviews and oral presentations. While the range and volume of Bourdieu's academic output complicate the task of summary they are hardly grounds for criticism. In contrast, a third source of difficulty - his opaque and convoluted style of expression - is a legitimate target for complaint. As anyone with first-hand experience of his

"permanent struggle against ordinary language" (Bourdieu 1988: 149) can testify, Bourdieu's intellectual insights are all too often casualties of his prose (Jenkins 1989: 642-44; 1992: 9-10; Connell 1983: 145). In the face of this writing style cultural (Lemert 1981: 3-11) or methodological (Duncan 1990: 192) justifications provide small comfort. Fortunately concision and clarity elude him less frequently during interviews, hence the value of their published transcripts (for example Wacquant 1989; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992a; Bourdieu 1990a, 1993a; see also Mahar 1990) for the present and other empirical applications of his analytical approach.

None of these difficulties is insurmountable. Bourdieu's readiness to respond to direct interrogation and a burgeoning secondary literature enable the resolution of interpretive problems arising from his idiosyncratic syntax. More importantly, close attention to *primary* texts reveals that despite their academic and empirical diversity, Bourdieu's intellectual forays into the social and cultural worlds, from his earliest anthropological research (Bourdieu 1962) to his more recent discussions of cultural production (Bourdieu 1983; 1993b) display a number of enduring and unifying theoretical themes addressed through an analytical approach which relies upon

a largely consistent and manageable array of conceptual resources.

Bourdieu's work bears the marks of several distinctive intellectual traditions, including those associated with the scholarship of Marx, Weber, Durkheim, Levi-Strauss and Sartre. His own theoretical perspective draws on these and other approaches but owes specific allegiance to none. Thus while some commentators group his work with that of marxist social reproduction theorists such as Louis Althusser and Henri Lefebvre (Connell 1983) Bourdieu has himself emphasised its distance from conventional and recent marxian modes of analysis (Thompson 1991: 29-31); as from structuralist ethnography and existentialist phenomenology (Bourdieu 1990c). In eschewing such perspectives Bourdieu is in pursuit not of theoretical 'independence' but of a social science capable of rising above the analytically debilitating polarities and "false oppositions" (Bourdieu 1990d: 34) inherent both within and between them. Various commentators place the attempt to move beyond antinomous separations between, for example, the individual and society, action and structure, freedom and necessity at the heart of Bourdieu's intellectual project (Thompson 1991: 11; Postone, LiPuma and Calhoun 1993: 1; Wacquant 1992a: 5; Jenkins 1992: 66). Underlying

these dichotomies, which organise and for Bourdieu systematically devalue western social scientific thought is a fundamental ontological split between subject and object. This scission, founded in Bourdieu's view upon common sense assumptions about the world, is mirrored in the equally artificial epistemological distinction between subjectivity and objectivity.

In Bourdieu's vision the sociological challenge resides in the successful transcendence of these divisions. Neither objectivism, exemplified by Emile Durkheim's 'social physics', nor subjectivism, manifest for instance in the 'social phenomenology' of Alfred Schutz constitutes an adequate theoretical basis for social analysis. Only an approach which recognises that social reality inheres neither in structures nor representations, but is instead the product of the dialectical interaction of the two, deserves the epithet social science. In Bourdieu's own words:

the objective structures which the sociologist constructs in the objectivist moment, by setting aside the subjective representations of the agent, are the basis of subjective representations and they constitute the structural constraints which influence interactions; but, on the other hand, these representations also have to be remembered if one wants to take account above all for the daily individual and collective struggles which aim at transforming or preserving these structures (Bourdieu 1990b: 125).

This "constructivist structuralism" or "structural constructivism" (1990b: 122) forms the theoretical basis of Bourdieu's sociology of practice, informing the range of his substantive studies (compare, for example, his analysis of kinship and community among the Kabyle peasantry of Algeria during the 1950s [Bourdieu 1962] and that of the social production of taste in contemporary France [Bourdieu 1986]) as well as his epistemological insights regarding the processes of their production (Bourdieu 1988: 1-35, 1990f: 59-60; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992b: 63-78). His theoretical stance is not in itself remarkable. As Richard Jenkins (Jenkins 1992: 70) notes, Bourdieu's attention to the roles of both structure and agency in the production of social reality can be compared with Marx's observation, over a century earlier, that "men [sic] make their own history but ... not ... under circumstances chosen by themselves" (Marx 1852) and with the whole materialist conception of history (Engels 1940). Bourdieu himself acknowledges that few sociological perspectives belong exclusively to either objectivist or subjectivist schools or 'moments' (Bourdieu 1990b: 123; see also Lemert 1981: 26-27). What distinguishes his theory of practice is his determination to translate this broad analytical perspective into a set of conceptual

tools able to capture and elucidate the routine, and largely invisible, processes through which social and cultural reproduction occur. The products of this endeavour have much to contribute to an analysis of feminism's engagement with institutionalised sociology.

Central among these conceptual resources are the interrelated notions of *habitus*, *field* and *capital*. As we will see, it is through the first two of these that Bourdieu attempts to convey the interdependence of subjective formulation and objective conditions in the production of social action. The term *habitus* has a long and varied intellectual history (Jenkins 1992: 74). For Bourdieu it refers to the system of 'generative dispositions' through which individuals and collectivities perceive, comprehend (and classify), evaluate and act upon the social worlds to which they belong (Bourdieu 1977: 72-95). These dispositions have several distinctive characteristics. First, they are experientially acquired, inculcated initially through the processes of childhood socialisation. Second, and in inevitable consequence, they are structured by and reflective of the social circumstances of their production, varying, for example, according to class (Thompson 1991: 12) and gender (Moi 1991: 1030) positioning. Third, they are durable, so

thoroughly internalised that they lie beyond articulation, and outside the influence of conscious reflection or modification. Fourth, and finally, they are transposable, capable of generating perception and practice in a range of contexts other than those in which they have their origins.

Habitus, in its various incorporeal and bodily manifestations, equips social actors with "a feel for the game" (Bourdieu 1990f: 61), the cognitive, affective and practical resources necessary for the less-than-conscious accomplishment of both mundane and unforeseen aspects of everyday life. It also shapes their *strategies* or orientations towards action within particular social situations. As a concept it enables Bourdieu to analyse human activity as regular and objectively coordinated without recourse to theories of rule-governed behaviour or rational action, of which he is deeply critical (Bourdieu 1977: 72-76; 1990f; Postone, LiPuma and Calhoun 1993: 4). However, equally crucially for his theoretical project, the dispositions of habitus generate practice only in interaction with the objective conditions characteristic of the specific social setting concerned. Bourdieu draws attention to the role of context in the production of social practice through his account of the *field*, a

concept which contributes to his analytical model in two distinct ways.

In the first place it enables him, in a move reminiscent of historian Edward Thompson's controversial approach to class analysis (Thompson 1980), to place social relations at the centre of the sociological stage. A *field* is a "structured space of positions" (Bourdieu 1993c: 72) which exist only in historically specific relation to one another, and which are delimited by their control, or otherwise, of the goods and resources - the *capital* - on which the field is based. In one of his more lucid expositions, offered in interview with Loic Wacquant, Bourdieu describes the field as:

a network, or ... configuration, of objective relations between positions objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose on their occupants, [whether] agents or institutions, by their present and potential situation ... in the structure of the distribution of the species of power (capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective relations to other positions (Wacquant 1989: 39).

The key to the analysis of social relations therefore lies in the scrutiny not of interaction or intersubjective bonds between individuals, but of the relative distribution of power between positions within any and every field of action. Any sphere of social practice

organised according to the logic of objective power relations can be described as a field. Bourdieu himself applies the term to a wide range of 'social spaces', some (the economic field, the political field) broad, others (the literary field, the intellectual field, the field of cultural production) more specific. Contemporary western societies are structured around numerous fields, the boundaries of which shift and change through time, according to the immanent allocation of capital.

Although the stakes of each field are unique (Bourdieu 1991: 230), Bourdieu identifies four generic categories of power, *economic* (conventional) *capital*, *cultural capital* (knowledge, skills and other cultural acquisitions, including educational qualifications), *social capital* (economically, politically or culturally useful social relations) and *symbolic capital* (the form assumed by any type of capital recognised as *legitimate* within the field) (Bourdieu 1986: 114; 1991: 230; Moi 1991: 1025; Thompson 1991: 14). In most social settings capital is differentially distributed, with the consequence that a field is not simply a space of positions but also one of "forces and struggles" (Wacquant 1989: 38) between participants who enjoy possession or management of its resources and those who do not. Agents' practical

orientations are informed by their location within a field. Individuals and groups lacking substantive (and hence symbolic) power will tend towards strategies of *heterodoxy*, which attempt, although without guarantee of success, to subvert the structure of the field, while those occupying positions of privilege and authority will work to protect the *orthodoxy* which ensures their status, via strategies of conservation (Bourdieu 1993c: 73).

Defenders of orthodoxy are typically well established members of a field, their opponents most commonly newcomers.

As in any struggle, competition over capital presumes a degree of consensus between adversaries concerning the importance of the field and the worth of its stakes. In

Bourdieu's own words:

another property of fields, a less visible one, is that all the agents that are involved in a field share a certain number of fundamental interests, namely everything that is linked to the very existence of the field. This leads to an objective complicity which underlies all the antagonisms. It tends to be forgotten that a fight presupposes agreement between antagonists about what it is that is worth fighting about (Bourdieu 1993c: 73).

Paradoxically, a field is therefore defined through both the differences and shared interests of its members. The latter are tacit and unarticulated, remaining, in Bourdieu's terminology, at the level of *doxa*, that which

is taken for granted (Bourdieu 1994: 160). In contrast, strategies of heterodoxy or *heresy*, which signal a challenge to existing power relations, function as a "critical break with doxa" (Bourdieu 1993c: 73), bringing the inequities of the field into sharp relief and forcing agents endowed with capital to acknowledge and defend their positions. Unlike doxa, which is characterised by *misrecognition* (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977: x-xiii, 31), both heterodoxy and orthodoxy imply recognition of the possibility of an alternative distribution of power.

In addition to enabling him to "think relationally" (Wacquant 1989: 39) the notion of the field, conceptualised in tandem with that of habitus, allows Bourdieu's sociology of practice analytic recourse to both social context and individual 'strategy' without conceding epistemological priority to either. Although the precise dynamics of their relationship are open to interpretation (Jenkins 1992: 79), the field and habitus are deeply interdependent. Agents' dispositions owe much to social context. As we have seen, habitus is instilled first through primary socialisation and is thus reflective of specific social location. Thereafter, individual and collective orientations towards practice owe much to ownership, or otherwise, of the goods and resources of the

field. The field is in turn reliant upon the dispositions of its occupants. Each field is characterised by its own habitus, the shared maintenance of which is "the condition of the functioning of the field" (Bourdieu 1993c: 73). As indicated above, the habitus of the field, which "implies ... knowledge and recognition of ... [its] immanent laws ... stakes, and so on" (Bourdieu 1993c: 72) routinely operates in the doxic mode. It is as a consequence of this unarticulated and "quasi-perfect" correspondence between "objective structures and internalised structures" (Bourdieu 1994: 161), and through the historically specific mechanisms of *symbolic violence*, via which the culture of the dominant is imposed in such a way that it is experienced as legitimate by all members of the field [Bourdieu and Passeron 1977: x-xii, 31-32; Bourdieu 1981: 262-67; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992b: 167-68]), that objective social relations are *reproduced*:

the dispositions durably inculcated by the possibilities and impossibilities, freedoms and necessities, opportunities and prohibitions inscribed in the objective conditions ... generate dispositions objectively compatible with these conditions and in a sense pre-adapted to their demands. The most improbable practices are therefore excluded, as unthinkable, by a kind of immediate submission to order that inclines agents to make a virtue of necessity, that is, to refuse what is anyway denied and to will the inevitable (Bourdieu 1990e: 54).

Under doxic circumstances agents in positions of power need make no particular effort to preserve their

privilege. Only through the heretical challenges of newcomers to the field is the arbitrariness both of the homology between social structure and habitus and of the distribution of specific and symbolic capital exposed.

2. Tools for Thinking

Over the course of the last two decades Bourdieu's sociology of practice has attracted critical attention beyond the French academy. While exponents of his theoretical perspective express few reservations about its adequacy (Wacquant 1992a; Thompson 1991), suggestions that it is ultimately unsuccessful in its bid to transcend the objectivist/subjectivist divide (Jenkins 1992: 61, 91) and is diminished by a focus on the reproduction of social order which leaves issues of struggle and change under-represented (Connell 1983: 154-159; Jenkins 1992: 118; see also Lemert 1981: 23-24) must be taken seriously.

For the purposes of the analysis undertaken in this study however, these interpretational disputes are less important than the analytical power of Bourdieu's conceptual apparatus. The value of any theory lies first and foremost in its capacity to render comprehensible the products of empirical investigation. Assessed on this basis, Bourdieu's sociology has much to contribute to an

account of feminism's encounter with the institutionalised discipline. Understood as a field of intellectual production, academic sociology emerges as a space of power relations structured by the allocation of particular and symbolic capital. Simultaneously it appears as a site of competition over the ownership and control of these resources. While under doxic conditions all aspects of sociological practice, including its very definition, contribute to the preservation and reproduction of existing patterns of domination and subordination, challenges carry the potential to expose not only its intellectual limitations but also the objective relations of power and inequality it disguises. In Chapter Eight I suggest that through its critique of the discipline's gender-blindness, feminist scholarship produced just such a rupture within the sociological field, with profound consequences for both feminism and sociology.

There are two possible objections to this utilisation of Bourdieu's analytical approach. The first is that its reliance upon a relatively small array of conceptual resources - in particular those of habitus, field and capital, doxa, legitimacy, symbolic violence, heresy and orthodoxy - represents an overly selective application of his theoretical perspective. Both Loic Wacquant and

Richard Jenkins warn against the piecemeal deployment of Bourdieuan insight (Wacquant 1992a: 4; Jenkins 1992: 12), a trend perpetuated by textbook treatments which typically privilege Bourdieu's contributions to the sociology of education (see, for example, Wallace and Wolf 1991: 98-101). Countering the charge of eclecticism in relation to the present study is the argument that the conceptual appropriation in which it engages acknowledges Bourdieu's broader theoretical approach and is congruent with his own assessment of his scholarship, in particular his insistence that his goal is not the construction of immutable theory but the assembly and refinement of tools for thinking. While a number of recurrent themes underlie Bourdieu's intellectual project, he repeatedly rejects the mantle of grand theorist (although see The Friday Morning Group 1990: 217) and evidently resents attempts to tether him to a rigid and inflexible analytical framework. For Bourdieu, sociology's task is the discovery and elucidation of "the most profoundly buried structures of the various social worlds which constitute the social universe ... [and of] the 'mechanisms' which tend to ensure their reproduction or ... transformation" (Bourdieu 1989, cited Wacquant 1992a: 7), and sociological theory as good only as the practical insights it enables. He intends his

concepts not as components of an abstract model but as instruments for practical sociological use:

Let me say outright and very forcefully that I never 'theorise', if by that we mean engage in the kind of conceptual gobbledygook ... that is good for textbooks and which, through an extraordinary misconstrual of the logic of science, passes for Theory in much of Anglo-American social science ... There is no doubt a theory in my work, or, better, a set of *thinking tools* visible through the results they yield, but it is not built as such ... It is a *temporary construct which takes shape for and by empirical work* (Wacquant 1989: 50, original emphasis).

Bourdieu has himself applied the metaphor of the field to various arenas of intellectual and cultural production including literary criticism (Bourdieu 1990g), science (Bourdieu 1981) and social science (Bourdieu 1988, Bourdieu 1993a).

The second objection concerns the desirability of employing in the service of feminist analysis a theoretical approach which has until recently paid scant attention to inequalities of gender (Thompson 1991: 30). While gender difference and division have long been themes of Bourdieu's sociology (Bourdieu 1962; Kraus 1993: 159-160) it has taken him a further three decades to locate them within an analysis of power (Bourdieu 1990, cited Moi 1991: 1029-34; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992b: 170-174) despite his identification of domination and inequality as central to sociology's analytic project. However, the

limitations of Bourdieu's own theorisation need not place its analytical resources beyond feminist reach. Toril Moi advocates a principled but pragmatic approach to 'male' and gender-blind perspectives, in which they are judged according to "the use to which [they] can be put and the effects [they] can produce" (Moi 1989: 118-119), rather than the circumstances of their genesis. The identity of theories useful for feminism will vary with time, place and political and theoretical preference. As we will see in Chapter Six, during the 1970s feminist sociologists in Britain harnessed both marxist and ethnomethodological analyses to their cause. Moi, writing from a very different historical and disciplinary moment, recommends Bourdieu's conceptualisation of habitus, which predates by many years his own account of gender subordination, to feminist analysis (Moi 1991) and others have found other elements of his sociology productive for feminism (Risseuw 1991; McCall 1992; Kraus 1993; Skeggs 1997).

In Chapter Eight I discuss feminist sociological initiatives, in particular those associated with the reform of the undergraduate curriculum, as "heretical inventions" (Bourdieu 1981: 271-72) whose attempts to foreground issues of gender at once challenged prevailing definitions of sociology and the relations of professional

domination to which they were tied. In their determination to place 'women's studies' at the heart of the disciplinary project feminist sociologists disturbed taken for granted or doxic conventions regarding the structure and constitution of sociological knowledge and staked their claim to a share of the "scientific authority" (Bourdieu 1981: 262) around which power relations within the sociological field are organised.

Bourdieu's analytic approach contributes to a feminist sociology of feminist sociological practice in a number of ways. In the first place, his understanding of the interdependence of social and scientific structures (Bourdieu 1981) complements feminism's preoccupation with the interrelation of knowledge and power. As we saw in Chapter Two, feminist scholars emphasise the need to render explicit the gendered relations of domination and subordination which underlie and inform traditional epistemological and methodological assumptions. Indeed, I shall argue that this understanding was at the very heart of the curricular projects with which the present investigation is concerned. Bourdieu's account of the scientific field, which presents objective power and academic legitimacy as two sides of the same coin, offers one route to the articulation of these concerns.

Second, Bourdieu's thinking tools elucidate male sociologists' responses to feminist sociological interventions. Building on Bourdieu's typification, a scientific field can be understood as a configuration of positions defined by possession or control of goods and resources allocated according to a range of intrinsic and extrinsic factors, including those associated with professional status and gender. I shall suggest that the structure of the 1970s sociological field ensured that while a proportion of male academics - those in locations of relative privilege and authority - clung resolutely to pre-feminist standards of sociological adequacy others, in particular those committed to oppositional perspectives such as marxism, tolerated feminist initiatives in as far as they drew upon theoretical resources congruent with their own.

Third, Bourdieu's approach aids an understanding of the conflicts and ambivalences attendant upon feminist sociological practice. As we saw in Chapter Two, feminists have long acknowledged the political and practical complexities of academic involvement. Within Bourdieu's conceptualisation of the field both the possibilities and the limitations of this association

become clear. Participation in a field presupposes recognition of the worth of its stakes. As heretical members of the 1970s sociological field feminists signalled their identification with its logic and rewards even as their politics called these into question. Further, while failure to transform the sociological field implies the continuation of gender-blind scholarship, success suggests an ever greater investment in the field itself. Although they do not form a central focus of the present study questions regarding the 'location' of their intellectual practice have continued to exercise feminist sociologists and others throughout the 1990s (Stanley 1997b; Evans 1997a; Morley & Walsh 1995).

Bourdieu has argued that:

it is only when the dominated have the material and symbolic means of rejecting the definition of the real that is imposed on them ... i.e, when social classifications become the object of class [sic] struggle, that the arbitrary principles of the prevailing classification can appear as such and it is therefore necessary to undertake the work of conscious systematisation and express rationalisation which marks the passage from doxa to orthodoxy ... [T]he boundary between the universe (orthodox or heterodox) of discourse and the universe of doxa, in the twofold sense of what goes without saying and what cannot be said for lack of available discourse, represents the dividing-line between the most radical form of misrecognition and the awakening of political consciousness (Bourdieu 1994: 164-65).

In Chapter Five I suggest that ownership of or familiarity with the political discourses of the movement for women's liberation provided feminists embarking upon careers within the sociological field during the 1970s with the vocabulary necessary to challenge and transcend its conventional definition. The significance of the contemporary women's movement for feminism's assault on mainstream sociology emerges clearly from study respondents' accounts of 'the passage from doxa to orthodoxy'. It is to the circumstances surrounding the production of these narratives, and to respondents' political and professional biographies that we turn in Chapter Four.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONSTRUCTING THE NARRATIVE

As explained in Chapter One, this study was conceived as an investigation of the processes through which feminist knowledge has achieved curricular representation within British sociology degree programmes. Although my own undergraduate experiences provoked many questions regarding feminism's interpolation of the sociology curriculum and its relationship with other, non-feminist, elements of sociological training, the study ultimately undertaken focused primarily on the political and institutional origins of feminism's sociological presence and their significance for the establishment of the discipline's first undergraduate women's studies. While the introduction, from the early 1980s, of interdisciplinary postgraduate women's studies has generated a substantial and expanding literature of its own (see for example Aaron & Walby 1991; Hinds, Phoenix & Stacey 1992; Kennedy, Lubelska & Walsh 1993; Griffin 1994; Bird 1996) relatively little attention has been directed towards the undergraduate curricular projects out of which these initiatives have developed, and upon which the future of specifically sociological feminist perspectives continues to depend.

Through the research I hoped first, to construct an accurate account of a largely undocumented but important chapter in the history of British sociology and second, to develop a sociological analysis of the political, institutional and intellectual processes through which feminism's early curricular achievements were made. The products of my investigation are presented in Chapters Five, Six, Seven and Eight. The narrative they provide draws on a range of documentary sources - government publications, official and quasi-official statistics and the unpublished ephemera of the British women's studies 'movement' - as well as the commentaries of feminists, sociologists and others, but it takes its *form and detail* from the accounts of sixteen women whose political and professional biographies identify them more or less intimately with the history of sociological women's studies. This chapter outlines the processes through which these narratives, and the data they supplied, were produced and analysed. It also includes short biographical sketches of the sixteen study respondents. I begin, however, with a brief account of some of the broader methodological considerations by which the empirical component of the research was framed.

1. Feminism and Research

To describe a sociological investigation as feminist is to invite questions about its methodological commitments - its "theory and analysis of how research ... should proceed" (Harding 1987: 3). Feminist debates about social scientific methodology date from the 1970s and can be linked, historically and theoretically, to the anti-positivist impulses to which I referred in Chapter One (Clegg 1985: 85-87; Lather 1986: 259-60) and to feminist rejections of 'masculine' ways of knowing described in Chapter Two. Due perhaps to the first of these influences; and to modern feminism's commitment to the politics of self-definition and -determination, feminist social scientists have conventionally indicated a preference for qualitative investigatory modes, which typically entail *first*, a recognition of the place of description, context and process within research narratives, *second*, a generative or inductive (as opposed to hypothesis-testing or deductive) approach to concepts and theory, *third* - and crucially - a commitment to the perspectives of the groups and individuals whose lives and experiences give social scientific research its form and focus and *fourth*, an acceptance of the complexities these elements bring to research processes and their products (see Bryman 1988: 61-70, or for an alternative

formulation, Silverman 1997b: 20-29). Three examples from the feminist methodological literature of the early 1980s are illustrative. In 1983 American sociologist Shulamit Reinharz outlined the possibilities for feminism of an 'experiential analytic' research practice "grounded in people's experience of the world as well as in our own" (Reinharz 1983: 173) and British social scientists Liz Stanley and Sue Wise recommended a feminist intellectual project founded in the feelings, experiences and consciousness of women, feminists and their researchers (Stanley & Wise 1983). In the same year researcher Hilary Graham highlighted the limitations for feminist inquiry of the social survey, which she suggested to be synonymous with quantitative and masculine styles of knowing and ill-suited to the representation of women's lives (Graham 1983).

Subsequent years have witnessed a feminist reevaluation of quantitative strategies - "certain research questions, important to feminists, can only be answered where relatively large numbers, and a cross-section of the population, participate in the study" (Kelly 1990: 113; see also Oakley 1990) - and a new flexibility concerning both research design (Clegg 1985) and the utilisation of non-feminist theoretical resources (Moi 1991; McKenzie

1997). Thus Sue Clegg argues that "there is no such thing as feminist methodology as a coherent, unified set of practices and principles" and that feminism has more to gain from creative engagement with "concrete examples of what feminists are producing" than from abstract debates about epistemology and methodology (Clegg 1985: 83, 84), while Patti Lather portrays feminist research as "multi-paradigmatic" (Lather 1988: 271). The 1990s have also been characterised by attempts to marry feminist and postmodernist discourse in the service of a feminist research practice (see for example Usher 1997), although their details are beyond the scope of the present discussion.

Underlying these differences are three generally accepted methodological principles. The first concerns the focus of research which, feminist social scientists suggest, should be directed towards issues of significance for women's lives. This deliberately inclusive formulation permits attention both to the institutions and processes through which women's subordination is produced and reproduced (male violence, racism, sexual harassment, for instance) and to topics arising from women's specific responsibilities and aptitudes. This emphasis upon the social relevances of women is often, although not

inevitably, accompanied by a commitment to and, where appropriate, celebration of women's narratives, which can be ranged against dominant or 'hegemonic' social scientific discourse (Personal Narratives Group 1989).

Second, feminist social science is assumed to be 'for' women, directed towards the achievement of emancipatory social change, whether pursued through the mediations of feminist theory (Edwards 1990: 479) or via the mechanisms of the research process itself (Lather 1986; Mies 1983).

Third, feminists emphasise the importance of reflexivity, resisting the mystification of intellectual process and acknowledging social scientific inquiry as fully social and political activity, shaped by the identities and locations of both researcher and researched. Rosalind Edwards argues that the feminist social scientist must be attentive to the effect of her "class, race, sex, assumptions and beliefs" (Edwards 1990: 479-80) upon all aspects of investigation and analysis. Insensitivity to such factors may compromise the researcher's understanding of the research process and its products (Burgess 1984: 88-92). It also presents an impediment to the democratisation of research relationships. Maggie Humm has suggested that feminist research strategies should enable 'conscious subjectivity', the realisation of which allows the transcendence of artificial subject/object

divisions and the promotion of interactive processes of inquiry in which all involved contribute to the production and application of evidence and theory (Humm 1995: 170). Patti Lather specifies reciprocity in all aspects of the research encounter and the negotiation of meaning, entailing "recycling description, emerging analysis, and conclusions to at least a subsample of respondents" (Lather 1986: 266) as the minimum requirements of such an approach.

In as far as it concerns the formulation and transmission of feminist knowledge the present study can be said to focus on issues of at least indirect significance to the lives of women. I make no claims regarding its contribution to the achievement of social change. I have, however, attempted to retain a reflexive stance in relation to all aspects of the empirical component of the investigation, a process aided by the maintenance of a research journal which I have since the start of the project used both for record keeping purposes (regarding the dates and duration of interviews, for instance) and as a means of logging my thoughts and questions concerning the study and its development. The account of the investigation which follows draws on this and other

(formal and informal) documents produced during the course of the research process.

2. The Study

This was conceived as an exploratory study directed towards the description and analysis of previously under-documented events and processes. These priorities were reflected in my adoption of a qualitative research strategy. Qualitative methodologies are recommended for their capacity to elucidate the operation of social processes. They also provide opportunities for mapping new or unfamiliar territories and for the creative application of concepts and theory. Finally, they allow attention to the 'stories' of study populations, enabling the development of research narratives "grounded" (Glaser and Strauss 1967) in the words and meanings of social actors. Within this project, respondents - feminist sociologists, the majority active in the establishment of undergraduate women's studies - were invited to tell their stories in the context of in-depth, face to face interviews.

Selecting the Respondents

Potential respondents were identified via a two stage selection strategy. My 'selection frame' included all

women academics employed within departments of sociology or in departments within which sociology formed a major focus of undergraduate teaching in British universities and UK polytechnics in 1991/92. Information regarding the university sector was supplied by the 1991 Association of Commonwealth Universities *Yearbook*, which lists academic staff by institution, department, rank and sex. Having ascertained on the basis of recent University Grants Committee data (University Grants Committee 1989) and information provided within the 1991 UCCA student handbook which institutions offered sociology as a single or joint honours degree programme or as a main or major component of a combined honours package, the identification of women academics associated with the departments concerned was relatively straightforward. The (then) polytechnics presented more of a challenge. The 1991/92 Polytechnic Handbook enabled the identification of establishments offering undergraduate teaching in sociology, but in the absence of a central index of polytechnic employed academics I found it necessary to approach departments directly. My task was aided and considerably eased by the assistance of the convenor of a 'public sector' sociologists' network (Sociologists in Higher and Further Education), who provided me with a named contact and accurate postal address for each of the institutions on my

list. Of the twenty-one gatekeepers approached, seventeen responded, sixteen with the information I required.

The data these investigations yielded suggested that in 1991 the British university sector employed 180 women sociologists across thirty-seven institutions of higher education. As of March 1992 a further 125 women sociologists held posts within sixteen of Britain's thirty-five polytechnics.

The second stage of selection involved the construction of a respondent shortlist. Possible interviewees were identified using a technique known as judgement sampling, whereby informants are chosen on the basis of "qualities which endow them with special knowledge that the [researcher] values" (Honigmann 1982: 80). John Honigmann lists "class strata, occupational status, sex, age, or length of residence in the community" (ibid.) as possible selection criteria. I wished to speak to women who were both feminist and equipped to elucidate the institutional processes under investigation. Since the events with which I was principally concerned occurred during the early 1970s respondents would inevitably be long established members of the sociological field. As this was an exploratory study whose purpose was in part

documentary I also hoped to select interviewees with personal access to the history of sociological women's studies.

Sampling frames are used to allow the construction of representative samples (May 1993: 65-67). My list of women sociologists served a different purpose, enabling me to view my potential study population in its entirety and, thus, to minimise the risk of overlooking key informants. This and my own familiarity with the sub-field of feminist sociology enabled me to identify sixteen potential respondents. Each was approached, by letter, with a request for an interview (Appendix 2). Judgement sampling is as reliable only as the researcher's understanding of the social universe in question. Of the sixteen, twelve readily granted my request. Four declined to be interviewed. One of these was away on study leave, the remaining three de-selected themselves, two claiming primary identifications with the fields of social policy and politics respectively and the third lack of familiarity with women's studies teaching (as opposed to feminist academic publishing). Two of the four offered suggestions regarding alternative respondents, several of whom I had already arranged to interview. I approached four further women, all of whom agreed to participate in

the project. Two of these (Lisa and Rachel) were students rather than teachers of sociology during the 1970s. It was only as I began to interview members of the original respondent group that I became sensitive to the role of feminist undergraduates in the generation and institution of women's studies teaching. The decision to interview Lisa and Rachel marks a move to incorporate the perspectives of a slightly younger feminist cohort. Although their accounts remain marginal to the narrative ultimately produced they provided valuable counterpoints to those of the main respondent group during the processes of data production and analysis.

All respondents were identified by their intellectual "products" (Stanley 1990b: 6) with feminist analytic perspectives. At the time of the interviews all but Lisa and Rachel held senior positions within the fields of British sociology and/or women's studies. Among this group only one (Sarah) had no direct experience of establishing and/or teaching sociological women's studies during the 1970s.

Conducting the Interviews

Interviews were conducted between May 1992 and April 1993 (the majority between May and September 1992) and were

structured according to a fourteen point interview schedule. The semi-structured interview treads a middle path between the rigidity of the standardised or survey questionnaire and the complete flexibility of unstructured or life history approaches (Ackroyd & Hughes 1992: 103-05; Plummer 1983). I hoped that my "conversations with a purpose" (Burgess 1984: 102) would produce accounts that could be incorporated into the study narrative and stimulate fresh lines of inquiry and analysis. The interview schedule was drafted and tested (with a colleague of the same generational location as prospective respondents) in April 1992. The final version (Appendix 3) combined questions designed to elicit factual information (regarding the details of specific curricular interventions, for example) with those directed towards respondents' own understandings of these events. I also attempted to maintain a balance between questions relating to respondents' particular experiences and those of wider significance. In practice such distinctions remained elusive since interviewees were by definition respondents and informants (Platt 1981c: 81, 85, 1976: 200).

Interviews occurred in a variety of settings. Eleven were conducted in respondents' workplaces, one in mine; one in a restaurant and three in respondents' homes. The

majority of interviewees seemed genuinely interested in the project. Several volunteered to search for past women's studies course outlines, although in most cases these could not be found (see Appendix 5). Three respondents subsequently and unexpectedly sent me varying quantities of ephemeral documentation (reports, letters, discussion papers, seminar and conference proceedings, newsletters) relating to the 1970s women's studies movement and the activities of the British Sociological Association during this period. Since much of this material no longer inhabited the public domain its contribution represented a welcome addition to the project. While questions concerning authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning (Scott 1990; Platt 1981a, 1981b) inevitably accompany the use for research purposes of such sources, they provide useful opportunities for the contextualisation and corroboration of verbal accounts. Most interviews lasted between one and two hours. The shortest took only forty minutes and the longest almost three hours. All interviews were tape-recorded. I noted my own responses to the events of each interview as soon as I was able, usually before or while travelling from the interview location.

All interviews were transcribed in full and returned to interviewees for "respondent validation" (Bryman 1988: 78), a process whereby study populations are enabled to reflect and comment upon the products of fieldwork encounters. My intention in pursuing this practice was two-fold. In the first place and in accordance with the participative emphasis of much feminist methodological commentary (see for example Kelly 1988: 1-19; Ribbens 1989: 589), I wished to allow respondents' the opportunity to expand or retract any portions of the transcript they felt to be a less than accurate reflection of their views. Second, respondents had no prior indication of the questions they would be asked. Through this device I hoped to capture the products of thought processes stimulated but not completed during the course of interviews. In retrospect it seems possible that the decision to return transcripts also contributed to the quality of interviews, freeing respondents to discuss a number of topics, including the negative attitudes and behaviours of (then) non- or anti-feminist colleagues, with less inhibition than they might otherwise have done. Certainly many gave detailed and revealing answers to questions I considered personally and professionally sensitive.

While the chance to amend or qualify representations made during the course of a first interview encounter extends to respondents a facility available in the context of 'normal' interactive processes, the practice of respondent validation can be criticised on the grounds that it compromises the status of the data ultimately secured by allowing interviewees to withdraw potentially valuable evidence. In my opinion the process I have described permitted respondents no more latitude than a second or repeat interview might have done, while the notion that sociological analysis could or should proceed on the basis of evidence that its generators, were they able, might retract, provokes moral questions concerning the nature and purposes of sociological inquiry.

In the event the fourteen respondents who accepted the invitation to comment upon the transcript of their interview limited their amendments to the clarification or enlargement of description and argument and the removal of references to named third parties. All went to considerable lengths to ensure that their meanings survived such modifications intact, although several admitted discomfort at seeing their verbalisations "in print". The success of this exercise probably owed much to the characteristics of this particular group. The

women I interviewed were all professional sociologists, accustomed to responding to all manner of texts and cognisant with the methodological debates by which this particular request was informed. As Alan Bryman has noted, the outcomes of attempts to employ procedures of this type with other study populations have been mixed (Bryman 1988: 78-79). In addition, it can be argued that in most cases "it is unlikely that respondent validation will greatly facilitate the [sociologist's] second-order interpretations of subjects' first-order interpretations" (Bryman 1988: 79). When the subjects are themselves sociologists experience may suggest otherwise. During the course of interviews respondents frequently challenged the assumptions of the research:

[in response to a question on the historical connection of the women's movement and feminist sociology]

But the second thing to ask about ... is why was feminism so successful in sociology so early? And I think that's quite an interesting question...

[in response to a question about student demand for women's studies]

The other thing I would say is that you've talked very much about teaching, and not about research, is that deliberate, that you're talking about the teaching of sociology and not sociological research?

with implications both for the dynamics of the research encounter and for the shape of subsequent analyses.

For feminists, the impulse towards democratising practices such as respondent validation has its origins in a recognition that conventional research encounters are based on relations of inequality involving the one-way transfer of ideas and information (Oakley 1981: 40), and a commitment to the development of non-exploitative investigatory modes. Yet as Rosalind Edwards points out, research relationships are always influenced by considerations beyond those associated with the selection of research strategies and tools (Edwards 1990: 479-80). Some feminist commentators have emphasised the significance for the interview process of that which women interviewers share in common with their female study populations. Others stress the impact of discrepancies in social structural location (Riessman 1987; Edwards 1990). In my preparations for fieldwork I actively pursued points of connection with study respondents, devoting considerable energy (and financial resources) to the selection of an outfit which would enable them to "place" (Edwards 1990: 485-88) me as professional, competent, middle-class - 'one of them'; and ensuring familiarity with the publications of each.

Despite my best efforts the majority of interviewees experienced no difficulty in placing me as a trainee researcher - "aren't you going to check that you tape-recorder is working?" - chronologically and politically - "younger women ... are so much more competitive ... they don't have political problems with getting on" - their junior. The sense of commonality I had attempted to foster (and indeed to some extent felt: these were women with whose intellectual achievements I had as an undergraduate 'grown up') prior to the interviews was further compromised by the very real differences attendant upon our respective locations within the sociological field. Members of the main respondent group (all but Lisa and Rachel) were for the most part at or approaching the peak of their professional careers and occupied positions of relative power within the discipline; I had little command of the cultural and scientific resources by which academic life is structured. In her account of interviewing colleagues and peers Jennifer Platt notes that textbook treatments of the research interview assume that interviewer and respondent "are for all practical purposes anonymous to each other and that they do not belong to the same groups and will not meet again, so that the relationship has no past and no future" (Platt 1981c: 75). Like Platt, I enjoyed no such reassurance:

I was pleased with how the interview went ...
Interviewing [these women] is a weird experience
though ... I am quite conscious of the impression I am
making ... and dimly aware that we may come across each
other again one day in the future, and it might be
across an interview table [this did in fact almost
happen - I withdrew my application for personal
reasons]. ... I feel in some sense on trial, in terms
both of my ability as a researcher and ... my political
and theoretical sympathies.

(Research diary: November 4th 1992)

During her research with prospective mothers the dictum
"no intimacy without reciprocity" led Ann Oakley to answer
women interviewees' questions as "honestly and fully" as
she could (Oakley 1981: 49, 43). The kind of questions I
was "asked back" (Oakley 1981: 42) - "what do you think of
postmodernism?", "how are you going to analyse your data?"
(each of these from the author of at least one book in the
area concerned) - served not to correct but to underscore
the power imbalance between myself and women within the
main respondent group. In contrast I experienced
interviews with Lisa and Rachel, whose political and
professional locations were closer to my own - "you're
like me: you wish you'd been born earlier!" - as
relatively relaxed events in which shared interests and
empathy played an important part. For example, both Lisa
and Rachel had recently submitted doctoral theses, a
process regarding which each volunteered reassurance and
practical advice.

Attention to the interviewer/respondent relationship enables the acknowledgement of its influence upon research process and data. Rosalind Edwards found that her status as a white researcher associated, in the minds of actual and potential respondents with the institutions of the higher educational establishment compromised her access to the attitudes and opinions of black student/mothers (Edwards 1990: 483-89) while Catherine Riessman has reported the analytic difficulties that arise when "narrative genres" diverge (Riessman 1987). I have no evidence regarding the significance of my experience of research encounters for the data they produced. Once more like Jennifer Platt, "I felt a ... need to appear well in the eyes of my respondents ... and this may have influenced the course of the interview, though I am not sure how" (Platt 1976: 197).

All sixteen respondents agreed to be named within the study, and two expressed a preference for the accountability thus implied. Ultimately I decided to preserve their anonymity in order to protect that of third parties described within their narratives. For the same reason the institutions of higher education featured within their accounts also remain anonymous.

Analysing the Data

Interviews produced approximately 30 hours of tape-recorded conversation which in turn generated 450 pages of typed transcript.

Matthew Miles and Michael Huberman have argued that qualitative researchers should endeavour to make their analytic procedures "fully explicit" (Miles & Huberman 1994: 309). In this study the process of data analysis began with my written responses to interviews, via which I recorded not only my experience of research encounters but my impressions regarding their content, noting particular questions and issues raised, points of similarity and difference with other interviews and what was said before and after the tape-recorder was in use. It continued with transcription, a process which is laborious (Burgess 1984: 121) precisely because decisions regarding the presentation of speech as text (the placing of sentence breaks, punctuation and so on) forces attention to the details of conversational exchange and to the contributions to meaning of non-verbal cues such as those associated with voice tone or hesitation. Transcription enabled me to immerse myself again within the research encounter. The sound of voices on the tapes conjured vivid visual images (the physical location in which the

conversation had occurred, the appearance and countenance of the respondent) recreating the atmosphere of interviews and my responses to them, and generating further questions and ideas - "'introductory' theoretical memos" (Strauss 1987: 111) - with which to approach the task of formal data analysis.

Systematic coding, the process whereby "initially vague ideas and hunches are refined, expanded, discarded, or fully developed" (Taylor & Bogdan 1984: 136), proceeded in accordance with the five stage model offered by Steven Taylor and Robert Bogdan (Taylor & Bogdan 1984: 137-39). Stage one involved the development of general coding categories based on themes, concepts, interpretations, typologies and propositions generated during initial analytic stages. John Lofland and Lyn Lofland suggest that these categories are shaped in part by the researcher's commitments, interests and expertise, and their understanding of the research questions and data concerned (Lofland & Lofland 1995: 192). Notes and memos made prior to and during transcription, and careful and repeated readings of the transcripts themselves yielded fifty core coding categories which I grouped into ten subject areas (Personal biographical, Feminist politics, Sociology, Feminist scholarship, Initial curricular

interventions, Responses to initial curricular interventions, Process of change, Students, Today and Miscellaneous). Core categories were subsequently subdivided. For example, the subject area Personal biographical included three core categories, Career history, Political history and Disciplinary identity, each of which included several sub-categories: Career history was thus further differentiated to enable the separation of data relating to Undergraduate education, Postgraduate education (taught), Postgraduate education (research), Employment and Impact of motherhood. I was guided in these operations by Barton & Lazarsfield's criteria for preliminary classification (Barton & Lazarsfield 1972, cited Bulmer 1979: 664-66) which suggest that analytic categories should involve progression from the general to the particular, should be exhaustive and mutually exclusive and should remain sensitive to the accounts and situations from which they derive. The core categories ultimately employed in the analysis of interview data are listed in Appendix 4.

Stage two entailed the application of existing codes to data segments. Jennifer Platt describes the continuous movement between analytic categories and transcripts thus required as "enormously laborious and boring" (Platt 1976:

198), to Lofland & Lofland it is a "cognitive act" (Lofland & Lofland 1995: 187) and to Bogdan & Taylor part of a "dynamic and creative process" (Taylor & Bogdan 1984: 130). Although I found it to be all three, the high levels of concentration and discipline demanded were to some extent offset by the anticipation of their rewards.

During stage three data were sorted by coding category, a "noninterpretative and mechanical operation" (Taylor & Bogdan 1984: 137) for whose purposes I initially considered the application of computer software. Given the relatively small volume of material with which I was working I relied instead on traditional manual methods, producing mass photocopies (although retaining a complete set of uncut transcripts), sorting them into files and bringing the combinations of text thus produced together on large (A3) sheets of paper. Although time consuming this last element was more than mechanical, since it provided a first opportunity for the systematic comparison of data segments (Pilcher 1992: 96). Uncut transcripts proved invaluable for the processes of checking and re-contextualisation that subsequent analysis regularly demanded (Lofland & Lofland 1995: 192) and enabled me to track the development within the project of particular ideas and concepts.

Stages four and five in Taylor & Bogdan's model require attention to data that remains uncoded - in my case very little, although as Taylor and Bogdan predict, only a fraction of that coded found its way into the final study narrative - and the refinement of analysis, which may or may not involve recourse to the theoretical resources of others. I encountered Pierre Bourdieu's sociology of practice during the process of data coding. It has been suggested that "theories provide patterns in which data appear intelligible" (Hanson 1958, cited Bulmer 1979: 660). As I noted in Chapter One, Bourdieu's conceptual vocabulary enabled me to grasp and name processes already identified within respondents' accounts (Blumer 1954). For example, in Chapter Eight I argue that feminist sociologists' manipulation of the British Sociological Association conferred "legitimacy" (Bourdieu 1981: 278) upon their curricular and other academic activities. This analysis builds upon and makes sense of observations which predated my introduction to Bourdieu's theoretical perspective:

'The role of the BSA'
[a coding category I was at the time using]

This phrasing may be inaccurate. Feminism changed the BSA. ... Maybe feminists used the BSA as a tool rather than the BSA 'helping' feminism? Maybe the real role of the BSA has been in its willingness to

accept these changes. Why did it accept them?
Because "it has always had to ... count how many
professors it has got" (Ruth)? - ie, not too much
professional status at stake?

(Research diary: 23rd January 1993)

Although Bourdieu's is an inclusive approach applicable in principle to all levels of social practice his conceptual resources are best suited to the elucidation of micro-political process (Moi 1991; see for example Liddle & Michielsens, forthcoming). In consequence I restricted their application within the present project to the analysis of institutionally specific events and processes.

3. The Study Respondents

Although their voices are heard only within Chapters Seven and Eight, the experiences of interviewees are central to the narrative of this study.

Sarah

Sarah studied sociology as an undergraduate during the late 1950s. After several years as a local government researcher she completed a doctorate and in 1968 obtained her first lectureship. With the exception of two years "unpaid maternity leave" during the mid 1970s she has worked in higher education ever since. She currently holds a senior post within a university department of

sociology. The product, educationally, of a girls' grammar school and a women's college, Sarah graduated with a firm commitment to the politics of equal opportunity. She encountered American style 'radical' feminism as she commenced academic employment and with initial scepticism. As the seventies progressed she became increasingly sympathetic towards the theories of the new feminism, particularly those which offered the possibility of accommodating analyses of 'race' and social class alongside those of gender.

Catherine

Catherine graduated with a degree in sociology during the early 1940s and spent the next twelve months working in a war factory. During the late forties and early fifties she worked in adult education and as a researcher. In 1961, following a decade during which the attitudes and practices of male university administrators effectively excluded her, as the mother of small children, from academic employment, she was appointed to a sociology lectureship. By the end of the 1970s she was one of a small number of women professors in sociology. Catherine retired from university employment, although not from academic work, several years ago. Although exposed to debates about women's suffrage from an early age,

Catherine became more personally aware of sexual inequality and discrimination as a students' union activist during the early 1940s. Her experiences in this context spawned a commitment to equality of opportunity that has continued throughout her career. In common with many women of her political generation Catherine was deeply troubled by the emergence in the early 1970s of a feminist movement ignorant or dismissive of its heritage, and by her sense of exclusion from the 'second wave'. During the intervening years she has worked to bridge this political 'generation gap'. The women's movement has itself developed, and today Catherine finds much in common with its priorities and concerns.

Anne

Anne completed a politics degree during the 1960s and followed it with a Masters degree in political sociology. Convinced as a result that sociology "was more political than politics" she started work on a sociology doctorate in 1970. A year later she was appointed to her first lectureship in the field. She continues to work within the same institution of higher education, currently as a professor of women's studies. For Anne, personal feminist consciousness, which she dates from the early seventies, brought vision and clarity to a previously confusing

professional role. She describes her encounter with the second wave as personally and academically transformative.

Laura

Laura entered higher education as a young mature student during the late 1960s. On completion of a social science degree she worked in the public sector before returning to university to obtain an MA and subsequently a PhD. She spent several years on part-time teaching contracts in further and higher education before securing a sociology lectureship in the late 1970s. She has worked in the same institution ever since and now holds a senior academic appointment. Laura's involvement in the politics of sexuality predates her feminism. She "got interested in feminist ideas from books", and defines her subsequent activism as that of a feminist within the gay movement rather than of a lesbian within the women's movement. This activism continued into the 1980s and the interlocking themes of gender, sexuality, identity and difference remain core to her scholarship.

Martha

Martha completed a Masters degree in sociology in the United States during the 1950s. She obtained her first sociology lecturing post in 1962, following two years'

working as a Home Office researcher. She has had a series of academic appointments, the most recent of which she has held since the mid 1970s. Martha dates her feminist involvement from the early 1970s. Over the course of the last two decades she has worked both within and on the margins of the academy to combine her concern with the politics of sexuality and social class with a commitment to those of gender and feminist transformation.

Jennifer

Following an early interest in psychology Jennifer obtained a first degree in sociology during the late 1960s. She went on to complete an MA in the sociology of literature and a sociology doctorate, securing her first full-time university teaching post in 1973. For the last nineteen years Jennifer has been employed in a department of social science, where she now holds a professorship in sociology. Jennifer became interested in feminist politics as a graduate student during the early seventies, in part through her Masters dissertation on women writers. She subsequently became involved in various forms of feminist activism, including the Women's Aid movement, contact with which she identifies as politically formative.

Joanna

Joanna came to live and work in Britain in 1973, having studied sociology at under- and postgraduate levels in the Middle East and United States. Whilst a graduate student she worked as a part-time university teacher, and shortly after her arrival in Britain obtained her first full-time lecturing post. She completed a doctorate, despite the combined pressures of teaching and childcare, in the late 1970s. Today she holds a senior academic position in the same department of sociology. Joanna's first contact with 'second wave' feminism came in 1972, while she was a graduate student in the United States. Her experience of motherhood contributed significantly to the formation of a personal feminist consciousness. Her relationship with British feminism dates from the 1974 British Sociological Association conference on Sexual Divisions and Society and has from the outset been defined through her academic work.

Dee

Dee graduated in sociology during the mid 1960s and immediately found employment in a large research organisation. Towards the end of the sixties she left the country of her birth for Britain, where she continued to work as a researcher. She re-entered the higher education

sector, this time as a lecturer, in the early seventies, only later obtaining postgraduate qualifications. She now holds a professorship in women's studies. Dee found the early years of the women's liberation movement intensely politically exciting, although as a newcomer to Britain with few feminist contacts she experienced acute isolation within a movement founded on informal networks. Over time she forged personal, political and intellectual relationships with other women and from the mid 1970s increasingly placed issues of gender at heart of her scholarship.

Lisa

After graduating in development studies in 1980, Lisa went on to register as a doctoral student in a department of sociology. While writing her thesis she supported herself through range of part-time and temporary jobs; on its completion she spent a year teaching in America. Since her return to Britain she has worked as a researcher and, since 1990, a lecturer. She now holds a full-time post in a university department of sociology. Lisa identifies herself as a "political person" and has deep personal and political interests in the interactions of gender, 'race', social class and inequality. However, she avoids describing herself as a feminist, a term she associates

with the early twentieth century women's movement and with which, as a black woman, she feels no historical or political connection. Perhaps typically of her generation, Lisa does not feel herself part of a movement committed to the politics of gender, and considers her academic work her principle political outlet.

Dorothy

Having gained an undergraduate degree in natural sciences Dorothy trained and worked as a school teacher during the late 1950s and early 1960s. She subsequently returned to higher education and for several years juggled her studies and care for a young family, finally completing a doctorate that fell "between sociology and anthropology". Following a string of temporary and part-time university teaching and research posts she secured permanent academic employment during the late 1970s. Dorothy became involved in the women's liberation movement during the early seventies. From the outset she identified points of connection between feminist politics and her scholarship, and in 1972 joined the newly formed London Women's Anthropology Group. She was also instrumental in early feminist attempts to transform the structures and priorities of the British Sociological Association and

throughout the 1970s participated in a range of women's movement campaigns and activities.

Ruth

Ruth became a student in America during the 1950s. Having completed an undergraduate degree in sociology she resolved to pursue a legal career but, after a disillusioning first year, left law school and travelled in Europe, settling ultimately in Britain. During the 1960s she worked both as a researcher and in community work, and in the early 1970s combined these interests through a lectureship in community work. She now holds a senior post teaching and researching in the areas of women's and gender studies. From the mid 1960s Ruth, living in London, involved herself in anti-Vietnam war campaigning. This activism was to bring her into contact with the emergent women's movement and she has counted herself a feminist ever since.

Pauline

Pauline graduated from a then new university in June 1968 against a backdrop of accelerating student unrest: "our finals exams were run by Securicor!" After beginning doctoral research she won a teaching fellowship which took her to the United States for two years. Back in Britain

she secured a tenured lectureship in 1973, only subsequently returning to and completing her PhD. Ten years later she took up an appointment in women's studies. For much of the seventies, in common with many young scholars of the Left, Pauline regarded academic sociology as a form of bourgeois ideology, defining herself as "somebody who worked within a sociology department" rather than as a member of the profession. Her gravitation towards feminist politics began in the summer of 1972, as Pauline left Britain for the United States, and was provoked in part by her experience of gendered political marginalisation within student organisations of the far Left.

Rachel

Rachel completed a degree in sociology in 1982. After a year of part-time teaching in further and adult education she registered for a PhD in sociology. In the mid 1980s she embarked upon a succession of temporary and part-time lecturing contracts. These led eventually to a full-time lectureship in sociology. In 1990 this post was made permanent. Two years later Rachel successfully submitted her doctoral thesis. Rachel became a feminist while an undergraduate - "it hit me in the face, radical feminism" - although her awareness of sexual double standards and

gender inequalities preceded these events by several years. She continues to experience tensions between the politics of feminism and those of her (working) class background.

Carol

Slightly younger than many of her professional peers, Carol obtained Bachelors, Masters and doctoral qualifications in sociology during the early and mid 1970s. Since the late 1970s she has taught sociology and women's studies in a number of institutions of higher education. She now holds a senior position within the discipline. Carol first encountered feminism during the early 1970s and soon identified connections between her politics and her studies. A focus on issues of gender has remained a central theme within her scholarship since this time.

Rosemary

Rosemary completed her first degree in 1966 and followed it with a Masters qualification, also in sociology, at the same institution. She subsequently secured a lectureship in sociology within the polytechnic sector. A decade and a half later she was appointed to a second polytechnic post and is now a professor within the social sciences.

Rosemary became politically active as a graduate student. For several years from the early 1970s she belonged to a consciousness-raising group; simultaneously she involved herself in a range of feminist and other radical campaigning activities around issues of inequality, health and social policy. As time passed both her teaching and research came to reflect these areas of concern.

Christine

Christine began doctoral research on women and employment in 1974, and worked as a part-time teacher throughout her period of graduate registration. She went on to obtain a sociology lectureship and has since held academic posts on both sides of the Pacific. She now holds a senior position within the sociological field. Since the early 1970s Christine has considered herself a socialist and a feminist.

All of the women within the main respondent group emphasised the importance for their disciplinary scholarship of involvement in and identification with the politics of women's liberation. It is to a consideration of these, and their significance for feminism's encounter with the 1970s sociology curriculum, that we direct our attention in Chapter Five.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT

Towards the end of the 1960s there emerged in Britain a political force known then and since as the women's liberation movement. Its birth marked the beginning of what is often described, in order to differentiate it from a period of activism which extended from the late nineteenth century into the first three decades of the twentieth, as the second 'wave' of feminism. The women's liberation movement profoundly affected the lives of its participants in the late 1960s and 1970s. Thirty years later few public arenas remain untouched by its challenges and insights, and those of the academy are no exception. The present study concerns the relationship between second wave feminism and the teaching of a single academic discipline: sociology. Central to its analysis is the movement for women's liberation, since it is here that many of the feminist and feminist-informed analyses characteristic of contemporary sociology have their origins. There is a very real sense in which feminist sociology owes its existence to politics of women's liberation.

Published accounts of these politics, and of the broader feminist current to which they belong are plentiful. Those on which this chapter draws fall into three categories. The late 1980s saw the publication of several feminist histories of the British women's movement authored or edited by second wave activists (Spender 1985; Coote and Campbell 1987; Phillips 1987; Rowbotham 1990; Neustatter 1989; Wandor 1990). Reflecting on their own experiences and those of their political contemporaries their creators have developed accounts of the movement's antecedents, successes and shortcomings. Their narratives, which typically blend (auto)biographical and social scientific detail, build on the literature of the movement itself (Mitchell 1971; Wandor 1972a; Rowbotham 1973; Allen, Sanders & Wallis 1974; Feminist Anthology Centre 1981; Kanter, Lefanu & Shah 1984; and in some respects, Greer 1991 [1970]; Koedt, Levine & Rapone 1973; Freeman 1975). This second group of books, pamphlets and essays offers access to the perspectives of 1970s feminism. Both generations of commentary benefit from association with the more formal analyses of historians and social scientists of feminist political process (Banks 1981; Bouchier 1983; Marx Feree and Hess 1985; Gelb 1986).

The account which follows employs each of these sources. My intention is to highlight those aspects of their narratives which aid an analysis of the evolution and character of feminist sociological scholarship. I focus in particular on the origins of the women's liberation movement, its social composition and its political concerns. Greatest attention is directed towards the first of these themes since the circumstances of its genesis are implicated in subsequent features of the movement's development.

1. The Origins of the Women's Liberation Movement

In 1971, Juliet Mitchell described the women's liberation movement as a movement "not in organisation, but in its identification and shared goals" (Mitchell 1971: 11).

While there is consensus that the latter 1960s witnessed the emergence of a qualitatively new kind of feminism, from the start (and partly as a result of the circumstances of its emergence) the movement shunned formal hierarchical structure and notions of leadership, preferring to keep organisation local, collective and democratic (Freeman 1973; Randall 1982; Brixton Black Women's Group 1984). The un-movement like nature of the movement (Rowbotham, Segal & Wainwright 1979) and the fact that women found their way into it through a range of

political and intellectual routes compromise attempts to describe it in terms of causes and key developments. The inappropriateness of this approach is reflected in the wide variety of contributory factors identified in published discussions of the origins of the movement, and the reluctance of their authors to prioritize some factors over others.

Symptomatic of the impossibility of a neat, unified narrative is the lack of consensus regarding the movement's moment of genesis. By 1969 Britain had its first local women's liberation groups. Their coincidence with a new tide of militancy among working-class women, symbolised by high profile disputes involving sewing machinists in Dagenham and trawlermen's wives in Hull (Rowbotham 1971: 33), lead some commentators to date the movement from 1968 (Mitchell 1971; Wandor 1972a) or 1969 (Rowbotham 1971). Others suggest that it was 'born' at the first National Women's Liberation Movement Conference, held at Ruskin College in Oxford, in the Spring of 1970 (Banks 1981: 238). The significance of this conference lies in its status as a national meeting, and the fact that it led to the formulation of the first four demands of the movement (for equal pay, equal education and opportunity, twenty-four hour nurseries, and free

contraception and abortion on demand), and the creation of its first, although short-lived, organising body, the National Women's Coordinating Committee. However, given the largely unstructured character of the movement both prior to and after the Ruskin conference, and the fact that attendance, although exceeding the expectations of its organisers, was limited, to afford such importance to a single event seems inappropriate. It is probable that the movement had almost as many births as it did participant groups.

This part of the chapter aims to identify some of the forces - political, social and economic - which contributed to the politicisation of women as a group during the 1960s, and thus to the emergence of the women's liberation movement and, subsequently, women's studies. The precipitants considered below are 1960s equal rights feminism; the American women's liberation movement; the position of women in post-war society; and the experiences of women activists in sixties' radical politics. The separation of these factors is convenient, but somewhat artificial since their influence was not only simultaneous but in many ways interrelated. In addition, the influences described are not qualitatively equivalent - the third relates to developments at a social structural

level while the others belong to the more immediately political sphere. I make no attempt to draw hard and fast distinctions between causal factors and those which influenced the character of the movement once underway. These are not easily disentangled: women's involvement with 1960s radical political groups, for example, fed into both sets of processes.

1950s and 1960s Equal Rights Feminism

While the first and second waves represented intensifications of collective feminist consciousness, the decades between them were by no means devoid of feminist activity (Birmingham Feminist History Group 1979; Banks 1981: 151-224). The women's liberation movement, when it emerged in the late 1960s, was politically and organisationally distinct from any earlier feminist activism, hence its frequent description as 'radical'. However, as Olive Banks points out, feminist organisation of the equal rights tradition was a more or less constant political feature of the period between the late 1920s and the 1960s. Militant female trade unionists, who launched an equal pay campaign during the 1950s, were responsible for much of this activity. Their success was limited, but they won certain notable victories, such as the achievement in 1961 of equal pay for female public

servants (Banks 1981: 218). During the sixties women in the Labour Party began to lend their support to union organised campaigns for equal pay, and instigated political action of their own in relation to other manifestations of sexual discrimination. Although the Equal Pay Act (1970) and the Sex Discrimination Act (1975) tend to be hailed as early triumphs of the women's liberation movement, Banks is insistent that they were first and foremost the achievements of equal rights feminism:

The British equal rights legislation of the early 1970s ... does not owe its origin to the new feminism, even if a new feminist awareness helped to create the mood in which such legislation could be better achieved (Banks 1981: 220).

It is clear that the women's liberation movement developed within a political landscape already marked by feminism. Angela Neustatter has suggested that central to the emergence of the new feminism was women's recognition that sexual inequality "underpinned the whole culture in which [they] were living, providing an underlying valuation of women as inferior to men and an acceptance that women were programmed by gender to perform different tasks from men, to play a specific and separate role in society" (Neustatter 1990: 5), and could not therefore be legislated away. It is possible that the achievement of

legal rights such as those pursued during the 1950s and 1960s was a necessary precursor to this realisation:

"[equal pay is] a vital demand, not because it will solve the situation of working women, but because it will expose more clearly the nature of their oppression. The inequality of women at work is inseparable from our inequality in society as a whole" (Rowbotham 1969: 25).

The remainder of this part of the chapter considers the origins of this understanding.

The Influence of American Feminism

The British women's liberation movement was predated and considerably influenced by its sister movement in the United States. In both national settings there were complex relationships between the rise of the new feminism and the experiences of women within existing radical political movements. American radical feminism emerged in the early 1960s when small groups of women active within the Civil Rights movement, and later the New Left and other radical movements such as Black Power, the student movement, and draft resistance (Mitchell 1971: 13) began to question their limited roles within these organisations, in particular their exclusion from decision making processes (Freeman 1975: 57; Koedt, Levine & Rapone

1973; Banks 1981: 225; Mitchell 1971: 35; Coote & Campbell 1987: 5), and the sexism of male activists:

After participating ... in a decade of activism, [these women] certainly did not relish being ousted from sharing the prestigious work of developing strategies for reform - or revolution, as the case may be - and being asked instead to do female kinds of menial chores - typing, copying, serving coffee, office work - which, however essential, were uninfluential, even down putting, low in prestige. Now, suddenly, they were face to face with the sexism men felt and displayed toward them, the same men for whom racial equality had been such a taken for granted goal of activism in the civil rights movement. The women were dumbfounded to discover this exclusion from leadership positions, infuriated at the blatant, casual, taken-for-granted, unrecognised, hypocritical sexism of the men. Their eyes were opened to the real nature of their relationships with the men (Bernard 1989: 25).

Women's attempts to challenge their confinement to ancillary roles, and to raise issues relating to the rights of their sex within the contexts of organisations committed to the promotion of the rights of other oppressed groups were received with contempt by many male activists. This response contributed to the eventual decision of some women to commence autonomous organisation.

While the experiences of female activists in radical political groupings acted as a specific catalyst to the emergence of the American women's liberation movement, other factors were also influential. The dominant gender

ideology of the post-war period constructed women as wives, mothers, and consumers, with responsibility for and status within the family and the domestic sphere. As Betty Friedan's best-selling exposition of 'the problem that has no name' pointed out, this construction sat in uneasy contradiction with women's increased educational and employment opportunities (Bouchier 1983: 24).

Friedan's challenge to the feminine mystique helped American (and later British) women to articulate their disenchantment with the "fetishised femininity" (Coote & Campbell 1987: 4) of the post-war period. Once vocalised, this dissatisfaction contributed to some women's receptivity to the new feminism. By the mid sixties, women in the United States were organising for their own rights. Nineteen sixty-six saw the foundation, by Betty Friedan and others, of the National Organisation for Women (NOW). However, the limelight was soon taken from this essentially reformist organisation by the appearance in many major American cities of more radical feminist groups, including the New York based Redstockings, Feminists, and New York Radical Feminists (Freeman 1975: 59; Koedt, Levine and Rapone 1973; Mitchell 1971: 43; Banks 1981: 225).

The ideas of the American women's movement followed various routes into Britain. News of feminist developments in the United States reached London via a network of radical pamphlets, journals and manifestos, and contributed significantly to the emergence of the British women's liberation movement. In addition, a number of individual American women were active in early feminist groups in Britain: for example, American women were instrumental in the establishment of the Tufnell Park group, which was one of the first to appear in Britain (Tufnell Park Group of the London Women's Liberation Workshop 1971). While the influence of American feminism on the British movement is indisputable, cross-Atlantic political propagation was to some extent a two way process. Juliet Mitchell's articulation of feminism and Althusserian marxism, published in Britain in 1966, was influential within both the British and American movements (Mitchell 1966; Lovell 1990: 5).

The 'Revolution of Rising Expectations': Women's Position in Post-war Society

The position of women in post-war society is a recurrent and relevant focus of accounts of the origins of 1960s feminism. Commentaries of this period highlight the restrictive power of ideologies of femininity and

domesticity (Birmingham Feminist History Group 1979: 51), and women's inequality in many public spheres including those of employment, law and public policy. In the face of such inequality, women's rebellion appears both explicable and inevitable. But to identify the women's liberation movement as a manifestation of some women's challenge to the economic, political, social and cultural subordination of their sex is not to explain why this challenge emerged at the particular moment that it did. Female subordination was not new, nor was the form it took in post-war Britain. Although the years immediately following the war witnessed an intensification of the ideology of domesticity, it had dominated the lives, first of middle-class and later of working-class women, since the second half of the nineteenth century (Hall 1979).

David Bouchier has argued that "social movements are rarely sudden things, but emerge when a long process of change has caused some part of the population to expect and demand better life chances" (Bouchier 1983: 42).

Processes of social change which distinguished women's experiences in the post-war period from those of their predecessors in earlier decades included the steady increase in married women's employment, improved opportunities for higher education, and a gradual

liberalisation of attitudes surrounding sex and sexuality. The significance of these changes for the resurgence of feminist ideas in the late 1960s, beyond the practical and symbolic freedoms they meant for individual women, lay in their contribution to the elevation of women's expectations regarding their position in society. Such changes, although far from universal in their effects, simultaneously heightened women's expectations about the social role and status of their sex and increased their sensitivity to the contradictions and sexual inequalities which continued to structure society. Thus there was in Britain by the second half of the 1960s "an assumption of freedom" (Rowbotham 1990: 7) among women themselves, while at a structural level they remained very much second class citizens whose interests were collectively subordinated to those of men.

The war and post-war years witnessed a substantial increase in married women's participation in the labour market. Although many women lost their wartime employment when hostilities ended, the economic restructuring of the 1950s created large numbers of new jobs in mass production manufacturing, the expanding tertiary sector and the reformed welfare state. Many of these jobs were filled by women, an unprecedented proportion of whom were married.

In 1931, 10% of married women in Britain were engaged in paid work outside the home, in 1951 21% (Wilson 1980b: 41). By the mid fifties, "the working wife had become an accepted fact" (Bouchier 1983: 21; see also Birmingham Feminist History Group 1979: 49). Married women's participation in the labour market continued to increase during the latter 1950s and 1960s. In 1961 32% of married women were 'economically active', and in 1971 47% (Wilson 1980b: 41; see also Beechey 1986: 80). However, women's increased visibility in the labour market was not matched by improvements in their workforce status. In 1971 women in advanced industrialised countries (including Britain) comprised approximately one third of the labour force, but were routinely paid less than men for their work (Mitchell 1971: 41). In the 1950s and early 1960s, a woman doing an identical job to a man could expect to receive 60% (at best 70%) of his pay (Bouchier 1983: 25). In addition, a traditional sexual division of labour ensured that the majority of women workers were concentrated in low status and 'low skilled' or 'unskilled' work, including assembly line production, catering, cleaning and clerical work; or in conventionally feminine spheres such as nursing and primary school teaching (Mitchell 1971: 41; Coote & Campbell 1987: 4; Bouchier 1983: 24).

A similar pattern of inequality existed in relation to higher education. Various educational reforms such as the 1944 Education Act and the integration of all-male university colleges; as well as the rapid expansion of higher education during the first half of the 1960s, improved women's opportunities for higher education. In 1900 women constituted 16% of Britain's undergraduate population. By 1920 this figure had risen to 24% and by 1930 to 27% (Dyhouse 1995: 17, 7). Between 1939 and 1965 women's share of undergraduate places remained more or less static, at around 25%. By 1971 women comprised 33% of university students in Britain (Bouchier 1983: 32-33; Dyhouse 1995: 7, 18; Mitchell 1971: 41; University Grants Committee 1963: 1; 1971: viii). Important though such progress was, equality in higher education remained a distant goal. Although numbers of women entering higher education increased steadily from the mid 1960s the traditional gendering of university courses continued, so that the vast majority of female students graduated in arts or humanities disciplines or with degrees in education, and only very few in natural scientific, professional or other vocational fields. Few female students were encouraged to continue beyond undergraduate level: in 1965 women comprised less than a quarter of British postgraduate students, and over fifty per cent of

these were on postgraduate teacher training courses. Only 10 per cent of Ph.D. students or university teachers were women, and only 2 per cent of professors (Bouchier 1983: 33).

The 1960s are also popularly hailed as a decade of sexual liberation for women. Although the liberalisation of attitudes towards sex and sexuality was in fact part of a much longer and more gradual process of change, the sixties are perceived as something of a watershed. Commentaries of the period tend to emphasise the emancipatory potential for women of the contraceptive pill. Its availability in Britain from the mid 1960s undoubtedly brought new sexual freedom, actual and symbolic, to at least some women:

It was completely wonderful. It changed my life. I don't mean overnight. I can't remember now how I felt at first. But soon, I felt in control, I felt free ... Before I'd been on it a year I had an affair; not because I was in love with the man, nor because I hated Tom - I think now I did it just because I could do it and get away with it. I felt so wonderfully clever (extract from an interview with 'Jane', Maitland 1988: 151).

Such freedoms came at a price - "contraception ... meant you were always available and sex became a duty" (Wilson 1980b: 99) - and had little immediate impact upon gender or familial relations. Moreover the politics of

fertility, like those of associated with employment and higher educational opportunity were, as today, cross-cut by considerations of social class and 'race' (Mohanty 1988; Amos & Parmar 1984; Carby 1982; Mama 1992).

Nevertheless, the promise of reproductive autonomy, however imperfectly realised, swelled a tide of feminine expectation which contemporary social and political structures were ill-equipped to meet.

Individual women followed different routes to the expression of their dissatisfaction with the contradictions of their lives. For some, membership of radical political organisations (discussed below) provided a catalyst to action, but many women without previous political involvement were also attracted to the new feminism. For both groups but perhaps especially the latter, the politicising impact of early, frequently American, feminist texts was considerable. *The Feminine Mystique* (Friedan 1992), first published in Britain in 1963, helped women on both sides of the Atlantic to understand the structural origins of their discontents and the social roles by which these were mediated. Other best-sellers included Kate Millett's *Sexual Politics* (Millett 1977, first published in Britain in 1969), Shulamith Firestone's *The Dialectic of Sex* (Firestone

1979, first published in Britain in 1971), Eva Figes' *Patriarchal Attitudes* (Figes 1986, first published in Britain in 1970), and Germaine Greer's *The Female Eunuch* (Greer 1991, first published in Britain in 1970). In some cases these books "legitimised feelings women already had and gave them shape and authority; in other cases they helped women to make sense of experiences; for others they presented a whole new way of looking at the world"

(Neustatter 1990: 16). The concepts and vocabulary of the new feminism (Mitchell 1971: 63-65; Banks 1981: 224; Phillips 1987: 111) were developed, articulated, and reinforced in the pages of these books. Their authors exposed the ways in which patriarchal institutions and ideologies oppressed women, and advocated a range of routes to female liberation.

Referring to the contradictions which surrounded the position of women in post-war society, and to the political forefronting of these contradictions during the 1960s, Juliet Mitchell has written:

These factors doubtless caused the resurgence of feminism. But its specific timing and particular characteristics (its revolutionary potential) are also the result of a second force: the preceding and concurrent political movements of the sixties (Mitchell 1971: 174-5).

It is to the role of these movements that we now turn.

Women's Experiences of Sixties' Radical Politics

Most accounts of the British women's liberation movement highlight its status as one of several radical political movements which emerged and flourished during the 1960s. Many also suggest, as Mitchell does, that previous and existing movements contributed to the development of the new feminism. The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), active in Britain from the mid-fifties, was one of the first popular political groups to appear in Britain. Joyce Gelb suggests that CND helped to "set the stage" for other forms of change-oriented politics (Gelb 1986: 106; see also Carter 1988). It also provided many women with their first experience of political activism. Then as since (Cook & Kirk 1983) the politics of peace attracted disproportionate female support (Birmingham Feminist History Group 1979: 62; Bouchier 1983: 49). From the mid 1960s protest against American military aggression in Vietnam lent an additional focus to anti-war campaigning. By this time the radical political scene had itself expanded to encompass a wide range of liberatory movements and organisations. Mitchell suggests that as the decade progressed the pursuit of international peace gave way to domestic priorities and concerns, such as those associated with the demands of the black and student

movements (Mitchell 1971: 20). To these should be added struggles for gay rights and for the emancipation of the working-class, since the 1960s also witnessed the birth of Britain's gay liberation movement (Wilson 1982) and the rehabilitation of socialist and Marxist politics symbolised by the formation, in 1960, of the journal *New Left Review*. In as far as the 1960s 'counter-culture' contributed to the creation of a climate of rebellion and change, it too fed radical consciousness.

The current of political radicalism which ran through the 1960s undoubtedly contributed to the resurgence of feminism. At a general level it created a climate conducive (and in principle receptive) to progressive and revolutionary ideas and struggles and introduced a generation of women to political activism, and to the practical and analytical skills on which it relied. More particularly, the rise of the New Left and women's participation in the marxist and socialist groups it spawned or regenerated, contributed crucially to the development of the women's liberation movement. Many of the women most influential in its creation were also involved in left-wing politics: Joyce Gelb describes "socialist and Marxist feminists [as] the virtual 'midwives' of the British women's liberation movement"

(Gelb 1986: 108), an assessment endorsed by other commentators (Banks 1981: 238; Coote & Campbell 1987: 7; Neustatter 1990: 16; Lovell 1990).

Both the decision of such women to organise independently, and the character of their subsequent organisation, were profoundly influenced by their previous (and in many cases continued) involvement with the radical Left. However, the nature of this influence was complex, for while socialist women's experience and *rejection* of certain aspects of left-wing politics contributed (as it had done in the United States) to the creation of a gendered political consciousness, British feminism retained a constant - if at times strained - relationship with socialist politics, and inherited many of their political assumptions and priorities. The remainder of this section examines in more detail these two aspects of the relationship between the organised Left and the emergent women's movement.

Women's disenchantment with male dominated left-wing politics, and its significance for the emergence of the women's liberation movement has been well documented. Female activists within Left political parties and groups were typically marginalised and isolated from power (Gelb

1986: 111). Influenced by news of feminist developments in other parts of the world (especially America, although Sheila Rowbotham also recalls "rumours" of the women's liberation movement in Germany [Rowbotham 1971: 32]), and increasingly aware of and dissatisfied with the limited status they were afforded within these organisations, such women began to combine independently to discuss the social subordination of their sex. Something of the mood of revolt is captured in an extract from a pamphlet entitled 'Women's Liberation and the New Politics', written by Sheila Rowbotham on the eve of the second wave, when there was no women's liberation movement in Britain, "only a few small ... groups" (Rowbotham 1969: 5):

Think of the way women relate to left groups. Very largely we complement the men: we hold small groups together, we send out reminders, we type the leaflets, we administer rather than initiate. Only a small number of men are at once aware that this happens and take positive steps to stop it. In fact in some cases they positively discourage women from finding a voice. Revolutionary students are quite capable of wolf-whistling and cat-calling when a girl speaks; more common though is tolerant humour, patronising derision or that silence after which everyone continues as if nobody has spoken. The girl in the process of becoming interested in socialism is thus often treated as an intruder if she speaks or acts in her own right. She is most subtly once again taught her place (Rowbotham 1969: 26).

Anna Coote and Beatrix Campbell, members of the same political generation as Rowbotham, argue that women's autonomous organisation was motivated by "knowledge of

radical politics, combined with a sense of exclusion from it" (Coote & Campbell 1986: 7), a theme echoed by other commentators: "the women's liberation movement grew ... when women, exposed to political analysis and the process of looking at power and its meanings within society, began to ask questions about their personal situations, about their subordinate status" (Neustatter 1990: 10). Some of the responses they received to such questioning can only have strengthened their resolve. Although male reactions were not universally negative (Rowbotham 1971: 41), many men, including those of the left-wing intelligentsia, refused to entertain notions of female oppression and liberation. Recalling the 1969 Ruskin History Workshop, an event which led directly to the organisation of the first national women's liberation conference, Sally Alexander writes: "it is difficult to remember now how there could have been such a gust of laughter at the 1969 Ruskin History Workshop when a number of us women asked for a meeting of those present who might be interested in working on women's history. I do remember the bewilderment and indignation we felt as we walked away from the conference to plan another of our own. It seemed to be the word - woman - which produced the laughter. Why?" (Alexander 1984: 127, see also Alexander 1990: 81-82). As male political activists were forced to take the challenges of

the second wave seriously the hostility underlying their ridicule began to surface.

Women's intolerance of their individual and collective marginalisation expressed itself in a number of ways. As already indicated, the new feminists distanced themselves from conventional forms of political organisation (Coote & Campbell 1987: 14). Women's liberation groups were small, localised, self-consciously 'grass roots' and anti-elitist, shunning formal structure and hierarchy in favour of consensual decision making and an emphasis on collectivity. For some groups, commitment to the principles of participatory democracy found expression in the collective authorship of books and articles, and the sharing of public speaking engagements (Mitchell 1971: 58-59; Allen, Sanders & Wallis 1974; Feminist Anthology Centre 1981; Brixton Black Women's Group; Bristol Women's Studies Group 1979).

Another contrast between Left politics and those of the women's liberation movement concerned the importance attached by feminism to the role of personal experience as a route to political consciousness. The new feminists did not reject theory: the attempt to theorise the various elements of women's oppression, and its relationship with

other forms of subordination was of central importance, particularly for socialist feminists, during the 1970s and 1980s. However, a strong commitment to the politics of the personal was a distinguishing characteristic of the women's movement. The majority of local women's liberation groups began life as consciousness-raising groups, participation in which enabled women to make connections, first between their own personal experiences and those of other women, and then between the collective experiences of women and the material and ideological structures of society itself (Delmar 1972: 119). Juliet Mitchell describes consciousness-raising as "the process of transforming the hidden individual fears of women into a shared awareness of the meaning of them as social problems, the release of anger, anxiety, the struggle of proclaiming the painful and transforming it into the political" (Mitchell 1971: 61). For participants in this process, consciousness-raising led to personal and shared empowerment:

We don't just relate individual experiences and mutually commiserate - we do this so that we can understand what it is that unites us. Through a greater understanding of the personal we come to realise our political potential. The small group process enables women to realise that their problems are not individual but are part of a collective oppression of the whole sex. Only then do we start to become self-defined and self-determining (Bruley 1976: 66).

Although consciousness-raising was a central function of women's liberation groups, in most cases it was a function with a limited life span: while no uniform pattern was followed, many groups moved gradually from the activities of self-politicisation to those of theory and strategy development (Mitchell 1971: 59). By the time they had met for the twentieth time, the members of the women's group to which Michelene Wandor belonged had moved from consciousness-raising to theoretical analysis, working out a "short reading list in order to discuss the question of women in relation to class" (Wandor 1972b: 111). After another four weeks the group abandoned its original consciousness-raising identity altogether, although the majority of its members continued to meet as a "more systematic study group", aiming to develop theory in relation to the oppressive role of the modern family (Wandor 1972b: 112).

While the political structures and processes of the movement for women's liberation represented a break with orthodox Left organisation and can be linked to a rejection of male dominated political forms (Phillips 1987: 110; Coote & Campbell 1987: 23), other aspects of these politics were also formative for the new feminism. The history of its emergence ensured that socialist

analyses and politics were from the outset a dominant current within the women's liberation movement. In the United States second wave feminism developed in explicit contradistinction from the politics of the Left. In Britain relationships between feminists and left-wing men were generally less acrimonious, and the decision to organise autonomously did not inevitably lead to disengagement from class politics or radical Left groupings.

Some commentators suggest that the industrial militancy of working-class women in the late 1960s contributed decisively to the emergence of the new women's movement. Sheila Rowbotham is clear that within the International Marxist Group "it was the initiative of trade union women which meant ... IMG women could raise the topic in their organisation without being dismissed" (Rowbotham 1971: 34). Having introduced the question of female oppression in such contexts socialist feminists worked to establish and strengthen their links with working-class women. Feminist groups backed women workers in their bids for improved pay and conditions (Phillips 1987: 109); and became involved in political campaigns that brought them into alliance with women in the trade union and labour

movements, and (thus) the tradition of equal rights feminism that continued within them.

Finally, as already indicated, their existing political identifications ensured that many feminists remained active and influential within socialist and marxist organisations. Sheila Rowbotham suggests that during the late 1960s the attitudes of male members of International Socialism (latterly The Socialist Workers Party) underwent a gradual metamorphosis from "joking incredulity to grudging support" (Rowbotham 1971: 41). The extent of feminist-Left reciprocity can, however, be overstated. Political tensions of the kind described by Rowbotham and others continued into the 1980s and beyond, and relations between middle- and working-class women have been no less problematic (Phillips 1987).

2. Who Were the New Feminists? The Composition of the Early Women's Movement

Women's liberation movement activists shared more than their "complaints against ... society ... and against the radical groups that were supposed to be challenging this" (Mitchell 1971: 54). Demographically they also had much in common, united both in years and by their social class and educational backgrounds. The new feminism attracted

the bulk of its support from middle-class, higher educated women in their twenties and thirties (Rowbotham 1971: 4; Bouchier 1983: 56), prime "beneficiaries of the 1944 Education Act and ... of the whole post war expansion of the Welfare State" (Phillips 1987: 4).

To Juliet Mitchell, commenting in 1971 on the composition of the early women's movement, the coincidence of educational and economic privilege and feminist consciousness was unremarkable. It was precisely their material advantage that enabled these young women to confront the contradictions inherent in their social locations: "a college educated girl spending her time studying 'home economics' is at least in a position to ask 'why'" (Mitchell 1971: 21). As Shelia Rowbotham points out, it was to this group that the gulf between the dreams and realities of 1960s Britain loomed largest:

It is often the case that radical discontent develops not among the most oppressed but among people who have been able to conceive of better possibilities than society allows. And so it was with the emergence of women's liberation. The women who questioned first were those whose education and aspirations enabled them to imagine there could be some alternative (Rowbotham 1990: 41)

While both Mitchell and Rowbotham appear overly dismissive of the conceptual and imaginative capacities of working class women, it is clear that the women's liberation

movement was from the outset driven by the concerns and priorities of their middle-class counterparts.

3. The Politics of Women's Liberation

As already indicated, the women's movement was dispersed, localised and deeply suspicious of 'masculine' organisational forms. It comprised an informal federation of groups and campaigns which communicated via a range of newsletters and journals (*Shrew, Socialist Woman, Spare Rib, Women's Voice, Red Rag, Women's Report* and *Link*, to name but a few) and through various regional and national networks, committees, seminars and meetings. National women's liberation conferences were held between 1970 and 1978. These provided important forums for discussion and debate and were responsible for the agreement of a series of demands for women's liberation. The first of these, for Equal Pay, Equal Education and Opportunities, 24-Hour Nurseries and Free Contraception and Abortion on Demand (Phillips 1987: 110), were agreed by the 1970 conference. Four years later two further demands - for Financial and Legal Independence, and An End to Discrimination Against Lesbians and A Woman's Right to Define Her Own Sexuality - were added to the list (Bouchier 1983: 109, 118). In 1978 the seventh and final demand, for Freedom from Intimidation by Threat or Use of Violence, Regardless of

Marital Status; and An End to All Laws, Assumptions and Institutions which Perpetuate Male Violence and Men's Aggression Towards Women was formulated (Bouchier 1983: 132). By 1978 internal conflicts rendered the notion of a single political platform increasingly problematic for the women's movement, and no further national women's liberation conferences were organised.

Viewed collectively, the seven demands reveal the breadth of the early feminist agenda and the political influence of the formative forces discussed in the first part of this chapter. Equal rights demands such as those relating to employment, education and legal and financial rights simply restated or extended the priorities of 1950s and 1960s feminism, and were broadly compatible with orthodox Left and liberal perspectives. Juxtaposed with these were a series of requirements which radically challenged both the social and sexual organisation of society. Demands for community controlled child care and for reproductive and sexual freedom and an end to male violence signalled a redefinition of politics and of the political sphere. In identifying not only the domestic realm but also personal relationships, particularly those with men, as arenas of sexual subordination and dispute, the new feminists rejected the public/private dichotomy of orthodox

political discourse and extended opportunities for individual and collective liberation. The women's movement rendered the personal political and in so doing exposed even the most intimate relationships - those associated with the family, marriage, sexuality and sex - to critical scrutiny (Coote & Campbell 1987: 21). Many of these new feminist preoccupations, in particular those associated with sexuality and male violence, had their origins in radical feminism, a strand of feminist thought which identified sexual subordination as the original social inequality (Millett 1977; Firestone 1979), and which devoted its political energies to exposing and opposing manifestations of male (or 'patriarchal') cultural, political, social and economic power.

Radical feminism is frequently contrasted with marxist or socialist variants of feminist analysis which, as we have seen, played an important role in the emergence of the early British movement. However, while some of the campaigns and activities of the women's liberation movement (for example the establishment of rape crisis centres and refuges for battered women, and the Women Against Violence Against Women campaign) bore the hallmark of radical feminist analysis and others, typically those associated with the alleviation of women's material

disadvantage (such as the Why Be A Wife? campaign and the Working Women's Charter), of socialist feminism, a degree of consensus surrounded many issues. Radical feminists emphasised questions of male power over those of other forms of structural inequality, but did not necessarily dissociate themselves from issues of more direct concern to socialist feminists. Similarly, while socialist feminists were determined to root their understandings of female oppression within broader analyses of social subordination, they acknowledged the centrality of personal relationships and sexuality for the feminist project.

Both established and new, radical and socialist, feminist agendas contained possibilities for political action, and the 1970s and 1980s were years of sustained activism. The details of this activism have been comprehensively documented (Wandor 1972a; Allen, Sanders & Wallis 1974; Feminist Anthology Centre 1981; Kanter, Lephane & Shah 1984; Banks 1981; Randall 1982; Bouchier 1983; Coote & Campbell; Gelb 1986; Phillips 1987; Rowbotham 1990; Neustatter 1989) and require no repetition here. More significant for the purposes of the present study than the minutiae of these campaigns is the relationship between the

composition and concerns of the early movement and the emergence of a distinctively feminist sociology.

4. The Women's Liberation Movement and the Origins of Feminism as Sociology

Published histories of the women's liberation movement suggest that its origins lay in the interaction of a number of political, social and economic forces. It is also clear that the early movement recruited much of its support from middle class students and young graduates, many of whom were already active within the organised Left. Finally, the movement signalled the birth of a new kind of sexual politics and a new agenda for British feminism. While certain strands of an earlier equal rights tradition remained, these continued alongside a politics of the personal which demanded a critical reappraisal of sexual inequality and a transformation not only of inequitable social practices but also of relationships between individual women and men.

In the following pages I will argue that each of these insights have significance for an analysis of the recent historical relationship between feminist ideas and sociological scholarship. I will suggest that feminist concerns initially found their way into academic sociology

through the intellectual activities of young, higher educated women who, politicised by involvement in the women's movement and employed within the discipline sought a synthesis of their political preoccupations and their professional activities. The specific forms this synthesis took can be understood partly in terms of the dominance of socialist and marxist perspectives within the early British second wave. The relationship between the work of feminist scholars and the broader women's movement was at this time particularly dynamic since many feminist students and academics continued active participation in the public political sphere. In addition, there were close intellectual links between feminists within and outside academia, as both groups worked towards the development of conceptual and theoretical tools adequate to the new feminist agenda. Finally, many of the priorities of the early women's movement (for example, social institutions such as marriage, the family and female domestic labour, and social structural forces such as patriarchy and capitalism - and the relationship between them) were particularly amenable to sociological investigation and analysis.

These themes are explored in more detail in Chapters Seven and Eight. However, the emergence of a feminist sociology

was also crucially influenced by developments within the discipline itself, and it to these that we turn in Chapter Six.

CHAPTER SIX

THE COMING OF AGE OF BRITISH SOCIOLOGY

I have argued that the resurgence, in the form of the women's liberation movement, of feminist activism during the late 1960s and early 1970s contributed crucially to the emergence of a feminist voice within academic sociology. However, feminism did not act upon an otherwise static discipline. The sixties and seventies were years of institutional and intellectual change for sociology, simultaneously witnessing the rapid growth of the British based discipline and far reaching theoretical upheavals. These developments, and their significance for feminism's early sociological career form the focus of this chapter.

The institutional and the intellectual are closely linked in the life of any academic specialism. For the purposes of the present discussion, however, they are scrutinised separately, since departures in each arena contributed distinctively to the development of a feminist sociology. The first part of the chapter examines the institutional expansion of British sociology during the 1960s, focusing primarily, for reasons outlined below, on developments at the higher educational level and in particular within the

university sector. Part two focuses on the intellectual history of the discipline over the same period, highlighting the near hegemonic status of structural functionalism within 1950s and early 1960s sociological theory and the analytical pluralism to which it gave way during the latter 1960s and 1970s. I will argue that these changes respectively generated institutional and intellectual 'space' for female and feminist scholarship. The growth of the discipline created opportunities for increasing numbers of women to participate, both as students and professionally, in the world of academic sociology, thus enabling feminist engagement with its concerns and approaches, while theoretical perspectives characteristic of British sociology from the mid 1960s proved fruitful for early feminist sociological scholarship. I shall suggest that for feminists the value of these perspectives lay as much in the timing of their (re)emergence as in their analytic distinction.

1. Institutional Developments: The Expansion of Sociology

There is a sense in which the 1960s saw the 'making' of sociology in Britain. In the immediate post-war years the discipline lacked status or influence either within or outside the universities. In popular and academic imaginations alike it was perceived as the science of

common sense and the obvious. During the late 1950s, however, attitudes towards sociology started to change (Banks 1967: 6; Halsey 1982: 168), and both its practitioners and their researches began to receive more sympathetic media attention. In 1960 Donald MacRae, one of Britain's eighty-five professional sociologists, observed:

It seems as though sociology has arrived. What was a few years ago a term of abuse, ridicule or contempt is now a word of virtue and power (McRae 1960: 433).

Hostility towards sociology did not vanish overnight. The "lay critique" of sociology, as a subject which "simply tells us what we already know" (Giddens 1978-79: 213-4) remained influential; and throughout the 1970s the discipline suffered as a result of alleged and actual relationship with the British New Left (Eldridge 1980: 25; for a popular representation of this association see Malcolm Bradbury's satirical novel *The History Man* [Bradbury 1975]). Nevertheless, the 1960s and 1970s became years of unprecedented growth for sociology. Within the universities the discipline expanded at a rate even its most optimistic defenders could not have predicted. Similar advances were made in other educational sectors. By the mid 1960s sociology was being taught in colleges of further education and of technology

(Nuestadt 1965: 4). In 1972 it entered the GCE A level curriculum, a "mark of respectability" (Allen 1974: 1) for any nascent subject. It began to be taught to GCE O level in the same year. Sociology also came to play an increasing role in vocational training. By the close of the 1960s a rudimentary (if inevitably selective) understanding of sociological theory was regarded as a prerequisite for effective participation in a wide range of caring, service and other occupations. The 'Relevance of Sociology for the Training of Social Workers and Teachers' was debated as early as 1961 (Simey 1961), and by 1965 trainee doctors, lawyers, engineers, town planners and managers also received some instruction in the subject (Nuestadt 1965: 4).

Significant though these latter achievements were, it was the consolidation and expansion of *university* based sociology which conferred academic legitimacy upon the discipline. Institutionalisation in this sector facilitated growth in other educational and vocational arenas. The subject's incorporation into the GCE curriculum depended upon university recognition; without such endorsement its route into other teaching and training contexts would undoubtedly also have been more difficult. The role of universities in the maturation of

a discipline extends beyond that of academic gatekeeping. They are generators of its intellectual resources, and sociology's entry into other academic settings depended in this sense too upon acceptance by the universities.

Finally, universities supply academic professions with their personnel, a fact acknowledged by MacRae who, speculating on the future of British sociology at the start of the sixties wrote: "if sociology is to flourish, it must do so in universities, for it is the universities alone that can provide sociologists" (McRae 1960: 440).

In recognition of its centrality for the broader development of the discipline, and given the substantive focus of the present study, the following discussion focuses primarily upon the expansion of sociology within the university sector. Other academic settings, in particular, from the mid 1960s, the polytechnics, have contributed crucially to the biography of British sociology. My intention is not to deny the significance of these sites of development, but to suggest that expansion in the universities was a precondition for and indicative of the discipline's growth elsewhere.

As will become clear, the extension of university based sociology cannot be examined in isolation from broader expansionary trends within higher education, in particular

those prompted by the recommendations of the Robbins Committee on Higher Education (Robbins 1963). However, other data, including those obtained by the Heyworth Committee on Social Studies (Heyworth 1965) suggest that sociology's rate of growth in the post-Robbins era was particularly spectacular. This expansion had important and far-reaching implications for female and feminist sociological scholarship.

Methods and Sources

In 1961 Donald MacRae bemoaned the absence of any "really satisfactory general history of sociology" (MacRae 1961a: ix). Thirteen years later he reiterated his complaint, noting to be "even more conspicuously lacking ... the accurate chronicling of [sociology's] institutional history" (MacRae 1974: 401). By documenting the growth of the university based discipline during the 1960s and 1970s, the pages which follow belong to just such a project. In tracing this history I have been forced to confront the dearth of published resources to which MacRae referred. Since the construction of the following account has been far from straightforward it seems appropriate to preface it with a brief description of the strengths and weaknesses of the information sources on which it draws.

The principal official repository of information about British universities in the 1960s is a collection of data known as University Grants Committee (UGC) *Returns from Universities and University Colleges in Receipt of a Treasury Grant*. Between 1919 and 1966, the UGC, the statutory body responsible for the financial supervision of Britain's universities collated and published annual statistics relating to all institutions within its administrative remit. From 1966 to 1979 these were presented, in a revised format, as part of the Department of Education and Science's 'Statistics of Education' series, although they continued to be published by the UGC. Since 1980 official data on higher education have been published by the Universities Statistical Record on behalf of the UGC (replaced by the University Funding Committee in 1989 and latterly [1993] the Higher Education Funding Council of England) in the form of 'University Statistics'. As with any official statistics, the principal advantage of these data sets is their capacity to reveal trends over time (Slattery 1986: 29). However, university Returns and their successors also have a number of limitations as sources of information. As Edward Wrigley has noted, "there is a delusive clarity and apparent authority in the printed word or digit. But what is printed in a census volume or any other statistical

publication represents the last operation in a long chain of data collection and collation, subject to error, omission and misinterpretation at every stage of from the phrasing of the original inquiry to the proof reading of the printer's galleys" (Wrigley 1972, cited Bulmer 1984: 157; see also Scott 1990; Platt 1981a, 1981b). In relation to the present study, university Returns are also limited by their inclusion of only partial discipline-specific information. Although these records have routinely included data on the academic distribution of under- and postgraduates, prior to 1966 such information was presented under faculty headings only. Data on students of sociology were subsumed within the category 'Social Science', making it impossible to ascertain the number of students registered specifically for degrees in sociology before this date. This problem can be overcome through recourse to Returns statistics on degrees awarded which, from 1962, included sociology as a distinct subject area.

The second limitation of UGC Returns in relation to the present investigation is that they provide no indication of the national total of university departments within any given discipline. Fortunately this information is available from an alternative quasi-official source:

Association of Commonwealth Universities (ACU) Yearbooks which have since 1914 listed all academic staff employed in member and non-member institutions (Association of Commonwealth Universities 1993: ix). From past Yearbooks it is possible to ascertain both numbers of university departments of sociology and numbers of academic staff employed within them for the period under consideration. Paradoxically, the sexist convention of recording the full forenames of female, although not male, academics, means that it is also possible to track changes in the sex ratio of university employed sociologists. For these reasons, ACU data represent a valuable supplement to official UGC gathered statistics.

Contemporary academic publications - journal articles, book chapters, professorial inaugural lectures - are a final source of data about both the institutional and the intellectual career of university based sociology.

Although the information they provide is less systematically presented than that generated for official or quasi-official record keeping purposes, these commentaries, produced by individuals with first-hand involvement and interest in the world of academic sociology bring the advantages of "insider" insight (Merton 1972: 11; Pang 1993: 65) to the account.

Although the use of multiple documentary sources is not without its difficulties, it has been possible, on the basis of information yielded by the documentation described above, to construct a biography of university based sociology in Britain.

The Emergence of Academic Sociology in Britain

Sociology is a relative newcomer to British universities. Its academic origins have been traced to the 'sociological movement' of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and to the London based Sociological Society which it spawned in 1904. The movement, and subsequently the Society, brought together three relatively distinct schools of sociological thought. 'Ethical' or 'social work' sociologists regarded the specialism primarily as a resource for social welfare and reform, 'racial' sociologists, who had close links with the eugenics movement, saw it as a solution to the so-called population problem, while for 'civic' sociologists it was the science of human interaction with the natural environment (Halliday 1968). While each of these perspectives contributed to the emergence in the early twentieth century of a distinctively British sociology, the ethical or moral school of thought shaped the intellectual

identity of the early discipline most decisively (Eldridge 1980: 8). In 1907 Leonard Hobhouse, a key adherent of the social reform approach, was appointed to the nation's first academic chair in sociology, at the London School of Economics (LSE).

The academic biography of British sociology may be a relatively short one (Rex 1974: 1), but its non-academic pedigree is considerably longer. Although the focus of the present account is the development of the university based discipline which, as indicated above, dates from the LSE in 1907, its nineteenth century roots should not be overlooked. Early twentieth century social reformist approaches to sociology undoubtedly owed much of their success within the academic discipline to the well established social administrative and investigative traditions to which they belonged. Nineteenth century philanthropy, the precursor of social administration and social work, and the empirical study of social problems, made famous through the survey based researches of Charles Booth (1840-1916), Beatrice Webb (1858-1943), Sidney Webb (1859-1947), Arthur Bowley (1869-1957) and Seebohm Rowntree (1871-1954) were both forerunners of the approach to sociology so visible within the nascent discipline (MacRae 1961b: 21; Halliday 1968: 390; Farmer 1967: 13).

There is also a direct link at the level of institutional history, since it was Sidney and Beatrice Webb who, in 1895, founded the London School of Economics in response to the academy's refusal to take seriously the kinds of inquiry to which they were committed (Birnbaum 1960: 465-6).

It is interesting to note that women contributed significantly to both aspects of nineteenth century pre-sociological practice. The role of middle-class women's charitable home-visiting in the development of social administration and social work has been well documented (Summers 1979). Less well known are women's contributions to the social research activities of the nineteenth century. The point is well illustrated by the case of Clara Collet (Miller 1990). Born in 1860, a contemporary of Beatrice Webb and a friend of Eleanor Marx, Clara Collet was among the first cohort of young women admitted to degrees in Britain. Supporting her studies from her earnings as a teacher, she obtained a BA and an MA from University College London during the 1880s. Between 1887 and 1901 she worked with Charles Booth on his *London Life and Labour of the People in London* (Booth 1902-03), authoring several of its chapters. By the early 1900s Clara Collet was a respected academic in her own right.

She was an acknowledged authority on statistics, and a founder member of the Councils of the Royal Statistical Society and the Royal Economics Society. She also wrote and published extensively on the subject of women's employment. Her expertise in this area led her to be appointed, in 1901, to the Royal Commission on Labour, to report on women's 'sweated' work. Two years later she became Senior Investigator for Women's Industries in the Commercial, Labour and Statistical Departments of the Board of Trade, where she continued to work until the early 1920s. She died in 1948.

Despite her protracted professional association with eminent social researchers and politicians, and her considerable academic achievements, the name of Clara Collet is absent from accounts of the origins of sociological practice in Britain. The theme of women's participation in the discipline is one to which we will return below.

Academic sociology developed only slowly during the first half of the twentieth century and remained dominated by the University of London. For much of this period the London School of Economics was sole host to an independent department of sociology. The discipline was not entirely

absent from the rest of the higher educational landscape. By 1950 six of Britain's universities possessed departments of social studies and two departments of social science (Table 1), the majority of which engaged in some form of sociological instruction or research (MacRae 1961b: 25). It is significant however, that several of the provincial universities examined University of London degrees; and even institutions with degree awarding status tended to model their courses on the London curriculum (Banks 1967: 2).

Britain's first sociological journal was the quarterly *Sociological Review*, launched in 1908 by the Sociological Society to replace the *Sociological Papers* it had published annually between 1904 and 1907 (Halliday 1968: 395n). That its first editor was Leonard Hobhouse simply underlines the status of the LSE within the early British discipline. In the words of Edward Shils, "outside the London School of Economics, sociology was scarcely even allowed to touch the handle of the university door" (Shils 1960: 446; see also Eldridge 1980: 7-23). This being the case, during the early part of the century British sociologists relied heavily and of necessity upon published resources originating in the United States (Banks 1967: 7), where the first department of sociology

had been founded in 1892, where by 1909 over three hundred universities and colleges offered sociology programmes, a proportion of them to women (Roos and Jones 1993: 398), and where by the mid 1940s forty-four specialist departments of sociology taught over 5 000 papers in the discipline (University Grants Committee 1989: 5; Marshall 1963: 15). As we will see in the second part of the chapter, this dependence had inevitable consequences for the intellectual identity of the British discipline.

I have indicated that the 1960s marked something of a turning point in the fortunes of British sociology.

However, the position of both discipline and profession strengthened steadily during the decade preceding 1960.

As Table 1 shows, between 1950 and 1960 five new departments of sociology were founded. Numbers of social science and social studies departments also rose, from 2 to 13 and 6 to 12 respectively. In 1960 Donald MacRae estimated that eighty-four other professional sociologists were working in Britain. Fifty per cent of these were employed in higher education institutions, approximately half of them in London (MacRae 1960: 435, 440). Although this total compared unfavourably with the 200 philosophers and 350 economists employed in British universities (one of the eighty-five complained that there were "more

teaching posts in philosophy at Oxford than ... teaching posts in sociology in the entire United Kingdom" [Birnbaum 1960: 469]), there were signs that the profession was finding its feet. The British Sociological Association (BSA), founded by thirteen sociologists with the shared aim of "promoting interest in sociology and advancing its study and application in this country, and ... encouraging contact between workers in all relevant fields of enquiry" was formed in 1951, and by 1960 had five hundred members (Banks 1967: 1, 6). Published resources of British origin remained relatively scarce. In 1950, a second journal, the *British Journal of Sociology*, a collaborative venture involving the LSE and Routledge, was formed, and from 1953 a revamped *Sociological Review* was edited from the University College of North Staffordshire, later to become Keele University. The BSA's own journal *Sociology*, published in association with Clarendon Press, was not to complete the triad of mainstream sociological periodicals until 1967 (Collinson and Webber 1971: 521). The principal book series available to British scholars were Routledge's 200 volume (and heavily US influenced) 'International Library of Sociology' and the sociology lists of Heinemann and Allen and Unwin (MacRae 1960: 440).

Table 1: University Departments Engaged in Sociological Scholarship
1950-1960

Department type	1950	1955	1960
Departments of Sociology*	2	4	7
Departments of Social Science*	2	3	13
Departments of Social Studies*	6	11	12
UGC Recognized Institutions+	24	24	24

Sources: * Association of Commonwealth Universities 1950-1960)
 + University Grants Committee (1950-1960)

With the benefit of hindsight it is possible to detect in even such limited developments the seeds of the sociological explosion that was to come. However, from the vantage point of the late fifties, sociology's prospects remained uncertain, and contemporary commentators were far from sanguine about the future of their discipline. In May 1960 the journal *Twentieth Century* devoted a whole edition to the subject of sociology in Britain. The issue combined six short essays on themes and issues current within the discipline and of "immediate relevance" to wider society with three longer pieces on the state of sociology. The latter reveal serious concerns about the future of British sociology. On one hand their authors (Donald MacRae, Edward Shils and

Norman Birnbaum) noted the subject's advancing status within "educated public opinion" (Shils 1960: 457) following half a century of neglect:

Now sociology is returning. It has become an OK thing ... The popular press publishes the results of sociological enquiries and would publish more if there were more. *The Times* offers the lofty patronage of its leader columns and its news pages. *The Guardian* makes its turnover available to sociologists. *The Spectator* reviews their work with kindness and *The New Left Review* regards the 'right kind' of sociology as its charge (Shils 1960: 446).

On the other, they were far from confident that a positive future for British sociology was assured. They lamented the material under-resourcing of the discipline (particularly within the universities), its intellectual underdevelopment and its connected, and continued, reliance upon American texts and theories. Edward Shils railed against the recalcitrance of Oxford and Cambridge universities, whose hostility to academic sociology he identified as the principle impediment to its institutional development, and Norman Birnbaum against the myopia - most marked within other social sciences - of disciplines which continued to resist the progress of sociology within the academy. All three were convinced that the next decade would be crucial in determining the fate of the British based discipline.

They were right, although they could not have foreseen the manner in which their concerns were to be allayed. In the early 1960s central government policy took an unexpected hand in guaranteeing the future of university based sociology.

Robbins and Beyond

The post war period witnessed a steady increase in the demand for higher education in Britain. During the 1940s and 1950s a growing proportion of middle and working class parents, responding to a combination of economic and social developments - in particular increasing levels of personal wealth and the changing occupational structure of the labour market, and consequent shifts in the recruitment requirements of employers - aspired towards some form of advanced education for their offspring. Between 1947 and 1956 numbers of sixth form students rose by two thirds (Sanderson 1987: 113-114, 87); and the full-time intake of further education colleges expanded similarly (Layard, King and Moser 1969: 17). A survey conducted in the early 1960s found that 82% of manual and 88% of non-manual workers wanted a university education for their children (Runciman 1962: 230).

Prior to the introduction, in 1962, of mandatory Local Education Authority student grants (Kogan with Kogan 1983: 19) the realisation of this ambition was beyond the financial reach of most working-class families; and in practice remained so even following this reform.

Nevertheless, the increasing demand for higher education placed a considerable strain upon existing university provision. Undergraduate places doubled between 1938 and 1960 (Sanderson 1987: 71), yet by the mid 1950s the number of potential students far exceeded available places. In 1956 eighty per cent of appropriately qualified eighteen year olds were accepted onto degree courses. Within five years this figure had fallen to sixty-five per cent (Layard, King & Moser 1969: 18). During this period an increasing proportion of would be university students found places in the newly formed Colleges of Advanced Technology or in other technical or teacher training colleges, precipitating demands on the part of these institutions for a review of their status within the advanced educational arena. More pressing than these demands as far as educationalists and politicians were concerned was the prospect of the coming of age of the 'baby boom', an inflated generation of teenagers born in the immediate post war years whose arrival at university entering age could only exacerbate the shortage of higher

education provision. In 1955 a Home Universities conference calculated that over the course of the next decade the nation's population of eighteen year olds would increase by over fifty per cent, leading by 1965 to a projected 25 000 shortfall in university places (Sanderson 1987: 73).

Parliament's response to the accelerating demand for higher education was broadly positive. Both major political parties acknowledged the economic and social advantages of increased advanced education; and the principle of educational opportunity which had informed national policy since the 1940s remained influential (Kogan with Kogan 1983: 18-19). Between 1958 and 1963 the government, on the advice of the University Grants Committee, approved plans for the establishment of seven new universities, in Brighton, York, Norwich, Colchester, Canterbury, Lancaster and Coventry (Sanderson 1972: 360). Unlike the younger civic universities founded during the first decades of the century, these institutions were from the start empowered to devise their own courses and award their own degrees. The late 1950s and early 1960s also witnessed the expansion of Colleges of Technology, and other training and further education colleges. A third

governmental initiative was the appointment, in 1961, of an independent advisory committee charged to:

review the pattern of full-time education in Great Britain and in the light of national needs and resources to advise Her Majesty's Government on what principles its long-term development should be based.

In particular, the Committee was to offer guidance as to whether:

in the light of these principles, ... there should be any change in that pattern, whether any new types of institution are desirable and whether any modifications should be made in the present arrangements for planning and co-ordinating the development of the various types of institutions (Robbins 1963: iii).

Two and a half years later the Committee, chaired by Lord Lionel Robbins, presented its report to Parliament.

Several themes ran through the nineteen chapter document.

Central to its administrative recommendations was the call for a more co-ordinated and systematic approach to the planning, support and delivery of both further and higher education (Robbins 1963: paras. 19, 828). As far as educational provision was concerned, the strategy advocated by the Committee was one of radical expansion premised, in keeping with contemporary political opinion, on an appreciation of the economic value of higher education (paras. 134, 621, 630), and on the principles of social demand and equality of educational opportunity, according to which "courses of higher education should be

available for all those who are qualified by ability and attainment to pursue them and who wish to do so" (para. 31).

In 1962/63 216 000 students were engaged in such courses in Britain's universities and colleges; and entrance qualification levels were rising steadily. Lord Robbins and his colleagues suggested that in order to absorb the educational demands of the coming decade without elevating entrance requirements still further, university and college provision would need to expand immediately and dramatically. By 1967/68 the higher education system would have to accommodate an estimated 328 000 full-time students, and by 1973/74, 392 000. Over this eleven year period total provision would need to be increased by no less than eighty one per cent. Robbins' projected targets for student places between 1962/63 and 1980/81 are summarised in Table 2. While the proposed rate of expansion was steepest between 1962/63 and 1965/66, reflecting the need for an urgent response to the approaching bulge of seventeen and eighteen year olds, the Committee anticipated that demand would continue to increase throughout the 1970s and beyond.

Table 2: Target Figures for Full-time Higher Education 1962/63-1980/81

Academic Year	Thousands of places	Percentage increase from previous year
1962/63	216	.
1963/64	238	10.2
1964/65	262	10.1
1965/66	290	10.7
1966/67	312	7.6
1967/68	328	5.1
1968/69	335	2.1
1969/70	339	1.2
1970/71	344	1.5
1971/72	356	3.5
1972/73	372	4.5
1973/74	392	5.4
1974/75	412	5.1
1975/76	433	5.1
1976/77	453	4.6
1977/78	475	4.9
1978/79	499	5.1
1979/80	528	5.8
1980/81	558	5.7

..: not applicable

Source: Robbins (1963)

The universities were intended to play a key role in the expansion of provision. The Robbins Report recommended various measures to increase and enhance further education colleges' contribution to the higher education system. It proposed that Colleges of Advanced Technology should be given charters as technological universities and placed under the administration of the University Grants Committee (paras. 396, 397). Students should also be

enabled to study for degrees at Regional and Area Colleges, and the Committee recommended the immediate creation of a Council for National Academic Awards, responsible for approving courses and awarding degrees, to facilitate this development (para 823). Finally, the Report included a number of proposals relating to the reform and expansion of teacher training (paras. 333, 319). Despite these initiatives, the universities were to remain at the heart of the British higher education system. In 1962/63 approximately 55% of all higher educational courses were university based. The Robbins Committee proposed that this level of provision should be at least maintained and ideally increased, suggesting that the universities should absorb 197 000 (60%) of the projected 328 000 higher education places required for 1967/68, and 219 000 (56%) of the 392 000 required for 1973/74. By 1980/81 the universities' share of the 558 000 places needed would have risen to 62% (346 000) (paras. 812, 494, 465). This goal was to be achieved through the expansion of existing institutions and a capital investment building programme which would provide at least six new universities in addition to those already in the process of formation (paras. 475, 476). The extension of the university sector would create new opportunities for both under- and postgraduate study. It

would also have considerable academic staffing implications since Robbins was adamant that that existing staff-student ratios (in 1962/63 7.6:1 overall, 9.7:1 in faculties of social studies) should be protected in order to ensure the quality of future university education (paras. 69, 527).

The Robbins Report was well received by Parliament and led to a programme of dramatic expansion. Motivated by its commitment to the principle of higher educational provision and the advancing demographic bulge, as well as by the approach of a General Election, the Conservative government responded with remarkable rapidity to Robbins' recommendations. According to Richard Layard, a researcher to the Committee, "few official reports in British history and certainly in educational history, have led to such immediate changes in government policy" (Layard, King & Moser 1969: 22). Within twenty-four hours of the Report's publication Sir Alec Douglas-Home's Cabinet had produced a White Paper stating its immediate expansionary aspirations (HM Government 1963). Following the General Election of 1964 Harold Wilson and his Labour government worked, with cross-party support and considerable success, towards their realisation. The Robbins Committee had proposed a 1973/74 goal of 392 000

full-time higher education places. By the close of the 1960s this target had been reached.

Expansion was achieved through a variety of policy interventions. The number and range of institutions offering degree level education outside the university sector increased. In the year following the publication of the Robbins Report the government established a Council for National Academic Awards (CNAA) empowered to grant degrees and other academic qualifications to students in colleges of further education. In 1966, a Department of Education and Science White Paper entitled 'A Plan for Polytechnics and Other Colleges' (Department of Education and Science 1966) ushered in the binary system by designating thirty technical colleges and groups of colleges "major centres for the expansion of full-time, part-time and sandwich courses at an advanced level" (Central Office of Information 1974: 31, 38). Degrees awarded at the new 'polytechnics' fell within the administrative remit of the CNAA although the institutions themselves remained under local authority control (Burnett 1993: 2175).

Although much of the overall expansion was achieved through these reforms (Nuttgens 1972: 38), university

based provision also grew rapidly. In the five years from 1962/63, the number of full-time places in British universities rose by 53%, reaching a total slightly in excess of Robbins' target figure by 1967/68 (Table 3). This expansion was secured in part through the creation of new universities: between 1964 and 1967 ten universities and two university colleges were developed from former Colleges of Advanced Technology and equivalent Scottish institutions (Central Office of Information 1974: 31). However, despite the Committee's recommendations regarding new building projects, the increase in university provision was achieved primarily through the expansion of existing institutions. Of the 69 000 additional university places created between 1962/63 and 1967/68, 25 000 (36.2%) were in older English civic universities. Ten thousand (14.5%) were in former Colleges of Advanced Technology. The remaining 35 000 places were found in the new universities (17.4%), Oxbridge (3.6%), the University of London (8.7%) and the Welsh and Scottish universities (5.1% and 14.5% respectively) (Layard, King & Moser 1969: 42).

Table 3: Target and Actual University Places 1962/63-1967/68

Academic year	Robbins' target (thousands)	Percentage increase from previous yr.	Actual (thousands)	Percentage increase from previous yr.
1962/63	.	.	131	.
1963/64	142	.	140	6.9
1964/65	156	9.9	154	10.0
1965/66	173	10.9	169	9.7
1966/67	187	8.1	184	8.9
1967/68	197	5.3	200	8.7

..: not applicable

Source: Layard, King & Moser (1969)

From the vantage point of the late 1990s, the 1960s stand out as years of extraordinary optimism and opportunity for higher education in Britain. Between 1962/63 and 1967/68 the total number of students in higher education increased by over fifty per cent. At the start of the 1970s the expansionary trend appeared set to continue (Kogan with Kogan 1983: 22). Reality, however, fell short of this promise, and the decade witnessed the erosion of the post-Robbins consensus on higher education and the stagnation and subsequent reduction of state investment as governments of both political hues, and influenced by varying economic and ideological factors, began to reassess their relationship with the advanced educational

sector. The election in 1979 of a New Right conservative government signalled the advent of substantial and sustained cuts in public spending on higher education (Silver 1990: 186; Davies & Holloway 1995: 9-10).

The Sociological Explosion

Late in 1963 the Chair of the University Grants Committee wrote to existing universities asking how they could contribute to the Government's new targets for higher educational provision. Richard Layard suggests that the universities' enthusiastic response to this request was:

undoubtedly influenced by the euphoric atmosphere induced by the publication of the Robbins Report, and also by the opportunities for building up new lines of activity offered by such an expansion (Layard, King & Moser 1969: 41).

One such activity was academic sociology which, bolstered by its new found popularity, flourished in the expansionary context of the 1960s.

As indicated above, although much of the sixties' growth was achieved through the (relatively) "low cost alternative of ... polytechnics and colleges of higher education" (Sanderson 1987: 74), the universities retained their pre-eminent status as providers of higher education. Within the university sector however, the expansionary period witnessed a number of changes, including a shift in

academic emphasis away from the natural sciences, which had dominated A level and university provision during the 1950s, and towards social science. According to 1950s University Grants Committee policy, tailored to projected labour market requirements, two thirds of new university places allocated between the mid 1950s and the mid 1960s should be in the areas of science and technology.

However, student interest lay increasingly elsewhere.

Between 1961 and 1967 the number of school-leavers with two or more A levels in natural scientific subjects rose by 52% while the number of equivalent qualifications in 'arts' (including social science) subjects increased by 114% (Layard, King & Moser 1969: 45). This trend was replicated in student demands for higher education places.

Enabled by the expansionary policies of the immediate post-Robbins era the universities successfully accommodated much of this demand. Despite the intentions of the UGC only one third of new university places allocated between 1961/62 and 1966/67 were in natural science related subjects, and the overall proportion of under- and postgraduates pursuing degrees in these areas declined (Sanderson 1972: 365). In contrast, an increasing proportion of students selected training in the social sciences. The unexpected 'swing from science' flew

in the face of Robbins' recommendations regarding the academic distribution of higher educational provision; and to Richard Layard represented a "failure of planning" (Layard, King & Moser 1969: 47). For British social science, and in particular sociology, it signalled the advent of a period of enhanced academic opportunity.

As we have seen, the fortunes of the discipline had already begun to change. In 1965 a Government advisory committee on social studies reported that between 1947/48 and 1962/63 the total number of students gaining honours social science degrees had more than doubled (Table 4). This overall trend masked the recent and spectacular expansion of university based sociology:

Although the social sciences are experiencing a period of rapid expansion, the subjects have not all grown at the same rate. Sociology has recently grown with explosive force from two or three centres to practically every university, including the new universities and the colleges of advanced technology, while the number of departments of economics and psychology has grown steadily (Heyworth 1965: para. 35).

Table 4: Number of Students Obtaining University Honours Degrees in Social Sciences 1947/48-1962/63

Academic year	Sociology	Economics	Politics	Total
1947/48	90	529	141	760
1951/52	120	520	200	840
1955/56	118	691	107	916
1959/60	252	885	179	1326
1962/63	341	994	202	1537

Source: Heyworth (1965)

While the Heyworth Committee may have underestimated the extent of sociology's institutional presence during the 1940s and 1950s, it had detected the beginnings of an expansion which post-1963 higher educational policy could only augment.

In 1961 seven of Britain's twenty-four universities included departments of sociology. By 1964 this total had risen to eleven, by 1967 to twenty-four and by 1974 to thirty-five (Table 5). The sharpest increase in department numbers occurred between 1964 and 1967, a period during which most of the new universities received their first student intake. All seven quickly developed as centres for sociological scholarship as, subsequently, did the Open University, which received its Charter in 1969 (Association of Commonwealth Universities 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1971). Even Oxbridge was unable to resist sociology's institutional advance. In 1961 David Lockwood

became Cambridge University's first lecturer in sociology; from 1962 the discipline figured, if less than centrally, within undergraduate teaching at Oxford (Heath & Edmondson 1981: 39-41). In 1961 Britain's universities hosted five Chairs in sociology. By 1965 this total had increased to twenty-two, by 1969 to thirty-three and by 1974 to forty-one (University Grants Committee 1989: 11). A proportion of these posts were initially located within departments of social studies or social science, overall numbers of which subsequently fell (Table 5).

Table 5: Numbers of University Departments of Sociology, Social Science and Social Studies 1961-1974

Academic year	Depts. of sociology*	Depts. of social science*	Depts. of social studies*	UGC recognised institutions+
1961	7	3	11	25
1964	11	2	14	32
1967	24	6	12	49
1971	28	6	9	51
1974	35	4	6	51

Sources: *Association of Commonwealth Universities (1961-1974)
+University Grants Committee (1961-1974)

According to Heyworth's figures the years between 1955/56 and 1962/63 witnessed a 189% increase in numbers of graduating sociologists. A survey of sociology and social anthropology graduates' employment destinations estimated

that between 1952 and 1967 their number increased by 450% (Abbott 1969: 65), and other secondary sources suggest that the upward trend continued throughout the late sixties and into the seventies (Smith 1975: 310). This pattern is confirmed by available primary data. Table 6 indicates an 865% increase in sociology degrees awarded between 1962 and 1975, with the steepest increase occurring between 1966 and 1968, suggesting that undergraduate intake increased most rapidly between 1963 and 1965. During this period sociology's rate of expansion, as evidenced by numbers of degrees awarded, exceeded that of the graduating population as a whole.

Table 6: Honours Sociology Degrees Awarded by British Universities
1961/62-1975

Academic year*	Sociology degrees	Percentage increase from previous yr.	Total honours degrees	Sociology degrees as percentage of total
1961/62	130	.	15 641	0.83
1962/63	150	15.4	16 435	0.91
1963/64	185	23.3	18 186	1.02
1964/65	230	24.3	19 968	1.15
1965/66	449	95.2	23 870	1.88
1966/67	636	41.6	27 382	2.32
1967/68	813	27.8	32 325	2.52
1968/69	964	18.6	35 353	2.73
1969/70	1 075	11.5	37 993	2.83
1970/71	1 088	1.2	40 708	2.67
1971/72	1 194	9.7	40 367	2.96
1972/73	1 186	-0.7	41 200	2.88
1974	1 339	12.9	42 716	3.13
1975	1 255	-6.3	43 669	2.87

..: not applicable

*: from 1974 academic year replaced with calendar year

Source: University Grants Committee (1961/62-1975)

The rise in student demand for sociology was inevitably accompanied by an increased requirement for academic staff. Would-be professional sociologists benefited from the sheer pace of the expansion. It has been suggested that throughout the 1960s approximately a third of sociology graduates could expect and plan academic careers (Abrams 1981: 62); often without the necessity of a higher

degree (Smith 1975: 310). Many of the new posts, particularly those in the most recently formed universities (as later in the polytechnics) were filled by young sociologists (MacRae 1960: 439; 1961b: 29); while a percentage of their older colleagues ascended the academic career ladder with "dazzling speed" (Abrams 1981: 62; see also University Grants Committee 1989: 10). In 1969 Richard Layard noted the impossibility of accurately tracking increases in numbers of university employed academics on the basis of University Grants Committee statistics (Layard, King & Moser 1969: 76-77).

Association of Commonwealth Universities data, which are amenable to such analysis, indicate that between 1950 and 1960 the number of academic staff employed in university departments of sociology rose from 8 to 40 (Table 7).

During the following decade and a half this number increased fourteen-fold, reaching totals of 355 by 1970 and 613 by 1975. Numbers of academic staff employed in social science and social studies departments also increased during the 1960s, but in the former were by the mid 1970s in decline.

Table 7: Academic Staff Employed in University Departments of Sociology, Social Science and Social Studies 1950-1975

Academic year	Sociology	Social science	Social studies
1950	8	18	25
1955	16	30	59
1960	40	32	89
1965	121	41	75
1970	355	169	150
1975	613	126	195

Source: Association of Commonwealth Universities (1950-1975)

The sociological explosion was produced by the historical coincidence of the discipline's escalating popularity and the expansionary zeal of sixties higher education policy (Morgan 1975: 119). While sociology's ascent predated the Robbins Report and extended beyond the relatively brief period of accelerated national investment in higher education, it is clear that the post-1963 higher educational consensus contributed decisively to the future of academic sociology. It also created new educational and employment opportunities for women attracted to student or professional careers within the discipline.

A New Space for Women

Explicit within the narrative and recommendations of the Robbins Report was a commitment to the principle of

equality of educational opportunity. Its authors took care to speak of 'men and women' throughout the document, although exceptions to this rule, for example:

...the vice chancellor or principal. His is a role..
(Robbins 1963: para. 676)

The filling of senior posts is chiefly a matter for the head of his institution and his colleagues (para. 681),

are perhaps illuminating (Moore 1973: 7). Despite its limitations, the implementation of the Report's recommendations led to absolute and relative increases in the number of women participating in higher education and in academic sociology.

In 1960/61 22 383 women students were enrolled at British universities (Table 8). During the next decade this total increased to 56 339, and by 1974/75 to 70 216, an increase of 214% over fourteen years. Between 1960/61 and 1974/75 women also increased their share of total undergraduate places by almost ten per cent.

Table 8: Women Undergraduates in British Universities 1960/61-1974/75

Academic year	Total undergraduates	Women undergraduates	As percentage of total
1960/61	89 863	22 383	24.9
1961/62	93 781	24 968	26.6
1962/63	98 211	27 311	27.8
1963/64	103 890	29 509	28.4
1964/65	113 144	32 972	29.1
1965/66	140 179	38 660	27.6
1966/67	152 230	43 184	28.4
1967/68	164 653	47 181	28.7
1968/69	173 510	50 221	28.9
1969/70	180 179	53 076	29.5
1970/71	185 872	56 339	30.3
1971/72	190 493	59 371	31.2
1972/73	193 249	62 715	32.5
1973/74	197 259	66 102	33.5
1974/75	202 695	70 216	34.6

Source: Association of University Teachers (1977)

As Table 9 demonstrates, the absolute number of women sociology undergraduates also increased dramatically during the 1960s and early 1970s. In 1961/62 97 women obtained honours degrees in sociology. By 1971/72 this total had risen to 614 and by 1975 to 730. The greatest increase occurred in the years immediately after 1963. The period between 1963/64 and 1965/66 witnessed a 162%

increase in the number of sociology degrees awarded to women.

Table 9: Sociology Degrees Awarded to Women by British Universities 1961/62-1975

Academic year*	Total sociology degrees awarded	Sociology degrees awarded to women	Percentage increase in degrees awarded to women from previous yr.
1961/62	130	97	.
1962/63	150	92	-5.2
1963/64	185	116	26.1
1964/65	230	150	29.3
1965/66	449	304	102.7
1966/67	636	393	29.3
1967/68	813	496	26.2
1968/69	964	558	12.5
1969/70	1 075	642	15.1
1970/71	1 088	624	-2.8
1971/72	1 194	614	-1.6
1972/73	1 186	630	2.6
1974	1 339	707	12.2
1975	1 225	730	3.3

..: not applicable

*: from 1974 academic year replaced with calendar year

Source: University Grants Committee (1961/62-1975)

Women's professional participation in sociology also increased throughout the 1960s and early 1970s. In 1961 only seven members of academic staff employed in university departments of sociology were female. By 1965 this figure had risen to twenty-six, by 1969 to sixty-five, and by 1975 to 121 (Table 10). The sharpest increase occurred in the years following 1963, and in the

context of similar rates of expansion within the university based discipline as a whole. While small numbers limit the (statistical) significance of annual percentage increases indicated in Table 10, it is interesting to note that although women's level of disciplinary representation increased rapidly between the mid 1950s and the early 1960s, their level of employment plateaued at approximately 20% thereafter. Thirty years later women's share of university posts in sociology remained virtually unchanged (Association of Commonwealth Universities 1993), despite their continued over-representation within the discipline's undergraduate population.

Table 10: Academic Staff Employed in University Departments of Sociology, by Sex 1955-1975

Academic year	Female staff	As % of total	Male staff	As % of total	Sex unspecified	As % of total
1955	1	6.2	15	93.8	-	.
1957	1	4.8	19	90.4	1	4.8
1959	2	8.3	21	87.5	1	4.2
1961	7	15.9	36	81.8	1	2.3
1963	11	19.0	45	77.6	2	3.4
1965	26	21.5	95	78.5	-	.
1967	50	19.5	201	78.2	6	2.3
1969	65	19.6	261	78.6	6	1.8
1971	67	17.4	304	79.2	13	3.4
1973	103	20.2	390	76.3	18	3.5
1975	121	19.8	455	74.2	37	6.0

..: not applicable

Source: Association of Commonwealth Universities (1955-1975)

Although it brought them neither parity of representation nor status within the discipline, the sociological explosion of the 1960s generated new 'institutional space' for women. As we have seen, by the early 1970s the discipline was populated at both student and professional levels by an unprecedented number of women. The timing of the expansion ensured that a proportion of those (white, middle class, young) women most likely to take advantage of the opportunities it presented were beginning to develop feminist political identities, a historical coincidence noted by other commentators in relation to the birth of feminist scholarship more generally (Saarinen

1988: 40). The concurrence of these developments was crucial for the emergence of distinctively feminist sociological perspectives and of undergraduate women's studies.

2. Intellectual Developments: Theories for Feminism?

If the sociological explosion of the 1960s and early 1970s generated new 'institutional space' for female and feminist participation in the discipline, simultaneous theoretical developments yielded 'intellectual space' for such scholarship. The institutional changes described above were accompanied by a series of intellectual upheavals whose impact was equally far-reaching both for sociology and for initial feminist departures from its orthodoxy.

As we have seen, early British sociology was substantively and methodologically influenced by nineteenth century social investigative and administrative traditions. The imprint of this legacy is evident in the academic orientation of Leonard Hobhouse, incumbent between 1907 and 1929 of the London School of Economics' (and Britain's) first Chair in sociology. For Hobhouse, sociology was the study of social transformations over time, in the service of social justice and the solution of

practical problems (Ginsburg 1969: 158; Eldridge 1980: 8); and involved the execution of appropriate empirical research. The social reformist conception continued to inform and shape British sociology, in particular that emanating from the LSE and influenced by Hobhouse's institutional and intellectual successor, Morris Ginsburg, throughout the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s (Halsey 1982; Birnbaum 1960: 466). Alongside it, however, developed a series of new debates, rehearsed both within and outside the LSE, concerning the definition and role of sociological practice.

Central to these debates was the relationship between empirical research and sociological theory. From them emerged two distinct although intimately related themes: the theoretical poverty of the British discipline and the lack of synthesis between empirical investigation and broader analytical frameworks. In 1961 John Rex published a searing attack on the British tradition of empirical research which he dismissed as empiricist and thus doomed either to the futile collection of social (but not necessarily sociological) facts, or to the theoretically inadequate analysis of social relations and institutions (Rex 1961: 40-42). Although Rex's critique is frequently cited, aspects of his argument echoed earlier

interventions in post-war debates about academic sociology. As early as 1946 Thomas Marshall had used his inaugural lecture at the London School of Economics to ruminate upon the future direction of the discipline, positing a choice between the extremes of theoretical abstraction and undirected empiricism, and advocating a 'middle way' in which sociology would be enabled to "choose units of study of a manageable size ... specific social structures in which the basic processes and functions have determined meanings" (Marshall 1963: 21). The intellectual limitations of theoretically sterile fact-finding also received the attention of Walsh Sprott in a lecture delivered at the University of Birmingham in 1953 (Sprott 1954: 44). The debate did not end with Rex's contribution. Over a decade later British sociologists were still publicly regretting the social reformist legacy. In 1975 David Morgan complained that British sociology continued:

to be influenced by a tradition of common-sense empiricism tempered to the concerns of middle range domestic problems and enlightened social policy (Morgan 1975: 119),

although his comments did not go unchallenged (Scott 1976). A second theme within discussions about the current and future intellectual identity of sociological scholarship was the perceived disjuncture between

empirical practice and theoretical analysis. In his conclusion to a 1969 investigation of trends within sociological research, Ernest Krausz articulated concerns common to his academic generation when he characterised primary research and theoretical development as dichotomous activities advancing, to the detriment of the whole discipline, along parallel paths rather than in integrated tandem (Krausz 1969: 205-6).

It is inaccurate to imply, as Rex seemed to, that British sociological activity before 1960 was exclusively and irretrievably empiricist. The empirical research tradition was by no means the sole intellectual force at work within the discipline. Commentators such as John Eldridge identify within its early academic biography a range of theoretical strands, including the evolutionary theory of social development favoured by Hobhouse and his acolytes and a number of currents deriving from the closely allied fields of social administration and social anthropology (Eldridge 1980: 11-23); although Rex may well have dismissed these as forms of positivism (Rex 1961: vii).

It is, however, true that during this period and beyond it British sociology relied heavily and of necessity upon

theoretical resources generated in the United States and, to a lesser extent, mainland Europe (Morgan 1975: 119). Particularly influential was the structural functionalist perspective, best known in Britain through the work of American sociologist Talcott Parsons, and in some aspects reminiscent of both the evolutionary theory of development and functionalist social anthropology. Perhaps unsurprisingly given these links and the absence of a home-grown grand theoretical perspective, structural functionalism exerted considerable influence over British sociological theory during the 1940s and 1950s. Accounts of trans-world war II sociology, particularly those hostile to functionalist analyses, tend to elevate the Parsonian variant of structural functionalism to near-paradigmatic status within both British and American disciplines. Subsequent narratives modify such interpretations. Thus of British sociology Albert Halsey writes:

Functionalism ... was not the undisputed piety of the 1950s which the fashion of the 1970s made it out to be (Halsey 1982: 163);

while Roland Robertson and Bryan Turner argue that the status of Parsonian theory within North American sociology has been exaggerated (Robertson and Turner 1991a: 7, 10). Other commentaries have questioned the meaningfulness of the paradigm model of academic development for the

analysis of social scientific disciplines such as sociology (Abrams, Deem, Finch & Rock 1981: 1; Eldridge 1980: 5).

Who Now Reads Parsons?

Although the extent and nature of functionalism's hegemony is debated, its privileged position within post-war British sociology is indisputable (Giddens 1989: 697; Worsley 1974: 1). Equally incontrovertible is its subsequent fall from intellectual favour.

The central features of Parsons' sociology are found in two publications, *The Structure of Social Action* (Parsons 1937) and *The Social System* (Parsons 1951). The former critiqued rational theories of economic action and, synthesising elements of selected European social scientific thought, laid the foundations for an alternative, voluntaristic, theory of social action (Gould 1991: 86). *The Social System* was published at the high point of Parsons' career (Turner 1991: 234). Together with *Toward a General Theory of Action*, edited with Edward Shils (Parsons & Shils 1951), and *Working Papers in the Theory of Action* authored with Shils and Robert Bales (Parsons, Shils & Bales 1953), it established the key themes of Parsonian structural functionalism, summarised

by Roland Robertson and Bryan Turner as the notion that all human action involves key choices ('pattern variables'), the idea that social systems depend for their operation on four identifiable subsystemic functions (the adaptive, goal attainment, integrative and latency functions), the theory of the sick role, the analysis of the relationship between instrumental and affective leadership, and of the professions, and the conception of social equilibrium as a consequence of the successful internalisation and institutionalisation of shared cultural values, or norms (Robertson & Turner 1991a: 8; Wallace & Wolf 1980: 26-46).

Parsons' analysis, and the functionalist orientation to which it belonged, set the intellectual parameters for much post-war sociological theorising in both Britain and the United States (Abrams, Deem, Finch & Rock 1981: 2; Giddens 1989: 697; Worsley 1974: 1). However from the late 1950s structural functionalism, and the work of Parsons in particular, faced a growing tide of criticism, much of it American in origin, which variously portrayed Parsonian sociology as internally contradictory (Wrong 1961); conceptually opaque (Mills 1959); politically mistaken (Hacker 1961); and incapable of adequately theorising conflict, power (Dahrendorf 1958) or social

change (Peel 1969; see also Wallace & Wolf 1980: 46-7). Not all of these criticisms were original (Robertson & Turner 1991a: 9), but their combined force placed a protracted and ultimately irresistible strain both on Parsons' theorisation and on functionalism. By the end of the sixties American sociologist of sociology Alvin Gouldner had noted the beginning of the end - "not so much exploded as picked apart" - of functionalist sociology in the United States:

We appear to be slowly entering an interregnum in which the system erected by Parsons - since world war II the dominant theoretical synthesis - is undergoing a quiet eclipse ... Parsons' system is undergoing a kind of entropy (Gouldner 1970: 159).

The process identified by Gouldner was in some respects anticipated, and in others replicated, within the British discipline. Describing the place of functionalism within the Oxford undergraduate curriculum by the early 1970s, Herminio Martins wrote:

functionalism 'dies' every year, every Autumn Term, being ritually executed for introductory teaching purposes ... The critique of functionalist sociology is, in addition to or conjunction with the study of the masters of classical sociology, a pedagogic necessity: the demolition of functionalism is almost an initiation rite of passage into sociological adulthood or at least adolescence. If functionalism did not exist - or had existed - it would have had to be invented (Martins 1974: 247; see also Halsey 1982: 163).

Functionalism did not disappear overnight or completely. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s functionalist sociologists including Parsons continued to defend their theoretical approach (see for example Parsons 1962; Fallding 1972); while recent years have witnessed attempts, in the form of neofunctionalism and the 'new theoretical movement', to restore aspects of Parsonian analysis to both British and American sociological imaginations (Alexander 1988; Turner 1991b; Robertson and Turner 1991b)). Nor, in contradiction to the paradigm-shift model of intellectual transformation (Kuhn 1970), did the disintegration of functionalism herald the ascendancy of a new grand theoretical perspective. As we have seen, the anti-functional consensus of the latter 1950s and 1960s masked a range of specific discontents. While the sociological communities of Britain, and subsequently the United States, increasingly distanced themselves from Parsonian analysis, their grounds for rejection, and thus their favoured alternative perspectives, varied. Structural functionalist sociology was displaced and, consequently, replaced not by a single theoretical position but by several. While the majority of these perspectives were implicitly or explicitly critical of Parsonian sociology, none was to achieve disciplinary pre-

eminence, although they may have sought it (Friedrichs 1972; Goldthorpe 1973).

Intellectually as well as institutionally, the 1960s and early 1970s were years of rupture and change for British sociology. From critical challenges to structural functionalism emerged opportunities for alternative theoretical systems and novel analytic departures. Among the beneficiaries of this fertile intellectual climate were feminists embarking upon careers within the discipline. The significance of these developments for the emergence and character of feminist sociological scholarship are considered below. First, however, we turn to feminism's relationship with the fading theoretical orthodoxy.

Feminism and Functionalism

In common with many of their academic peers, sociology's feminist recruits viewed structural functionalism with antipathy. While not in principle excluded from broader debates about the theoretical adequacy of Parsonian sociology, their most vocal interventions centred on its implications for the analysis of women's social position. Perhaps inevitably, given the political preoccupations of both radical and socialist strands of the early women's

movement (Millett 1977: 33-36; Rowbotham 1990: 4-20), it was Parsons' account of sex roles and the family that attracted the sharpest feminist criticism.

According to this interpretation the contemporary family form and the social relationships it supported could be explained in terms of the functional requirements of modern industrial society (Beechey 1987: 19-25). In 'An Analytical Approach to the Theory of Social Stratification', written in 1940 and published in *Essays in Sociological Theory* (Parsons 1954a), Parsons had argued that the sexual division of labour characteristic of the mid twentieth century American family household represented a societally sanctioned resolution to the potentially conflicting demands of occupational and kinship systems. While the successful functioning of the contemporary occupational structure required social mobility and competition, these elements posed a threat to solidary kinship relationships, also highly valued by western society. For Parsons the emergence of the conjugal family could be understood as advanced industrial society's equilibrating response to potential systemic tension:

The conjugal family, with dependent children, which is the dominant unit in our society, is, of all types of kinship unit, the one which is probably the least

exposed to strain and possible breaking-up by the dispersion of its members both geographically and with respect to stratification in the modern type of occupational hierarchy (Parsons 1954b: 79).

The key to the nuclear family's functionality lay in its internal structure, in particular the differentiation between 'instrumental' and 'expressive' adult roles, discussed in some detail by Parsons and Robert Bales in *Family, Socialisation and Interaction Process* (Parsons & Bales 1956). The instrumental role involved interaction (epitomised by labour market participation) between the family and the outside world; the expressive role prioritised the internal functions of the familial unit, such as child rearing and homemaking (Parsons & Bales 1956: 47). In contemporary American society the instrumental role was typically performed by the adult male while the expressive role was characteristically feminine (Parsons & Bales 1956: 14-15). The sex role segregation produced by role differentiation prevented:

the kind of 'invidious competition' between husband and wife which might be disruptive of family solidarity (Parsons 1954b: 79; see also Parsons 1954c: 192).

Although Parsons initially argued that both gender roles accrued equal social status, he subsequently modified this view; and acknowledged the disjuncture between female exclusion from the occupational structure and egalitarian

principles. He also observed that strain arising from perceptions of apparent or real inequality could stimulate in married women a desire for alternative sources of social recognition, such as those associated with physical attractiveness (the 'glamour pattern') or cultural or humanistic interests (the 'common humanistic element') (Parsons 1954b: 96-97).

To feminists within and outside the academy, Parsonian analysis seemed to justify and defend existing patterns of gender inequality, in particular those relating to the sexual division of labour. It was the explicitly prescriptive flavour of structural-functionalism that American feminist Betty Friedan found most objectionable:

'The function is' was often translated 'the function should be' ... By giving an absolute meaning and a sanctimonious value to the generic term 'woman's role', functionalism put American women into a kind of deep freeze (Friedan 1992: 113).

Feminists developing sociological careers on both sides of the Atlantic similarly regarded Parsons' interpretation of the sexual division of labour as ideological (Oakley 1974b: 184; Elrich 1971: 430; Laws 1971: 488; Stanley 1976: 28-44); finding its recourse to biological difference as explanation for the gendering of role allocation (Parsons 1954b: 94) particularly unpalatable. They also rued the impact of Parsonian analysis upon their

discipline, noting that despite its declining theoretical status the assumptions of structural functionalism continued to inform sociological practice. Particularly damaging from a feminist point of view were the sociological equation of women with the family (Elrich 1971: 421); and the differentiation between instrumental and expressive roles, which effectively excluded women's unpaid domestic labour from sociological discourses about work, rendering its economic dimensions, and even those of women's paid work, virtually invisible (Oakley 1974a: 27; Beechey 1987: 25). These assumptions would not easily be shifted. Over a decade later Judith Stacey and Barrie Thorne were to attribute the absence of a feminist revolution in American sociology in part to the continued influence of functionalist conceptualisations of gender, and in particular the legacy of the sex roles approach, which "focuses attention more on individuals than on social structure, and implies that 'the female role' and 'the male role' are complementary (i.e, separate or different but equal)." As they noted, "the terms [of this approach] are depoliticising; they strip experience from its historical and political context and neglect questions of power and conflict" (Stacey and Thorne 1985: 307, although for a critique of their analysis see Stanley 1993).

Theories for Feminism

If feminists regarded Parsonian social analysis as antithetical to their political and academic concerns they were to find intellectual engagement with post-functionalistic sociologies more productive. As already indicated, the latter 1960s and 1970s were years of unprecedented theoretical pluralism for both the British and American disciplines, such that in 1979 at least one of its US practitioners regarded sociology as a discipline "in name only" (Becker 1979: 24). Within this analytical polycentrism, two broad approaches, those which emphasised the role of human agency in the construction of social relations and those which privileged the role of social structure, were apparent:

Against the post-war domination of functionalism two revolutions were launched. On one side there emerged radical and provocative schools of microtheorising, which emphasised the contingency of social order and the centrality of individual negotiation. On the other side, there developed vigorous schools of macrotheorising, which emphasised the role of coercive structures in determining collective and individual action (Alexander 1988: 77).

The seeming re-polarisation of the two sociological perspectives that Parsons had arguably sought to unite sparked lively debates within the discipline about the relative merits of 'social action' and 'social system'

approaches to theorising and the relationship between the two (see for example Dawe 1970; Friedrichs 1972).

Characteristic of the first tendency were symbolic interactionist and phenomenological perspectives; characteristic of the second, 'structural' approaches to sociological analysis manifested first in the form of conflict theories and later as various marxisms. All drew on longer philosophical and social scientific traditions. Although symbolic interactionism and phenomenology had recent academic histories in the United States, the intellectual antecedents of both, in common with those of conflict and marxist approaches, lay in nineteenth century European thought. The specific forms they adopted as they entered the sixties sociological arena were, however, new.

Within the British context ethnomethodology, the 'radical' strain of phenomenology, and several strands of marxist thought became particularly influential. The arrival of the former was marked by the publication in 1967 of Harold Garfinkel's *Studies in Ethnomethodology* (Garfinkel 1967). The marxist renaissance can be dated from the genesis of the British New Left, itself conventionally associated with the launch of *New Left Review*, an amalgamation of two smaller journals, *Universities and Left Review* and *The New*

Reasoner (New Left Review 1960: 1; Williams 1979: 363).

From the outset the relationship between the politics, the journal and academic practice - specifically that of the social sciences (including sociology), history and cultural studies - was a close one (Sklair 1981: 156; Eldridge 1980: 44). Although its early adherents hailed ethnomethodology as the new sociological paradigm, the perceived and actual disciplinary impact of marxism, in both radical and reformist guises, was greater. Philip Abrams suggests that for a brief moment during the early 1970s "it would have been difficult to establish that British sociology was very much more than the academic wing of British Marxism" (Abrams 1981: 66).

Neither ethnomethodology nor marxism offered a unified theoretical approach to sociology. Critics of the ethnomethodological perspective accused it of internal division (Goldthorpe 1973: 458-60), a charge only partially refuted by its defendants (Benson 1974: 125; see also Turner 1974). Marxist sociologies were also divergent, reflecting both the fragmentation of the British Left (Rowbotham, Segal and Wainwright 1979) and the shifting political and intellectual identities of sociological marxism. Early New Left scholarship, for example, owed much to the humanist variant of marxian

thought, and nurtured alliances with the non-marxist sociologies of John Rex and Charles Wright Mills; towards the end of the sixties this approach was increasingly eclipsed by the 'sociological structuralism' of Louis Althusser (Rex 1974: 190, Sklair 1981: 159-63; Shils 1960: 452; Eldridge 1980: 43-52). Although intimate, marxism's relationship with sociology during this period was not unproblematic. Its association with the radical Left earned the discipline many political enemies within - and most memorably encapsulated in the 'Gould Report' (cited Sklair 1981: 164; see also Martin 1973) - and outside the academy.

Despite internal divisions and external criticism, ethnomethodological and marxist analyses brought a range of new or reworked theoretical challenges to British sociology. In *The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology* Alvin Gouldner suggested that in the United States post-functional sociologies held particular appeal for the discipline's latest recruits (Gouldner 1970: 376-78). In Britain the new theoretical approaches similarly captured the sociological imaginations of young academics, in whose scholarship they found some of their most creative expression. The publications of feminists working within the discipline at this time indicate that they were in

this respect typical of their generation. During the latter 1960s and throughout the 1970s feminist scholars in Britain engaged critically but productively with both marxist and ethnomethodological perspectives.

Edward Said has noted that "like people and schools of criticism, ideas and theories travel - from person to person, from situation to situation, from one period to another" (Said 1983: 226). According to Said's conceptualisation, a 'travelling theory' commences its journey upon its entrance into a discourse to which it has previously been unknown. Its subsequent trajectory typically involves a move to prominence within the discourse; following which it confronts "a set of conditions ... of acceptance," satisfaction of which enables its incorporation into the discourse. The theory inevitably emerges, fully (or partly), accommodated (or incorporated) by the discourse, "to some extent transformed by its new uses, its new position in a new time and place". The relationship between the theory and the discourse is thus interactive and dialectical (Said 1983: 226-27). Feminism's relationship with non-feminist theory is always historically contingent and constituted. Within the context of sixties' and seventies' sociology, marxism and ethnomethodology can be understood as

'travelling theories' for feminist disciplinary discourse. Crucial to Said's typification is the satisfaction of the new host discourse's conditions of acceptance and its ultimate transformation of the travelling theory.

Examination of the relationship between marxist and ethnomethodological perspectives and feminist sociological discourse reveals that in the case of each theoretical approach both criteria were met.

As we saw in Chapter Three, the early British women's movement was characterised by several sexual politics, the most distinctive being marxist or socialist feminism and radical feminism. At the movement's outset these orientations shared many priorities and assumptions in common; with its maturation they became increasingly polarised. Simultaneously the socialist variant emerged as the dominant 'face' of British feminism (Lovell 1990: 4). Both, however, found their way into academic sociology. As indicated in Chapter Two, retrospective accounts of feminism's academic career typically distinguish between a series of discrete but cumulative intellectual stages or phases (Stacey & Thorne 1985; Gross 1986; Abbott 1991; Abbott & Wallace 1997). Critical engagement with existing analytical resources features centrally in all of these models. Marxist and

ethnomethodological perspectives were inevitably implicated in feminism's early relationship with sociological theory. That some architects of the new feminist sociology favoured the former and others the latter reflected existing differences between their respective political and intellectual assumptions or 'conditions of acceptance'.

The attraction of marxist sociological perspectives for socialist and marxist feminists is self evident. As we have seen, involvement in the politics of the New Left, in its many and various forms (Landry and MacLean 1993: 21) was, for some feminists, a route into those of the women's movement. For feminists pursuing academic careers within sociology, as within other human sciences, the deployment of marxist categories and concepts represented an extension of prior or emergent analytic concerns. In accordance with Said's conceptualisation, marxist theory rarely, if ever, survived its journey with feminism fully intact. Appropriation typically involved modification or elaboration. Michele Barrett's *Women's Oppression Today*, published in 1980 (Barrett 1980), is one of many examples of British feminist sociological engagement with marxist discourse. Characteristically, its analysis provoked

debate among feminist scholars of the Left (see for example Brenner and Ramas 1984) as elsewhere.

For women with radical feminist allegiances, collusion with marxism within the academy was as ill-advised and politically harmful as that outside it. Phenomenological sociologies, including ethnomethodology, proved more acceptable sources of travelling theory. The attraction for feminism of the phenomenological lens lies in its capacity to reveal the socially constructed and constituted nature of social reality. As Ruth Wallace and Alison Wolf have observed:

phenomenologists would view the realities of woman's nature, needs, role and place in society as systems of ideas constructed in past interactions and sustained by present going interaction. Phenomenologists would ask 'Is it 'natural' that women, in addition to bearing children, also take responsibility for nurturing and rearing them?' 'Do they have a natural 'need' to be rooted in the private sphere of the home while men's 'needs' are in the public sphere of wage work?' (Wallace and Wolf 1980: 290-91).

While such questions and their answers are of relevance to all feminists other aspects of phenomenological and ethnomethodological analyses, in particular their emphasis upon subjectivity, experience and the personal, and on routine and 'everyday' elements of social life, paralleled those of radical feminism and thus endeared them to radical feminist sociology.

The scholarship of Dorothy Smith is in some respects representative. During the 1970s Smith contributed to both ethnomethodological and feminist sociological debates (Smith 1974a, 1974b), and as we saw in Chapter Two, went on to combine analytic preoccupations from both arenas with methodological insights born of materialist modes of inquiry (Smith 1988). *The Everyday World as Problematic* reveals feminism's engagement with phenomenological and ethnomethodological perspectives as simultaneously selective and transformative. In Britain, Liz Stanley and Sue Wise have turned the insights of ethnomethodology, and the synthesising work of Dorothy Smith, to the advantage of their theoretical and methodological projects (Stanley & Wise 1983, 1993, 1990).

If the expansion of university based sociology created professional opportunities for feminist sociologists, the collapse of structural functionalism and the theoretical pluralism that followed generated 'intellectual space' for feminist sociological scholarship. During the late 1960s and 1970s feminist sociologists worked fruitfully, if critically, with analyses deriving from marxist and phenomenological frameworks. Their efforts were products of a particular political and theoretical juncture. In

other times and places feminist scholars have identified feminism's analytic interests with very different travelling theories, including structural functionalism itself (Johnson 1989).

Philip Abrams has suggested that in the mid 1960s British sociologists found themselves in possession of:

a virtually unique opportunity to help construct an academic discipline ... so many doors were open, sociology was so much in demand - and so much an unknown quantity - so many talented young people were coming forward, that the new sociologists were to a quite remarkable degree left free to define sociology in any way they chose (Abrams 1981: 55, 62).

This first generation of academic sociologists became *sociologists* through the practice of sociology.

Historical circumstance granted them the opportunity to define this practice unhampered by obligation to any existing orthodoxy. It is to feminism's contribution to the project of disciplinary (re)construction that we turn in Chapter Seven.

CHAPTER SEVEN

HERETICAL INVENTIONS: THE NEW WOMEN'S STUDIES

I have argued that contemporary feminist sociological perspectives emerged during the late 1960s, as women's liberation movement activists pursued academic opportunities generated or enhanced by the expansion of the British based discipline and the theoretical upheavals with which this coincided. I have also suggested that feminism's critique of gender-blind sociology can be understood as a challenge both to 'masculine' knowledge forms and to the social relations of academic production they indicate. It is to this second claim that the final two chapters of this thesis are devoted.

Chapters Five and Six utilised library and documentary sources of evidence. In contrast these chapters are based on data produced during the course of interviews with the sixteen women sociologists introduced in Chapter Four. If Chapters Five and Six can be considered contributions to the 'structuralisation' of biography, the first part of this chapter is an attempt to 'biographise' structure (Stanley 1997a: 8). Here I link interviewees' political and professional biographies to the broader political, academic and intellectual developments outlined in

Chapters Five and Six. In part two I examine the origins and objectives of early sociological women's studies initiatives.

The present chapter is largely documentary. In Chapter Eight I go on to consider the feminist curricular interventions described here as challenges to the social relations of sociological production. Drawing on Bourdieu's account of the scientific field and the concepts of habitus, capital, heterodoxy, orthodoxy and doxa on which it rests, I present feminist attempts to establish women's studies as a legitimate focus of the undergraduate curriculum as instances of heretical practice directed towards the intellectual and social transformation of the sociological field. Both chapters incorporate material from the text of interview transcripts. Its inclusion marks my desire that respondents' accounts are not only analysed but heard (Smith 1988: 107).

1. Stories of a generation

Jane Pilcher suggests that contemporaries who not only live through the same historical period but are exposed to "the same dominant influences" can be regarded as members of a common "social generation" (Pilcher 1994: 486, 483;

see also Pilcher 1995, 1992; Mannheim 1952). All of the women interviewed during the course of this study lived through the popular radicalism of the 1960s and 1970s, including that associated with the renewed call for women's liberation, but their experiences of this political juncture varied. Catherine, the daughter of liberal pro-suffragist parents, grew up believing that feminism's most important battles had been fought and won during the early decades of the century and, although subsequently convinced of its necessity, experienced the advent of the new women's movement as a source of tension between herself and younger female colleagues.

Interestingly her own account of these difficulties is cast in explicitly generational terms:

I suppose I was always aware of a feminist politics because I was, after all, brought up on stories of the struggle for the vote ... and the business of equal education for girls and boys was made plain to me ... my parents picked this school in particular for [my sister and me] so we would have an education 'as good as a boy's'

I was aware of all those things, I had a consciousness of a sort if you see what I mean ... [The WLM] was very much an age-group younger than mine and they very much mistrusted people of my generation, so... if there was a consciousness-raising group about the place where I lived I wasn't told about it. But ... I saw the point of a lot of the things that the new feminists were saying

people still talk as if there weren't any feminists before the WLM ... Its that generation that owns [feminism]. I don't mean to belittle what they did. I thought it was wonderful, very valuable work.

Touched personally and professionally by the politics of feminism's first 'wave' Catherine felt herself at once part of and isolated from those of its second. For thirteen of the other respondents (all but Lisa and Rachel) quantitative and qualitative elements of feminist identity coincided more harmoniously: the new women's movement, if not feminism itself, was indeed their political property (Wandor 1990; Stacey 1989; Gamman & O'Neill 1990; Campbell & Smith 1990).

As we saw in Chapter Five, the women's movement was from its outset many things to many women. For a number of respondents involvement coexisted with or grew out of participation in other political movements:

I first became involved in feminist politics around the time of the Skegness national conference. I think that was 1971. And before that I'd been in Gay Liberation, I'd been in the women's group in Gay Liberation, and went with that group to Skegness ... my route into feminism was through [the movement for] gay liberation.

Martha

I was very involved in the campaign against the Vietnam war ... so I knew about the development of feminism ... I started being actively involved in about 1971 ... I didn't go to the conference in Oxford in 1970. I knew about it, and someone I worked with on a small journal, a little newspaper publication about the Vietnam war, she went. So we were always talking about these things.

Ruth

In the early seventies I spent some time in a women's section of an International Socialist group [or] some similar splinter

I knew nothing about the Oxford conference ... I went to [a public meeting] in Hampstead town hall, which was the first time I'd been with women arguing about what women's interests were. At this meeting, which was mixed, men and women, I got into trouble for arguing that middle-class women were less oppressed than working class-women ... Hampstead town hall was the great turning point for me.

Sarah

The first women's liberation conference took place while I was [a graduate student] at Oxford ... I wasn't one of the group that was involved in organising it, although I went to the conference ... I remember very clearly, we [students] were also occupying the administration building or something, and I got completely split between going to the conference and going to this occupation, and I kind of went to some of one and some of the other.

Pauline

In some cases feminist consciousness was fuelled by experiences of discrimination within existing radical political groupings, or within the sociological field itself. Dee experienced the American civil rights movement as one in which "women were marginalised and not allowed to be central." The similarly politicising effect of participation in the British New Left is also apparent from respondents' recollections:

At Oxford ... I became very aware ... of ... the sexism of the so-called revolutionary student Left. Actually, I was aware of that [as an undergraduate] too: the kind of expectation that you'd be the person writing the leaflets. Not making the tea, but writing the leaflets and pamphlets was our role, not making major

speeches and things. I was aware of the sexism of the student movement quite strongly,

Pauline

although discriminatory attitudes and behaviours were by no means the preserve of radicals:

When I was a graduate student ... I had a PhD supervisor who I retrospectively think was incredibly sexist - I mean to the point of being sort of discriminatory I suppose, though I don't know that I really understood that at the time. But with hindsight I very strongly think that.

Jennifer

I was very conscious of things like sexual harassment [within the university] though I didn't have the vocabulary for it.

Sarah

Today respondents recognise continuities between their own political perspectives and those of earlier generations:

I was taught by Ivy Pinchbeck ... I was very influenced by her, and she was very anxious that we should be politically committed, that we should have political views, which is not something that grammar school girls were encouraged to have at that time ...

I think more credit should be given to liberal feminism; people like me owed our education to liberal feminists. The kind of freedom I had as a teenager and as a young woman, to think. Certainly it was with the privileges of the middle-classes, but these enabled feminism as we know it to come into existence, so I wouldn't be so critical of liberal feminism now as I used to be. Formerly I was very dismissive of its politics, I would be much less dismissive now.

Sarah

During the 1960s they perceived only the novelty of the new feminism:

In the early seventies ... I was going to a local women's group and what I suppose was consciousness-raising, although ... it wasn't as unstructured as that title might suggest ... the meetings were held in an upstairs room of a pub ... there was always a speaker for the week ... I remember ... listening to Susie Orbach talk about eating disorders ... it was a long, long time before *Fat is a Feminist Issue* [Orbach 1978] ... I think for a lot of us the idea of women doing something like that was ... new ... We must have been ... in our mid to late twenties ... and we were on the whole graduates, but our experience of just being together as women was actually very limited.

Anne

From California it was coming! There was SCUM ['Society for Cutting up Men'] in New York and there was 'bra-burning' - I don't mean literally, I mean the pressure to defy convention. ... It took some getting used to, but it was very exciting. And it also meant that you could talk to women. Because where I was brought up, socially to be with a woman was to fail. To have girlfriends was what you did if you failed to have a boyfriend. So in the sixties it gave us permission to be friendly with women, and that was wonderful.

Sarah

In 1970 or 1971 ... there was a march taking place ... in Trafalgar Square. So I went on a bus down from Bristol to London to take part. ... I remember it was snowing, and it was very dramatic, and ... as we marched into Trafalgar Square the square was lined, tactfully enough, with mainly policewomen. I don't know where they found them at that time. ... it was great fun. And that was, really, I think, my first very active involvement with the women's movement, and I just loved it!

Dee

It is significant that each of these interviewees was living within the environs of a large city. Experiences were shaped by geographical as well as generational location:

A whole lot of '1968' just passed me by. I had small children and was living in South Wales ... Other people went down to London, to pop concerts or to Grosvenor Square ... And it wasn't 'till I was back in London [1972], and started going to the Women's Anthropology Group [Caplan 1973] that I began to get involved in lots of other feminist activities.

Dorothy

Dorothy was not the only respondent to follow a primarily academic route to feminist activism. Laura describes herself as "somebody who got interested in feminist ideas from books", as does Jennifer:

When I was doing my Masters [degree] I became interested in women writers. I did my Masters dissertation on Margaret Drabble and Virginia Woolf, and that made me interested in those sort of issues. Yes, I suppose it was [then] that I got interested in feminist politics, in the early seventies. I ... [subsequently] became more politically active ... when I worked in Women's Aid and that sort of thing.

As these accounts demonstrate, shared generational location is no guarantee of common experience. Even as they shaped a distinctive collective consciousness, and distinct political and intellectual practices, respondents were separated by the detail of personal and social circumstance that accompanies the intersection of history and biography (Mills 1959: 143).

Nor was the experience of the new feminism without contradiction. Several respondents portray the women's movement as both radical and censorial, involvement as at

once liberating and confining. Sarah's reference above to "the pressure to defy convention" conveys this ambiguity, as does the following extract from the same interview:

you had to be 'politically correct' or out. There were a lot of debates like could you wear earrings, and did you have to wear dungarees, and what about shaving your legs? But it was a ferment of ideas...

Laura's account of participation in local women's politics is less equivocal:

In [the city] in those days there were maybe twelve or fourteen local women's groups, and a kind of embryonic women's centre ... I used to go to the monthly general meetings, and found many of the lesbians who were involved in the women's movement very unsympathetic, very unaccepting, very authoritarian ... and incredibly patronising. ... It was like there were degrees of feminism, which were signalled by virtue of what section of oppressed women you chose to work for...

Lisa and Rachel occupy the other end of the generational scale from Catherine. Lisa arrived in Britain from the Caribbean as a teenager during the mid 1970s. Her social generational location and the ethnocentrism of white feminism combine to separate her political experiences from those of other respondents:

I don't know if I can call myself a feminist political person, not like the early feminists where they felt they really belonged to a movement ... I just feel like a lone person, I don't feel part of a feminist movement.

As her account demonstrates, the sense of historical continuity now important to white feminist identity serves to exclude the experiences of black women:

I really associate feminism ... with white feminist activism earlier this century. ... And I don't consider myself part of ... those ideas ... I associate feminism with certain people and histories of certain people of which I don't feel a part.

Of the sixteen women who participated in this study only Rachel grew up within a cultural context already marked by feminism's second wave:

I can remember as a sixteen year old [1974], before I knew that there was a women's liberation movement ... being critical of sexual double standards and so on. I can remember being critical of the idea that women had to get married and stuff...

Her subsequent and not unproblematic transition to feminist consciousness owed less to involvement in the feminist public sphere - "I went to the occasional NAC [National Abortion Campaign] meeting, two demonstrations against proposed abortion reform and a couple of Reclaim the Night Marches" - than to the feminist content of a sociology degree programme:

by the time I'd graduated I was in my own mind absolutely, firmly convinced that feminism - and ... radical feminism - ... was important. I felt very clearly identified as a feminist by the time I left [university] in 1982 ... the processes were two steps forward, one step back. I resisted a lot of the ideas as well. I didn't want to believe that women were inevitably oppressed in heterosexual relationships and so on. ... And I ... felt the conflict between class politics and women's politics, always, and I still haven't resolved those at all.

The majority of respondents are also members of a common professional generation. While Catherine commenced social scientific training during the 1940s, and Lisa and Rachel during the 1970s, twelve of the remaining thirteen (Christine provided no systematic information about her academic career) entered higher education between the late 1950s and early 1970s. Over half graduated, although not all in sociology, between 1961 and 1970, the discipline's core expansionary period. A similar clustering occurs at the stage of doctoral study, which eight of these twelve women, and Christine, commenced between 1968 and 1976. All twelve secured first university or polytechnic lectureships (nine and three respectively) between 1962 and 1979, seven during the four years between 1971 and 1975, and the majority without completing a doctorate. Ten of these appointments were to departments of sociology; Rosemary and Ruth were initially employed within departments of social policy. Table 11 presents information regarding respondents' professional biographies between undergraduate education and first academic appointment.

Table 11: Academic Biographies: Undergraduate Training to First Lectureship

Time period Qualification/academic appointment obtained

Time period	BA/BSc sociology	BA/BSc other	MA/MSc sociology	MA/MSc other	Doctorate sociology	Doctorate other	First sociology/social policy* lectureship
1941-1945	Catherine						
1946-1950							
1951-1955	Ruth	Martha Dorothy					
1956-1960	Sarah		Martha				
1961-1965	Rosemary Pauline Dee Jennifer Joanna	Anne	Sarah				Martha
1966-1970		Laura	Rosemary Joanna Jennifer	Anne	Sarah		Sarah Rosemary*
1971-1975	Carol			Laura	Pauline Anne Jennifer Christine Laura Joanna	Dorothy	Anne Dee Joanna Dorothy Pauline Jennifer Ruth* Laura Carol
1976-1980	Rachel	Lisa	Dee Carol		Carol		
1981-1985					Lisa		
1986-1990					Rachel		Rachel Lisa

Throughout the 1960s a third of sociology graduates could plan academic careers (Abrams 1981: 62); and the capital "fee" (Bourdieu 1993c: 74) for entry to the profession was low. A degree in an adjacent discipline was frequently sufficient to secure appointment to the sociological field:

people were getting jobs all over the place, but very few people had got qualifications in sociology. ... Most of the new universities had got sociology departments, but almost nobody in the fifties or sixties had studied sociology. So [the discipline] was recruiting lots of ex-anthropologists and social policy people, and I suppose some social psychologists ... So who was a sociologist was pretty ill-defined ... they were the people who got sociology jobs.

Dorothy

I always felt very self-conscious when I got my first job [about] ... describing myself as a sociologist because ... I had no formal training in the subject, and I ... used to feel deeply embarrassed when people started going on about Talcott Parsons ... I hadn't done any of that.

Anne

when I came here it was very funny because the first year I was told to teach [the sociology of] contemporary Britain - I didn't even know what A or O level[s] were! How I survived it I don't know!

Joanna

As Carol, the last of these respondents to achieve higher educational employment notes, the end of sociological expansion signalled a reduction of academic opportunities for women and feminists:

Most of my generation didn't get jobs [in higher education]. The [late] thirty-something generation is almost entirely absent [from sociology] and yet that was the generation where there were enormous numbers of feminist PhDs ... if higher education had continued to expand in the eighties ... you would have had far more women in academia [and] far more women in sociology, [including] women with an interest in gender and feminist concerns.

Respondents' intellectual allegiances were also typical of their generation. Their early publications identify nine of the thirteen with marxist or socialist feminist analyses and a tenth with both radical feminist and phenomenological perspectives.

It is with the experiences of the thirteen respondents who became sociologists during the late 1960s and early 1970s, generationally bounded from one side by an older feminist cohort, represented by Catherine, and on the other by younger women - Lisa, Rachel and their contemporaries - that the analysis presented in the remainder of this and the following chapter is concerned.

2. Curricular Innovations

During the early 1970s feminists embarking upon careers within academic sociology turned the opportunities of institutional and intellectual transformation described in Chapter Six to the political advantage of their sex.

Frustrated by their discipline's inattention both to the gendering of social life and to the specific social and political locations of women they began to pursue a sociology 'for' and about women. Their quest was not in itself new. Just as second wave activists have come to understand themselves as successors to an earlier women's politics, so feminist sociologists now recognise the intellectual contributions of their forebears:

It is quite clear ... that there were women working in sociology [before 1970] and ... in some cases ... trying to put across issues ... and material about the particular experiences of women. ... Looking at sociology is the same as looking at any other tradition: when you [are] looking for a feminist history ... you can usually find it...

Anne

I could give you a genealogy for feminism [in sociology] that goes back to Harriet Martineau [1802-1876] in the 1830s ... I [also] now know quite a lot about a feminist presence in sociology at the London School of Economics and at Liverpool, and a bit later on at Birmingham, in terms of [the] writings of people like Viola Klein and so on in the [19]50s and [19]60s.

Laura

Such scholarship mirrors the political and intellectual contexts of its production. Thus Alva Myrdal and Viola Klein's comparative exploration of married women's work (Myrdal & Klein 1968), first published in 1956, reflects the claims of equal rights feminism but, in the company of the analyses of Pearl Jephcott (Jephcott with Seear and Smith, 1962), Hannah Gavron (Gavron 1966) and others,

relies on an analysis of "feminine dilemmas" (Myrdal & Klein 1968: 136) which owe much to the role based approaches of structural functionalism. Published a decade later, in the same year as Juliet Mitchell's explicitly feminist 'Women: The Longest Revolution' (Mitchell 1966), Gavron's study of London family life sits uneasily between two political and analytical junctures, uncritically conflating biological and social components of motherhood even as it calls for public child care anticipate future feminist priorities.

Today feminist sociologists recognise the significance of this 'women's sociology':

I think that people like ... Klein ... Hannah Gavron, had done really important work using role theory ... which was really key to the development of the concept of gender. ... the work that was done in the [nineteen] thirties, forties, fifties and early sixties by role theorists, particularly around the sociology of the family, was quite key in kind of distancing the person from the role that they played, and stressing women's subordination.

Dorothy

Thirty years ago it appeared politically and intellectually naïve:

[When I was an undergraduate] something like the sociology of the family was very low status. It was very belittled, that kind of empirical work. ... I think the kind of work that people like Meg Stacey, and Klein, and Hannah Gavron [did] - I think that kind of work, the women's two roles stuff, was not particularly respected by those of us who had theoretical and political pretensions. There are

lots of reasons to criticise it actually,
theoretically. ... But we didn't appreciate at the time
that these women were asking important questions.

Pauline

The researches of Klein, Jephcott, Gavron and their contemporaries addressed issues of significance to their gender and allowed women expression within a discipline unaccustomed to their voices, yet it is unclear whether their authors would have chosen the feminist label for themselves. The *new women's sociology* was unequivocally feminist in identification and intent. By the mid 1970s it could boast a "slow trickle of books and articles" (Roseneil 1995: 192) but it was in relation to the undergraduate curriculum that its first achievements were made.

Establishing Women's Studies

Undergraduate women's studies date from the early 1970s, one among various manifestations of a broader women's studies movement (Beardan 1973; Hoffman 1973; Cohen 1973; Rendel 1973; Davin 1973; Pollock 1973; Beardan 1974; Women's Research & Resources Centre 1975-1978) also represented within further, adult and secondary educational sectors (Beardan & Stevenson 1974; Hartnett & Rendel 1975; Bird 1996; Chamberlain 1973; Cohen &

Greenaway 1973) and devoted to "the study of sex bias and the status of the sexes from a feminist focus" (Hartnett & Rendel 1975: 3). Within higher education women's studies flourished in a number of disciplinary contexts, including history and English literature, but it was within departments of sociology that "the academic arm of women's liberation" (Beardan & Stevenson 1974: 4) was to become most firmly established.

The women's liberation movement generated a cultural and political climate in which existing social arrangements could be questioned, new orders imagined:

Once the possibilities of thought were there ... social workers began to think, midwives began to think, people in trades unions began to think. Things were happening all over.

Sarah

the women's movement, was absolutely crucial in raising questions about equality, and in questioning the cultural categories in which women had been put ... But it wasn't just the movement as a whole which was important ... it was also the kind of personal politics that many of us were engaged in through the seventies ... And its around those personal politics ... that the conceptual critique of the women's movement gained some of its energy and its force, which we could then translate into sociological critique ... These things mattered intensely personally ... and that made it all the more urgent to get hold of sociology and turn it inside out.

Dee

It was from this "urgent political ferment" (Cambridge Women's Studies Group 1976: 2) that undergraduate women's

studies initiatives arose. The first women's studies course, *The Social Significance of Sex Status*, was established at Aberdeen University in 1971, by a visiting American scholar. In this as in other respects the British women's movement followed the lead of its US counterpart: by the end of 1972 American universities hosted no less than 650 women's studies courses (Hartnett & Rendel 1975: 3). British sociological women's studies grew steadily throughout the 1970s. By 1975 a further ten courses had been established, half of them within new universities. By 1978 this total had doubled, to twenty-one, and women's studies had made greater inroads within both traditional university and polytechnic sectors (Beardan & Stevenson 1974; Hartnett & Rendel 1975; Women's Research and Resources Centre 1975-78).

Between 1972 and 1978 respondents contributed to the development of twelve such initiatives, nine within university and three within non-university departments of sociology or social science. These are listed in Table 12.

Table 12: Undergraduate Women's Studies

Institution	Course title	Date established	Host department/faculty
Metropolitan polytechnic	<i>Women today</i>	1972	Sociology/Law
Oxbridge	<i>Women in society</i>	1973	Social and Political Sciences
New (post-Robbins) university	<i>Sexual divisions in society</i>	1973 or 1974	Sociology
New (post-Robbins) university	<i>Women in society</i>	1974	Social Sciences
New (post-Robbins) university	<i>Women in society</i>	1974	Sociology
New (post-Robbins) university	<i>Women in society</i>	1974	Sociology
Provincial university	<i>Sex, gender and society</i>	1975	Sociology and Social Anthropology
Metropolitan university	<i>Sociology of sex and gender roles</i>	1975 or 1976	Sociology
Provincial polytechnic	<i>Sexual divisions in society</i>	1975 or 1976	Sociology
College of Advanced Technology	Various	1976/1977	Sociology
Metropolitan university	Title unknown	1977	Social Sciences
Metropolitan university	<i>Women in society</i>	1978	Sociology

The titles of these courses are indicative. Many early women's studies initiatives took their names from the 1974 British Sociological Association conference on Sexual Divisions and Society (discussed further in Chapter Eight)

although others, in particular *Women in Society* and *Sex, Gender and Society* (after Ann Oakley's book of the same title [Oakley 1985 [1972]]), were also popular. Courses were typically offered on an optional basis to second and final year undergraduates and, despite feminist commitments to liberatory pedagogy, tended to follow a traditional lecture-seminar format and standard modes of assessment.

Respondents' accounts suggest that in other respects they were less conventional. In the first place, although the institutional circumstances of their foundation varied, courses owed their existence to the political commitments of women sociologists working alone or in cooperation with one or two feminist colleagues:

I remember [in 1973] having a meeting with some of the staff, who said they were interested in developing women's studies and asked if I [would be] interested in teaching a course. ... I said that I was definitely interested ... I don't think I taught a course within my first year [within the department], I think it took the first year to develop a proposal and things.

Pauline

I remember it very vividly ... in 1974 a group of us ... a lot ... in fact who'd been going to these meetings in the pub [in the city] decided that we would start an undergraduate course called *Women in Society*..

Anne

We realised that women were reading all these books ... [but there was] nothing on their booklists ... there was no place for women ... And that's where those third

year degree option courses on *Sex and Gender* and *Women in Society* ... came from.

Ruth

It was basically run, the women's [course], by a collective of ... well, it was called staff and students, but actually it was hardly any staff, it was mainly postgraduate students ... And then there were people who didn't sort of have proper jobs but nearly did, those sort of jobs.

Christine

In consequence the institution and continuation of sociological women's studies depended in a material sense upon links with feminists in other academic specialisms and institutional settings:

You didn't just sort of do this stuff by yourself ... I think the question was, under what circumstances did you get a small group developing which was able to support each other and to develop the work...

Carol

One of the courses that I'd been teaching was a course on the family ... I just looked at it one week and thought 'I can't teach ... this any more' ... And then [began] a mad search for alternative material, and I found it terribly hard work because I was doing it in isolation

it [was] at this point that I thought 'I've just got to spend some time ... doing nothing but this' so I went to [another institution] for a [sabbatical] year ... and ... was able to get immersed in the literature, which was just wonderful and amazing...

Dee

I think the important thing is that there was definitely collective activity. ... Even if we didn't agree [politically] we were all talking about [women's studies].

Ruth

Second, courses were in part a response to the demands of undergraduates, political, if not academic, contemporaries of their young feminist teachers:

the students ... wanted a women's course ... So when somebody went on an exchange or some job abroad for two years, students agitated for a two year replacement that would teach a women or gender course.

Jennifer

There were various students active around [the town] who wanted to get a women's studies course done, and we got all the members of staff who were interested in contributing a lecture ... to run an *ad hoc* course ... and then the next year it was agreed that there should actually be a [degree] course, as an option, offered..

Dorothy

The undergraduates were with us, it didn't seem ... such a huge divide actually ... it was only a couple of years' difference [between] whether you were a graduate student or an undergraduate, and some of the undergraduates were terrific young feminists.

Christine

Third, and finally, teaching reflected the priorities of the contemporary feminist public sphere, which informed its content and supplied the published resources on which early courses depended. Appendix 5 contains women's studies syllabi from two (new) universities and one polytechnic, dating from 1974, c. 1975 and c. 1978 respectively. These are structured by the concerns of the ongoing women's movement - the relationship between women's paid and unpaid work, the roles of biology and

ideology in the constitution of gendered identity, and the past and futures of feminist activism itself - and by debates (concerning the family wage, the economic status of domestic work, the adequacy for the analysis of gender of traditional marxist categories, for example) - which exercised feminists within and beyond the academy.

Significantly many of these topics were approached, and to some extent disguised, by conventional sociological historical or comparative approaches.

Prior to the emergence of publications aimed specifically at women's studies students (Bristol Women's Studies Group 1979; Cambridge Women's Studies Group 1981) such courses relied of necessity upon publications originating outside the discipline. Reading lists included feminist 'classics' (Friedan 1963; Millett 1969; Figs 1970; Rowbotham 1972; Kuhn & Wolpe 1978; Firestone 1979) and the literature of the women's movement itself as well as more orthodox sociological texts:

Of course there wasn't much literature at the time ... there were things like [Ivy] Pinchbeck and Alice Clark and Margaret Hewitt, there was the beginnings of the rediscovery of literature from an earlier phase of feminism ... but you had to find reading for yourself, largely ... there wasn't a feminist sociological literature.

Pauline

As I recall I just went and told [students] the history of the WLM! I think I just told them what

was going on. And I think my colleague who taught the other half [of the course] ... she could produce some sort of anthropological texts, and some bits of this and ... bits of that. Because there were very, very few books ... there was really nothing.

Ruth

One of the early debates was about housework and the housewife ... Ellen Malos ... edited a book on the politics of housework ... in which she drew together a lot of articles that had been circulating ... within the [women's] movement [Malos 1968] ... And I think the same thing happened with that series of books that The Women's Press did, starting with *The Body Politic* [Wandor 1972a] ... they could ... be put on booklists because they weren't so difficult to get hold of ... They were ... something you could give students to read that wasn't just critical of existing sociology. Even though a lot of it was not sociological, and you had to try and help students to theorise it and so forth ... Certainly in the early [19]70s I had the feeling it was the movement where the intellectual ideas were being generated which I think is no longer true on the whole.

Martha

As syllabus (a) in Appendix 5 shows, students also shared responsibility for the production of learning resources.

Intellectual Objectives

During the 1970s as today (Broughton 1994: 119) students and teachers of women's studies were committed to the production and dissemination of new knowledge towards "the advent of a more ... equitable society" (Hartnett & Rendel 1975: 3). As we saw in Chapter Two, commentators typically differentiate between additive and transformative 'stages' of feminist intellectual activity. Elizabeth Gross describes the development of feminist

social science in precisely these terms, contrasting an initial phase during which feminist scholars, driven by a politics of equality, worked to establish women's right to appear alongside men as objects of empirical and theoretical investigation with a later consideration of the "political, ontological and epistemological commitments" (Gross 1986: 192) by which patriarchal discourses are structured. During the first stage:

feminists directed their theoretical attention to patriarchal discourses, those which were either openly hostile to and aggressive about women and the feminine, or those which had nothing at all to say about women. [They] seemed largely preoccupied with the inclusion of women in those spheres from which they had previously been excluded, that is, with creating representations which would enable women to be regarded as men's *equals* (Gross 1986: 190, original emphasis).

Gross suggests that during the 1980s, and influenced by a politics of self-determination or autonomy, feminists became increasingly unwilling to "slot" (Gross 1986: 193) women into existing conceptual categories. Instead they pursued creative *dialogue* with dominant theoretical frameworks, which were evaluated according to their capacity to illuminate women's experience, and strategically employed without obligation to their founding assumptions.

Study respondents' accounts of establishing undergraduate women's studies throw Gross's analytical categories into question. As she argues, such initiatives were from the outset intended to fill the women shaped gaps in sociological scholarship:

a lot of what we did was to cover a number of the sub-fields of sociology ... looking at them from the point of view of sexual divisions ... In a sense it was a critique ... of sociology for having left questions of gender out. So you'd look at the sociology of education and say 'why haven't they considered these questions?' ... a lot of it was like that ... drawing on whatever [literature] was available.

Martha

I think inevitably it was more of ... making women visible, partly because of the moment at which we were doing it, because feminist theory *qua* feminist theory wasn't really there ... But perhaps also because of our own predilections really ... those were the kinds of things we were interested in. Also ... a lot of women from different departments [contributed to the course] ... and a lot of them came from [departments] like law and trades unions studies and things like that, where they weren't highly theoretical in the way that they were thinking.

Rosemary

I think [my courses] were largely sort of restoring a description of women's activities in society ... I think they were largely that.

Jennifer

I remember I used to give a standard lecture criticising industrial sociology's lack of interest in women workers ... we used to do critical stuff on the sociology of the family, and the way it used to talk about ... women and domestic labour and things like that. And Ann Oakley's book on housework was [published in] about [19]74 [Oakley 1974c] ... so the housework thing started being an issue.

Christine

However, interviewees accounts suggest that these objectives were from the outset accompanied by a critical attention to the epistemological and theoretical foundations of sociological discourse. Jennifer and Christine again:

...though I do remember we had sessions on, you know, sexist bias in stratification theory. There was quite a bit of theory, and I think there was quite a bit of comparative material ... picking up on the sex and gender distinction and that sort of thing.

The other thing we sort of got into quite early on was class theory ... and how, you know, class was measured by the male head of household ... I think it was ... quite theoretical actually.

As Dee and Ruth explain:

It was a matter of reconceptualising, because ... nothing will do once you bring [gender] to the fore, and everything has to be re-thought. And of course what that means is that teaching sociology from a feminist perspective is one of the hardest things you can do, because everything has to be done from scratch ... all the sociological interpretations have to be questioned once you bring gender into play.

Dee

The whole point was *not* to make women legitimate objects of study really. ... To the extent that anything had been done that [is] what had been done and it [is] precisely that dynamic that had to be overcome and supplanted. I think I can remember going up to the blackboard and writing 'herstory' on it. Which was just kind of a mind-blowing concept, that one could play with a word like that, and *gender* history, in that very particular sort of way. And you know its the sort of thing that still makes people angry I think. When ... you take 'history' and turn it into 'herstory', what are you saying about history?

what one was really trying to talk to students about was ... what is the analysis that women have of their condition? So it [wasn't] about empirical facts, it [was] 'what's the analysis?' ... Their analysis is ... empirical material, it is also *theory*. So we were always, from the very beginning, trying to supplant a particular epistemology, and methodology really as well, but I don't think we really understood that very clearly, we didn't intellectualise it very clearly until about a decade later ... So [we] ... always knew we were dealing with partial knowledge being presented as total knowledge ... But we also knew we were going to have a hard struggle to get those men off centre stage.

Ruth

The suggestion that both additive and transformative impulses have characterised sociological women's studies since the early 1970s finds confirmation in the record of contemporary scholarship. As we saw in Chapter Six, British feminist sociologists appropriated both marxist and, to a lesser extent, ethnomethodological discourses from the late 1960s onwards. Far from inserting women uncritically into these analytic frameworks feminists actively modified their terms of reference, moulding them towards their own theoretical purposes.

Published critiques of masculinist sociology lend further credence to respondents' analyses. Ann Oakley's 'The Invisible Woman: Sexism in Sociology', published in 1974, simultaneously notes women's absence from sociological discourses and calls for the reconceptualisation of

received analytic categories. While Oakley clearly regrets her discipline's failure to afford women representation more substantial than that of "ghosts, shadows or stereotyped characters" (Oakley 1974a: 1) she goes on to argue that "conventional male-oriented values are buried in the foundations of sociology" (Oakley 1974: 3) and to demand the redefinition of the discipline. The case is more explicitly made in Dorothy Smith's 'Women's Perspective as a Radical Critique of Sociology', also published in 1974: "how sociology is thought - its methods, conceptual schemes and theories - has been based on and built up within the male social universe (even when women have participated in its doing). It has taken for granted not just that scheme of relevances as an itemised inventory of issues or subject matters (industrial sociology, political sociology, social stratification etc) but the fundamental social and political structures under which these become relevant and are ordered." (Smith 1974a: 7). Expressed more succinctly, "the sociologist is a 'he'" (Smith 1974a: 10), with the consequence that half the population find themselves alienated from their (sociologically represented) experiences. Like Oakley, Smith recommends a radical reformulation of the sociological project, based on the distinctiveness if not of women, of their socially sanctioned 'place'.

The instigators of sociological women's studies saw their curricular initiatives as part of a critique whose focus extended beyond women's sociological representation to the gendered epistemological and methodological assumptions on which existing disciplinary discourse was based. Their interventions possessed little of the analytic sophistication they would subsequently acquire (see for example Crowley & Himmelweit 1992; Stanley 1990a). Nor perhaps could their authors have appreciated the scale of their undertaking. Nevertheless, by the mid 1970s feminist sociologists had signalled their commitment to the redefinition of British sociology and thereby to the transformation of the sociological field.

CHAPTER EIGHT

FROM HETERODOXY TO ORTHODOXY: TRANSFORMING THE SOCIOLOGICAL FIELD

Bourdieu describes the concepts around which his sociology of practice is built as "means of *construction*, which make it possible to produce things that one could not see previously" (Bourdieu 1993d: 32, original emphasis). In this final chapter I attempt to bring these 'thinking tools' into analytic dialogue with key aspects of study respondents' accounts of feminist curricular intervention. In so doing I aim to illuminate the social and political structures around which scientific practice is organised, and their significance for the analysis of intellectual innovation and change. Specifically, I consider disputes surrounding the introduction of women's studies teaching, and the broader feminist impulse to which it belonged, as struggles over the distribution of capital within the 1970s sociological field, and the actions of those involved as strategies directed towards the disruption or preservation of existing capital allocations.

The chapter is divided into four parts. In the first I define feminist curricular interventions as a challenge not only to orthodox and heterodox definitions of

sociology but to the gendered relations of authority and power on which these were founded. In part two I consider feminist sociologists' incursion of the British Sociological Association as an example of heretical strategy directed towards the redistribution of disciplinary resources; and the limitations for this case of Bourdieu's conceptualisation. In part three I examine the strategies with which those occupying other positions within the sociological field responded to feminism's challenge. Part four summarises the arguments of this and previous chapters, and considers the future of a feminist sociology of sociological practice.

1. Challenging the Doxa

As we saw in Chapter Three, a field is a space of social positions structured according to the historically particular distribution of its goods and resources. Those who command these resources occupy positions of power in relation to those who do not. However, a field is also a locus of struggle and change since participation in its 'game' disposes agents, via the mechanisms of the habitus, towards the maximisation of specific capital: those without power (typically newcomers) seek, if unconsciously, to subvert the structure of the field, thus increasing their share of its rewards while those in

positions of dominance work to protect the social arrangements on which their privilege relies. Within the scientific field groups and individuals compete for *scientific authority*, monopoly of which confers power to delimit "the problems, methods and theories" (Bourdieu 1981: 262, 263) that may be regarded as scientific. The dominant are those who manage to impose a definition of science congruent with their own intellectual interests. Contests among sociologists revolve around "the power to produce ... impose and ... inculcate the *legitimate representation of the social world*" (Bourdieu 1975, cited Wacquant 1992a: 51, emphasis added; see also Bourdieu 1981: 278).

Bourdieu's account of scientific practice (which in all significant respects mirrors broader social practice [Bourdieu 1990g: 141]) implies that feminism's critique of masculinist sociology, framed first through the curricular interventions described in Chapter Seven, constituted an unmistakable challenge to the structure of the professional field within which it was produced and reproduced. The new women's studies, facilitated both intellectually and structurally by the transformations outlined in Chapter Six, at once uncovered the limitations

of dominant knowledge forms and the deeply inequitable social relations in which these were embedded.

The key to this analysis lies in the distinction between orthodoxy and doxa and the relationship between them. Within Bourdieu's account orthodoxy represents "the universe of things which can be stated" (Bourdieu 1994: 165) while doxa stands for all that which is by definition beyond articulation - the universe of "unthinkable things" (Bourdieu 1993e: 51), that which is taken for granted, incorporating both that which goes without saying and that which cannot be said for lack of an available discourse (Bourdieu 1994: 165; 1993e: 52; see also Bourdieu 1981: 274). The boundary between orthodoxy and doxa - the spoken and unspoken - is a key site of struggle within any field of social relations. While the dominated have an interest in pushing back the limits of doxa to reveal its "radical censorship" (Bourdieu 1994: 165) the dominant are committed to its preservation. Although the doxa is in Bourdieu's terms 'arbitrary' - by no means 'natural' or given - it is deeply determined since it masks structures of interest and inequality that are anything but random. In the case of the scientific field, to expose the doxa is to expose the relations of dominance and power on which

seemingly "disinterested" evaluations of scientific competence and excellence are based (Bourdieu 1981: 278).

Who were the dominant within the 1970s sociological field?

As we saw in Chapter Six, British sociology had been radically transformed by the events of the previous decade. By the end of the sixties it was structured by a variety of intellectual positions, none of which possessed authority sufficient to impose its particular definition of the social world upon the discipline as a whole.

Exponents of structural functionalist perspectives (whose shares in the field were by now fast diminishing) continued to define themselves in opposition to the empiricism of earlier decades, while the newer heterodoxies associated with marxism and ethnomethodology presented powerful challenges to both. What these sociologies shared in common were frames of reference wholly or partially insensitive to the distinctive social locations and subjectivities of women.

It was to the masculinist basis of existing disciplinary discourse that feminist heresy directed its challenge. In questioning the adequacy of existing sociological theorisations, and the criteria by which they were judged 'sociological'; and claiming as sources of legitimate

enquiry objects of relevance to women's as well as men's lives feminists pushed at the boundaries of masculine sociology, bringing issues hitherto concealed within the silence of doxa into the noisy world of articulation and debate. In so doing they simultaneously challenged the social - and deeply gendered - structure of the sociological field.

Bourdieu describes the boundary between doxa and orthodoxy as "the dividing line between the most radical form of misrecognition and the awakening of political consciousness" (Bourdieu 1994: 165). The "passage from doxa to orthodoxy" (ibid.) brought feminist sociologists into a new critical relationship with the epistemological and methodological foundations of their discipline. The products of this new feminist scholarship, of which Dorothy Smith's *The Everyday World as Problematic*, reviewed in Chapter Two, is typical, shaped feminist debates within sociology and allied academic fields from the 1970s and throughout the 1980s (Smith 1988; see also Bowles & Duelli Klein 1983; Stanley & Wise 1983; Stanley 1990a; Campbell 1992).

The transition from doxa to orthodoxy provokes within dominant groups and individuals the impulse to re-cover

what has been dis-covered (Bourdieu 1993f: 11): "heresy, heterodoxy, functioning as a critical break with doxa ... is what brings the dominant agents out of their silence and forces them to produce the defensive discourse of orthodoxy" (Bourdieu 1993c: 73). The "primal state of innocence of doxa" (Bourdieu 1994: 165) is temporarily or permanently lost, and the powerful must rely upon its "necessarily imperfect substitute" (Bourdieu 1994: 164), orthodoxy: "a system of ... acceptable ways of thinking and speaking the natural and social world, which rejects heretical remarks as blasphemies" (ibid.). We consider the extent to which male sociologists' responses to the new women's studies conformed to this pattern later in the chapter.

Despite the opportunities generated by academic expansion feminists embarking upon sociological careers during the early 1970s entered a field that remained professionally dominated by men. In 1975 only twenty per cent of university appointed sociologists were women (Association of Commonwealth Universities 1975):

Between 1974 and 1988, I think, I was the only woman in the Sociology department ... there were twenty-two, twenty-three [academics] altogether,

Anne

I'm in the position of having waited twenty years for a full time woman colleague, and I still haven't got one,

Dee

I was the only woman graduate student in Sociology, so it was all blokes ... all brilliant young blokes. Hah! So they thought!

Christine

and even fewer feminists:

There weren't a lot of other women. There were two other women in the department. People in the University used to stop me and say 'are you the [new feminist]?' It was like the campus could only have one feminist at a time ... that's what it was like in those days...

Pauline

I think there's been a kind of sub-text, in terms of appointments, like two feminists was enough ... and four women was enough because there were four women in the department at the time [1978] ... I don't know whether that's true or not, you just sort of build up ideas about what might be sub-text, its difficult to know. And also the vagaries of appointments committees are such that they're very difficult to control. But certainly the numbers of women have stayed constant at the point that they were when I came, except that one of those women has now taken early retirement.

Laura

Numerical disadvantage was compounded by discrimination at point of entry to the field:

I was doing lots of different kinds of part-time teaching, and a job came up ... which I neither got nor was short-listed for, although other PhD students who didn't have a PhD (I had ... by this time) did get short-listed, and they were male and not feminist and not an out lesbian...

Laura

I went for a job ... and they gave it to [named contemporary] ... And I'm sure that was partly in terms of the fact that I had a husband and small children in London,

Dorothy

verbal and vocal violence:

I remember saying at the beginning [of a staff seminar] that as we were discussing, for the first time since I'd joined [the department], a feminist work, by a woman, when women spoke they should be attended to, not listened to in silence, ignored and then the conversation carrying on as if they hadn't said anything. I said that at the beginning of the seminar, and there was a shocked silence, and it was totally ignored! When I did make an intervention they simply ignored me and swept on,

Sarah

and sexual harassment:

I was sexually harassed ... every time I went to get money [for the women's studies unit] and in the end one of the reasons I left was that it was too awful to set up a women's studies unit based on having been sexually harassed by the director of the institution ... I wasn't the only one ... I'm not claiming any particular oppression,

Rosemary

all of these manifestations of a masculinist academic

culture at best tolerant of female participation:

I actually was the first woman fellow at [my] college ... and literally, the fellows there were not used to eating with women ... they talk about male cultures of workplaces, but you know [in] that male college it was just complete, it was absolutely sort of total, complete, you just felt like really women weren't supposed to be there at all ... It was just all the time feeling you were just the odd woman that was being tolerated: you know, 'Christine's doing a nice little ... study ... we're ... doing profound, important things'...

Christine

We had constant battles around our gender. I mean personal battles - against the sexism of the institution, the sexism of our Professor and the patronising way we were treated when we were, as we saw it, the powerful part of the department,

Sarah

It was just endlessly dreadful ... because there was such a jock sort of macho culture to it all and I really loathed that.

Anne

Despite the operation of these and other "techniques of subordination" (Ramazanoglu 1987: 64-67) feminist sociologists' bid to remake the undergraduate sociology curriculum to reflect the images of women as well as men was remarkably successful. Any attempt to account for these achievements must attend to the practices of feminist and other sociologists and to the context in which this particular academic contest was acted out.

2. Subversionary Strategies

Agents' habitus dispose them towards the pursuit of what counts as capital in the fields they enter. According to Bourdieu it also resources their specific behaviours, prompting "lines of action" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992b: 128-29), or *strategies*, at once sensitive to their particular location within the field and its broader configuration: strategy is action informed by "the feel

for ... a particular historically determined game" (Bourdieu 1990f: 62-63).

During the 1970s feminist sociologists harnessed the resources of their discipline's professional body, the British Sociological Association, to their cause.

Feminism's presence within the BSA dates from the Association's 15th annual conference, held at Aberdeen University in 1974, and devoted to the theme of Sexual Divisions and Society. Conceived and organised by a group of feminists, "the great BSA conference" (Sarah) was attended by sociologists and others from a range of professional fields. It was a memorable occasion. Never before had women been so well represented on both sides of the conference podium (Roberts & Norris 1978):

It was a watershed conference. And it was an interesting conference, partly because it was such a way away ... there wasn't a great rush from senior members of the profession to give papers. [Because of] the topic and the distance [the conference] solicited very widely ... from people who weren't in sociology jobs,

Dorothy

I think there were about two hundred [participants], it was a small conference. But because we were in Aberdeen nobody could day-trip, you had to stay over ... and women immediately responded like we were at a women's meeting. They started caucusing and held meetings every night, and set up the women's caucus.

Ruth

The women's caucus, constituted during this and every following national conference as well as on a regional basis was established to promote the interests of women sociologists within and outside the academy. Early caucus gatherings now enjoy near legendary status among their participants. Dorothy and Ruth again:

[The Aberdeen conference] did have extraordinary happenings ... We held the first women's caucus meeting, and all the women came to it and the men were left looking around. We really quite heaved a few of the women who weren't sure if they wanted to come. At the first women's caucus there just wasn't a woman left in the bar!

The next year, in [19]75, we went to [the University of] Kent, and ... a couple of the men were determined that they weren't going to allow the women to caucus. And I said 'don't worry, I know what to do ... change the room.' Because [the men] were in the room and you couldn't physically manage to throw them out, so what you do is ... change where you're going to hold the meeting and ... steward the doors ... So that's what we did ... we had the caucus then in '75, and [the men] never ever tried that tactic again.

During the 1974 conference and at the instigation of the women's caucus, the BSA's Annual General Meeting commissioned investigations of sociological teaching on sex and gender and of the status of women within the profession. A year later the working party on 'Social Relations Associated with Sex and Gender in Sociology and Social Policy Courses in British Higher Education' reported that issues relating to sexual divisions featured within only a tiny minority (1.9%) of surveyed

undergraduate syllabi (Bell, Frankenberg, McIntosh *et al* 1975). Its companion body, charged to research the status of women sociologists, reported a profession unwilling or unable to encourage women's greater academic involvement. Discriminatory interviewing practices, an inequitable sexual division of labour and the sexism of male colleagues were among the impediments to equality women sociologists routinely encountered (Sharma 1975). Working party recommendations led to the formulation of BSA policies on interviewing practice (Rendel, Stacey & Johnson *et al* 1975) and the gender composition of sociology departments; and in 1976 to the formation of a permanent sub-committee mandated:

to investigate and advise the BSA on policies which contribute towards the equality of access to, and equal treatment of women sociologists within the profession; to advise the BSA on making recommendations for non-sexist teaching and research in sociology and which contribute positively towards the position of women in society; [and] to investigate, in conjunction with the Professional Ethics Committee complaints alleging discrimination against women and allied matters (David & Sharma 1977).

In 1975 Sheila Allen, one of Aberdeen conference organisers, secured unopposed election as BSA president. Since that time every third president has been a woman, and "it has become conventional to expect women and men to alternate in key positions, or for short-term balance

between them to be maintained, and for their numbers on committees ... to be equal" (Platt 1998: 10). Between 1970 and 1975 women held 16% of Executive Committee places. Female representation increased to 33% for the period 1975-80, and continued to rise. By 1985-90 women constituted 59% of EC members (ibid.).

Within the economy of the scientific field, capital accrues only to 'legitimate' - professionally sanctioned - endeavours. Among the mechanisms by which the dominant ensure the perpetuation of established scientific orders Bourdieu lists control over "the aggregate of institutions responsible for ensuring the production and circulation of scientific goods" (Bourdieu 1981: 270-71). Influence within the BSA, although costly in terms of time and labour:

there were early times when we made the big mistake of putting so many people up for election that we took over the BSA. We never really intended to run the BSA we just wanted to make sure we influenced all its decisions. It was a bad use of energy to actually be running the damn organisation!

Dorothy

secured access to such processes, including those associated with the Association's own journal, *Sociology*; and authority for feminist curricular and other projects (Stanley & Wise 1993: 232). Although the BSA was synonymous neither with the sociological field (Platt

1998) nor with the emerging sub-field of feminist

sociology:

I was not a member of the BSA at the time. Even though the people who were involved in it clearly saw themselves as critiquing the sociological establishment, people like me were always rather sniffy about things like the BSA because of this idea we had that women's studies was inter-disciplinary, and [that] sociology was really bourgeois ideology ... I think for some women, personally, the BSA was their *entree* into feminism, through the sexual divisions work of the BSA ... I'm not saying I never had anything to do with the BSA, but it wasn't my primary identification ... radical sociology - and I saw myself as radical, as part of the Left *within* sociology - wasn't a prevalent force within the BSA. People like me ... were ... part of what we saw as the Left within sociology,

Pauline

investment in its infrastructure enhanced the status of feminist scholarship and - as importantly - that of its practitioners, both within its immediate constituency:

I think [sociology] has changed a very great deal, and I think its changed largely because of the incredibly 'opening up' role of the BSA. I think that through the BSA many feminist women have been able to gain a lot of experience and a lot of organisational presence, which has stood them in good stead in applying for jobs if they were graduate students, or [in] getting promoted, and most of the 'higher ups' in terms of the organisational framework of academic life - which doesn't necessarily mean those women whose ideas are the most important, of course - have to a large extent been able to do that through the BSA,

Laura

and beyond:

The [19]74 conference really legitimated the possibility of gender in a way that hadn't been possible before,

Sarah

I think the [BSA] has been enormously important for the development of a feminist perspective, or a gender perspective, within sociology as a discipline, because it gave a very high profile public space in which these issues were acceptable and even welcome...

Carol

1974, the Aberdeen conference ... is the marker as far as I'm concerned, and before that sociology, both in the BSA and in university departments was remarkably male dominated,

Catherine

[The conference organisers] had a feminist motivation for getting [gender] on the sociological agenda, and they saw devoting an annual conference to it as ... a good way of gathering together what was being done [and] stimulating more work and more discussions ... Lots of people who went along, perhaps particularly graduate students at the time, started to see the possibilities for feminist work within sociology. I think that was tremendously important

I think it was a good strategy, to become influential there, because the BSA is important, it does have a journal and so-forth.

Martha

Despite assertions to the contrary (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992b: 131) Bourdieu consistently presents the mechanisms of habitus as less-than-conscious contributors to practice (Bourdieu 1993c: 76). Yet as respondents' accounts demonstrate, feminist sociologists recognise their manipulation of the BSA and its resources as products of fully conscious deliberation. Bourdieu's inattention to conscious political practice limits the scope of his analysis, for while 'strategy' can in this case account for the impulse to caucus - "and women immediately

responded like we were at a women's meeting" (Ruth) - it has less to say to the broader experience of feminist BSA members. Joanna Liddle and Elisabeth Michielsens have suggested that the very notion of conscious political strategy is mediated by considerations of class and gender, readily accessible as a concept to those who must consciously pursue specific and symbolic capital, invisible to those whose social positioning effortlessly ensures the realisation of their "entitlement" to power (Liddle & Michielsens, forthcoming). Perhaps this helps to explain why its operation remains under-theorised within Bourdieu's own framework.

Although interest driven, agents' lines of action are products of "reasonable" expectation (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992b: 129-30) tailored, consciously or otherwise, to the limits and possibilities of their circumstances. While the Aberdeen conference and its products excited some opposition:

there was a lot of hostility to [the conference]. I can remember [a colleague] commenting that various of the senior men ... said ... 'what'll they have next ... Green studies?!

initially a lot of senior men withdrew [from the BSA] ... [one individual] I think withdrew and wrote quite a long letter saying it had become just a campaigning feminist organisation,

Dorothy

the BSA was remarkably responsive to feminist interests, suggesting that its relationship with feminism was in practice based on exchange rather than appropriation. A relatively small body populated primarily from the junior (capital poor) ranks of the profession - "one of the things the BSA has always had to do is count how many professors it has got" (Ruth) - and its fringes (Platt 1998: 4-7) it undoubtedly benefited from the energetic organisational input of its feminist members, as perhaps from the 'progressive' political credentials thus endowed. What counted as capital, at least within this limited sector of the sociological field, was beginning to change.

3. Orthodoxy Defended

The curriculum, and other institutions implicated in "the reproduction of the producers (or reproducers) and consumers of [scientific] goods" (Bourdieu 1981: 271) are important stakes within the scientific field. As Bourdieu's account of the transition from doxa to orthodoxy predicts, feminist attempts at curricular reform provoked resistance among those in positions of power within the 1970s sociological field:

There was a lot of resistance, there was a lot of resistance to putting the course on actually,

Christine

At that time it was extremely difficult getting women's studies courses through ... I put forward this [course] proposal and all the senior staff opposed it...

Pauline

There was a tremendous hoo-hah about [the course], and fierce arguments ... Opposition ... came from male academics.

Anne

At the heart of their 'defensive discourses' was the contention that the priorities of women's studies placed them beyond the parameters of legitimate sociological concern: "one of the ways of disposing of awkward truths is to say that they are not scientific, which amounts to saying that they are 'political', that is springing from 'interest', 'passion', and are therefore relative and relativisable" (Bourdieu 1993f: 9):

[The course was resisted on the grounds that it] didn't fit with the things that were important ... basically ... [that] it wasn't particularly interesting and that it was trivial, and [that] it didn't fit and it wasn't part of the sociological canon.

Dorothy

A lot of the blokes thought it wasn't a serious [course] and that it shouldn't go on ... it wasn't a proper discipline...

Christine

There's definitely an issue, all the way along the line, at that time anyway I think, about the intellectual standing or the academic credibility of such courses.

Jennifer

[Critics said] 'this is just politics, this is[n't] the kind of thing which [should get] done in universities ... this is just ranting and raving.

Anne

Paradoxically, since these had hitherto been confined to the realms of doxa, critics cited their absence from orthodox discourse as evidence that issues of gender lay outside proper disciplinary consideration:

There was resistance ... along the lines that there wasn't a literature, this didn't constitute a subject.

Anne

Things were said ... it was a long time ago ... like there wasn't a literature to constitute a course, which probably in about [19]72, [19]73, was true to an extent.

Dorothy

We decided to add an option [on] sexual divisions and we gave it to the CNAA for approval, and they rejected it first time around. They said that such an option would need a biologist! ... There was a whole fight about it, and in the second round we won, but ... it was not a simple struggle at all.

Joanna

Opposition strengthened feminist resolve:

That kind of male opposition is actually very important because what it does is politicise you even more if you're already politicised [and] ... politicises people who haven't actually thought about it before. Once somebody has actually said to your face 'well I don't think this is the kind of course I'd like my wife to do' you start to make connections, I mean its impossible not to! ... So it was a very important learning time ... our learning curve was very sharp. Because we really didn't know, I think, in a lot of cases what to say. You know, [today] if somebody turns round and says 'I think this is just politics', probably everyone knows ... the sort of 'five things to say', but back in 1973 you didn't know them quite so well...

Anne

and, as we saw in Chapter Seven, did little to impede the process of curricular reform. As we saw in Chapter Three, Bourdieu proposes a sociology alert to the interaction of habitus and field, action and context. Attention to the history and structure of the 1970s sociological field suggests that its accommodation of feminist intellectual priorities was doubly determined. In the first place, the value of its products, defined in part through its status within the broader academic field, was limited. Bourdieu notes that "the more advanced a science ... the greater is the capital of knowledge accumulated within it, and the greater the quantity of knowledge that subversive and critical strategies, whatever their 'motivations', need to mobilise in order to be effective" (Bourdieu 1993f: 11). As a relatively young and rapidly expanding discipline with little access to the goods and resources of the wider academy, sociology was peculiarly vulnerable to the claims and bids of newcomers. As we saw in Chapter Six, feminism's transformative impulse followed hard on the heels of marxist and ethnomethodological heresies.

Second, and in consequence, it was a heterogeneous field, fractured by a range of intellectual perspectives and beholden to none. While homogeneity breeds relative stasis (Bourdieu 1981: 270), diversity allows the

possibility of disruption and change, not least because it is accompanied by a wider distribution of specific capital, with the result that no single faction commands scientific authority sufficient to outlaw the activities of others.

As the political configuration of the broader women's movement would predict, during the 1970s feminist sociologists were themselves divided along the radical/marxist feminist axis, with implications for their experiences of academic life. In the 'closed' world of the scientific field "there is no judge who is not also a party to the dispute" (Bourdieu 1981: 264). In consequence, "competitors must do more than simply *distinguish themselves* from their already recognised precursors; if they are not to be left behind and 'outclassed,' they must integrate their predecessors' and rivals' work into the distinct and distinctive construction which transcends it" (Bourdieu 1981: 262, original emphasis). Respondents' accounts suggest that feminists whose scholarship invoked the (semi) "consecrated" (Bourdieu 1990g: 141) perspectives of marxism encountered less resistance to their curricular initiatives, as to their wider intellectual activities, than those espousing radical variants of feminist theory:

I got slightly the feeling that [the department] thought [named radical feminist colleague] had been a bit difficult to deal with ... but that the other feminists in the department ... were kind of OK.

Martha

[My colleagues] were at first and at times very sceptical, and regarded [women's studies] as highly suspect, and I think ... would have liked to know that I was a good, safe, socialist feminist and not a wild radical feminist, would have liked demonstrations that I was a sober, reliable kind of feminist. Which, I think, these kind of demonstrations no feminist can give.

Dee

There was a strong feeling that a lot of the impetus to get the women's studies courses and so on going was coming from radical feminism, but the jobs and the recognition was going to socialist feminism... ..

I think [socialist feminists] were saying that Marx, Foucault, Derrida, Freud ... had a lot to teach the women's movement, and they were engaged in ... using those people to address feminist topics, which obviously made their work quite acceptable - well, I shouldn't say acceptable because I don't think it was acceptable ... [but] I think its certainly true that women who got jobs were by and large socialist feminists, and they got jobs because they could be seen to be at least using the people who were recognised as sociologists... ..

I failed to get lots of jobs, lots of jobs, because my politics went before me.

Dorothy

If socialist feminist sociologists benefited from (critical) association with 1970s marxist discourse, its authors, themselves in many contexts "condemned" to the postures and strategies of subversion (Bourdieu 1993c: 74) could only profit from the judgement of value that feminist appropriation implied.

4. Beyond Bourdieu?

an invitation to think with Bourdieu is of necessity an invitation to think beyond Bourdieu, and against him whenever required (Wacquant 1992b: xiv)

This study was conceived as an attempt to document and analyse feminism's interpolation of the British sociological field. As a means of focusing my investigation, and because these contributed crucially to the development of feminist sociological scholarship more generally, I have directed my attention towards feminist curricular interventions of the early 1970s. Taking as my starting point the recollections of sixteen women sociologists whose political and professional biographies link them to these initiatives, I have attempted to construct a narrative sensitive to the place of action and structure, habitus and field, in the production of academic and intellectual practice. All of the respondents who reported direct involvement in the institution of undergraduate women's studies during the 1970s were simultaneously active within the contemporary 'feminist public sphere' - the movement for women's liberation - which across Britain and within other national settings recruited primarily among young, white, higher educated, middle-class women.

Eager to bring the fruits of political activism - a new sensitivity to the dynamics of gender (and frequently also class) relations, as to the specificities of feminine experience and subjectivity - into dialogue with the conceptual and theoretical resources of their discipline, feminists entering the professional field of sociology began to trace the features of a sociology constructed in the image of, and for the benefit of, women.

Their ambition was considerably advanced by developments within the British sociological field itself. From the mid 1960s it grew exponentially, and in the course of so doing began, if slowly, to establish its own capital value within the academy. It also underwent major intellectual upheavals as structural functionalism relinquished its position of (semi)orthodoxy in the face of heretical challenges from marxism, ethnomethodology and, to a lesser extent, feminism itself. What counted as capital within the sociological field was strongly disputed during this period. Structural functionalism was ousted not by one but several "pretenders" (Bourdieu 1981: 272) each anxious to impose its own representation of the social world within and outside the academy. Since none commanded resources sufficient to outlaw the truths of its

competitors the period of sociology's developing authority as a discipline was, paradoxically, coterminous with an emergent pluralism and an degree of openness unprecedented within its history.

The expansion of academic sociology, itself facilitated by the growth of the higher educational sector both before and in the wake of the Robbins Committee, and by the swing to *social science* in terms of undergraduate demand, provided new opportunities for student and professional careers within the discipline. Among those to benefit from these institutional circumstances, as from the intellectual diversity of the sociological field, were those simultaneously constructing feminist political identities.

Supported by feminist students, members of the same political, if not academic, generation as themselves, these women sought to develop 'women's studies' - the logical outcome of earlier phases of women's movement activism, and already widespread within other educational sectors - within the context of the sociology undergraduate curriculum. Early courses, their political allegiances clearly visible to all, provoked undisguised hostility within the senior quarters of the field, whether

these were occupied, as typically, by men or, as occasionally, by women. The defensive discourses of orthodoxy placed women's studies squarely beyond the compass of 'legitimate' sociology but were unable, once this had been revealed, to re-cover the thoroughly masculinist basis of its definition. Underlying orthodox resistance to the explicitly feminist agenda of sociological women's studies was a deeper reluctance to acknowledge the partiality of established sociological discourse since to do so was to threaten not only intellectual livelihoods but the social structure of the sociological field itself.

Feminism's challenge was directed towards orthodox and heterodox alike. 'Radical' analytic frameworks were from a feminist standpoint as flawed as those inhabiting positions of relative security; while the oppressive and discriminatory practices typical of a masculine professional culture (Ramazanoglu 1987; Cockburn 1991) were by no means the preserve of the sociological old guard.

In the face of opposition the survival and success of feminist curricular initiatives can be linked both to the strategies - conscious and otherwise - of their advocates,

and to features of the sociological field itself. Both its relative youth and its intellectual structure rendered the 1970s sociological field vulnerable to the claims of heretics and newcomers, of which there were by definition many, with implications for the futures of both sociological and feminist scholarship.

Both feminism and sociology have been much changed by the intervening years. For example, by the end of the 1970s it was clear that the 'face' initially discerned within feminist disciplinary practice was unmistakably, and in reflection of its inventors, both white and middle-class (Bhavnani 1993; Simmonds 1992). Through the 1980s the analytic limitations of the unitary category 'women' became increasingly apparent (Riley 1988); and the capital once attached to marxist and phenomenological feminisms was gradually transferred to those associated with postmodernist and poststructuralist impulses (Ramazanoglu 1993; Barrett & Phillips 1992). All this and more has occurred within a sociological field itself transformed from within, by many of the same intellectual currents which have rewritten academic feminism, and by forces - political, ideological and financial - emanating from a radically altered higher educational landscape (Williams 1993; Hoare 1995).

Feminist sociologists have achieved much both institutionally - witness, for example, the popularity of postgraduate women's studies courses (Aaron & Walby 1991) and their significance in terms of feminism's licence to confer cultural capital of its own - and professionally. At the time they were interviewed four study respondents held professorships and several others have since been promoted. However, these advantages accrue to the few, not the many, and must be counterposed against the increasingly pressurised professional lives that feminist (and other) academic sociologists report (Davies & Holloway 1995; Parker & Jary 1995: 327-31). Academic women remain four times outnumbered by their male colleagues (Association of Commonwealth Universities 1993) and continue to suffer the slights and injustices of the academic culture thus sustained (Butler & Landells 1995). In these circumstances feminism remains a crucial critical force within the sociological field.

Some of these observations at least are facilitated by the conceptual resources of Bourdieu's sociology of practice. While there are many possible routes to a feminist analysis of feminism's relationship with academic sociology I have found aspects of Bourdieu's account of

scientific practice - in particular his configurations of field and capital, and of orthodoxy, heterodoxy and doxa - both persuasive and 'productive' (in the sense of enabling meanings not previously apparent) in relation to the present study. In other respects it has proved less amenable to such a project.

In the first place, Bourdieu's account of the scientific field acknowledges the likelihood only of "partial revolution" (Bourdieu 1993c: 74), yet as I have attempted to demonstrate, feminist curricular interventions, and the broader intellectual force to which they belonged, sought (and have begun to achieve) a radical redefinition of sociological practice through that of its epistemological and methodological foundations. Second, as noted earlier in this chapter, Bourdieu's account of habitus generates difficulties for the analysis of conscious feminist strategy, as for that of other elements of collective and individual consciousness, which remain central to feminist politics and praxis. Third, Bourdieu's sociology of science places much emphasis upon disciplinary boundaries. Although this dynamic has been largely obscured by the specific historical focus of the present study, as we saw in Chapter Two, feminism's continuing relationship with the academy has been in part defined by the pursuit of

interdisciplinarity, and the bid to transcend culturally arbitrary limits to knowledge. It is precisely in the spaces between disciplines, and between political and academic practice, that feminist sociologists identify some of the most creative possibilities for feminist intellectual work (Roseneil 1995; Stanley 1997a). A feminist sociology of sociological practice must find ways of overcoming these difficulties and, placing the exploration and explication of gendered process at its core, work towards the achievement of a truly transformed sociological field.

APPENDIX 1: RESEARCH PROPOSAL SUBMITTED TO THE ECONOMIC
AND SOCIAL RESEARCH COUNCIL, MAY 1990

**The Development of Feminist Thought and its Impact on
Sociology**

The emergence of 'second wave' feminism in the late 1960s produced much new research and criticism which had important implications for sociology. Initial responses within the discipline to the challenges of the new feminist scholarship involved the incorporation of women, as objects of knowledge, into existing frameworks of study. Feminist scholars subsequently highlighted the inadequacy of this response, and epistemological and methodological issues surrounding the production of knowledge have now come to the fore (1).

This project seeks to trace these developments within sociology, through a focused case study of the sociology of the family, an area of traditional sociological inquiry which has been disaggregated and re-thought as a result of feminist focus on the position of women in the family (2). I will examine what changes have occurred, principally through (a) analytical library research, using books and journals (b) examination of the content of courses in the sociology departments of British universities since the 1960s.

Indicative Bibliography

- (1) Harding, S. (1986) *The Science Question in Feminism*, OU; Smith, D. (1988) *The Everyday World as Problematic*, OU.
- (2) Fletcher, R. (1966) *The Family and Marriage in Britain*, Pelican; Young, M. & Wilmott, P. (1973) *The Symmetrical Family*, R&KP; Oakley, A. (1974) *The Sociology of Housework*, Martin Robertson; Finch, J. (1973) *Married to the Job*, GA&U.

APPENDIX 2: LETTER TO PROSPECTIVE INTERVIEWEES

Dear

I am writing to request your help with my doctoral research, which is on the relationship between feminism and sociology.

Few sociologists would deny that feminist ideas have had a profound impact on both the content and the practice of the discipline over the last fifteen or twenty years. While the nature and extent of this substantive influence has been the subject of some feminist commentary, relatively little attention appears to have been paid to the processes through which it has made itself felt at an institutional level. A principal aim of my study is to gain some insights into these processes.

I am particularly interested in the processes through which the ideas of the women's liberation movement became incorporated into the discipline: for example, through the amendment of existing and establishment of new undergraduate courses, and the ways in which such changes were negotiated - and resisted - within departments. I am also interested in the ways in which academic feminism has challenged traditional discipline boundaries, through its identification with interdisciplinary approaches to scholarship, and the implications of these challenges for sociology.

I am writing to ask whether you would be prepared to contribute to the development of an account of these processes within academic sociology, by taking part in an informal interview? The interview would take between an hour and an hour and a half. Its transcript would be incorporated, with those of similar interviews with other feminist academics, and available published material, into a narrative of the relationship between feminism and sociology since the early 1970s which focuses in particular on the ways in which this relationship was worked out at an institutional level.

I would like to conduct the interviews between 1st May and 31st August, although the end date of the fieldwork can be extended if necessary. If there are aspects of the study you would like to discuss with me, please contact me at the above address.

I do hope that you will be able to help me with my research, and look forward to hearing from you,

Yours Sincerely,

Elaine Pullen

APPENDIX 3: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

My Research

My research is about feminism and sociology, and in particular, the ways in which the former has influenced the latter. I am investigating the relationship between the women's liberation movement, feminism and sociology. Clearly today feminism is a very vocal force within sociology. I am interested in how this came about: in the origins of this feminist presence and the extent to which it pre-dated the women's movement, as well as the role of the movement itself. I am particularly interested in how the ideas generated or strengthened by the politics of the women's movement initially found their way into sociology departments in universities and polytechnics. Did it occur through the specific efforts of women academics, or was it more a reflection of a general change in attitudes within sociology?

I would also like to build up an account of what has happened since those early days: for example, in your experience, to what extent have degree programmes been adapted to incorporate feminist insights about the nature of society? If courses have been changed, in what ways? Through the inclusion of women as objects of study and of feminist perspectives into existing courses, or through the creation of whole new courses? And have such changes been welcomed or resisted by the discipline as a whole?

Finally, I would like to know how you see the future of feminism in sociology. What you believe is still left to be achieved.....

The Interview Itself

With your permission I'd like to include parts of this interview in my thesis. What I'd like to do is tape-record our conversation, and then send you a copy of the transcript, so that you can check that it is an accurate reflection of what you wanted to say, and change it if it isn't. Obviously you can also indicate if there are any parts of the interview that you would rather I didn't use. Is that OK?

Questions

1. How, when and where did you first become involved in sociology (ie, as a student, doing research, teaching)?

2. (Clarifying question about career history. On the basis of information about this obtained before the interview).
3. (a) When did you first become interested or involved in feminist politics, and how?
(b) Did the experience of being a woman sociologist contribute to, or reinforce, your interest in feminism?
4. 1970 is often cited as the year in which the second wave of feminism became a 'movement' in Britain. To what extent do you think feminism had an influence on sociology prior to that date?
5. Moving onto the early 1970s, I'm assuming that there was a direct relationship between the feminist politics of the women's liberation movement and the appearance - or strengthening - of feminism as a force within sociology. Do you think that this is an accurate assumption?
6. In your experience at [x institution(s)], in what form did these ideas *first* manifest themselves within the discipline? (Specific examples, eg, changed or new courses?).
7. (a) Were the issues/questions/challenges raised by individual women within your department?
(b) (If yes) were these women also active within the women's liberation movement?
8. How would you describe the role of feminism within sociology since that time: has the way it has manifested itself changed over the last fifteen or twenty years?
9. (a) How, in your experience, has the discipline responded to the growth of a feminist presence within it?
(b) Was there resistance from non-feminist academics in the early 1970s?
(c) Is there still resistance?

10. (a) Has your view of what the agenda for feminism within sociology should be changed, over the last [x] years?
(b) (If yes) to what extent do you think changes in your perspective can be explained in terms of extraneous developments, and to what extent in terms of your own place within the life cycle?
11. (a) Do you think that some areas within sociology have been more responsive to the challenges of feminism than others?
(b) (If yes) which, and why?
12. In recent years feminist academics have contributed increasingly to the debate about science and the production of knowledge: to what extent do you think the questions they raise about research methods, methodology and epistemology have been influential within sociology?
13. We've been talking about sociology, but challenges to discipline boundaries have become an important part of feminist academic work: has this move towards interdisciplinarity (for example within women's studies) affected how you see yourself and your work in discipline terms?
(ie, Do you see yourself as a sociologist? If not, did you formerly?)
14. How do you see the future of feminism in sociology?
Have the most important battles been won?
is there anything left to be achieved?

APPENDIX 4: CORE CODING CATEGORIES

SUBJECT AREA	CORE CATEGORY
PERSONAL BIOGRAPHICAL	Career history Political history Disciplinary identity
FEMINIST POLITICS	Women's Liberation Movement Radical feminism Marxist feminism Publications Liberal feminism Awareness gender injustice Impact on sociology
SOCIOLOGY	Fem. presence pre-1970 Gender in the profession Expansion Contraction Academic culture BSA Sociological theory Depts. of sociology
FEMINIST SCHOLARSHIP	Feminist theory Achievements of Responses to Epistemology/methodology Women's studies (PG) Separatism Integration Publications Limitations of Men doing gender studies Future of

INITIAL CURRICULAR
INTERVENTIONS

Format
Aims
Key agents
Motivations
Role of students
Benefits to teachers
Costs to teachers
Benefits to taught
Syllabus
Published resources for
Origins of
First interventions recall

RESPONSES TO INITIAL
CURRICULAR INTERVENTIONS

From colleagues
In work of colleagues
From students
Institutional context

PROCESS OF CHANGE

Stages/phases
Associated with

STUDENTS

Political generations of
Today

TODAY

Disciplinary attitudes
Integration
Separatism
Feminist sociology

MISCELLANEOUS

Marxism
Social class
Generation
Orthodoxy
Interdisciplinarity
'Race' and racism

APPENDIX 5: SOCIOLOGICAL WOMEN'S STUDIES SYLLABI

(a)

New University
Department of Sociology

Women in Society

October 1974

The objective of this course is to develop a theoretical understanding of the position of women through an historical analysis of specific social formations. The first section of the course considers the impact of industrialisation upon the structure of the family and the position of women in Britain, and the second and third sections concentrate upon the consequences of the socialist revolutions in the U.S.S.R. and China for the structuring of the family and the position of women.

The organisation of the course will consist of a weekly lecture (and sometimes two) in which I shall provide a general framework of analysis, to be complemented by a fortnightly seminar (2 hours) in which I hope to explore more concrete themes emerging from the interests and reading of students. I shall also meet students on an individual basis to discuss assessment work, which will take the form of individual research projects. Since the secondary sources for this course are somewhat sparse, students will need to use primary sources; those taking the course should therefore be prepared to undertake some research on their own for seminars and assessment work.

SECTION 1: BRITAIN

Topics to be covered in Lectures

1. Pre-industrial Britain: The Puritan Revolution and the development of capitalism
2. The impact of industrialisation on women's work
3. The impact of industrialisation upon the structure of the family
4. Case studies of Women's work:

- a) textile industry
- b) domestic service

- 5. Demographic processes since the Industrial Revolution
- 6. Victorian ideology and morality
- 7. Working class women in the late 19th century
- 8. Women and the Welfare State
- 9. The Suffragette Movement
- 10. The Position of women in 20th century Britain
- 11. The Women's Liberation Movement
- 12. The Sociology of the Family

SECTIONS 2 AND 3: NOT AVAILABLE

Source: Study respondent (19th March 1993)

(b)

New University
Department of Sociology

Sexual Divisions in Society

c. 1975

This subject is relatively new among sociology courses, and must be more interdisciplinary than most. We will bring in ideas from anthropology, economics and psychology for an attempted theoretical approach. Historical evidence will be used for much of the analysis.

In the autumn term there will be 3 introductory sessions, followed by 7 sessions on the 19th and early 20th century. In the Spring term, there will be 2 sessions using material from interviews carried out over the Christmas break (with members of the student's mother's or grandmother's generation, to discuss their experience of sexual divisions) and 8 sessions on contemporary Britain. In the Summer term there will be 3 sessions on the women's movement, sexual divisions as part of sociological analysis, and a discussion of key issues.

The 23 weekly sessions will include the following themes.

- 1) Introduction. Sexual divisions as an area of study within sociology. How sex as a variable or category has been studied (or neglected.) Methods and sources.
- 2) Perspectives of this course. Interaction of sex and class. Perspectives over the life-cycle. Individual experience and systematic analysis.
- 3) Sex and Gender. Biological sex and social categories.
- 4) The Historical Record. Late 18th and 19th century England.
- 5) Economic Development. Decline of domestic work; factory employment, sweated labour and domestic service. Economic basis of labour aristocracy and middle class; controversy over married women's wage labour.
- 6) Demographic Factors.
- 7) Science and Religion: Health and Sexuality. Beliefs about the nature of masculinity and femininity; the growth of the 'sanitary idea.'
- 8) The Family: Ideology of Dependency

- 9) The Working Class Experience. Effect of sexual divisions over the life cycle - changes during the course of the 19th century.
- 10) Middle Class Experience and the Feminist Response.
- 11) World War I and Afterwards. Suffrage; birth control and eugenics; motherhood and empire; women doing men's work - job dilution.
- 12) Depression, War and Afterwards. Issues: the marriage bar, birth control, fascist and communist ideologies of women and the home.
- 13) The State and Definitions of the Family. Women, politics, social policy. Married women and citizenship. Law, welfare and taxation.
- 14) Sexuality, Maternity and Health. Modifications in views of female sexuality; the psychoanalytic debate and its effect.
- 15) Women's Wage Work
- 16) The Home. Popularity of marriage. Full employment, home-centred affluence. Conflict of 'feminine mystique,' economic fact and egalitarian values.
- 17) Socialisation and Gender. Internal structure of the family. Childhood dependence and women as 'eternal children.'
- 18) Education
- 19) Domestic Labour I: Housework. Housework as work; housework and wage work; housework and the GNP.
- 20) Domestic Labour II: The Marxist Debate. Housework as productive labour, and the labour theory of value. Is domestic labour a mode of production?
- 21) Sexual Politics: the new feminist movement
- 22) Sociology: Bringing Women Back In. Rewards and pitfalls of interdisciplinary studies; problems of personal experience and institutional analysis; problem of defining the subordinate/dependent/other on their own terms
- 23) Alternative and major issues. Institutional v. personal alternatives. Is independence possible? Control of reproduction. Sexual v. women's Liberation. 'Egalitarian' family, communes, child care. Wages for housework.

Source: Women's Research & Resources Centre (1976, Jan/Feb: 9)

(c)

Provincial Polytechnic
Department of Sociology

Sexual Divisions in Society

c. 1978

The lecture programme for this course will run for two terms. The third term will be used for revision.

The first week is an introduction to the course and includes a film. In the second week there will be a lecture only giving an overview of the problems of sexual division with special reference to employment (see below). In succeeding weeks the first hour will be the seminar hour, for discussion of the previous week's lecture topic; the second hour will be the lecture hour. Seminars therefore begin in the third week.

LECTURE/SEMINAR PROGRAMME

1. Introduction to the problem of sexual division
Film made for schools educational television - Superman and the Bride.
2. Introduction II - Sexual division and social practices with especial reference to employment

Seminar Topic (for discussion in week 3)
How far is the term 'discrimination' accurate to describe the effect of sexual divisions in social practices? Discuss with special reference to employment trends.

3. Domestic labour/labour market relation

Seminar Topic (for week 4)
Can women's position in the labour market be explained with reference to domestic work?

4. State Policy I - Law and Sexuality

Seminar Topic (for week 5)
To what extent are legal practices consistent in their treatment of women?

5. State Policy 11 - Welfare, Taxation and the problem of the Family Wage

Seminar Topic (for week 6)

Is it correct to say that all discrimination against women in taxation and social security stems from the aggregation of the married couple's income?

6. Ideological Representations of Women

Seminar Topic (for week 7 or 8)

To what extent are images of women simple reflections of other social practices?

7. Comparative analyses of sexual divisions - Film

8. Comparative analyses of sexual divisions

Seminar Topic (for week 9)

Is there a universal sexual division of labour?

9. Women in Africa

Seminar Topic (for week 10)

Analyse the social position of women in a specific African society.

10. Women's position in the middle east - case studies of Egypt and Israel

Seminar Topic (for week 11)

Analyse the effects of Islam and Judaism on the position of women in Egypt/Israel.

11. Last week of the first term - seminar only.

TERM TWO

1. Overview of previous term (the precise nature of this session will depend on the themes that emerge as of special interest to the group; it will, however, centre on questions of the family)

2. The nuclear family and the industrial society

Seminar Topic (for week 3)

Is family life a refuge from the public domain in capitalist society?

3&4. Engels' 'Origin of the Family' and its critics

Seminar Topic (for week 4)

What, according to Engels, is the relationship between the sexual and the social (class-based) division of labour?

Seminar Topic (for week 5)

What are the main theoretical problems in Engels' approach to the problem of sexual divisions in society?

5. Patriarchy I - sexual divisions as specific and separate from other social divisions

Seminar Topic (for week 6)

Discuss the problems involved in explaining sexual divisions in society by reference to biology

6. Reproduction I - women as the day-to-day reproducers of labour power

Seminar Topic (for week 7)

Assess the validity of using Marxist economic categories to develop a 'political economy of women'.

7. Reproduction II - family as site of ideological reproduction

Seminar Topic (for week 8)

Can the welfare state be understood as a support for the family, and the place of women within it, necessary to ideological reproduction?

8. Patriarchy II - the project of a marriage between Marxist concepts and concepts of patriarchy

Seminar Topic (for week 9)

Can the concepts of reproduction and patriarchy utilised in marxist feminist work be sustained?

9. Psychoanalysis I - Freud and patriarchy

Seminar Topic (for week 10)

Discuss the ways in which Juliet Mitchell's interpretation of Freud stresses the radical aspects of his theories?

10. Psychoanalysis II - Freud and phallocentrism

Seminar Topic (for week 11)

Critically discuss the idea of the 'essential feminine' in recent psychoanalytic writings.

11. Sexual Division and Social Change - the Women's Movement

Seminar Topic

'Women's liberation is an inseparable part of the socialist struggle.' Discuss.

Source: Study respondent (18th August 1992)

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