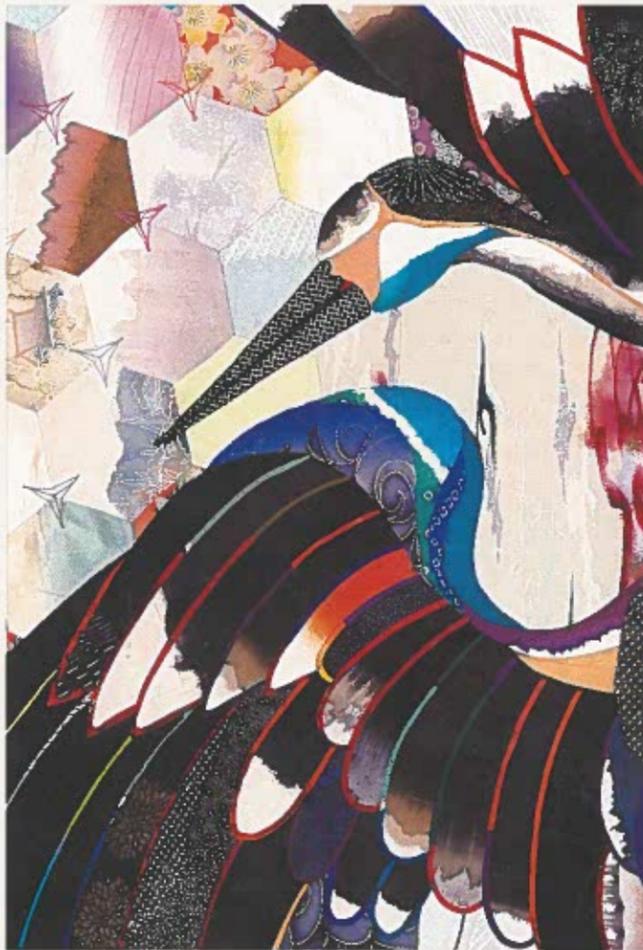


# CSWS REVIEW

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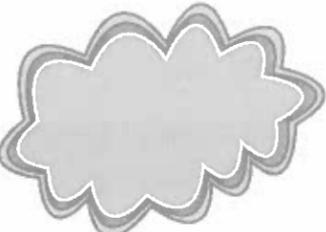
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## **Women and Peacemaking**

A Feminist Security Policy: Will it Work?  
Sex Differences in Nuclear War Attitudes  
Women on Peace and War

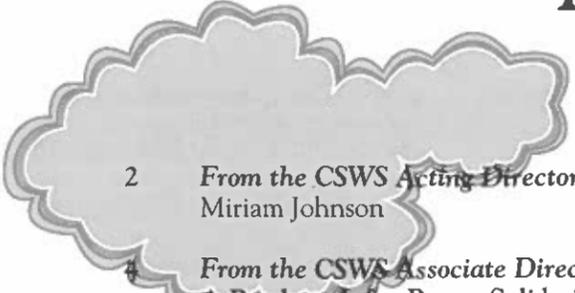
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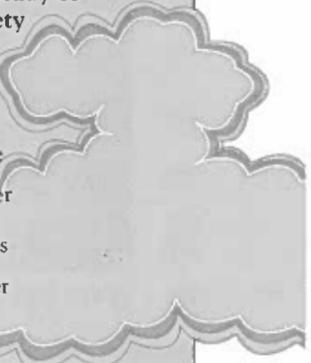
# CSWS REVIEW



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Cover: *Fly Cranes, Fly!* (quilt, 1988), Kumiko Sudo, to be exhibited April-May, 1992 at the Museum of Art, University of Oregon. Photographed by Roland Hanselmann.

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Miriam Johnson

## The Center for the Study of Women in Society: 1990-1991

by Miriam Johnson

The past year has been an eventful and rewarding one for CSWS. Following Acting Director Cheris Kramarae's decision to return to the University of Illinois at Urbana, the center launched a search for a new permanent director. An extensive advertising campaign was undertaken, resulting in a large number of qualified applicants. We brought four candidates to the campus as part of our final selection process. Each candidate presented a public lecture and participated in a demanding two-day series of interviews. The search committee weighed evaluations from others on campus along with their own impressions, and chose Sandra Morgen from the University of Massachusetts as our new director. (See article on next page.)

We also welcome Alice Chai, our visiting scholar for this spring. Chai received her Ph.D. in sociology and anthropology in 1962 at Ohio State University and is currently associate

professor of women's studies at the University of Hawaii. Her areas of research include Korean immigrant women in Hawaii, picture brides of Hawaii, and Hawaiian feminist politics. We look forward to her seminar for Affiliates on Asian-American women.

In addition to the lectures given by the candidates for the directorship, the center has sponsored, among others, Sandra Harding lecturing on women and science; Michelle Cliff reading her recent fiction; Margaret Khalakdina, an adviser to UNICEF, discussing gender concerns in development programs; and Alanis Obomsawin, North American Indian filmmaker from Canada, showing and discussing her films.

Our program of research, travel, and dissertation grants to graduate student and faculty Affiliates is now well established, thanks to our hard-working faculty committees. The work of these committees has been ably facilitated this year by Louise Osterman, our new office manager replacing Marcia DeCaro. Agnes Curland, our dedicated accountant, works directly with the individual grant recipients, managing the financial aspects of each grant.

A special concern this year has been to increase the accessibility of the research services that the center offers. A four-page

hand-out on center services and facilities for local Affiliates is now available. Elizabeth Archers, research support specialist, assists researchers by transcribing taped interviews, editing manuscripts, and contributing other related tasks. Under the guidance of Diana Sheridan, who oversees our day-to-day activities, the library runner program has proven to be one of our most popular services. Through this program, a number of excellent work-study students are available to photocopy articles and book chapters relevant to Affiliates' research on women.

These twelve months have been very active, bringing many positive changes, and now Sandra's arrival ensures a new phase of opportunities and growth for CSWS.



From top left to right: Louise Osterman, Miriam Johnson, Diana Sheridan, Agnes Curland, Elizabeth Archers

## Sandra Morgen named new CSWS Director

We are delighted to announce that Sandra Morgen has accepted the directorship of CSWS beginning in the fall of 1991. Sandra is from the women's studies program of the University of Massachusetts. During her administration of the center, she will hold a part-time tenured appointment in the sociology department. We eagerly anticipate the opportunities for growth created by her dynamic vision and leadership. As a program builder with a view to the new century, Sandra brings a lively commitment to the urgent needs of women worldwide.

A major priority for Sandra is "to design effective ways of using rigorous, high-quality research to both influence policy and to serve as a resource for women's organizations." She recognizes that another equally important commitment is to enhance further the focus on women of color, a priority first initiated through the University for Everyone program. Sandra asserts that strong, vibrant research on women will be especially critical to withstand the challenges women will be facing in the 1990s. She notes that feminist theory is exploring a number of different directions today, making it even more important to sustain a research priority that addresses the real lives of women.

Sandra graduated Phi Beta Kappa from the University of Texas at Austin and received her M.A. and Ph.D. in anthropology from the University of North Carolina. After graduate school, she became the first project director at the Duke-UNC Women's Research Center, and was instrumental in setting up the connections between that center and other schools in the region.

She has been at the University of Massachusetts since 1986 and has been on the faculty of summer institutes on curriculum development at Rutgers, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Duke, University of North Carolina, and Memphis State University.

Sandra has edited two books and written numerous articles. Her most recent book is *Gender and Anthropology: Critical Reviews for Research and Teaching*, funded by grants from FIPSE and published by the American Anthropological Association. This is a collection of feminist scholarship in anthropology covering the outstanding theoretical work that has emerged since Rosaldo and Lamphere's groundbreaking research in the early 1970s. The second book, edited with Ann Bookman, is entitled: *Women and the Politics of Empowerment*. It is a collection of essays about working-class women's political activism. In addition, Sandra has edited a special issue of *Signs*, "Gender, Race, and Class in Women's Lives."

Currently she is researching and writing a book on the women's health movement, *Into Our Own Hands: The Women's Health Movement from 1970 to 1990*. Partially funded by a grant from the American Council of Learned Societies, this project examines a variety of women's health centers around the country, their history, and the influence of funding sources on policy.

Sandra indicates she is excited to be bringing her "ideas and personal concerns to work with the people who have brought the center this far." We are eagerly awaiting her arrival.



Sandra Morgen

CSWS has received funds from a bequest made by the late William B. Harris, honoring his wife, Jane Grant. This generous gift has provided for many programs since 1983. Additional funding is welcome to augment this endowment and to provide for the many special projects of the center. For more information, please contact the UO Foundation, (503) 346-3016 or the Center for the Study of Women in Society, (503) 346-5015.

# A PATCHWORK FOR PEACE, SOLIDARITY AND WISDOM

by Diana Sheridan



In the last decade of a century saturated with war, we peer through the smoke of battle once again in search of alternatives to repeated and devastating eruptions of violence. Just a year ago as the cold war ended, many people saw signs there was to be a new era in which the threat of nuclear annihilation would be replaced by a new ecological and social consciousness that could link an international drive for justice, equality, and freedom. All too abruptly these celebrated new efforts were radically shattered by the scourge of war in the Persian Gulf.

As feminist scholars, we reformulate the relationship between women and peace, and women and "femininity," recognizing that we are paradoxically grounded both in traditional women's culture and contemporary feminism. Throughout this feminist analysis, we are constantly reframing the fundamental questions pertaining to the issues of war and peace as we reshape the contemporary peace paradigm to be inclusive of women's needs and experiences.

Across disciplines, feminist perspectives are altering the terms in which research on peace and disarmament is conducted. Through the prism of contemporary feminism, we seek to challenge the state and the militarism

that supports it and to integrate analyses of gender with new forms of political action. In this evolving research, and through our peace-promoting praxis, we continuously confront both the continuities and discontinuities present in our dialogues as they relate to the complexity of women's experience. For example, how do we reconcile our understandings of wars of liberation, especially if they improve women's lives, with pacifist principles and a nonviolent stance?



This issue of the CSWS Review undertakes to continue such a dialogue on the relationship between women and the act of peacemaking. The essays, all written before the outbreak of hostilities between the United States and its allies and Iraq, generate a variety of alternatives to the pathological power of militarism and technological "rationality" that define and dominate our personal, social, and political life. With the everyday events of our world starkly shaken by the totality of military aggression, each essay now evokes a more daring energy conveying the potential for understanding and interrupting this cycle of violence that steadily haunts us. At the

same time, the authors offer us a vision into the conduct, dynamics, and motivation of a workable feminist peace politics, a politics designed to replace the alienating might of war-making.



The stage is set by Margarita Papandreou as she places women in the center, rather than on the margin of the global power hierarchy. She depicts the spirited opposition to war by women who shake the patriarchal gates of the superpowers wide open, laying bare the terrifying irrationality of arms proliferation with its particularly devastating impact on the lives of women and children. The apparent puzzle posed by women's more obvious fear of nuclear holocaust in contrast to men's attitudes is explored by Patricia Gwarty-Gibbs and Denise Lach. Testing independent variables, they provide a framework for understanding why sex is a highly significant and stable variable in the creation of nuclear anxiety and psychic numbing among women.

Two writers then apply the unifying insights of feminist scholarship to explain how society's predisposition to militarism prevents the achievement of any real sense of peace. Reviewing the decade of the 1980s, Gregory McLauchlan places the largest peacetime military buildup in American history within the context of theoretical and practical strategies for a feminist peace politics and social change agenda. He probes the implications that these gendered dimensions of policy development have on the social consciousness of the grass-roots peace movement and the broader political arena. Tying together feminism and ecology, Leslie Scott illustrates how their explicitly ethical tenets should inform a security policy that is both proactive and nonmilitary. She unfolds the ecofeminist idea of a "green" international civil service that



Mary Doyon Shuler  
Editorial Assistant



Elizabeth Archers  
Editorial Associate



The essays in this issue raise difficult questions and continue a vital dialogue that attends to the complexity of women's experience, especially as it relates to the violent configuration of war being played out in the Middle East. Our daily news has made peace seem both remote yet never more desperately needed. Now, fifty years since torpedo planes bombed Pearl Harbor, we are obliged more than ever to listen to and dance with the harmonies of peace so briefly heard last year with the ending of the cold war.



Peace quotes found throughout this publication are accompanied by an interpretation of the the Tree of Life, woven into the fence at Greenham Common. This fence has been the site of prolonged anti-nuclear demonstrations by local and foreign women alike and it continues as a medium for artistic protest and expression. The quotes are taken from *Seeds of Peace*, edited by Jeanne Larson and Madge Micheels-Cyrus, reprinted by permission of New Society Publishers.

acts in the "defense of peace"—a transition strategy that demonstrates how to overcome violence, nurture the environment, and shape preferred futures for all.

The final essays offer a larger framework in which to position this concrete yet practical proposal for a security system attuned to the environment and peace. Irene Diamond envisions in ecofeminism not only a new version of history, but the promise for a transformative peace consciousness that will serve as a planetary vehicle for peaceful change. Locating ecofeminism in the postmodern world, she portrays the world as an active subject replete with new vocabularies that both question existing dualisms and sustain cultures marked by generative qualities such as a respect for all life. The diversity of these cultures form the hub of Betty Reardon's concept of authentic globalism that she depicts, in the concluding essay, as inclusive of our planet's entire ecosystem. To heal and rebuild society and the earth itself, she includes women as full participants in the conceptualization and implementation of global politics and a world constitutional order—an order that promotes peace and justice for all.

# A FEMINIST



# SECURITY POLICY

by Margarita Papandreou

As we assess the perplexing problems evident in the everyday lives of most of us, it is not always obvious that we continue to be a world at war. Today, most international relations have been militarized as a result of the cold war between the two super powers. That is, conflicts around the globe have invariably reflected a devastating militarized mentality perpetrated by the East-West bloc, a mentality that has dominated our lives for more than four decades. Clearly, there are no winners in this political arrangement.

When the heads of the super powers get together their primary agenda has consistently focused on arms control, disarmament, weapon modernization, reduction of troops—in short, a juggling of the hardware of war. Could you ever imagine that one would say to the other, "You know, Mr. President, that this struggle for military superiority has really affected the rights of women in the world? Development has been skewed by huge military budget requirements

and debts in the Third World. It has created an economic situation where women suffer the most, where children all their lives will never be rid of the consequences of bad nutrition, illiteracy, and inadequate education? You know, old friend, we have really messed up this world. Let's have a summit just on women that includes their problems, their struggles, and continued discrimination. Or maybe the problem isn't women, but men, and we should analyze in depth what's wrong with us? Better yet, a summit to call war obsolete." Today, women around the world are striving to turn this fantasy into a reality.

In 1986, Women for Mutual Security (WMS), as a women's peace

Will it Work?

network, focused their efforts on the continuing race between the Soviet Union and the United States for upgraded, more precise, and more lethal nuclear weapons.

We were responding then to the heightened fear and concern about the growing helplessness spawned by the "evil empire," a popularized term that characterized the paranoid mentality of the United States toward the Soviet Union. But in a broader way we were committed to replacing this expansive war system with a dynamic system of peace characterized by a feminist security policy that would address the social, political, and economic consequences of a weapons-driven international community.

Our plan of action has been to reach the decision makers, to conduct a dialogue with them that reflects our

women's perspectives, and to propose life-affirming alternatives to what those leaders are doing. The consequences of our contacts has been heightened public education and public opinion making in each of our respective home countries. WMS also emphasizes the role of symbolism, such as theater and athletics, in the global struggle, as well as ethical values and democratic, decentralized forms of functioning, both within and without our network.

Such actions made us part of the peace process that created substantive changes in public opinion regarding the Cruise and Pershing missile installations. Everywhere women played a significant role in bringing about the INF Treaty, an agreement aimed at achieving marked reductions in these weapons of mass destruction. Through the valiant efforts, for example, of the Greenham Common women and others, cooperation rather than competition, peace rather than war have today become the dominant images of a unified Europe.

Although the issues in the WMS Peace Initiative in Brussels specifically concerned Europe, the Soviet Union, the United States, and Canada, the decisions made affect the whole world. Confrontational military alliances should be permitted to whither away. We know the kind of world we want, and it hardly resembles anything we have known up to now. Decisions concerning nuclear armaments or conventional weaponry will not change direction until the decision makers and the peoples they represent come to trust, understand, and use an entirely new system of decision making that leads to peace.

The behavioral characteristics which define "femininity" or "womanliness" can offer creative and constructive methods for dealing with conflict. The experience of women, derived from our reproductive and nurturing roles, our need to find ways of coping with oppression and domination, with the social injustice of inequality, has made us develop a conceptual system different from men. We band together in peace groups and in women's organizations to make our different perspectives, different values,

different methods, a basis for international policy making. By transferring our insights to the public sphere, we find new ways of getting all of us out of this circle of fire, this worldwide war system.

A plan of action, in order to be effective, must be based on ideological commitment, on values, on vision. When there is an agreed upon framework, when we know the ultimate goals, then we, in different parts of a country, in different parts of



Margarita Papandreou

the world, in different organizations, can choose our tactics, our projects, our strategy, our particular priorities. Together, we make a cumulative impact. A unified organizational structure is not necessary. What is needed is unity of purpose, best achieved through established networks.

A feminist security policy would have nonviolence as its overriding principle. Such a policy would maintain a healthy skepticism about concepts like strength, preparedness, national security, national interest and defense. Those in power have defined these concepts, for their power provides them numerous opportunities to define the world. These constructs systematically mislead the policy decision making that informs public attitudes. They become repeated disguises for military strength, military security, military preparedness.

Although many women's peace organizations initially focused on nuclear disarmament (and we are still demanding this as a crucial step of urgent proportions), we recognize that these weapons are only part of a global war system. Unless we change that system, we will always be in danger of being consumed by regional wars that could easily become omnicidal. Defense strategists match the progress in nuclear arms reduction with calls for modernizing conventional weapons capabilities and the demand for an improved capacity to respond to conflicts in the Third World. The old guard, the status quo people, do not want to give up this military posture. Feminist peacemakers respond by seeking to engender a new understanding of security based on entirely different principles.

Such a feminist security policy is grounded in a deep analysis of the mentality, traditions, history, and culture of the perceived adversary. We address the economic and political roots of the conflict. We judge intentions with understanding. We seek to reassure our opponents rather than make threats in order to deter them. Understanding is not a "soft" value. Perhaps the most difficult act for human beings is to identify with the views of others. This does not mean that one loses one's own value system or moral precepts. Rather, understanding helps the feminist policy maker to recognize that fear exists on both sides of the fence. We must be sensitive to the fears and underlying anxieties that are there. We have to deal with distrust, and a degree of caution and distrust is essential. We would be naive to assume that good intentions are always the motivating force. But a high level of distrust is harmful and impairs both the relationship and the negotiations. Distrust springs from fear, one of the most basic in our human catalogue of emotions; one

that makes it extremely difficult at this stage of social development to have total disarmament.

When our quarrels, our conflicts (which will always exist as long as we are varied and different human beings) are resolved without resorting to violence, when we see life between human beings as a partnership and life among nations as a larger partnership, we can redirect our world away from war and violence.

In the contemporary world, we must move in this direction incrementally as individuals and as nations. Let us start with the individual. As a person, does a woman have the right to protect herself against blows from, for example, her husband? Obviously, her instincts are to protect herself. What if her husband knew that each time he hit her he would get a powerful electrical shock? Or that his actions would be videotaped and provide the basis for finding him guilty of wife-battering? Or that ten female friends in the neighborhood would automatically appear and form a ring around the wife?

This is a security system, rather than a defense system, that is also nonprovocative. That is, she is not armed to the teeth, nor does she have lethal weapons that could be used in an offensive attack. When such weapons exist, the other side feels obliged to arm itself too. But the woman in this scenario is sufficiently prepared to make life very difficult for the provocateur, so that he will think twice before starting a physical attack.

Just as she as a person has a right to defend herself, so has a nation. If a policy is to contribute to security in the long run, it must help to demilitarize, depolarize, denationalize, and transnationalize the dominator system. The first stage of our security policy addresses territorial defense from the border inward. It may mean the maintenance of arms until the international climate changes or improves. And this will come about as we continuously and conscientiously deliberate our collective future.

The next step in a disarmament process would be to develop a citizens' defense, a strategy that applies the techniques of nonviolent struggle.

Unlike the one-to-one defense against violence described in the husband-wife example, this system is a form of collaborative nonviolent defense for communities and for nations. The third proposal I made—that ten female friends come to protect her—has more the flavor of civilian defense. It can be successful when a people get together, using such tactics as strikes, boycotts, mass noncooperation, civil disobedience to confront an occupying force.

As we formulate our policy, we are constantly asking some basic questions that relate disarmament to development, relate the redirection of defense expenditures toward social goals. I believe the development problematic has more to do with distribution than growth. And in the Third World, how have economic development programs integrated women in development? If development continues along the lines of the present world order, women will continue to have a subordinate position in development, with unequal wages, the full burden of the house and children, and inadequate social services. A feminist security policy analyzes very carefully the economic aspects of the worldwide war system and, as funds are released through disarmament, allocates a given percentage for development of poorer nations, a form of development that considers social and human needs, as well as material.

A feminist security policy works for a denationalization of human affairs and encourages the development of human solidarity. The concept of global sisterhood incorporates this transnational spirit, as women come to know its meaning and understand its methods. Global sisterhood embodies the concept that we are one very diverse human family.

A feminist international security policy is highly imaginative, open, innovative. We search for actions that initiate a process, actions that make visible our peaceful intentions, but do not make people feel insecure. We move step by step as we did in raising our children, by caring for them and nurturing them. As with our children, we let everyone know that our futures are intertwined. All our actions are

informed by the spirit of reciprocity.

We would strengthen international bodies, encourage the use of regional courts and the International Court of Justice at the Hague. The United Nations, which was set up for the very purpose of resolving conflict through nonmilitary means, should be supported and strengthened.

We advocate the establishment of supporting conflict resolution centers staffed by people with expertise in negotiating and building bridges between warring factions. This is an area of expertise to which women can contribute much experience and much capability.

We encourage independent initiatives at the people-to-people level. We insist on the establishment of a nonintervention regime by the two super powers.

And last, but not least, we support peace research and peace education at all levels of schooling. We encourage the mass media to devote adequate space to the issues of disarmament and international security based on our definition. Today, we have communication technologies of such vastness and power that it is possible to beam social messages and images around the world, each one capable of serving as major transformational tools of human consciousness. Much of our dwindling defense budgets would initiate peacemaking projects set up through a Department or a Ministry of Peace.

We continue our work in the peace movement systematically and tirelessly. Although governments and other sectors of the establishment play a critical role, alterations in security and peace policies have their roots in intellectual and grass-roots political initiatives; that is, from pressure exerted by people outside ruling elites. Women are more and more in the forefront of the struggle for a new global awareness—an awareness that is burrowing deeper and deeper into the consciousness of the people. War is no longer acceptable as a means of resolving conflict. War can no longer be considered "diplomacy by other means." War is outmoded. And we are increasingly aware of the other dangers to humanity and the planet:

environmental devastation, hunger, poverty, the debt crisis.

Women are the prime movers of this new society—creating it out of intellect, intuition, politics, art; working quietly, diligently, effectively; and to use a male-value word: courageously. We should slip that word into our catalogue of women's values, for it is we who have the courage! With our independent initiatives, our citizen diplomacy, our people-to-people transnational contacts, our nurturing attitudes toward nature, we are the true, the authentic, the coherent peace process.

In the final analysis, the success of our feminist security policy depends on the backing and participation of an informed and vigorous public—women and men who will pursue and insist on a safe, secure environment for all of us, in a humane, sensitive and, if I may use a feminine-value word, "affectionate" society for the peoples of this earth.

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Margarita Papandreou, a CSWS Affiliate and 1989 Savage Professor of International Relations and Peace, is a feminist peace activist, former president of the Women's Union of Greece, and present coordinator of Women for Mutual Security.

## Women for Mutual Security Statement

The following statement was prepared by Women for Mutual Security and used at the press conference following a NATO summit meeting in Brussels. It was distributed to the WMS participants to use in facilitating mass media contacts in their home countries around the world.

As a general summation of our experience and contacts here, I think we can say that while flexible response as NATO's strategic cornerstone remains in place, flexible thinking has not permeated the political or defense establishment. Sophisticated and diplomatic language simply hide the basic cold war and bloc mentality which continue to exist.

From our point of view, there has been no real response to the new thinking and peace initiatives of the Soviet Union. And little time or discussion has been given to the possibilities of a different kind of European security system which would achieve a common European Home, and which would rely much less on military power as a source of safety and security among the peoples of these nations.

We feel that the changing face of Europe offers a unique opportunity to take all of us away from a path of destruction and make it possible to turn our creative and compassionate energies as well as our financial resources into other channels to deal with equally pressing problems: the environment, poverty, hunger, racism, sexism, social justice.

We are not unrealistic nor overly idealistic. We are women who have experienced political life, political strife, vested interests, nationalistic conflicts. We can be very tough on behalf of our values and our principles, and we have asked informed questions while we were here.

But we do expect that this can be seen as a propitious time to begin thinking about the breaking down of the military blocs. And therein lies the tragedy. NATO sees itself as necessary, as a benign institution, as the Big Brother protecting the democratic institutions of all countries, including those in the process of democratization. But that is not benevolence—it is need for control. It is need for superiority. It is threatening to the other side. It adds to the tensions. It is not in the spirit of cooperation or partnership.

As women, we are particularly concerned about this because any increase in tensions will take us off the path of peace. We are particularly concerned as well because the changes which are hailed as positive in the Eastern world may be very difficult for women—and therefore delicate handling is required both within the countries and internationally.

NATO needs not only a face-lift but a change of personality and a rejection of the premises by which it operates. And we are very ready to help in that process.

# THE PUZZLE OF SEX DIFFERENCES

by Patricia A. Gwartney-Gibbs  
and Denise H. Lach

Since the dawn of the atomic age in World War II, fear of nuclear holocaust has been a dominant cultural image in the United States. Social commentators have speculated that nuclear anxiety and associated psychic numbing are pervasive. Domestic civil defense policy and national defense policy have long assumed that individuals and society not only can survive nuclear war, but also want to.

Feminists have long been at the forefront of antiwar and antinuclear activism. Both in popular culture and among social scientists, the notion that women and men have different attitudes toward nuclear war is well established. Some observers believe women are inherently, maybe biologically, pacifistic and men are inherently aggressive and militaristic. Others invoke sex-role theory or social structural explanations of how women and men acquire different attitudes toward war in general and nuclear war in particular.

Despite long-standing, cross-cultural beliefs that women oppose war more than men, sex differences in attitudes toward nuclear war rarely have been systematically examined. Little is known about the degree to which women's nuclear war attitudes actually differ from men's or the correlates of those differences which might help assess various causal explanations of their origins. Could it be women are more pacifistic because they score higher on factors that are also associated with men's pacifism, such as liberal political orientations, hedonism, and apathy? Or is it women's childrearing responsibilities and sex-role socialization that mediate

warlike tendencies? The research presented here attempts to answer these questions.

In 1985 we included a series of questions on nuclear war in a biannual sample survey of University of Oregon undergraduates. The questions were prompted in part by then recent films and television movies such as *Testament*, "The Day After," and *The Silent Earth* portraying the aftermath of nuclear war. In addition, the Reagan administration was in the midst of the largest military buildup in peacetime history. It used military force in several Third World countries, and its rhetoric toward the Soviet Union hearkened back to the cold war era. Scheer (1982) documents how the assumption that the United States could survive nuclear war underlay these policies.

Our survey results showed an unanticipated degree of pessimism about nuclear war among respondents and strong sex differences in pessimism and optimism. To test whether these surprising results could have been due to chance, we repeated the questions in a 1987 survey. The 1987 results were consistent with the 1985 results.

To try to understand our findings, we examined prior research on sex differences in nuclear war attitudes,

but to little avail. Empirical research on the topic is scarce and, gleaning from studies whose goals were generally not to assess sex differences, the evidence is mixed. Some researchers observe no differences between men's and women's attitudes or antinuclear activities, or they find sex differences less important than other factors. Other researchers find clear differences between the sexes, with men having more militaristic orientations than women.

But most prior studies addressing sex differences in nuclear war attitudes have not had data to simultaneously test competing explanations. Rather, they usually test, or invoke post hoc, explanations based on the idea that women's and men's attitudes differ because their innate nature differs, and this is due to women's childbearing capacities. Psychologists, for example, often test sex differences

# IN NUCLEAR WAR ATTITUDES

in nuclear war attitudes with measures of masculinity and femininity.

The literature review thus left us with a puzzle: Can women's greater pessimism about nuclear war be explained by some characteristic other than being female? That is, can other correlates of nuclear war attitudes (such as psychic numbing, liberal political orientations, apathy, drug and alcohol use, or family background) explain observed sex differences? We examined these multiple explanations of nuclear war attitudes in order to assess whether they mediate, or can explain, observed sex differences.

Data for this study were gathered with self-administered mail-out/mail-back questionnaires given to random samples of college students. While student surveys have inherent

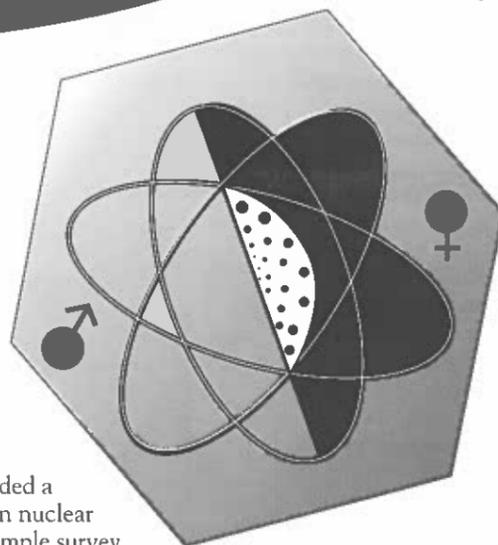
limitations of age, class, interests, and experience, most prior research relies upon similar samples (usually nonrandom). Moreover, nationally representative data are not available to test the array of variables we examined. Both the 1985 and 1987 surveys yielded 72 percent response rates, for sample sizes of 442 and 644 respectively.

The survey instruments in 1985 and 1987 contained

somewhat different groups of questions, but both years included key questions on nuclear war, future plans, family background, and demographic and collegiate characteristics. In addition, the 1985 questionnaire included items on political orientations and psychic numbing, while the 1987 questionnaire included items related to "hedonism" (drug and alcohol use, a "party" attitude toward college). In all, we assessed sixty-one independent variables to see if they explain sex differences in nuclear war attitudes.

Table I summarizes the results for the three survey questions on nuclear war on which the analysis is based. Summed responses to the questions comprise the Nuclear War Attitudes Index, which served as the dependent variable in multivariate analyses.

Women's index means of 5.6 in 1985 and 5.7 in 1987 differ significantly from men's average of 6.8 in both years. Moreover, all three components of the index in 1985 and two of three items in 1987 show statistically significant sex differences. In 1985, 63 percent of women thought it very likely or somewhat likely the United States would be involved in nuclear war in their lifetimes compared to 51 percent of men; 74 percent of women thought it very unlikely the United States would survive nuclear war compared to 65 percent of men; and 47 percent of women said they would not want to survive nuclear war compared to 24 percent of men. Results for the same items in 1987 are 53 percent



Patricia A. Gwartney-Gibbs  
and Denise H. Lach

of women and 40 percent of men; 89 percent of women and 87 percent of men; and 54 percent of women and 32 percent of men.

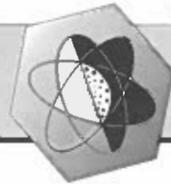
To test whether women's significantly greater pacifism in their attitudes toward nuclear war could be spurious, i.e., a relationship that can be explained away by another correlate of the index, we conducted analyses of variance (ANOVAs) on each of the other sixty-one independent variables including sex as a covariate. Only one interaction with sex was statistically significant, respondents' vote for president in 1984; but due to the large number of tests conducted, this may be a chance relationship. We also used multiple regression to examine the independent variables' net effects on the index. Sex proved to be the only variable that was highly significant and stable over time, with women significantly and substantially more pessimistic in both years. These results indicate that the relationship between sex and nuclear war attitudes is unlikely to be spurious. Moreover, these results indicate that women's greater pacifism cannot be explained by women scoring higher on factors associated with sex roles.

TABLE I

## Sex Differences in Attitudes Toward Nuclear War, Descriptive Statistics 1985 and 1987

Survey Questions		1985(n=442)		1987(n=644)	
		Women	Men	Women	Men
How likely do you think it is that the United States will be involved in a nuclear war in your lifetime?	Likely	63%	51%	53%	40%
	Unlikely	37%	49%	47%	60%
	Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
How likely do you think it is that the United States as we know it would survive a nuclear war?	Likely	26%	35%	11%	13%
	Unlikely	74%	65%	89%	87%
	Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
If there was a nuclear war on United States territory, would you want to survive?	No	47%	24%	54%	32%
	Yes; unsure	53%	76%	46%	68%
	Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
Nuclear War Attitudes Index— (Index is the sum of codes to survey questions above, ranging from 3, very pessimistic, to 12, very optimistic.)	Averages	5.6	6.8	5.7	6.8

Note: Seven of the eight gender differences are statistically significant at the .05 level.



Sex was not the only variable or theoretical issue we investigated in this research, and it is important to summarize our other results. In 1985 and 1987, both men and women college students in our samples were, on average, pessimistic about nuclear war, i.e., they believed it imminent and not survivable. Several of our hypotheses about social psychological correlates of such pessimism were supported. Pessimistic students had more attenuated plans for the future than optimists, particularly plans for childbearing and higher education. Those optimistic about nuclear war also tended to be optimistic about their future job and financial security, and they exhibited evidence of psychic numbing. Contrary to expectations, "hedonism" (alcohol, drugs, and a social rather than serious attitude toward college) was generally unrelated to nuclear war attitudes. Political orientations strongly supported our hypotheses, with Republi-

cans, conservatives, those voting for Reagan, and those not politically alienated showing greater optimism. Our exploration of possible demographic, collegiate, and family background correlates of nuclear war attitudes was largely fruitless.

This article began by noting the dearth of reliable findings about the widely held notion that women oppose war, especially nuclear war, more than men. Our research has sought to clarify the situation with some methodological and theoretical innovations—namely, random samples at two points in time, indicators of multiple theoretical concepts, and a dependent variable inclusive of several dimensions of nuclear war attitudes. We framed our investigation of sex differences by first examining other known or hypothesized correlates of nuclear war

attitudes, and then examining whether these could explain away observed sex differences.

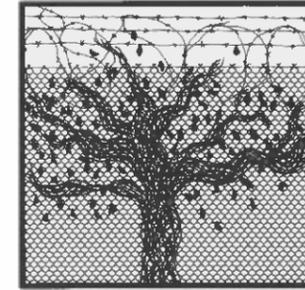
Our single strongest finding was that women are significantly and substantially more pessimistic in their attitudes toward nuclear war than men. Women in both samples were more likely than men to think nuclear war is imminent, to believe the United States will not survive such a war, and to not desire to survive themselves. This finding substantiates well-established beliefs among social observers and the findings of other social scientists who use representative samples.

Psychologists generally explain similar findings by referring to essential differences in women's and men's belief systems and associated behavior, and suggesting these differences are the product of innate characteristics, sex-role socialization, or both. Some researchers, for example, discuss fundamentally

different world orientations for women and men on this issue. Others find some evidence for differences based on feminine traits compared to masculine traits. We cannot rule out such explanations because we lack data to test them directly, but parts of our findings both support and do not support such a perspective. On one hand, several competing explanations of sex differences in nuclear war attitudes (political orientations, future plans, psychic numbing, etc.) are not supported, and the residual unexplained difference is easy to assign to innate or socialized sex differences. On the other hand, such explanations lean heavily on women's unique childbearing capacity, but in our results both women's and men's childbearing plans appear to be deterred by pessimistic nuclear war attitudes.

Social psychologists tend to interpret men's more positive outlook on nuclear war as a macho or omnipotent attitude that is associated with denial of the realities of nuclear war's aftermath. Our results suggest denial is not part of the explanation of sex differences, for we find no sex differences in the relationship between psychic numbing and nuclear war attitudes. Other social psychologists report that pessimism about nuclear war is associated with feelings of powerlessness and depression, and these associations are stronger for women than for men. We have no data to replicate this finding. However, the secondary position of women in the social structure is well established, and many researchers note women's sense of powerlessness in interpersonal social situations.

As sociologists, we look toward structural more than psychological explanations of sex differences in nuclear war attitudes. Women's positions in families, employment, religion, politics, and other social institutions structure their experiences of childrearing, interpersonal relationships, and work inside and outside the home, such that women take on more nurturing roles than men. We speculate that structural and situational powerlessness experienced by



"NOWHERE HAVE WOMEN BEEN MORE EXCLUDED FROM DECISION-MAKING THAN IN THE MILITARY AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS. WHEN IT COMES TO THE MILITARY AND QUESTIONS OF NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT, THE GENDER GAP BECOMES THE GENDER GULF."—Eleanor Smeal

women in everyday social and political life may teach them that they are powerless to effect change.

Such a structural explanation has several positive features. It suggests that empowered women may penetrate the public discourse on nuclear war, bringing a new woman-centered perspective to the debate and decision-making process. A structural explanation also allows parallels to be drawn to other forms of peace activism. Women's antiwar and antinuclear activism and discourse in the United States and Europe, for example, parallel Japanese activism and discourse. Both share structural positions of disadvantage vis-a-vis nuclear policy decision makers, and both adopt moral, humanistic, and universalistic appeals to peace, rather than techno-strategic arguments for deterrence aimed at an audience of policymakers. Recognizing that women and men have different responses to war and nuclear issues is one possible challenge to the dominant international discourse.

Public opinion research, such as that presented here, is useful for statistically disentangling competing explanations of social phenomena in large populations. But it is limited by the populations examined, the survey questions asked, and the lack of interpretive depth allowed by fixed questions. This study contains elements of both the promises and limitations of the type of research it is. Our findings are at once strong, for we find solid evidence for several hypoth-

esized correlates of nuclear war attitudes and none of these is able to explain sex differences, and yet weak, for replication is needed in other populations and we still have only residual explanations of sex differences. Thus, the puzzle of sex differences in attitudes toward nuclear war remains.

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# WOMEN ON PEACE AND WAR



## Observations on Some of the Global Transformations of the Last Ten Years

by Gregory McLaughlan

Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev occupied center stage in 1987 when they signed the historic Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) treaty banning medium-range nuclear missiles from Europe. The broader significance of the event was that it symbolized the beginning of the end of the cold war, the polarization of power that had fractured the world and militarized societies for more than four decades. Yet, as is so often the case, national leaders—two men—were taking credit for developments that actually had been brought about by the actions of thousands, and especially by the concerted efforts of women and feminists in the peace movements of the 1980s. The end of the cold war was made possible in large part by the success of the peace movement of the 1980s. This success, in turn, was in many ways the product of the creative strategies and energy of women in the

movement, and the emergence of an explicitly feminist peace politics.

Establishing connections such as these has been a core theme of the emerging feminist scholarship on international relations and peace (see following readings). A unifying insight of this scholarship (and practice) is that the war system—the international system that calls peace the uneasy state that is maintained by continuous war-preparation—is a profoundly gendered system. The corollary to this is, of course, that the achievement of real peace requires a far-reaching transformation of social and gender relations, not merely the absence of war.

Ronald Reagan came to power in 1981 vowing to expand the military buildup begun in the last years of the Carter administration. The stated reason for the buildup was an increase in the Soviet military threat and the invasion of Afghanistan, prompting the United States to confront the Soviet Union with superior military power.

Much of Reagan's political base consisted of a military-industrial complex and unreformed hawks that had been trying to regain power since the end of the Vietnam War. The result was the largest peacetime military buildup in American history, with the defense budget increasing 70 percent in real terms from about \$150 billion (1982 dollars) in the late 1970s to \$250 billion by the mid-1980s.

By the middle of the decade, the United States was spending the staggering sum of one trillion dollars on the military every four years. But there was another difference between this and previous military buildups. During most of the post-World War II period, growth in military spending had occurred along with growth in domestic and social welfare programs. The political formula of guns and butter was possible because

of America's international economic hegemony and a rapidly expanding federal budget and public sector. In contrast, the economic stagnation and increasing economic crisis tendencies of the late 1970s were translated by the right wing of the Republican party into an economic program that blamed social spending and the welfare state for America's economic problems. The Reagan program could be called guns versus butter, as the increasing military budgets were financed by cuts in domestic programs and massive federal borrowing. The borrowing (reaching \$200 billion a year) was necessary because of Reagan tax cuts, which not only favored the wealthy, but put further pressure on social programs in subsequent years as the share of the federal budget devoted to interest payments on the debt rose from about 5 percent to almost 15 percent.



The effect of the Reagan military buildup on women soon became obvious. Many of the social program cuts, such as in income support, health care, child nutrition, and related programs, had a disproportionate impact on women, especially as women and children accounted for an increasing share of persons in poverty, and women far outnumbered men as heads of single-parent households. By the early 1980s, an unprecedented gender gap had emerged in American politics, where significantly fewer women than men supported the Reagan program.

At the same time, a revitalized peace movement had emerged, dovetailing with the gender gap and presenting a formidable challenge to the second cold war and the Reagan military buildup. In addition to the social and economic factors mentioned previously, another reason women were prominent in the new peace movement was the administration's emphasis on accelerating the nuclear arms race. Huge expenditures were made for nuclear weapon systems such as the B-1 bomber, new, highly accurate first-strike missiles such as the MX and Trident, and Pershing and cruise nuclear missiles that were to be placed in Europe. The peace



Gregory McLaughlan

movement became international as the European Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) opposed nuclear weapons in Europe. As ominous as the weapons, were the new military doctrines that accompanied them. High administration officials talked openly about the need to prepare for fighting and prevailing in a nuclear war with the Soviet Union, or fighting a limited nuclear war in Europe. Presidential Directives called on government agencies to develop plans to carry on their functions in a postattack nuclear environment and for implementing a national program to enlist schools, hospitals, and public agencies for "civil defense" and relocation of urban populations if nuclear war were imminent. The peace movement opposed and resisted these efforts.

Women's voices played a central role in the mass mobilizations and grassroots efforts that swelled in the early 1980s. Against the masculine logic (to borrow a term from Sandra Harding) of nuclear strategy, women were especially creative in both putting forward a critique and mobilizing political and cultural resources to counterpose a positive vision of peace. I think of Helen Caldicott, the Australian pediatrician who organized an international movement of physicians and health care professionals to oppose the arms race and educate the public about the

medical consequences of nuclear war. Scores of grassroots organizations such as Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament (WAND) sprang up around the country, organizing on the local, state, and national levels. An autonomous women's peace movement emerged, conducting actions such as encircling the Pentagon and establishing women's peace camps at Greenham Common, U.K., Seneca Falls, New York and elsewhere. The peace camps demonstrated a new level of resistance to the arms race, indicating that women would be present until the weapons were removed, and a commitment to sink the roots of peace as deep or deeper into the social consciousness as the roots of war.

There were simultaneous advances in knowledge and theory. Writings by women such as Ynestra King, Starhawk, and Betty Reardon developed an understanding of war and militarism that linked these social forces to patriarchy, social hierarchy, and ecological destruction more generally. Feminist historians rediscovered the rich legacy of women's contributions to peace movements and ideas, from their role in the historic peace churches to their contributions in the antislavery, feminist, progressive, socialist, communist, and antifascist movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This history in turn became a basis for informing and extending the contemporary movement. What emerged out of these efforts and critique were feminist, or ecofeminist, concepts of peace that embraced a broad agenda of social and ecological transformation. The longer-term significance of these developments is that they are providing resources for an ongoing peace politics and social change agenda, one that is not limited to opposing individual weapons, or even the arms race or militarism per se. The feminist theory and practice developed in the 1980s is providing resources not only for episodic resistance, but for epochal transformation.

By 1983, the peace movement presented a major challenge to the Reagan arms buildup. Randall Forsberg (a woman) had authored the call for a mutual freeze on nuclear weapons by the U.S. and Soviets. While not an explicitly feminist document, I think it is no

accident women played such central roles in the mainstream peace movement as well. The freeze idea was a straightforward, eloquent challenge to the scientism and false complexity of the masculine world of nuclear strategy. The nuclear doctrines which coolly contemplate total annihilation in order to maintain certain political arrangements are belief systems that elevate ends over means, technology over nature, and the threat of violence over diplomacy. Women had intervened in the nuclear arms race in the early 1960s in opposition to the radioactive fallout from nuclear tests that was found in mother's milk and babies' bones. But, ironically, the failure to achieve a total test ban pushed nuclear testing underground, where it was out of sight and soon out of mind. In the 1980s, the peace movement, with strong feminist input, was challenging the foundations of nuclear doctrine and the nuclear arms race.

**T**hat the very legitimacy of the arms race was in crisis is evidenced by the Reagan administration's response to the political successes of the freeze movement, which was being endorsed by legislative bodies and electorates across the country. As 1984 was a presidential election year, Reagan needed to counterattack. The result was the famous star wars speech of 1983, which called for a vast new program to develop military technology to make offensive nuclear missiles "impotent and obsolete." Perhaps this stated goal was an unconscious concession by a speechwriter to the gender dimensions of nuclear politics. Reagan cleverly shifted the rhetoric from offense to defense, and gained political support for his star wars program. There was no more loose talk about fighting and winning nuclear wars (though planning continued).

The 1984 vice-presidential election debate between George Bush and Geraldine Ferraro provides a revealing look at the gender dimensions of nuclear, and presidential, politics. Ferraro was on the ticket as a result of major efforts by women's organizations, and her candidacy was in part seen as the Democratic party's response to the gender gap. Earlier in the 1980 Republi-

can presidential primary, candidate George Bush had told *Los Angeles Times* reporter Robert Scheer that he did not ascribe to the theory that there is no such thing as a winner in a nuclear war, and went on to describe how the survivability of a portion of industrial potential and population, and infliction of greater damage on the enemy, meant there could be a winner in nuclear war. These comments caused a minor flap at the time, but apparently by 1984 such statements were not thought reckless or unsuitable for vice-presidential material.

When Ferraro was asked if she would be capable of using nuclear weapons, her reply indicated she had expected just such a question. Yes, she would not hesitate to use nuclear weapons in proper retaliation and in defense of U.S. security. Her reply was painful to watch, and no doubt many of us thought she had to say that; she is a pragmatic politician and needs to get elected. The question was, and remains, a litmus test for presidential office. The subtext of the question was, of course, are you man enough to blow up the world? Ferraro was being asked if she became president, would she be able to handle the "football," the euphemism for the black briefcase carrying codes to launch nuclear missiles that is chained to the wrist of a military officer always within yards of the president. As the work of Carol Cohn shows, there is an entire language of masculine nuclear discourse that also performs important political functions. What if Ferraro had responded, "Well, if the Soviets in a fit of insanity launched all their nuclear missiles at us, I would see no point in retaliating in kind and killing additional hundreds of millions of innocent people, and bringing the planet that much closer to ecological destruction." Now that would have started an interesting debate.

The peace movement recognized star wars for what it was—a dangerous, if ultimately unworkable, escalation of the arms race. In recent years star wars research has been cut back by a Congress moving toward what most scientists and peace activists knew from the start: star wars was a Hollywood fantasy. Yet in retrospect, 1983 and the Reagan shift to star wars should be seen as a major victory for the peace movement. The discourse of, and public mobilization for, fighting nuclear war was delegitimized. While a small cadre of

military and civilian warriors can still start a nuclear war, there is a huge difference between 1991 and 1981. Extermination is much easier to plan, and a far more likely result, if a population willingly participates. This time, the people refused.

**W**hile the peace movement had some success in checking renewed militarism in the U.S. by the Reagan administration, the really dramatic moves to end the cold war came from the Soviet Union. And here, too, the Western peace movements played a crucial role. Gorbachev needed the political pressure of the peace movement on governments in the West to hold his own generals in check. He was then able to begin cutting the military budget and to make major concessions in arms control negotiations with the U.S., which made it impossible for even hard-liners in the Reagan administration to block agreement. At the same time the Soviets were letting go of their political and military claims on Eastern Europe, and the European peace movements had opened up a new political space of nonviolent social change. By 1989 the Eastern Europeans were on new, uncharted political courses and the cold war was over.

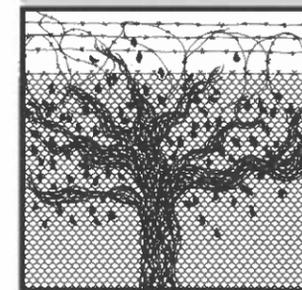
I remember being swept with emotion when the Berlin wall came down, and being surprised that I would have such feelings for an event so far away, in a country I had been to only once previously. My tears were both joyful and mournful. They were not for reunification or the triumph of the capitalist West, but for the end of a division that had threatened to annihilate the world on more than one occasion. The tears were coming from memories I retained deep in my mind from childhood. They were for the remembrance of the millions who had died in the war that led up to the partition of Germany, and the subsequent cold war. I have come to appreciate in new ways the insights of recent feminist scholarship that suggests that war, militarism, and their supporting social institutions traverse our lives and psyches in profound ways.

No sooner had the cold war ended and talk of a peace dividend begun than we found ourselves in the midst of a new

crisis, with new contradictions emerging in the gender dimensions of war, peace, and international relations. In what was formerly the German Democratic Republic, for example, women now must defend their right to abortion and access to birth control, child care, and other social benefits they enjoyed under socialism, against restrictive West German laws and a conservative government. In the Middle East, the U.S. has undertaken the most rapid military buildup in its history. There are large numbers of women in the U.S. military forces in the Persian Gulf. Women now make up more than 10 percent of the U.S. military, a dramatic increase from less than 3 percent at the end of the Vietnam War. In the 1970s, with the shift to an all-volunteer military in the wake of the draft resistance during the Vietnam War, women were recruited in large numbers for what was increasingly billed as a career path.

**W**e now see the bizarre situation where, what might be termed a mercenary army that includes large numbers of women, is sent to defend Saudi and Kuwaiti regimes where women are strictly segregated and do not have the right to vote or stand for election. Recently, a group of fifty Saudi women protested the prohibition against women driving by driving their own automobiles. They were stopped by the police, then released into the custody of male relatives. Some of the women, teachers at women's colleges, have been harassed, branded as infidels, and suspended from their jobs. Perhaps one impetus to the women's action was the appearance of American military women driving jeeps around the Saudi landscape. In any case, the women have been accused by religious conservatives of being immoral and corrupted by secular Americanist ideas. The Interior minister has banned all forms of protest by women and newspapers are prevented from writing about the issue.

War has often been the impetus to significant social change. World War II spurred advances in the women's and civil rights movements, as Rosie the riveter stepped into formerly all-male occupations and African-Americans



**“W**HAT WE WANT TO CHANGE IS IMMENSE. IT'S NOT JUST GETTING RID OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, IT'S GETTING RID OF THE WHOLE STRUCTURE THAT CREATED THE POSSIBILITY OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN THE FIRST PLACE. IF WE DON'T USE IMAGINATION NOTHING WILL CHANGE. WITHOUT CHANGE WE WILL DESTROY THE PLANET. IT'S AS SIMPLE AS THAT.”—Lesley Boulton, *Greenham Common*, 1982

increasingly demanded equal rights in life as they were being asked to die alongside whites on faraway battlefields. It would be ironic if one outcome of the Middle East crisis and U.S. presence in the gulf was the destabilization of the regimes the Bush administration is trying to protect, including increasing demands for women's political and social rights in what are some of the most undemocratic and patriarchal societies in the world. The gender politics of war, peace, and international relations work in complex ways.

The 1980s saw impressive achievements by the peace movement, achievements realized in large part through the practice and theory of women in the movement. The avoidance of a nuclear war that seemed at times almost inevitable at the beginning of the decade can be seen as the greatest victory of a peace movement in history. Yet the 1990s post cold war world presents new challenges to our ability to analyze, and to peace movements to transform, international relations. The Persian Gulf war and continuing Middle East crisis is but one indication of how far we must go before peace, justice, and gender equality become the reality, not merely the hope, of the human condition.

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**With swirling patterns and vivid colors, the notion of peace as harmonious yet static is translated into one that is vigorous and dynamic.**

**K**umiko Sudo magically transforms the traditional concept of quiltmaking and the graceful image of cranes—regarded today by many cultures as symbols of peace—into an intensely vibrant form of art in *Fly Cranes, Fly!* (see cover). With swirling patterns and vivid colors, the notion of peace as harmonious yet static is translated into one that is vigorous and dynamic. At the same time, Sudo creatively and skillfully carries women's conventional medium of quilting to new heights by merging ancient textile designs with dramatic, contemporary interpretations of classical themes of human experience.

Drawing from the richness of her own Japanese heritage, Sudo finds the motif of the crane a symbolic source of inspiration. Within this legacy, folktales as early as the Edo Period use the elegant crane to echo a message of peace, healing, atonement, forgiveness, and longevity. The crane appears again in the Japanese art of folding paper known as origami. Many Japanese pray for peace or good health while folding a thousand paper cranes, known as *orizuru*, that they then donate to their local shrines. In recent times, a popular children's story records the belief of Sadako Sasaki, a twelve-year-old leukemia victim of the bombing of Hiroshima, who prayed for the return of good health while making a thousand cranes. Because she completed only 644 cranes before dying, her classmates finished the remainder, thus beginning a tradition that continues to this day. Each year, children around the world bring or send paper cranes to the Hiroshima Peace Park in honor of their heroine of peace.

Through her quilt depicting flying cranes, Sudo has expanded the significance of this bird by providing her piece with the subtitle, *New Freedom*. As she designed and sewed the quilt, she visualized women after years of discrimination having "the opportunity to discover and realize their own potential; this is a symbolic work of encouraging all women to spread their wings and fly."



## Stitching a Vision of Peace



**A**n internationally renowned fiber artist, Sudo infuses her art with a philosophy that strives to visually and emotionally develop mutual understandings about life with "all its joys, sorrows, surprises, disappointments, despair, wishes, but most importantly hope, faith, and love." She delves into the realm of dreams and discovers there a crystal clear vision "almost like some spirit form" that drives her to create in much the same manner "as a bird knows without thinking that it must fly." These sometimes figurative, sometimes abstract, designs reveal an exhilarating reference to Japanese customs and folktales, as well as Buddhist and Christian imagery. Her emerging designs save Sudo from her greatest fear, that of audience indifference, and allow her to realize her "own oneness" with those viewers who share the beauty and pleasure of her fabric collages.

Using antique silk and cotton kimonos and obis as her basic materials, Sudo draws on the refined aesthetic associated with Kyoto, Japan's art and textile center. The time-honored color and design principles originally developed by the noble classes are combined with a contemporary sense

of the pictorial and the abstract. She practices a variety of construction methods, including piecing, layering, applique, and the Japanese stitching technique of *sashiko*. The design process begins for Sudo by thinking about an image for a month prior to sketching it out and hanging it up on her studio wall. After living with the design and making appropriate changes, she engages in the "exciting step" of selecting lush and dazzling colors that reflect her feelings of the moment, which are often influenced by the time of year and the weather. She then digs into her enormous fabric collection, organized according to color tones, and chooses an array of colors and fabrics that "best fit the design and spirit of the work" she is creating. As she sews the quilt completely by hand, with Japanese silk thread, she pauses at various stages and hangs the work on the wall to check the design and color for necessary changes. One factor that constantly guides Sudo throughout this artistic endeavor is one she asserts cannot be measured or weighed: "this factor is one's love for the work one is doing, for the work itself and, most importantly, for the people for which it is being made."

# Fly Cranes, Fly!

**S**udo's first inspiration for what was to become her life work began as a child when she made a collage diary consisting of pictures and unusual designs for her mother. Initially she translated her design impulse into millinery work, graduating from the Ito Mohei Fashion Design Academy. Subsequently, Sudo opened a fashion boutique in Tokyo where she also began her own art/craft school. Inspired by a quilt show she attended on a visit to the United States, she returned to Japan and devoted her artistic and teaching efforts solely to quilting. With an abundance of energy, Sudo not only has a plethora of quilts to her credit but she also has written numerous articles and books about fabric arts, produced televised teaching programs, and received many prestigious awards for her work. Word of the extraordinary quality of her imagery and artistic skill continues to spread, resulting in exhibits in both the United States and Denmark.

After moving to the United States in 1985, she established a studio in Berkeley and, most recently, in Eugene. Last year she published *Expressive Quilts*, a fiber-art book that contains magnificent color reproductions of some of her latest work. During April and May 1992, the UO Museum of Art will host an exhibit of her work, providing a welcome opportunity for people in Oregon to view firsthand the visual poetry of Sudo's masterful work.

by Diana Sheridan

# Disarmed in the Defense of Peace:

## Ecofeminist Thoughts on Nonmilitary Security

by Leslie W. Scott

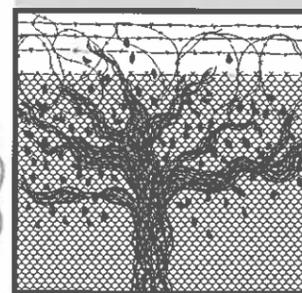
POPULAR WISDOM HAS often held that peace is unachievable because it is undefinable. For myself, this concern has caused me to think about the ways an ecofeminist politics might address the question of security. Since World War II and the creation of the "bomb culture," the debate about the nature of peace and security seems to have polarized into two camps: those who would defend the stated purposes of a military system of security, and those who promote a framework for security that is typically nonmilitary. There are links between the violence of racism, violence against women, and cultural violence that are implicit in the hierarchical, adversarial canon defining ethics, ethnicity, and ecology. Understanding these relationships informs our notions of security and brings significant implications not only for peace research and education, but for continued life on this planet.

IN THE LAST PART OF the twentieth century, grass-roots social activists are playing an increasingly crucial role in pointing out the inherent dangers of our growing

ecological crises. Emerging from the post-1960s political, environmental, and feminist movements, they seek common ground for the creation of proposals that support a comprehensive, authentic security. The intellectual tenets around which these three post-1960s movements

have merged is, I believe, explicitly ethical. For example, Francis Moore Lappe and Baird Callicott suggest that the historical appeal of socialism rests in part upon "moral outrage at the human misery and gross social injustice produced by the Industrial Revolution... (just as those) who helped shape a radical ecological perspective were outraged by the heart-rending destruction of nature brought about by the same historical phenomenon." More recently, ecofeminists have asserted that politics must, in part, be the act of creating and sustaining diverse communities with and between humans and nature.

THE CONTEMPORARY environmental movement in the West has absorbed much of the progressive political vision and rhetoric that coalesced in the 1960s around Vietnam. Most activists understand that, as stated by Lappe, "The same capitalist-military-industrial machine that was bombing... and destroying Vietnam (and the civilian population) with black and white (disenfranchised)



“ . . . JUST AS THE SUN SHINES ON THE GODLY AND THE UNGODLY ALIKE, SO DOES NUCLEAR RADIATION. AND WITH THIS KNOWLEDGE IT BECOMES INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT TO EMBRACE THE THOUGHT OF EXTINCTION PURELY FOR THE ASSUMED SATISFACTION OF—FROM THE GRAVE—ACHIEVING REVENGE. OR EVEN ACCEPTING OUR DEMISE AS A PLANET AS A SIMPLE AND JUST PREVENTIVE MEDICINE ADMINISTERED TO THE UNIVERSE. LIFE IS BETTER THAN DEATH, I BELIEVE, IF ONLY BECAUSE IT IS LESS BORING, AND BECAUSE IT HAS FRESH PEACHES IN IT.” —Alice Walker

American youth as cannon fodder was also defoliating Southeast Asian rain forests, (while) building nuclear power plants and nuclear weapons at home, and mining and polluting North American soils and waters." Feminism has revealed ways in which ecologically devastating systems of domination and oppression are mutually reinforcing and interdependent.

THUS, IN RELATING domestic and foreign policy to one another and to issues of social justice, economic equity and ecological viability, feminists, environmentalists, and communitarians have begun to meet each other on ground fertile for the growth of green peace politics. What needs to be addressed by these communities are the dichotomized and hierarchical value systems that still significantly inform and limit thinking and action. For traditional socialism, Marx develops a hierarchical ideology based on workers versus bosses. In a similar vein for environmentalists, the debate has often revolved around humans versus other species (reflected, for example, in the ecomanagers' ways of seeing nature as a resource to be more carefully harvested and in the deep ecology faction that asserts humans are the problem). Early Western feminism also went through its phase of identifying the primary oppression as a world polarized into socially constructed gender roles.

SOME FEMINISTS HAVE pointed out how patriarchy invented first a religious and then a scientific

paradigm of dualism between the spiritual and the material, dividing human consciousness from nature, energy from matter. Matter, body (specifically woman's body), earth, and the subjective or emotional, were declared the "degraded regions," while spirit, intellect, God as separate male deity (off the planet), and objectivity became exalted.

SCIENCE, AS THE contemporary knower of knowledge, replaced the religious conception of spirit first with that of energy, and then with DNA. In the same way that Cartesian conceptualization of the mind as separate, and superior to the body, taught us to regard the body and our sensuous existence as inferior and without intelligence, genetic determinism has taught us a new form of self-negation. The monotonous torpor of DNA roboticism is a contemporary rejection of erotic embodied reason so profound that we have become even more deeply alienated from this denied self. We are so seriously alienated that this dangerous, threatening, hidden self is projected as "the other." According to Susan Griffin, "The misogynist's idea of woman is a fundamental category of otherness for his civilization."

EMERGING OUT OF feminism today is a valuable critique of these worshippers of the mechanistic world view (promulgated by the rise of market-oriented culture in Europe and the scientific revolution of the sixteenth and seventeenth

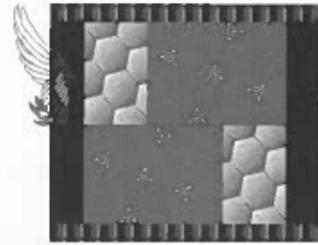


Leslie W. Scott

centuries) who see the female earth as degraded and dangerous; to be conquered, subdued, and overcome. This has resulted in both the feminist and ecology movements becoming sharply critical of the destruction resulting from the aggressive, unrestrained market economies' exploitation of both women and nature. Many feminists, ecologists, dissident scientists and progressive thinkers at the United Nations point out that more than 50 percent of the world's scientists are working on weapons development, and that, as Birgit Brock-Utne points out, "every advance in methods of mass destruction has been made... (as the result of) proposals put forward by men of science." The consequence of this alienated, divided consciousness leads to systems of domination and oppression underpinned by hierarchies invested in "othering," and results in domestic and foreign policies of almost complete hypocrisy.

**OFTEN REFERRED TO AS** political realism, this national security doctrine posits itself in counterpoint to a politics variously referred to as "naive," "idealistic," or "utopian." Dressed up in the language of democratic morality, this political duplicity has undergirded American foreign policy for decades, resulting in a flat contradiction between professed values and actual conduct. Implicit in this *realpolitik* is the assumption that it is possible to continue indefinitely with this double standard. The Machiavellian nation can act in disregard of any officially professed religious or secular code of morality while its citizens are expected to live up to the letter of the law and the prevailing moral codes dictating private behavior.

**NOWHERE IS THIS** generalized duplicity more exquisitely realized than in the name of national security. National security state doctrine equates morality with patriotism, and patriotism with a posture of militarism. The stated



purposes of the military system of security then become diametrically opposed to those of an authentic security.

**IN THE NAME OF THE** preservation of national democratic life, we are assured of only the most indiscriminate, uncontrollable denial of the right to life. We are living a degraded myth, a nightmare fiction, in which any group or individual can be declared "other," and so become morally excluded and rationalized as expendable. The longer the bomb culture's organizing myth goes unexamined and unchallenged, the more tyrannical it becomes.

**CONTEMPORARY** social values that produce a predisposition to militarism are sexism, racism, and classism. All are based on concepts of a fixed, determined "order" maintained by the power of authority held by various ruling elites. Obedience to such authority is said to be both moral and patriotic, and is, as Betty Reardon points out, both the cornerstone of an effective military machine and the fundamental principle of the patriarchal family. Militarism and sexism require unquestioned service and sacrifice to the coercive state.

**SIMILARLY, HORRIBLY,** racism has been used throughout our history to justify militarism while often disguising the presence of class and gender constructs. In the name of national security, if a group of people can be deemed less than human, (which, I add, includes seeing people only or primarily as consumers), then their conquest and/or enslavement becomes less objectionable and more palatable. This is no less true for particular economic and religious groups worldwide; we need look no

farther than the Middle East in this historical moment to see the efficacy of this power dynamic.

**THIS DYNAMIC OF** "othering" certainly resonates with the political left's analysis of oppression, particularly as it relates to their concepts of individualism and communalism. Correspondingly, Lappe states, "both progressive and ecological movements tend to locate individual meaning within a larger whole—human society for progressives, the 'biotic' community for ecologists." This concept of nature as community in turn resonates with the ecofeminist concept of an earth-based spirituality that understands human well-being to be intertwined with a living earth. All three movements (socialism, environmentalism, and feminism) thus clash with the dominant liberal notions of freedom and the ontological priority it assigns to individuals. Progressive political, ecological, and feminist visions share an understanding of freedom as including active responsibility for developing diverse social systems, institutions, and communities that locate individuality in the context of a particular group and its projects.

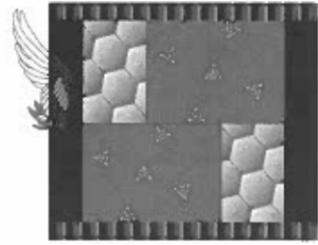
**MANY FEMINISTS,** ecologists, and peacemakers have extended the concept of justice and responsibility in community beyond the human species to include all of nature. To continue to reduce nature to merely a battleground between elites and nonelites for control of resources is to fail to understand nature as community. Recently, this understanding has been translated into pro-active, nonmilitary security policy proposals by a number of thinkers loosely aggregated under the general rubric of peace studies. For example, both Elise Boulding's ideas for an international non-governmental organization (INGO)/peoples' assembly at the United Nations, and Michael Renner's idea about replacing military alliances with global

environmental coalitions, lay a foundation for a more cooperative and secure world.

**BUILDING ON THESE** proposals that provide a new understanding of security as cultural, communal, and individual well-being, I propose a transitional strategy with two components appropriate to our cultural milieu. The proposal will appeal not only to feminist, ecological, and progressive political movements, but also to just plain folks made numb and apathetic by the perpetuation of a duplicitous national security myth that pervades all our lives.

**TO SIMULTANEOUSLY** break down old ways of thought, emancipate a new ethos, and facilitate new alliances, I recommend a green international civil service in which all members of society could act as full citizens in the service of the defense of peace. The goal would be the elimination of the economic causes of war, achieved through the promotion of a democratically controlled foreign policy and by the breakdown of racial and gender hierarchies that prop up our militarized, life-degrading social order.

**FIRST, A NEW SECURITY** policy based on territorial denial decentralizes power, and invokes a bottom up decision making process. Combined with the premise guiding the traditional United Nations peacekeeping forces, the green civil service would be free of gender hierarchy; women would not be restricted from duty that may involve armed conflict or heavy work or high-risk jobs. The latter work would include an environmental component such as deep ocean recovery of nuclear weapons and toxic waste clean-up responsibilities. Funding would be through the three United Nations Assemblies as proposed by Boulding but would include massive worldwide cuts in national defense spending.



**THE SECOND GROUP** of international civil servants would be explicitly committed to non-violence, and would work on economic conversion plans that focus on environmental recovery and reconstruction. This branch would be in charge of community based conversion/development projects addressing local/regional needs and realities. Industries would be assessed in terms of infrastructures that are both safe and innovative, making effective use of existing human and natural resources. Within specific cultural contexts, issues regarding systems of internal credit, profit sharing, health care, and child care would be openly discussed and evaluated.

**THIS SECOND BRANCH** of service would obviously have to include extensive education in recycling, waste management, ecological agricultural techniques, forestry and public lands recovery, as well as in strategies for democratizing economic and political life. These peace workers would also be trained as conflict negotiators between local communities and regional or international policy makers in all areas of decision making. Collaboration, reciprocity and consensual decision making would inform the process.

**THIS INTERNATIONAL** green civil service would bring with it an understanding of how to overcome violence rather than live by it, how to nurture the environment rather than ravage it, and how we might create preferred futures rather than deny any future to ensuing generations. As many academics and activists argue, racial, class, and gender hierarchies are the single most relevant feature of social life needing change in order to transform a future currently based on nuclear armament and environmental

disaster. This kind of international service could disrupt, make incoherent, and break down the very fabric of militarism, so dependent on gender hierarchy and the perpetuation of the relationship between politics and military security doctrines. The war against the earth and its creatures would end as actual combat would be severely restricted and we begin to locate our sense of well-being in the context of diverse, ecological communities. The economic resources of the State would be devoted to democratized reconstruction and recovery; political power would be much more decentralized and localized; stewardship and interrelatedness would be institutionalized and the immanent value of all life would be culturally and spiritually animated. Authentically secure living could liberate a politics of possibility. This is not too much to ask.

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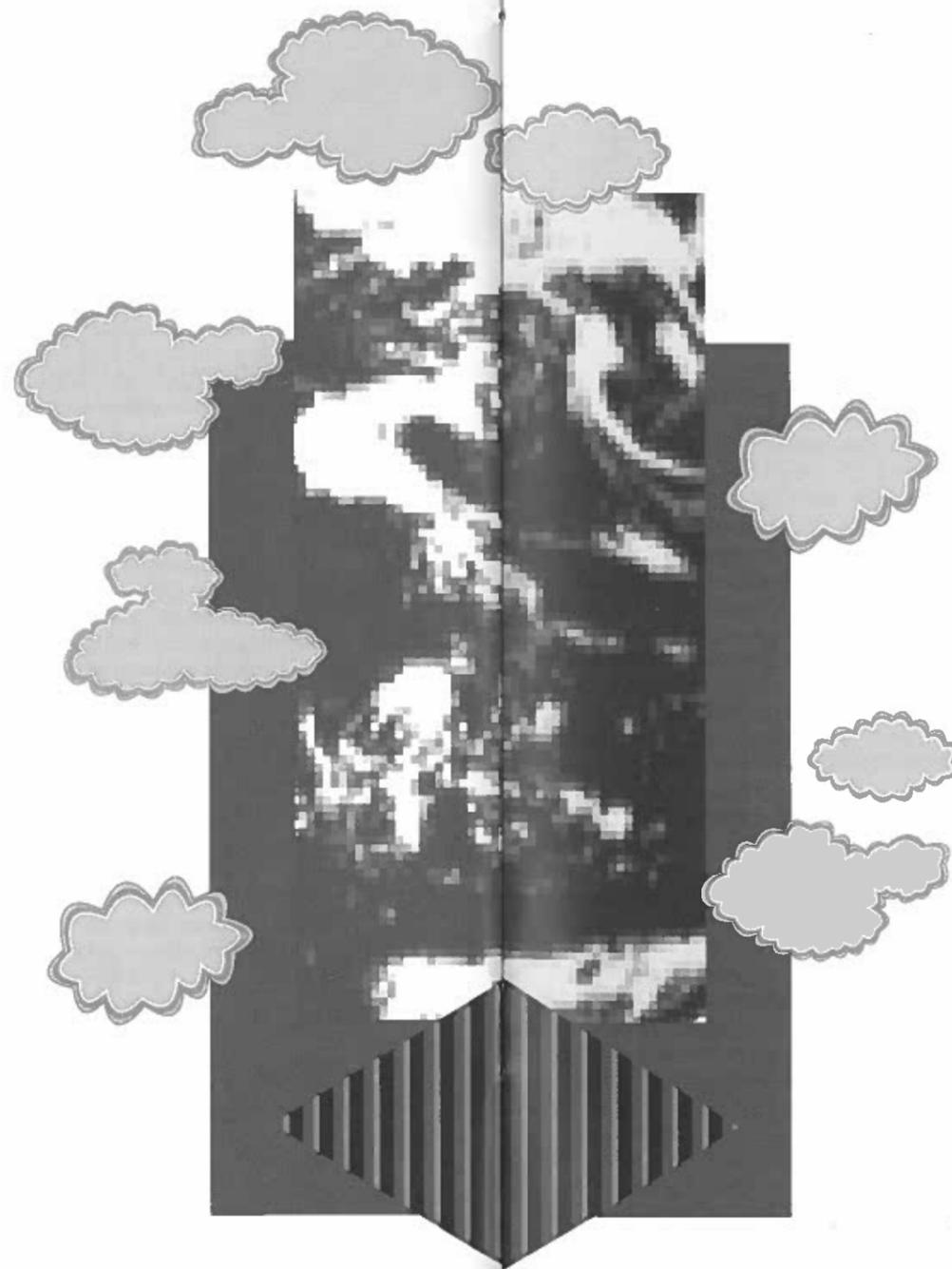
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# PEACE, ECOFEMINIST POLITICS, AND MULTICULTURAL WISDOM



I think it is time to put ecology back into feminism, to feel as our own the plight of the earth and shout it. Otherwise feminism and ecology will continue to win only partial gains, buying time. Otherwise the supremacist mentality that rules the affairs of our planet will continue its destructive course and annihilate us all in the name of health, happiness, and progress.

—Andree Collard  
*Rape of the Wild*



by Irene Diamond

Today, more than twenty-five years after Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* first raised a passionate voice of conscience in protest against the degradation of nature, ecofeminist movements are emerging globally as major catalysts of ethical, political, social, and creative change. These movements celebrate the ecological and cultural diversity that sustains the earth's peoples, offering the hope of a transformative peace consciousness that will enable humans to live with rather than against the earth.

The discussion of ecofeminism in such arenas as *Ms.*, the *Nation*, meetings of the International Peace Research Association and (locally) the Oregon Women's Political Caucus is relatively new, and is undoubtedly shaped by the current interest in things environmental. In the United States, the roots of ecofeminism can be found in radical and cultural feminist politics of the 1960s and 1970s, the feminist spirituality movement, the occupational safety and health movements, and the environmental movement.

Unlike many other forms of resistance, ecofeminism moves beyond the merely discursive. As the various peace and environmental movements around the world exemplify, ecofeminism at its best is reconstructionist. It is able to creatively identify ecologically sustainable practices that can heal the wounds inflicted by contemporary capitalism.

Movements such as the Indian Chipko struggle provide concrete challenges to the logic of development as they expose the fragile ties that sustain all life. The women of Chipko use the act of hugging trees to thwart deforestation by multinational firms despoiling and ravaging the

ecosystems upon which tribal and peasant peoples depend. The sabotage acts against nuclear missiles committed by the women of Greenham Common in Great Britain are an expression of a similar nonviolent resistance. In a somewhat more symbolic vein, the use of webs of wool by Western peace activists to encase the Pentagon and other bastions of militarism disrupts as it points to alternative, more connected ways of living.

The particular expressions of this mixing of art, ritual, and politics differ in the individual locales where women resist threats to their bodies, homes, and livelihoods. But what unites this loose configuration is a reverence for the earth and her many creatures and a recognition that the struggle to free women cannot be separated from the struggle to save the earth. As the 1988 report from the "Nari Mukti Sangharsh Sammelan" conference held in Patna, India, put it with respect to Indian women, "women's survival is crucially linked to nature's survival. Women's health, their access to employment, agricultural productivity, crucial daily needs of fuel, fodder, water, etc., are all linked to the preservation and regeneration of nature." For this politics, cultural and ecological survival are one. Social justice cannot be achieved apart from the well-being of the earth.

In my effort to contextualize ecofeminism, I have stressed the roots of ecofeminism within feminism. The central role of art, theater, and ritual in ecofeminist political action draws heavily on the strategies for transforming consciousness of radical feminism. Certainly, in the absence of a global feminist movement there would be little talk of ecofeminism. At the same time, these forms of resistance place ecofeminism within

the global Green or ecological movements. Feminism as a social movement might be viewed as a child of the Enlightenment, paradoxically realizing its fullest potential in the late twentieth century when Enlightenment ideas of human agency, reason, and emancipation have come under intense assault. The contemporary Green movement transcends the political categories of the last two centuries.



The particular German Green slogan "Neither left nor right but in front" may not be endorsed by all Green groups, but I think this expression is a useful indicator of the sensibility that distinguishes "Green" from that of the traditional left. Given women's crucial leadership role in the diverse Green movements across the globe, ecofeminism must also be located within this post-Enlightenment configuration that challenges the universalizing truths of European humanism. Ecofeminists and Greens have been particularly critical of such truths as freedom through so-called "progress" and technological mastery of nature. The Indian theorist and activist Vandana Shiva, for example, argues that development is more appropriately characterized as maldevelopment:

"Dominant modes of perception based on reductionism, duality, linearity are unable to cope with equality in diversity, with forms and activities that are significant and valid, even though different. The reductionist mind superimposes the roles and forms of power of Western male-oriented concepts on women, all non-western peoples, and even on nature, rendering all three 'deficient,' and in need of 'development.' Diversity, and unity and harmony in diversity, becomes epistemologically unattainable in the context of maldevelopment."



Irene Diamond

Shiva's critique of Western monological thinking points to a way of celebrating rather than fearing diversity. How to acknowledge the value of difference and the sanctity of particular places is no easy task in the contemporary world.

Ecofeminism criticizes discourses of "power over," of "power to dominate, to terrorize," from capitalists, communists, and Third World developers alike. In this, ecofeminism draws on earlier feminist critiques and the emphasis on power as energy that has been articulated by such feminist theorists as Nancy Hartsock. In the context of ecofeminism, attention is called to the value and integrity of not only women, but all the creatures with whom we share the earth, and the feminist emphasis on "power as energy" or "power within" becomes transformed. The ecofeminist language of the power of all beings empowers at the same time that it acknowledges the limits of human action. Empowerment, in a world where humans are acknowledged to be but a part of the tapestry of life, favors humility and nonviolence. This language is thus particularly appropriate for challenging the Faustian impulses of the contemporary era, bringing to the fore the twin threats of ecocide and militarism that this masculinist hubris has produced.

Because there is no one theorist or leader of this heterogeneous movement and because it has arisen in such

diverse locales around the globe, there is a range of narratives about ecofeminism's origins. One of the questions concerning origins is the issue of spirituality. My own view of this debate is that those who deny or ignore the spiritual threads of this loose tapestry fail to acknowledge some of its most creative features. While I once shared some of the concerns of the skeptics, I now see that the supposed antagonism between active political resistance and spiritual passivity does not hold for the contemporary era. Indeed, individuals who have been inspired and motivated by their beliefs in earth-based spirituality have often been some of the most active and vigilant defenders of the planet. It is they who have been especially innovative in creating prefigurative egalitarian communities. As Starhawk, a well-known witch and political activist in the direct-action wing of the peace movement relates, "Earth-based spirituality provides both an imperative toward action in the world and a source of strength and renewal of the energies that often burn out in political action... Instead of replacing political action, earth-based spirituality provides a repository of energy that can resurge in new cycles of political momentum. Ecofeminism, arising in the late seventies and eighties, inherits this history."

Not all ecofeminist direct-action participants are deeply involved with reemerging Goddess traditions, and not all ecofeminists who identify with Goddess spirituality are involved in the grass-roots peace movement. Nonetheless, the multifaceted efforts of feminists to reclaim Goddess imagery and create new stories and narratives of humans and the cosmos during the 1970s form a vital component of what we now label ecofeminism.

This reclamation of Goddess imagery is certainly a significant component of ecofeminism. And it has been especially important in providing alternative images for visions of a more harmonious, ecologically balanced future. But the development of ecofeminism, and the

very interest in Goddess imagery, must also be situated within the larger shift within feminism, sometimes referred to as difference, or cultural feminism, which valorizes and actively upholds the values and practices associated with women's culture. This shift is not necessarily associated with ecofeminism, and the positions within this approach to feminism are many and varied; nonetheless, I feel we cannot fully appreciate the roots of ecofeminism if we do not acknowledge this larger context.

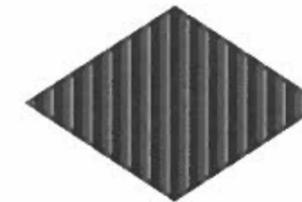


In the United States, the work of academic historians such as Joan Kelly-Gadol and Carol Smith-Rosenberg on the strength and vitality of women's culture can be viewed as part of this larger context, as can the more specific work revaluating motherhood by such different writers as Adrienne Rich, Nancy Chodorow, and Sara Ruddick. In terms of movement politics, the focus on women's culture and the development of women's music and cultural institutions were also integral to this shift. The reevaluation of the woman/nature connection in the late seventies and through the eighties by theorists such as Mary Daly, Susan Griffin, Ynestra King, Carolyn Merchant, Maria Mies, Alice Walker, and Vandana Shiva who are more specifically identified with ecofeminism, needs to be viewed within this larger retelling of women's history and culture.

Retelling, and most especially a retelling that expands our concepts of "progress" and historical time, and that reclaims what patriarchal accounts have relegated to the dustbins of prehistory or "backwardness," has largely enabled ecofeminism to challenge and reframe dominant paradigms. But ecofeminism is considerably more than a new version of history. Indeed, its promise as a

planetary vehicle of peaceful change stems from its thorough immersion in the postmodern world. Acknowledging, often through the artistic imagination, the opacity of contemporary forms of hegemonic power, ecofeminism as a theory and practice begins by struggling to create new vocabularies to name these forces (see for example Paula Gunn Allen, Mary Daly, Starhawk, and Ursula LeGuin). These languages recognize the lived connections between reason and emotion, thought and experience.

Through their analysis of the limits to human agency, ecofeminists remind us of the world as an active subject, rather than a resource to be appropriated. This refashioning of agency together with the focus on micropolitics, and the celebration of diversity and place, locate ecofeminism very much in the postmodern orbit. Yet because ecofeminism actively creates, rather than rejects, utopian visions, it is at the same time not fully postmodern. In this sense its critique of universalism is radically different from the nihilism and pessimism of so much male poststructuralist thought. Indeed, ecofeminist practice demonstrates that deconstructive methods can actually clarify the complex (decentered) connections of the self with the world without removing us from participation in the world. It is this political engagement that helps to bring on to the historical stage what the Indian peace activist Corinne Kumar D'Souza terms "the plurality of civilizations."



The theory of ecofeminism is that Western masculine consciousness denigrates and manipulates everything defined as "other," whether nature, women, or Third-World cultures. This consciousness derives from a set of hierarchical dualisms—man/woman, mind/body, spirit/matter, human/

animal, white/black—that currently threaten all of life. Questioning these dualisms and sustaining cultures that acknowledge women, men, and all creatures as part of a living earth, is what generates ecofeminist politics. This politics does not purport to have the answers; its borders are diffuse and ill-defined; and at its best it avoids apocalyptic visions, grounding itself in its acceptance of the cycles of life and its celebration of pluralism and connectedness.

To some, ecofeminism represents a transformation of feminism as it has existed for the last twenty years in the West. To others, this shift in feminism is but a natural outgrowth of earlier feminist work and the coming together of different feminisms across the globe. Whether ecofeminism represents change or continuity, it offers important new avenues for peacemaking in the post cold war era.

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# FEMINISM and Toward an Inclusive Constitutional Order AUTHENTIC GLOBALISM:

by Betty Reardon

If this decade is to see any development toward a viable, global constitutional order, then what feminists identify as "authentic globalism" must become an operating principle of world order scholarship and world peace activism.

An authentic globalism would be fully inclusive of the earth's human diversity. It would, therefore, place equal emphasis on the needs, concerns, and perspectives of women and men. And it would seek to be as fully representative as possible of human cultures. Sadly, the discourse on our global future, even that conducted by critics of mainstream thinking on world policy issues, sorely lacks the participation of women and cultural minorities. This discourse is still too exclusive to meet even the standards being demanded by the world's feminist movements. This exclusiveness is a major obstacle to the resolution of the problem of worldwide militarism which in turn stands as the major obstacle to a just world peace.

As a feminist, I define authentic globalism as the *various constituencies* of the human community, including women, becoming *full participants* in the *conceptualization* and *implementation* of global policies and ultimately in the design and function of a world constitutional order. Through this perspective, the interests and needs of all people are fully considered and those of the vulnerable are given particular consideration. Omitted from mainstream and alternative world political discourse, authentic globalism has been a significant principle of the worldwide feminist movement and the international peace research community.

**A**s a feminist, I define authentic globalism as the various constituencies of the human community, including women, becoming full participants in the conceptualization and implementation of global policies and ultimately in the design and function of a world constitutional order.

Authentic globalism requires that attention be paid to the values and experiences of world order movements and projects. Feminine in its connotation, such attention implies listening with both concentration and care, both qualities present in women who are socialized as caregivers. This role, even more than the biology of reproduction, links women's concerns to those of children and other vulnerable segments of society. But this quality of attention is rare in those persons or groups who are brokers of both power and pragmatism rather than care and commitment. This quality is seldom introduced into public arenas or economic and political interactions (an omission that some feminist peace researchers assert accounts for the public tolerance of unacceptable levels of injustice, deprivation, and oppression).

Attention is also that which ensures authenticity, the quality of identifying the lived realities of the individuals concerned. Only by sincere, intense attending defined by care and concern can these realities be thoroughly comprehended; and assessments of problems and policy recommendations designed that interpret, integrate, and implement solutions.

A feminine attending mode would translate the various representations into a global context, determining their meanings in human terms not only for the particular constituency but for the entire global community. Attending would involve negotiating the meeting of needs and fulfillment of hopes, and preserving and respecting the diversity of the various constituencies while maintaining the health and potential of the global

whole. Attending would find modes and mechanisms more creative and just than the quantitative method of "majority rules" as proposed by federalists (seeking to bring into balance little more than the components of geopolitical power). The latter means do not represent the vulnerable and the voiceless: the infirm, women, the children of the poor, and the children of war. Feminists have often found that majority decisions are frequently made without the full involvement of all representatives. They seek more inclusive and thorough methods of decision making that address the concerns of the vulnerable, the "powerless" groups usually considered secondary in most policy matters. Although a federalist, representative, constitutional order could reduce violence in conflict situations and probably increase economic stability, even through enforceable human

rights standards and grievance processes, authentic globalism could not be ensured.

Many of the elements of cultural identity would be in danger of further homogenization in such a structure. Exclusion by identity would continue to be a problem under structures so similar to those historically derived from patriarchy. And while feminists are sensitive to the disadvantages suffered by women in many minority cultures, women forced to conform for centuries to male standards of identification resist imposing exogenous standards on other cultures. A global interpretation of multiple representations would function to replace much of the violence in the world today resulting from such impositions as the homogenization of human cultures and the dominance of Western technocratic male constituencies.

The loss of human cultures is as prevalent as the loss of living species in our time. As biodiversity is essential to the preservation of the planet's ecosystems, cultural diversity is equally necessary to the survival of a rich and varied human civilization. An essential characteristic of authentic globalism is the just, equitable integration of diversity that guarantees a healthy functioning whole, a unit of fully viable and healthy component parts. An imbalance or inequity anywhere, for example, will weaken the viability of the entire system as evidenced by current peace research demonstrating the inequities of the global economy. World militarization, a symptom of illness in socio-political systems affecting both the global economy and the ecosystem, serves to illustrate the interrelat-



Betty Reardon

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Surely we cannot expect to derive a more equitable, less violent world order from essentially the same sources that have produced our present crises.

tionships among these various systems. Wholeness and equitable integration are, therefore, becoming virtually standard principles in assessing and planning the status of world order.

Our world is fragmented by ethnic conflict, genocide, and the social sins of racism, sexism, religious and cultural discrimination, and oppression. Very little attention is given to the task of ensuring cultural integrity as an essential component of policy science or proposals for world order. Perhaps there is no greater evidence of this than the lack of ethnic diversity and the paucity of women involved in or invited to committees and councils that deal with these matters (the Brundtland report notwithstanding). Many women, not only feminists, see much of the discourse of these bodies as irrelevant to the fundamental concerns of how people live their daily lives and behave toward one another. The issues of human welfare, personal and social relationships that take women's primary attention and are the focus of most of their public efforts as well as private responsibilities, are consistently not addressed. If these global reports intended to remedy the major problems are to have any real impact, they must affect not only governments and politics but the daily lives of ordinary people and the norms by which they live, namely their cultural values transferred and applied by women. Such relevance and applicability transcends the distinctions made between public and private, personal and political.

For women, there always has been a narrow-to-disappearing dividing line

between the realities of the two spheres. Policy processes that transform such realities into abstractions become barbed wire border markers between public accountability and personal responsibility; between individual moral decisions and social ethics. These borders divide the whole and disintegrate the possibilities for humane social policies. A feminist world order policy distinct from the dominant masculine cultures resists the compartmentalization and fragmentation of human endeavors into public and private or personal and professional. Yet feminists acknowledge that women within and across cultures are culturally different from men, even though they are agents of transmission of that masculine culture to the young. In a sense, every woman is bicultural though she may speak only one language and live her whole life in one small village. Perhaps this is why women tend to be more culturally sensitive. Women must be fully participant, from conceptualization to the daily practice of an authentic global order.

The challenge of social integration in the shadow of the nuclear age is greatest at the global level than at any previous time. But the challenge and the component tasks are not unprecedented. What is unprecedented in the current situation is the breadth and variety of human skills, capacities, talents, and experiences we have to draw on in meeting the challenge and in defining and performing the tasks.

We have called on too few of these skills and experiences. The total pool of human capacities has not been drawn upon either in problem

definition or policy formation, nor in research and social design. Women and minorities are not factored into policy making though they play important roles in doing the real work of any social enterprise. Thus, the entire range of alternatives in approaching any task is rarely open to planners, thus limiting the possibilities for success.

This problem is now being identified as a major impediment in the formulation of security policies and the realization of progress in arms control and disarmament. In both cases, the local-global priorities were approached most often in terms of trade-offs, imposing sacrifice on some to achieve benefits for others. This Western masculine mode of thinking has been cited as a significant barrier to meaningful achievement in these fields intended to move the world in the direction of justice and peace. Surely we cannot expect to derive a more equitable, less violent world order from essentially the same sources that have produced our present crises.

Most of those who know and live primarily in the local sphere are not involved in the process of determining what such global institutions should do, why and how, or in carrying out the how. Nowhere is the need for practical application of the principle of complementarity more necessary than in the design of institutions that can do justice to both global and local needs and priorities.

What is being argued here is not simply the case of inclusion for the sake of justice and equity. While the ethical is paramount to all of us who approach world order issues, the argument here is necessity and efficacy.

Inclusion has been a major theme of women's movements. Exclusion is not only a blatant form of discrimination, it is a very effective mechanism through which the patriarchy limits power to the male elect. On a global scale, this means mainly Euro-American technocrats. Such issues as sexist language, often perceived as a carping detail in the entire range of problems related to the oppression of women, have demonstrated that conceptual and epistemological reasons for inclusion are even more significant. There is a growing body of evidence that women think differently from men. Our styles of conceptualization and reasoning, how we think the world works and what we value and our learnings and experiences have a profound effect on our approaches to problems and our expressions of creativity. Given the nature and scope of our present global problems, there is no argument that justifies limiting approaches to their resolution.

Women's cultures have produced the attributes required to bring about a global order limiting violence, promoting justice and respecting the environment. Cooperation in the achievement of group goals, in the family or the larger community, is a general characteristic of most women's cultures, as are avoidance of harm and the maximum use of minimum resources. All of these tendencies are vitally necessary to heal and rebuild human society rent by violent conflict, and to save the life support systems of planet earth, assaulted nearly unto death by masculine standards of progress and

production. The ideas for social processes and structures of interrelationships that women introduce into constitutional planning discourse are among the most fundamentally necessary features of the constitutional order we seek. Without the full representation and inclusion of the feminine cultures and perspectives of the world, neither authentic globalism nor a viable world order can be achieved.

#### Readings

Alger, Chadwick, and Michael Stohl, eds. *A Just Peace Through Transformation*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1988.

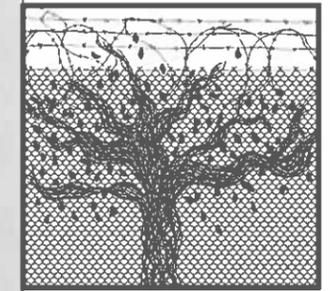
Enloe, Cynthia. *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1989.

Hollins, Harry B., Averill Powers, and Mark Sommer. *The Conquest of War*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1989.

Mendlowitz, Saul, and R.B.J. Walker. *Toward a Just World Peace: Perspectives from Social Movements*. London: Butterworth in Association with the Committee for a Just World Peace, 1987.

Walker, R.B.J., and Saul Mendlowitz. *Contending Sovereignities: Redefining Political Community*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1990.

Betty Reardon, a CSWS Affiliate and 1990 Savage Professor of International Relations and Peace, is director of the Peace Education Program at Teachers College, Columbia University.



“WORLD PEACE STARTS RIGHT HERE. I WILL NOT RAISE MY CHILD TO KILL YOUR CHILD.” —Barbara Choo

Mary Futrell



The second year of the "University for Everyone," a Ford Foundation-funded CSWS curriculum integration project, began with a convocation that drew 550 participants. The Center for the Study of Women in Society and the College of Education cosponsored the event.

Mary Futrell, former president of the National Education Association and current leader of the World Confederation of the Teaching Profession—an organization of six million educators from 175 countries—delivered the keynote speech, "Are We Ready for the Twenty-first Century?" which received a standing ovation. This response demonstrates the breadth of support in our community for an education that addresses the issues of racism and sexism, and strives to be multicultural and gender inclusive.

## A UNIVERSITY FOR EVERYONE



The convocation also featured nine seminars that explored aspects of this theme in detail and highlighted other groups that must be a part of a truly inclusive education. Seminars led by faculty and staff members were: The Structure of Discrimination and the Individual; Affirmative Action: Historical, Social, and Legal Perspectives; Talking About Art and Architecture: Women's Voices, Women's Visions; Facing the Question of Class at a "University for Everyone"; *Native Son Fifty Years Later: Two Perspectives on Teaching the Novel*; Lesbian Women and Gay Men: Our University, Too; Beyond Curb Cuts and Charity: Disability and the University; and Many Women's Voices: Discussion of Maxine Hong Kingston's Novels, Chicana Poetry, and Native American Autobiography. The most popular of the seminars was led by students: *A Chilly Climate in the Classroom: Students of Color, Lesbians and Gays, and Athletes Speak Out about their Educational Experiences.*

In the meantime, the faculty members who are committed to transforming their courses to be gender and race inclusive had begun to meet in biquarterly interdisciplinary seminars to discuss the pedagogical and intellectual problems that arise as we try to integrate new materials into our teaching. The faculty members who received Ford Foundation funding for this work are Val Burris and Lawrence Carter of the Department of Sociology; Howard Brick and Matthew Dennis from the Department of History; political scientists Jerry Medler and Priscilla Southwell; and Paul Dresman, Forest Pyle, Mary Wood, and Claudia Yukman from English and humanities. I am also participating in the seminars, as is William Toll, an independent scholar who has taught history and ethnic studies and has written about the history of African Americans and Jews in America.

A unique aspect of our program was an introductory class illustrating how materials about race and gender could be integrated into survey courses. Thanks to Academic Learning Services, both the classroom presentation and the public talks have been preserved on video tapes.

Although the funded project is in its second and last year, we are hopeful that curriculum transformation will continue. For the second year in a row, the Center for the Study of Women in Society has chosen an expert on women of color to be its visiting scholar. Last spring Rose Brewer, a sociologist from the University of Minnesota, was in residence and led a challenging seminar on race and gender for faculty and graduate students. This spring, Alice Chai, a sociologist from the University of Hawaii, joins us and facilitates another faculty-student seminar.

Cynthia Landeen, graduate assistant for the project, and I have set up a small curriculum integration library housed in the CSWS reading room. It contains about 200 books and articles, as well as the videotapes mentioned above. We are also preparing an updated list of movies and videos on race and gender available at the University of Oregon. The curriculum integration library, is open to the university community.

by Barbara Pope



Barbara Pope, a CSWS Affiliate, is associate professor and Director of the Women's Studies Program



# Annual Report

1990-1991

CSWS Executive Committee: Back row left to right; Beverly Fagot, Suzanne Clark, Miriam Johnson, Diana Sheridan. Front row left to right; Diane Dunlap, S. Marie Harvey, Julia Lesage



## Center Overview

CSWS has its offices, reading room, and a conference room on the sixth floor of Prince Lucien Campbell Hall on the University of Oregon campus. The main office is in 636 PLC. CSWS is structurally separate from the Women's Studies Program, but the two work in close cooperation.

CSWS is a multidisciplinary research center reporting to the vice-president for research at the University of Oregon. During 1990-91, it was governed by the acting director working with an associate director and a five-member executive committee. The executive committee sets policy for CSWS and is responsible for its governance. The work of CSWS is carried out through five main committees: research grants, travel and dissertation grants, speakers and events, library, and curriculum grants.

Faculty members at the University of Oregon may participate in the Center for the Study of Women in Society as a CSWS Affiliate or as a CSWS Friend. Faculty Affiliates are currently involved in research or teaching in the area of women in society. They may be asked to serve on CSWS committees and to contribute in other ways to CSWS. CSWS Friends are those who have an interest in research or teaching in the area of women in society, but are not currently active in this area. All faculty members at the university are given the opportunity in the fall of each year to become a CSWS Affiliate or a CSWS Friend.

Members of the community who are qualified researchers holding either a Ph.D. or the equivalent in their field and are actively involved in research on women in society also may be Affiliates. They may be nominated by current CSWS Affiliates or Friends or may themselves request Affiliate status. Qualified researchers at other colleges and universities throughout the state may also request Affiliate status and will be put on the CSWS mailing list. Faculty and community Affiliates are eligible to apply for research grants and research services. Information about grant applications is available at CSWS upon request.

Graduate students with an active interest in the area of women in society may become center graduate student Affiliates upon nomination by a current CSWS Affiliate or Friend, or by their own request. Center graduate student Affiliates are eligible for small research grants, travel grants, and most CSWS services.

July 1991 marks the end of the eighth year of funding from the Harris bequest. The principal is invested by the University of Oregon Foundation, using an investment goal for endowment that is based on a total return.

## Administration

Miriam Johnson, Acting Director,  
Professor of Sociology  
Diana Sheridan, Associate Director,  
Assistant Professor

## Staff

Elizabeth Archers, Research Support Specialist,  
Editorial Associate  
Agnes Curland, Accountant (.5 FTE)  
Louise Osterman, Office Manager

## Research Grants Awarded 1990

CSWS supports a wide variety of research on women and gender by awarding large research grants, ranging from \$1,500 to \$12,000 and small research grants ranging from \$50.00 to \$1,500.

### Large Grants:

- Constructing Women as Authorized Knowers: Local Journalism and the Microphysics of Power.* Carl Bybee, Speech, \$5,960.  
*Up in Smoke: The Image of Women in Cigarette Advertising.* Lauren Kessler, Journalism, \$1,500.  
*Elizabeth Lord and Edith Schryver: A Study of Two Pioneering Women Landscape Architects in the Pacific Northwest.* Robert Melnick, Landscape Architecture, \$3,930.  
*Regulating Separate Spheres: Municipal Land-Use Planning and the Changing Lives of Women.* Marsha Ritzdorf, Planning, Public Policy and Management, \$1,000.  
*Leisure and Gender: Differential Perceptions of Daily Life.* Diane Samdahl, Leisure Studies, \$6,060.  
*Resisting the Logic of Control.* Irene Diamond, Political Science, \$5,000.  
*Dramatizing the Cultural Logic of Purity.* Linda Kintz, English, \$6,028.  
*Pioneer School Teachers in Oregon.* Jean Stockard, Sociology, \$4,300.

### Small Grants:

- Pathways to Treatment: How Women Seek Help for Emotional Distress.* Susanne Bohmer, Sociology, \$920.  
*A Feminist Analysis of Kinsey's Research in Female Sexual Behavior.* Cin Chubb, Health Education, \$186.  
*Women and Creativity.* Leonora Cohen, Teacher Education, \$450.  
*She Who Watches: A Public Discussion.* Darryla Green-McGrath, Fine Arts, \$899.  
*A Formative Evaluation of Transitional Housing for Battered Women and Their Children.* Wendy Loren, School and Community Health, \$868.  
*The Relation of Reapportionment to Women's Electoral Gains.* Joyce Mitchell, Political Science, \$200.  
*The Importance and Prevalence of Wild Food Use in Two Regions of Southeast Asia.* Geraldine Moreno-Black, Anthropology, \$1,200.  
*Preliminary Research Assessment: Interview Study.* Jean Stockard, Sociology, \$1,408.  
*Les Vieilles: Women Hardy-Gurdy Players of the French Countryside, 1700s-1800s.* Linda Wicklund, Folklore and Ethnic Studies, \$1,400.  
*Distress to Sensory Stimulation and Self-Regulation in Early Infancy.* Cherie O'Boyle, Psychology, \$1,038.  
*Oregon Women's Political History Collection.* Anne Bunnenberg, Leisure Studies, \$1,400.

## Dissertation Grants Awarded 1990:

- Graduate student research is supported by CSWS not only through travel grants and small research grants, but also through dissertation grants.  
*10,000 Realities: A Feminist Critique of the Epistemological Foundations of Aesthetic Education.* Sandra Ehsan, Art Education, \$3,000.  
*Fashioning Feminism: The Making of the Lucy Stone League by Members and Media.* Mary Lou Parker, Sociology, \$7,000.  
*The Other Europe: Woman's Making of the Dialogue Between East and West.* Magdalena Zaborowska, English, \$6,000.  
*Deconstructing the School Marm: Beyond Stereotypes.* Petra Munro, Education, \$4,000.

## Curriculum Development Grants Awarded 1990:

- In 1990, the curriculum committee selected the following six recipients for awards to design and teach new courses focused on women and gender that would enhance the university's curriculum.  
*Women in Design*, annotated bibliography of books, articles, and visual materials on feminism and architecture to support Architecture 507. Elizabeth Cahn, Architecture, \$500.  
*Women and the Law*, an advanced seminar that addresses issues concerning the effect of law on women and women on the law. Caroline Forell, School of Law, \$500.  
*Lesbian and Gay Studies* prize support to encourage lesbian and gay scholarship in all fields of undergraduate study and to influence curricular choices in survey courses. Judith Raiskin, Women's Studies Program, \$1,000.  
*Feminism and Ethnography*, Anthropology 407/507, an advanced seminar on feminism and cultural anthropology. Carol Silverman, Anthropology, \$500.  
*Feminist Philosophy* graduate course. Jamie P. Ross, Josephine Trigilio and Sylvia Berryman, Philosophy, \$500.

## Executive Committee

- Suzanne Clark, Associate Professor of English  
Diane Dunlap, Assistant Professor of Education  
Beverly Fagot, Professor of Psychology  
S. Marie Harvey, Associate Professor of School and Community Health  
Miriam Johnson, Professor of Sociology, Chair  
Julia Lesage, Associate Professor of Speech  
Diana Sheridan, Associate Director, CSWS

## Research Committee

- Laura Alpert, Associate Professor of Fine and Applied Arts (spring)  
Beverly Fagot, Professor of Psychology, Chair  
Linda Fuller, Assistant Professor of Sociology  
Linda Kintz, Assistant Professor of English (spring)  
Jane Maitland-Gholson, Associate Professor of Art Education (fall)  
Barbara May, Associate Professor of Romance Languages  
Jean Stockard, Professor of Sociology (spring)  
Maureen Weiss, Associate Professor of Physical Education and Human Movement Studies

## Library Committee

- Joan Acker, Professor of Sociology  
Leslie Bennett, Reference Librarian, Knight Library  
Suzanne Clark, Associate Professor of English, Chair  
Cheryl Kern-Simirenko, Assistant University Librarian for Development and Resource Services, Knight Library  
Mary Wood, Assistant Professor of English  
Diana Sheridan, Associate Director, CSWS

## Speakers and Events Committee

- Peggy Zeglin Brand, Assistant Professor of Philosophy  
Julia Lesage, Associate Professor of Speech, Chair  
Mary Romero, Associate Professor of Sociology and Ethnic Studies  
Diane Wong, Director of Affirmative Action and Equal Opportunity

## Curriculum Grants Committee

- S. Marie Harvey, Associate Professor of School and Community Health, Chair  
David Jacobs, Professor of Political Science  
Barbara Corrado Pope, Associate Professor and Director of Women's Studies Program

## Travel/Dissertation Committee

- Deborah Casey, Instructor, Academic Learning Services  
Irene Diamond, Associate Professor of Political Science  
Diane Dunlap, Assistant Professor of Education, Chair  
Janice Jipson, Assistant Professor of Teacher Education  
Carol Silverman, Associate Professor of Anthropology

## Director Search Committee

- Joyce Briggs, Graduate Teaching Fellow of Sociology  
Suzanne Clark, Associate Professor of English  
Diane Dunlap, Assistant Professor of Education  
Beverly Fagot, Professor of Psychology  
S. Marie Harvey, Associate Professor of School and Community Health

## Travel Grants Awarded 1990:

- Travel grants are awarded to faculty members, community members, and graduate student Affiliates to attend research-related conferences that would not ordinarily be funded by the College of Arts and Sciences or the professional schools.  
*Lucy Gayheart's Narrative Structure: Foregrounding Engendered Cultures Within a Romantic Tradition* presented at the Willa Cather Conference, Santa Fe, New Mexico. Margaret Bayless, English, \$250.  
*The Concept of Fallacy in Interactional Argument* presented at the International Society for the Study of Argument Conference, Amsterdam, The Netherlands. Judith K. Bowker, Speech, \$250.  
A poster presentation at the Society for Research on Adolescence, Atlanta, Georgia. Deborah Capaldi, Psychology, \$250.  
*En busca de la tradición literaria femenina: Merce Rodoreda y "La Plaza del Diamante"* presented at the Literatura Femenina Contemporanea de España Symposium, Westminster, California. Roma Cusimano, Romance Languages, \$250.  
Symposium, *Positions on Imposition: Reflexions from the Emerging Teacher.* Following papers presented at the American Educational Research Association, Boston, Massachusetts: *Supervision: Defining a Cultural Role*, Gretchen Freed-Rowland, Teacher Education, \$250; *Curriculum Development Across Cultural Context*, Karen Jones, Teacher Education, \$250; *Gender and the Discourse of Mathematics Education: A Study of the Consequences of Socialization*, Maggie McBride, Teacher Education, \$350; *Imposition Issues for the Beginning Teacher and Common Differences: Feminist Pedagogy and Curriculum Decision Making*, Petra Munro, Teacher Education, \$250; *The Good Mother*, Susan Victor, Teacher Education, \$250.  
*Recruitment and Retention of Women and People of Color in the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning Education Programs* presented at the American Planning Association/Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning, Denver, Colorado. Marsha Greer, Planning, Public Policy and Management, \$250.  
*Gender Equality, Social Integration, and Liberalism* presented at the International Sociological Association, Madrid, Spain. Miriam Johnson, Sociology, \$335.  
*Subjectivity and Gender in the Fiction of Modern Chinese Women Writers* presented at the Conference on Politics and Ideology in Modern Chinese Literature, Durham, North Carolina. Wendy Larson, East Asian Languages and Literature, \$337.  
A panel, *Reshaping the Feminist Canon: The Influence of Anglophone and Hispanic Women's Literature* presented at the National Women's Studies Association, Akron, Ohio. Judith Raiskin, Women's Studies Program, \$350.  
*Roseanne As Unruly Woman* presented at the Society for Cinema Studies, Washington, D.C. Kathleen Rowe, Speech, \$250.  
A panel, *Reshaping the Feminist Canon: The Influence of Anglophone and Hispanic Women's Literature* presented at the National Women's Studies Association, Akron, Ohio. Linda Strom, English, \$250.  
*Women in Politics: An Interview with Vera Katz* presented at the Western Speech Communication Association, Sacramento, California. Mary Rose Williams, Speech, \$250.  
*A Feminist, Ecological Approach to Security* presented at the Twenty-fifth Annual International Peace Research Association, Groningen, The Netherlands. Leslie Scott, International Studies Program, \$250.  
*Family Builder of a New Society* presented at the International Congress on the Family, Madras, India. Irene Diamond, Political Science, \$350.  
*A Funny Thing Happened: Women's Contributions to Humor Traditions and Talking Fat: Communication Between Medical Practitioners and Women of Size* presented at the Western Kentucky University Women's Studies Conference, Bowling Green, Kentucky. Lynne Hutchison, Speech, \$250.  
*A Metatextual Reading of Sexual Violence in Boccaccio's "Decameron"* presented at Romance Philology Convocation XI, Irvine, California. Shanta Kamath, Comparative Literature, \$250.  
*Hobgoblins, Fiends, and the Virtuous Mistress* presented at the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, San Jose, California. Janna Knittel, English, \$250.  
*Communication Apprehension in the Elderly Woman: A Lifestyle Issue and Social Science Research and The Elderly: A Call for New Directions* presented at the Western Kentucky University Women's Studies Conference, Bowling Green, Kentucky. Melanie Reese, Speech, \$250.  
*News Coverage of the Abortion Issue: Framing Changes in the 1980s* presented at the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Minneapolis, Minnesota. Jennifer Swenson, Journalism, \$161.  
*Constructing Women as Authorized Knowers: Local Journalism and the Microphysics of Power* presented at the Special Interest Group on Research on Women and Education of the American Education Research Association, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Carol Ten Eyck, Art Education, \$250.

- Miriam Johnson, Professor of Sociology and Acting Director of CSWS, Chair  
Julia Lesage, Associate Professor of Speech  
Barbara Corrado Pope, Associate Professor and Director of Women's Studies Program  
Diana Sheridan, Associate Director, CSWS  
Jack Whalen, Associate Professor and Department Head of Sociology

## Cooperative Activities

CSWS cooperates with many departments and schools at the University of Oregon by cosponsoring speakers and other activities. CSWS also cooperates with other research centers in the state and is participating in a new plan for cooperative activities between research centers on the West Coast and the entire Pacific Rim. CSWS is affiliated with the National Council for Research on Women and sends representatives to its annual meeting.

## Visiting Scholar Program

Rose Brewer, professor of Afro-American and African studies and sociology at the University of Minnesota, was the 1990 CSWS visiting scholar. She is coauthor of the forthcoming book, *Bridges of Power: Women's Multicultural Alliances*, and she has written numerous articles on race, gender, class, and the women's movement. Brewer led the weekly spring 1990 CSWS faculty/graduate student seminar on "Race, Class, and Feminist Theory."

## Lecture Series 1990

### February 9, 1990

Stephanie Coontz, Evergreen State College, *Nostalgia and the American Family.*

### February 15

Sarah Rice, teacher and author in the rural South, *Black Education in Alabama in the 1920s.*

### February 16

Ursula LeGuin, author, reading from work in progress.

### February 20

Dale Spender, teacher, author, editor from Australia, *Talking Comfort.*

### March 5

Gloria Orenstein, University of Southern California. Slide lecture on her book, *The Reflowering of the Goddess.*

### April 12

Fanny Carrion de Fierro, Keene State College, New Hampshire, *From Silent Resistance to Non-Violent Activism: Women in Latin America.*

### April 26

Leah Novick, ordained rabbi. *Heroines of the Holocaust and Their Influence on Post-Holocaust Jewish Feminism.*

### April 29

Dolores Huerta, cofounder of the United Farm Workers Union, speaking after the showing of the film *Troubled Harvest.*

- Appreciating Dissonance: Multiple Perspectives on Collaboration* presented at the American Educational Research Association, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Gretchen Freed-Rowland, Teacher Education, \$250.
- Exploring Unfamiliar Paradigms through Familial Relationships: Power and Involvement in Feminist Research* presented at the American Educational Research Association, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Elizabeth Holloway, DeBusk Center, Education, \$350.
- Transforming the Curriculum: Practicing Feminist Teaching* presented at the American Educational Research Association, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Kathleen Long, Teacher Education, \$250.
- The Utility of Relational Conflict Strategies in Structurally Dominant Conflicts* presented at the Western Kentucky University Women's Studies Conference, Bowling Green, Kentucky. Jamey Piland, Speech, \$250.
- "Self" in a Tenth-Century Japanese Autobiography presented at the New Approaches to Biography, Los Angeles, California. Chizuko Yonamine, Comparative Literature, \$250.
- Fragments and Broken Mirrors: "Mrs. Dalloway" and T.S. Eliot* presented at the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, San Jose, California. Pamelyn Dane, English, \$250.
- Exploring Unfamiliar Paradigms Through Familial Relationships: Power and Involvement in Feminist Research* presented at the American Educational Research Association, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Diane Dunlap, Division of Educational Policy and Management, \$350.
- Appreciating Dissonance: Multiple Perspectives on Collaboration* presented at the American Educational Research Association, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Karen Jones, Teacher Education, \$250.
- Fictions of the Maternal* presented at the Bergamo Conference of Curriculum Theory and Classroom Practice. Petra Munro, Teacher Education, \$250.
- Transforming the Curriculum: Practicing Feminist Teaching* presented at the American Educational Research Association Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Robin Dawn Heslip, Teacher Education, \$250.
- Horizons of Being/Gender: Gadmer and Cixous* presented at the Pacific Association of Philology, San Jose, California. Bradley Butterfield, Comparative Literature, \$250.
- Rationing Health Care in Oregon: Potential Winners and Losers in a Prioritized Health Delivery System* presented at the American Public Health Association, New York, New York. Lawrence Carter, Sociology, \$350.
- The Other Side of Virtue: Delavivire Manley's Retelling of William Painter's "Didaeo and Violenta"* presented at the Western Society of Eighteenth-Century Studies, San Diego, California. Pamela Corpron Parker, English, \$250.
- The Devil, the Body, and the Feminine Soul in Puritan New England* presented at the conference on Puritanism in Old and New England, Millersville, Pennsylvania. Elizabeth Reis, History, \$350.
- Identity and Expression Among Macedonian Gypsy Women* presented at the International Gypsy Lore Society, Leister, England. Carol Silverman, Anthropology, \$350.

CSWS Library Runners for 1990-1991 left to right: Elizabeth Novak, Wendy Mailho, Elizabeth Stiegler, Beth Long, Jenny Acosta, Tammy Brown



### May 1

Christina Engfeldt, Swedish Information Service, *Feminism and Women Workers in Sweden*.

### May 10

Marsha Greer, Planning, Public Policy and Management, University of Oregon, *Women and Work in Gabon, Africa*.

### May 23

Joselina da Silva, from the Third World Women's Project, Institute for Policy Studies, *Latin American Women Today*.

### May 24

Victoria Maui, College of Micronesia, *A Micronesian Woman's View of Palau's Matrilineal System*.

### May 25

Wendy Luttrell, Duke University, *The Social Construction of Race, Class, and Gender*.

### October 3 and 4

Irena Klepfisz, YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, poet and author, *A Few Words in the Mother Tongue (Poems Selected and New 1971-1990)* and *Dreams of an Insomniac (Jewish Feminist Essays, Speeches, and Diatribes)*.

### October 6

Christine Kraft, journalist, keynote speaker at the symposium, "Politics of Culture." *Too Old, Too Ugly, and Not Deferential to Men*.

### October 18

Sandra Harding, University of Delaware, *Starting Thought from Women's Lives*.

### November 2

Dorothy Rosenberg, International Research and Exchange Board, *Gender and die Wende*.

### November 6

Margaret Khalakdina, Himachal Pradesh Agricultural University, India, *Gender Concerns in Development Programs*.

### November 9

Nomonde Ngubo, Third World Women's Project, Institute for Policy Studies, *Women, Culture, and Organizing*.

### November 13

Ramona Rush, Visiting Professor of Journalism, University of Kentucky, *The Role of Women in Journalism Education*.

### November 16

Page du Bois, University of California, San Diego, *Sappho in the Text of Plato*.

### November 16

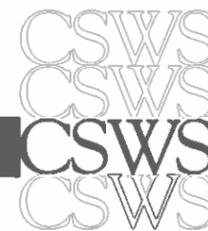
Michelle Cliff, African-American Feminist Author, Readings from her recent anthology.

### November 18

Sally Gearhart, San Francisco State University, *Sally Gearhart Reads Short Fiction*.

### December 2

Fatima Meer, Professor of Sociology, University of Natal, South Africa, *Justice in South Africa*.



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