CSWS
1988
REVIEW

Center for the Study of Women in Society
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Cover art

Karen Chew Blakeley. *Rain*. 1976 (5/9). Gift from the Oregon Arts Commission. *Rain* is a color lithograph in which horizontally-moving and curving brush strokes suggest clouds and raindrops, a familiar theme in Eugene where the University of Oregon is located. Blakeley won first prize for prints at the 1976 Pendleton Arts Festival and has also won a Purchase Award in the Northwest Print Competion.
The University of Oregon Museum of Art houses a wide range of prints, sculpture, drawings, and paintings by women artists. In 1988, Museum staff worked with the Photography at Oregon Gallery and the Center for the Study of Women in Society to present "Ruth Mountaingrove: Feminist Photographer," an exhibit featured in this issue of the *Center for the Study of Women in Society Review*.

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CSWS *Review*
annual magazine of the Center for the Study of Women in Society

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CSWS

Introduction

Marion S. Goldman
CSWS Review Editor

Although I must follow tradition and introduce this year's *CSWS Review* on the first page, it really begins on the last pages where research publications supported by the Center are listed. As you will see, this research covers an extraordinary range of theoretical and methodological orientations toward the study of women in society. Published articles and books are but a small sample of Center affiliates' productivity. There was simply not enough space to list all of the papers, book reviews, performance art, curriculum innovations, and works in progress that reflect, at least in part, the financial and collegial support generated by the Center for the Study of Women in Society at the University of Oregon.

The "deviant woman" is the central figure in this issue of the *CSWS Review*. Deviance, as I use it, is synonymous with diversity and is not necessarily a negative term. The deviant woman is simply different from the prevailing norm, and social evaluations of her behavior change with contexts and times. Many of the women studied by scholars writing in this issue, however, have met some form of public disapproval. All of the varied research presented here has an interdisciplinary impact and addresses some of the crucial issues embedded in the relationships of gender and social organization.

The Center's diverse scholarly orientations could be grouped and regrouped, much like clouds in a windy sky. Different features in the *CSWS Review* could appear along with other Center-supported work in issues focused on women in the family, women and work, women in social movements, or women and religion. The theme of deviance, however, serves as an umbrella under which qualitative and quantitative scholarship from many disciplines can be organized, illustrating the Center's goal of helping scholars from every part of the University amplify and also question one another's assumptions.

Acting Director Miriam M. Johnson spent most of last year working on successful Center reorganization, and facilitating broader and better services for affiliates. This year, while still engaged in administration, she completed *Strong Mothers, Weak Wives*, which the University of California Press will publish in the fall. In her "On Two Years at CSWS," she discusses administration briefly and then illustrates the way CSWS works by describing how Center membership supported her own scholarship.

The five feature articles in this issue present research from English, history, and sociology. Barbara Pope's discussion of Saint Thérèse shows how a single life history can serve as a mirror of fundamental social transformation in nineteenth-century France. Moving from saint to criminal, Sally Simpson examines the case of a woman operating at the highest echelons of organized crime and suggests the possibility that forces affecting stratification in regular labor markets may also have an impact on stratification in the irregular economy. Then Robert O'Brien applies a feminist perspective to the thousands of women in the United States who are somehow involved in violent crimes each year. Using data from FBI Uniform Crime reports and National Crime Surveys, O'Brien speculates that the female murderer who has been labeled an offender may actually be a "defender."

My own article examines a very different kind of commune, built by desciples of Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh in the canyons of Central Oregon. It attracted many high-achieving women who abandoned careers to pursue enlightenment, and their life histories contribute to the wider debate about feminine ambivalence toward achievement. Mary Wood's final feature article deals with a community of still a different type, established by women confined to institutions for the insane in the late nineteenth century. They developed networks of support and sisterhood despite the horrible conditions of their institutionalization.

Cheris Kramarae, a CSWS Visiting Scholar for 1988 and author of *Women and Men Speaking*, is currently in residence at the University of Oregon. Her reflections on the many influences of feminist scholarship, specifically on gender and language, underscore once again the interdisciplinary nature of feminist research.

Joan Acker's letter from Sweden about her upcoming project on women in banking, indicates that scholarship on women travels around the world as well as across longstanding disciplinary boundaries.

Ruth Mountaingrove's photograph was taken from a show of her work jointly presented by CSWS and the Photography at Oregon Gallery at the University of Oregon Museum of Art. Mountaingrove was a central figure in the feminist communal movement of the 1970s. Her photographs are part of the legacy of feminist history. Her negatives and personal papers will become part of the University of Oregon Library's Special Collections after her death.

High school English teachers repeatedly warn students not to use the same words too much. Reading through this introduction I see adjectives like "interdisciplinary" and "diverse" again and again. Rather than speak of bad writing, I prefer to see them as strokes of emphasis on the Center's goals. The *Review* is part of our efforts to become more widely known nationally and to make a range of research available to a broad scholarly audience. Some readers who know about CSWS-sponsored research in their own fields or subfields are not yet acquainted with research in other disciplines that could affect their own work. Once again, it is the Center's pleasure to take this yearly opportunity to bring it all together.

Two Years at CSWS

Miriam M. Johnson
CSWS Acting Director

Last year, as acting director of the Center for the Study of Women in Society, I described the Center's activities in both the 1987 *Center Review* and the *Annual Report*. Now I am writing in the midst of our search for a permanent director. In the last 12 months there has been little change in the organization or direction of the Center. We are continuing the programs I described last year, including our faculty lecture series, visiting scholars, curriculum development support, outside speakers, academic interest groups, dissertation and travel grants, and most important, our support for a broad range of scholarship on women in society.

Since a new director will take over next year, I am going to take off my administrative hat and use this space to speak personally about my own work and the many ways in which the Center has supported it. My experience with the Center has perhaps been more extensive than that of many others at the University, but it is not atypical and can illustrate how CSWS contributes to feminist scholarhship.

In 1983, the year that the Center officially opened, I began a book that both brings together my previous work and also develops an argument which, by making a distinction between women as mothers and women as wives, integrates research and theory about women, sex, and gender in a new way. The many opportunities for interdisciplinary contact provided by CSWS helped me use material from a variety of disciplines and combine several different feminist perspectives in the book.

Ever since graduate school I have been concerned with the ways that family and kinship organization create common social understandings about gender. Motivated by the women's movement that began in the 1960s, I have focused on how the construction of gender inequality relates to the structure of the nuclear family and to the social organization of modern industrial and postindustrial societies. In my book I argue that women in these societies have been defined in terms of two fundamental kinship statuses—that of mother and that of wife. While these two roles are usually thought of together, there is much to be gained from analyzing them separately. The title of the book, *Strong Mothers, Weak Wives: The Search for Gender Equality*, emphasizes the point that the power associated with these two roles is quite different. I believe that it is the status of wife, not the status of mother, that underlies women's disadvantaged position in society. Moreover, the male-dominated marriage relationship has been a fundamental organizer of gender relations and of women's mothering in all societies. But this is especially true in industrialized societies that minimize other kin relationships.

Many consequences flow from this simple distinction between mother and wife. For example, the distinction between "interdependence" and "dependence" as descriptions of orientations attributed to women is related to the mother-wife differentiation. It is one thing to be sensitive to the needs of others and concerned with relationships, and quite another to be dependent; yet descriptions of femininity often merge the two. I see women's orientation toward "interdependence" as a strength that is connected with women's mothering, while women's "dependence" is a handicap that is connected with men's fathering and the wife role. My analysis of gender difference and development, then, extends and modifies Nancy Chodorow's *The Reproduction of Mothering* and Carol Gilligan's *In a Different Voice*.

I also distinguish between gender and sexuality to argue that both women and men are sexual beings and can act on the basis of equality in the sexual arena. In American society, however, gender has come to be associated with heterosexuality defined in terms of male dominance and female submission. This in turn comes from the definition of women as dependent wives and not as independent actors.

I use a broad sociological perspective as a basis for a multidimensional analysis of gender inequality. The data and approaches in the book reflect a variety of social science fields, combining macro and micro levels of analysis. Although other disciplines vary in the degree to which they understand or identify with sociological perspectives, in my view sociology is an inclusive orientation knowing no disciplinary boundaries. Sociologists have in common an interest in social action—that is, motivated human activity that takes place with reference to other humans. We are concerned with how this activity is organized at various levels of analysis, all the way from the minute dissection of a three-minute encounter between two women to the description and interpretation of the over-arching symbol systems of a culture. A sociological perspective can and does serve as a theoretical umbrella for the various projects from various fields concerned with women and society supported by the Center.

I am grateful to the Center for providing me with funds for released time to work on the book and with secretarial, library, and photocopying services. This help was of great value to me, especially at the beginning when the task of writing a revision of feminist theory seemed so formidable. But even more important the Center provided me with just the kind of interdisciplinary interaction and stimulation that I needed.

I am also grateful for the opportunity to hear lectures from feminists in various departments within the University and from many visitors. In addition to one-time lecturers, the Center has also brought in visitors to stay for longer periods:

Arlene Daniels and Alice Cook talked about the work women do; Harriet Holter and Hanne Haavind from Norway gave a series of lectures on patriarchy in a welfare state.

Best of all from my standpoint were the visiting scholars who stayed even longer and led weekly seminars for faculty members and advanced graduate students. Marilyn Frye was here for a year and led an "ovular" that was truly interdisciplinary, very feminist, and a lot of fun. Nancy Armstrong came for a memorable term and introduced me to the mysteries of semiotics, and now Cheris Kramarae is at the Center tying it all into language.

All of the seminars have been about feminist theory in one way or another, and hence provided grist for my mill. The seminars have been characterized by much give and take as we got down to some fundamental issues and discovered that disciplinary differences really did not matter! When disciplinary perspectives did matter they supplemented the perspective of another discipline. Although we came to no grand conclusions, the process of exchanging ideas, sometimes surprising each other, trying out ideas, and just getting to know one another as women and scholars and feminists was what counted. Perhaps seeing the value of *that* process was the most grand conclusion we came to and it is a *very* important lesson.

Beyond the seminars, the Center has added to the possibility of informal female collegiality. I left academia entirely for almost 10 years beginning in the early 1960s because of the absence of such collegiality; I did not like being the lone woman in my department. Now my department has more women faculty members than most others on campus. What a pleasure to have female colleagues who read and critique my work, collaborate with one another, and pass along articles, information, and support. I am also grateful for the many female students in my own and other departments from whom I learn as well as teach.

As acting director of the Center, some of my experiences have been less than sanguine, but that is the nature of administration at a time when priorities are being established and new structures created. Many people coming from different places have put in a lot of hard work to keep the Center running smoothly and I thank them all. We are a privileged group and I am very proud to be a part of it.

My best wishes to the Center in the future as it grows and changes. We have a strong base both in dedicated people and also in secure financing. My wish is to see the Center become increasingly well known and increasingly effective in promoting high-quality, path-breaking research on women.

Miriam M. Johnson is the author of *Strong Mothers, Weak Wives: The Search for Gender Equality*. Berkeley, California: University of California Press. 1988.

VISITING SCHOLARS 1989–1990

A call for applications will be sent to those on the *CSWS Review* mailing list early in Fall 1988.

CSWS is pleased to announce VISITING SCHOLARS 1988–1989

Suzanne K. Damarin
Associate Professor
Educational Policy and Leadership
Ohio State University

Paula K. Ramen
Research Program Director
Stone Center
Wellesley College

April Minnich, Center Resource Coordinator

CSWS Library Runner Program

Under the direction of April Minnich, Center Resource Coordinator, the Library Runner Program serves the Center for the Study of Women in Society faculty affiliates across the University of Oregon campus. During the 1987–88 academic year, student runners will process more than 2,000 requests for items relevant to affiliates' research on women in society. Runners check out books and photocopy chapters and articles available in the University's main branch libraries and through the interlibrary loan program.

CSWS Staff: Left to right, Kathleen Hynes, Lyn Cogswell, Marcia DeCaro, Agnes Curland and Miriam Johnson.

Saint Thérèse: The Little Flower

Barbara Corrado Pope
Associate Professor
of Women's Studies

At first glance it may seem odd to include an article on women and religion in an issue on difference and deviance. Yet when Marion Goldman asked me to contribute to the *CSWS Review*, it did not take very long to remember just how odd the women and events I study appear to people thoroughly immersed in mainstream American intellectual culture. I immediately thought back to the reactions that two women Protestant ministers had had to a movie we attended together. It was Alain Cavalier's *Thérèse*, a biography of a French nun, that much to everyone's surprise, earned third prize at the 1986 Cannes Film Festival. It depicted the life of Thérèse Martin (1873-1897), a.k.a., Thérèse of Lisieux or the Little Flower of Jesus, who died quite joyfully at the age of 24 in the obscure French provincial convent she had inhabited for nine years.

Through a series of modernist vignettes, Cavalier showed the dedication, the unquestioning faith and otherworldliness, and the large and small sacrifices that had marked Thérèse's seemingly uneventful existence. He also showed her writing the autobiographical notebooks that were published posthumously in a little volume called *The Story of a Soul*. It was this book that eventually led to her canonization and, indeed, made her the most popular Catholic saint of the first half of the twentieth century.

I suspect it was because Thérèse assumed familiarity with her "lover" and "spouse," Jesus, and her militant detachment from the things of this world that compelled my friends to label the film and its subject "sick." They could have just as easily called her "deviant," if by that one meant simply that which is not of the "norm," for clearly Thérèse's life stood apart from nineteenth-century secular culture. Yet she did exemplify an alternative, the ghettoized Catholicism of the towns and cities of Republican France and Italy and of the Catholic immigrant neighborhoods in Protestant America.

Part of my task after the movie and in my publications and research, then, has been translation—to describe and explain this culture. For me, this means bringing together religious and political (i.e., secular) history within a framework of changing gender systems and gender symbolization. The ultimate goal of this research will be a study of what, for the time being, I call the feminization of Catholicism. This is a big order. I am working toward this goal by looking at specific events, people, and symbols. This patchwork of local histories can reveal a pattern that will illuminate large problems within both the dominant and alternate cultures of the Christian West in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. That is, I will not only be asking how and why did religious practice change, but also how and why did society become secularized.

The Question of Feminization

The concept that religion was "feminized" in the nineteenth century has been discussed for more than 15 years. Most readers familiar with this term will have heard of it in the context of American cultural history. But, as we shall see, French historians, using a very different approach, have also wrestled with the problem of the changing gender balance in religious practice and commitment.

Barbara Welter and Ann Douglas utilized a cultural analysis of literature, sermons, and organizations to explain the changes in theology, liturgy, and religious commitment occurring in the Protestant mainstream of the northern United States during the nineteenth century. What emerged was a more genteel faith with a less fearsome theology and a softer image of God. This changing religion fostered an identification of women with the Christian virtues of humility, charity, and forgiveness, and catalyzed the foundation of the female benevolent societies that became so prominent in the Victorian American landscape.

In her article, "The Feminization of American Religion, 1800-1860" (1973), Welter presented these theological changes as positive because they took women's needs into account and empowered them to engage in social activism. However, Douglas' much more influential work, *The Feminization of American Culture* (1977), virtually accused middle-class women and their liberal ministers of sabotaging rigorous and intellectually viable Calvanist theology. Indeed, as her title implies, she even went further and charged that this "holy" coalition led to the unholy sentimentilization and vulgarizing of American culture. Although Douglas' interpretation has not gone unchallenged, it remains the most powerful statement of feminization in American history. This is one of the reasons why I hesitate to use the term, since I do not want to be among those who blame women for the ruin of old-time religion and the general vulgarity of modern life!

In the context of French historiography, feminization is a much less value-laden term. In fact, the emphasis in France has not been upon cultural interpretation, but upon quantification. Through a myriad of parish studies, historians have verified what impressionistic accounts of French life have noted for over a century: Women far outnumbered men in the churches, and the *feminization* of religious practice, which began in the eighteenth century, accelerated greatly after the revolution. Women flocked into religious orders, while priestly vocations suffered a relative decline. Even the number of women saints, relative to their male counterparts, increased in the nineteenth century. One recent estimate is that women comprised 75 percent of practicing Catholics in France by the second half of the nineteenth century.

I suspect that the reaction of some readers to this figure will be, "But of course, everyone knows that." As a historian, however, I contend that we do not comprehend the *meaning* of this fact until we see the "feminization" of western religious practice as a phenomenon of a particular time and place, and not just as an expression of some aspect of female or male nature or socialization. Only then can we truly ask, why did this change occur and what were its effects upon both religious and secular life for women and men?

Historians of France set forth several central reasons for the Church's changing gender balance. They have cited particular groups in the eighteenth century ("enlightened" bourgeois, wine dealers, city-bound laborers and vagrants) as having given up the faith before the revolution. They have also noted that the rise of the liberal state fostered male secularization in two ways. First, revolutionary and postrevolutionary governments eliminated sanctions for noncompliance. Second, the new state offered the male half of the population loci of sociability outside of religious practice, among them the intellectuals' salon, the workers' saloon, the institutions of higher education, and electoral politics.

This politicization of men had consequences in the private sphere of life, also. One of the major sources of conflict between French rationalism and Catholic practice in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has been the use of birth control. Family historian Jean-Louis Flandrin (1970) in a book on this controversy hypothesized that men who used condoms or coitus interruptus were

Saint Thérèse and her mother

not likely to have patience with priestly admonitions and, therefore, chose to stay away from the confession boxes.

I see male politicization as a primary reason for the division between secular and religious "mentalities" in France. This separation could occur between families (for, of course, some men kept the faith with great militancy) and within families. Some nineteenth-century liberals, like the romantic historian Jules Michelet, rued the fact that their female relatives not only listened to priests but also confided their family secrets to them. But these nineteenth-century males never comprehended that men's exclusion of women from political life may have been one reason why some wives still went to mass, the confessional, and the local parish society, with or without their husbands' company or approval.

So far in French historiography there has been much more analysis of the "why" of feminization than the "how" (i.e., What were the effects of "feminization?" What did it look like?). American Bonnie Smith used anthropological, linguistic, and psychoanalytical theory to get at part of the how in her book *Ladies of the Leisure Class* (1981) on northern French *bourgeoises* during the last half of the nineteenth century. She uncovered a cosmos of the home interweaving domesticity, female suffering and reproduction, and religious practice. However, as the word cosmos implies, she was not talking about widening influences but about a self-contained culture. Smith was more interested in what these women chose from the artifacts and devotions of an already existing faith than how they changed or "feminized" Catholicism.

I hope to discover *both* the how and the why and to explain how something like "feminization" could occur within an institution known for its patriarchal control. I have begun to perceive the outlines of a larger, all-encompassing pattern.

Outlining a Theory

The first place I looked was at Catholicism's most important female symbol—and symbol of femininity—the Virgin Mary. In particular I wanted to understand the reasons behind the "Marian revival" in the nineteenth century and be able to describe its manifestations accurately. Chief among these manifestations were several widely reported apparitions of the Virgin to women and children in France and Belgium during a period spanning 100 years, from 1830 to 1933. These reports of visions coincided with the rise of the "modern" pilgrimage movement in Catholicism, which used mass-produced images, mass transportation, and modern press and organizational techniques to attract and move large numbers of people into and out of sacred sites.

These new pilgrimages, of which the most important and enduring is Lourdes, differed from what had been the common practice of Catholic Europeans for several centuries. Although there were occasional spontaneous reactions to reports of apparitions and miracles that brought people from afar, much like the reports of Marian visions in Medjugorje, Yugoslavia, today, most early nineteenth-century pilgrims trekked on foot to honor local saints at holy rocks, trees, springs, or images. The rhythm of these travels was traditional, usually coinciding with the cycles of agriculture (which involved most, if not all, local inhabitants) or of human reproduction (typically a woman's affair). The new pilgrimages were almost entirely devoted to one saint, Mary, and drew first a national, then an international clientele.

Reports of visions are so endemic to Catholicism that we can safely assume that at almost any point in history there will be some who claim to have spoken to or seen the Virgin. What does change is the official and unofficial attitude of the Church hierarchy, which is by definition male. In the nineteenth century, after over a century of leaving belief in miracles, visions, and pilgrimages to the peasants, so to speak, this hierarchy, first with caution and then with enthusiasm, actively sanctioned the miracles, the visions, and the messages. As Thomas Kselman has reported in *Miracles and Prophecies in Nineteenth-Century France* (1983), this was in part at least a strategic move, motivated by a recognition that miracle-producing and emotional devotions were a powerful means of fortifying the faith. It must also be said that what the Virgin had to say, for the most part, was exactly what the hierarchy wanted to hear: a number of her messages explicitly condemned secular beliefs while verifying church doctrine. In particular, two apparitions supported the very controversial new doctrine that the Virgin was immaculately conceived.

In my study of the visions and pilgrimages I tried to unravel the old from the new, and the masculine from the feminine meanings of the symbols and messages, for each vision came to represent a stubborn mix of these. Because the hierarchy moved to approve and promote the pilgrimages, it usually controlled their meaning. The image of Mary that emerged from their definition of events suited the tastes of a celibate clergy: the powerful mother (of a son) who was virginal, even immaculate, and who could work miracles. The very colors of these visions (white and blue) gave Mary a bloodless and ethereal quality far removed from the problems of sexuality and fertility troubling most women who filled the churches and participated in traditional pilgrimages.

This is what could be called the "hard" side of the image, made even harder by the interpretation that many of the clergy gave to events. Asserting that Mary's appearances symbolized condemnation of modernism in all its manifestations, the clergy attacked skepticism, over reliance on science and human reason, and the political ideologies of liberalism, republicanism, and socialism. This "hard" image was thus used as a weapon in a battle waged between men, a battle of such importance and intensity that historians have often referred to the protagonists as the "two Frances." Indeed, there probably were only two things upon which these two sides agreed: the supreme importance of the nation (for which they had very different female symbols) and the role and nature of women.

Just as in America, men of every political stripe believed that all women should be the repository of such Christian virtues as humility, charity, fidelity, and maternity. This womanly ideal provided the "soft" side of the Marian image that appeared in the minds of the visionaries and also in the mass-produced holy cards and statues distributed throughout the world. The most popular images showed Mary with arms outstretched down *to* humanity or held up in prayer *for* humanity. She was the mother whose love was unconditional, who interceded for the faithful with her injured Son and their stern Father. In her infinite mercy the Virgin even instantaneously cured some spiritual and physical ills.

It was this soft side of the image that gave most of the faithful hope and set them off on pilgrimages. It was the hard side that guaranteed that these images would reach a worldwide audience. It is the polyvalence of the symbol, its combination of the hard and the soft, which continues to give it special power.

A holy card of Saint Thérèse

The "soft" eventually won out in places like Lourdes, which is known for its healing rather than its politics, but Mary is still seen by some as a weapon against modernism. In places like Bayside, New York, Garabandal, Spain, and Medjugorje, Yugoslavia, recently reported visions have become a symbol not only of anticommunism but of the wrongs of the post-Vatican II Church, which has chosen to de-emphasize miracles and the kind of devotions that can be defined as "feminized" because they appealed to and were most closely followed by women.

Among these are the special weekly devotions to the Sacred Heart, the other predominant symbol of the nineteenth-century Catholicism. Like the Mary image, the statues and pictures of Jesus-as-the-Sacred-Heart interwove the hard and the soft. The open red heart burned in a visible flame with love for the faithful. In these images, Christ looked androgynized, even feminized. Yet the Church also overlaid this symbol with a

hard message of defiant antimodernism. This was a Christ who forgave the faithful but would eventually vanquish his enemies in this and the next world. This hard shell formed the fortifications of the Catholic ghetto. The soft interior (Italian historian Paola di Cori has written of ceremonies in which Italian women "entered" the Sacred Heart) represented a belief system at which the dominant secular culture scoffed.

The barriers that grew up between the two worlds living side by side in Latin Europe separated the Church from political power, divided believing wives from republican husbands, and kept militantly Catholic families out of the dominant culture.

Thérèse: Theoretical Implications

It was into such a ghettoized family that Thérèse Martin was born in 1873, the year marking the onset of the modern pilgrimage movement. She became the perfect expression of feminized devotions. Indeed, the written image that she presented in her book and the popular and endlessly reproduced depictions of her drawn by her sister, extended this "feminization" well into the twentieth century.

I began a study of Thérèse in order to understand how she had gained such immense popularity throughout the Catholic world. After examining the canonization proceedings and processes, theological analyses of her writings, and scores of her biographies, I found the answer to this question where I had started—in the popular, illustrated editions of her own slender autobiography. This seemingly simple book held enough "subtexts" to charm most Catholics and to fortify their beliefs. The most obvious and immediate themes were the romance of the "perfect" family that weathered tragedy and a hostile environment without dissension or rebellion; the formation of the model girl (called "sweetheart" by one priestly biographer) who grew up in a world that modern Catholics knew; and after Thérèse death, the fulfillment of her promise that she would perform miracles for those who prayed for her.

Although many, like my minister friends, have found Thérèse boring and cloying, her most devoted admirers have delved into her life and writings to find a hard inner core. This is the foundation of the less obvious and more fascinating subtexts. For priests and nuns, who probably shared her nostalgia about the family, she gave a realistic depiction of the hardships and irritations of the religious life. For women who fully contemplated her life, she represented something else as well. Her life was a series of one-to-one relationships with people and with Jesus. She worked these out with an air of self-righteous and stubborn autonomy, quite frequently against the wishes and best intentions of her superiors. Because most women confined to the private sphere live out their lives as a series of particular relationships, her story became a representation of female experience and a vehicle for devotion that suited them. That is, not only did she go her "own way" in her story but she became an object of individual devotion that could be enjoyed outside of a particular doctrine or priestly control.

If feminization means anything in male-dominated Catholicism, it means a symbiotic relationship between women and priests that favors some form of devotions, artistic styles, and ethical concerns over others. It also indicates the rewarding path that women can take within patriarchal systems, fulfilling their own agendas by finding pockets of autonomy and power. One of my working hypotheses is that this is why many Catholics became alienated after Vatican II, the Ecumenical Council of the 1960s that called them to become a modern community of believers and quietly pushed them to give up their private, feminized devotional objects and practices.

For now we have come back full circle. Are religious women like Thérèse "deviant"? Yes, if deviance is an attitude of withdrawal from and defiance towards the dominant public culture. But we must not dismiss such deviants if we are to understand how many women have found autonomy and power in their own lives.

A postcard portraying Saint Thérèse's bedroom

Suggested Readings (In English)

Atkinson, Clarissa W., Constance H. Buchanan, and Margaret R. Miles, eds. *Immaculate and Powerful: The Female in Sacred Image and Social Reality*. Boston: Beacon Press. 1985.

Douglas, Ann. *The Feminization of American Culture*. New York: Alfred Knopf. 1977.

Massey, Marilyn Chapin. *Feminine Soul: The Fate of an Ideal*. Boston: Beacon Press. 1985.

Smith, Bonnie G. *Ladies of the Leisure Class: The Bourgeoises of Northern France*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1981.

Taves, Ann. *The Household of Faith: Roman Catholic Devotions in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America*. Notre Dame: Notre Dame Press. 1986.

HIGH STATUS WOMEN'S CRIME

Sally Simpson
Assistant Professor of Sociology

As a social phenomenon, crime has intrigued philosophers and social commentators for centuries, but until recently, women's participation in criminal acts was either ignored or dismissed as an aberration. The 1970s ushered in a new focus on female offenders; but, after a period of intense debate over whether changing societal conditions or ideological influences were in fact producing a new "liberated crook," most scholars could only agree that female criminality is still traditionally situated and patterned. The traditionally female offenses of prostitution, shop-lifting, welfare fraud, and drug use dominate the popular and academic picture of adult female crime. Among juveniles status offenses are most common, followed by theft, disorderly conduct (which often involves prostitution), and drug use.

Ironically, some criminal justice professionals and researchers are taking a closer look at female participation in white-collar offenses. This new focus has yielded interesting and somewhat controversial assertions about the incidence and seriousness of female "elite" crime.

Criminal justice personnel have found that more women than ever are being processed for white-collar offenses. Even though critics suggest that this increase may be a reporting artifact, reflecting more arrests but no higher real incidence, criminal justice professionals assert that it reflects real increases in white-collar crime activity among women. Recent 1987 Bureau of Justice statistics on white-collar crime support the claim that women have made inroads into this formerly male domain. However, close examination of the statistics reveals that when women enact elite crime it is not particularly elite. Neither the crime types nor the offender characteristics qualify participants for true elite status (Daly, 1987). In most white-collar criminal enterprises, like in society, women are clustered near the bottom of the power hierarchy. Rarely do they orchestrate lucrative criminal activities, nor are they likely to be primary decision-makers in crime networks or organizations.

Research Interests

Last fall, I was contacted by an acquaintance from Boston who had an intriguing story to tell about her participation in a multimillion-dollar drug-smuggling and retailing network. Now, given the terms of the white-collar crime debate, this fact alone was anomalous to the gender patterning of criminality. But, even more unlikely, my informant organized and managed her own operation, and she suggests that she is not the only woman to manage such multimillion-dollar enterprises. In fact, she knows of many women, at all levels of smuggling and distribution, operating in the same markets she did. This evidence suggests that more women may be breaking down traditional entry barriers and penetrating the boundaries of sophisticated, lucrative, and in some cases, organized, crime activity. I had been presented with an irresistable research question. Now my goal was to isolate this particular type of criminal activity and learn more about women's participation in it.

Drugs and the Irregular Economy

Earlier sociological work on the illicit drug area typically takes one of three tacts. One approach traces drug production and the creation and maintenance of drug distribution networks. The second focuses on the drug user, and the third reviews various social control policies. Typically, with an important exception, (Patricia Adler, 1985) the discussion of women's relationship to illicit drugs is usually confined to the second category. If women's participation in the drug market is discussed, it is usually described in terms of lower-level dealing or smuggling. Women frequently resort to selling small amounts of an illegal substance to support a drug habit. Thus, extant sociological literature is not very helpful in providing either empirical information about women smugglers and retailers or theoretical interpretations about their activities.

To understand how women have gained entry into and mobility in upper-level illicit drug networks, I am conducting an exploratory study of the markets in which my informant operated. While my research plan includes ethnographic observation and interviews with participants, at this point my data consist of in-depth interviews with my primary informant (approximately five hours) and telephone conversations with a federal narcotics agent familiar with her case. It is important to note that these data are preliminary and that much research is left to do. I am more concerned that we gain an understanding of these women offenders and the nature of the drug markets. Specifically, I plan to establish the extent and process of women's involvement in illicit drug networks; the factors that influence mobility and exit; and finally, the nature of male-female relationships within these criminal enterprises. A life history of my primary respondent has already provided some insight into these research questions.

My primary informant is a woman in her thirties who has retired from the drug trade, partially by choice, but also because she turned informant after a series of arrests. By describing her life, biographically and sociologically, we can gain some sense of how women come to be involved in criminal enterprises and the special features of this illicit market that allows access to women entrepreneurs.

Lauren's Life History

Early life

Lauren's parents divorced when she was quite young and some of her first memories are of her mother packing her and her younger brother into the car to escape from her father. Once resettled, the family lived in a depressed, yet stable neighborhood. Her mother remarried when Lauren was quite young, but rather than improving life for the family, the marriage served to further deteriorate family life. Lauren's step-father was an alcoholic and, while she was young, he regularly beat her. As she got older, the beatings became more frequent and violent and later, her step-father began to sexually abuse her. By the time she was 14, she could tolerate life at home no longer and ran away.

At first she stayed with her friends, moving from one girlfriend's home to another. But, eventually parents became suspicious of their continuous house guest, and Lauren left for the streets of Boston. Unable to survive on her own, Lauren began to sleep with men in exchange for a place to stay or food. Rarely explicitly sexual, these exchanges required deft interpretation on Lauren's part. A man would offer her dinner or a place to "crash" and Lauren had to uncover whether there was an implicit sexual subtext, i.e., did he expect her to sleep with him as part of his offer. Too often, this was in fact the case.

Unhappy and frightened by several brutal experiences on the street, Lauren developed a sixth sense about people and situations; who to trust, how to avoid violence, who the authorities were, and so on. These street smarts kept her alive while on the streets; and they also served her well in her later life as a drug smuggler. Eventually, she left for the West Coast to live with relatives.

There is nothing in Lauren's early life that criminologists have not heard or analyzed before. Our theory would predict a future of petty criminality (prostitution, theft, maybe drug addiction) for Lauren. Girls with case histories like this are not prime candidates for membership in what Adler call "the glitter crowd" of higher status crime or the straight-life either. Yet, she has achieved both. To understand how Lauren accomplished what seems unobtainable statistically, we need to identify key persons and situations influencing her during her late adolescence.

Moving Up

One person who came to be a significant influence in Lauren's life was one of her high school teachers. James (not his real name) cannot be described as a typical role model. When Lauren first met him, he had a drug case pending in another city. But this didn't change his behavior much. Lauren tells of him bringing hash balls to school in his pockets and showing them to her in front of other students who had no idea what they were. He drove expensive cars, wore expensive clothes. He was young, attractive, exciting, and he took an "interest" in Lauren.

This interest, on the surface at least, appeared to be paternalistic. James tried to convince her to stop running away, to settle down and stay in school. Later, however, they became lovers and she was integrated into his circle of connections and acquaintances. One of these connections became her surrogate father whom she still calls "godfather."

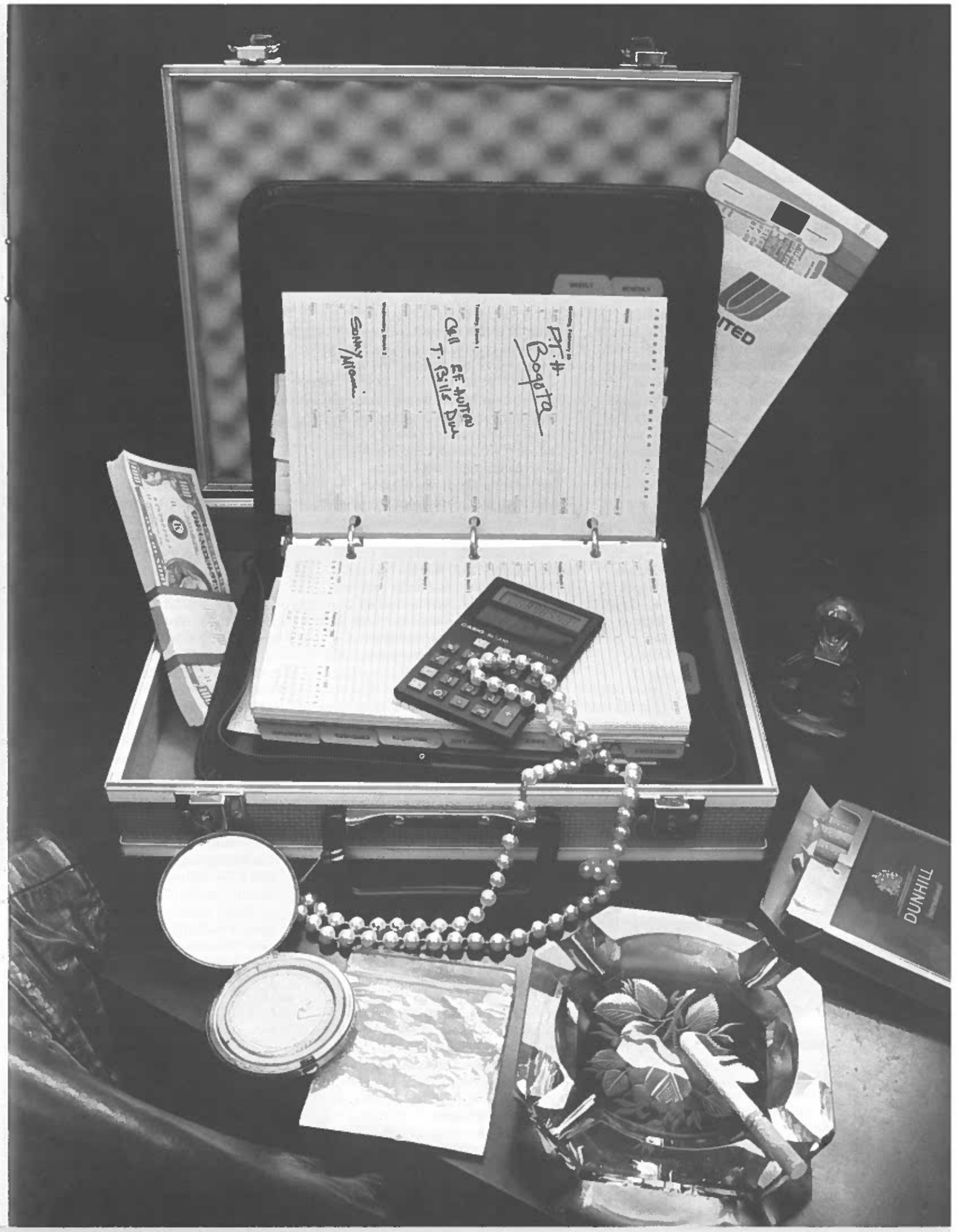
As soon as Lauren turned 18, she moved into a wealthy and swinging beach community in California, a venture financed largely by James. Her "godfather" hosted a party where she met several investors who bankrolled a small legitimate business for her and a partner. She made a name for herself and her business flourished. As she became more successful and better known, Lauren was integrated into a "party crowd." These people were mostly young and wealthy, often combining members of the entertainment industry and operatives in the drug supply network with "yuppies" from the local community. Drugs and money figured prominantly in their partying, as is often the case in young, elite communities on both coasts.

It was through these social connections that Lauren met many of her later suppliers and buyers. But her first taste of large-scale drug smuggling (as opposed to the casual drug use that occurred at these parties) emerged through her legitimate business contacts. As part of her business, Lauren needed supplies that were trucked in from Florida. On one occasion, some suppliers approached her to smuggle marijuana into the state via her shipments. Intrigued by the ease of the operation—it required no capital outlay or planning on her part—she consented. When the first run was successful and paid handsome dividends, she expanded the operations and over time her legitimate business became a front for her smuggling activities.

Smuggling for others provided lots of money for parties and entertainment, but Lauren knew that this was petty cash compared with what she could make from her own operation. Observing what others had done, plus relying on Mexican contacts supplied courtesy of her godfather, Lauren bought and rented planes to smuggle the marijuana across the border. She hired pilots to fly the loads and established stash houses where the bales could be stored. With her operation in place, she went into business.

Her pot-smuggling operation was successful. Lauren estimates that over the two-year period in which she was actively smuggling, she netted over two million dollars, lost two loads, and was arrested only once. Over time, the business expanded. Lauren's fluency in Spanish allowed her to establish her own network of suppliers in Mexico and Guatamala, circumventing the layers of middle operators who cut into profits. She also found it advantageous to be a woman smuggler because most law enforcement agents and some competitors dismissed her as either someone's girlfriend or a mere operative—certainly not the brains or capital behind an operation. She played on these sterotypes and asserts that other women in the business did as well.

Not all of her smuggling operations went smoothly. In fact, the precipitating event that moved Lauren into cocaine dealing was a bad debt accrued through a marijuana smuggling deal that fell through. To make good on her debt, Lauren went to the cocaine "source" in the community (an acquaintance she had met earlier) and asked if she could sell some of his stash. In a complex dance necessary to establish trust and credentials, Lauren took one kilo of cocaine and sold it within the hour. With $67,000 in hand, Lauren proved to the dealer that she had the connections and wherewithal to make sales of that magnitude. After a few more deals like this one, Lauren's base of operations was greatly expanded. (It is important to note that there is little overlap between pot smugglers and dealers and cocaine traffickers. Lauren suggests that their skills,



resources, and styles of distribution are quite distinct and that operating in both markets is "bad karma." While she crossed over networks, she typically handled cocaine only as a means to finance her marijuana-smuggling operations.)

Lauren gradually integrated into the cocaine-trafficking business. Her professional relationship with the coke dealer (we will call him Marcus) provided her access to new connections and networks. Flying to airports along the coastline, she supervised the off-loading of Marcus' cocaine supply. At first, all of her trafficking depended on his network; but later, she established her own connections and distribution network. Colombian suppliers delivered her loads to Florida where she would pick them up and arrange transport across the country, usually using trucks and Lear jets. Because her connections were closer to the country of origin than Marcus' (who had to pay West Coast prices for his supply), she could undercut him in the retail market. Although Marcus threatened her for establishing her own supply network, he never followed through.

After too many "coincidences," (she was seen too often and too often implicated in large deals), Lauren was targeted for investigation. Informants tagged her as a major operator and she was ultimately arrested. During the long period of interrogation by state and federal drug agents, she turned evidence on some of her contacts in exchange for a light sentence. She moved out of the state to attend college and currently works in a legitimate business to pay her way through graduate school.

Observations on Lauren's Life

Lauren's life history is fascinating for its variety as well as its content. One is struck by how similar, yet different this woman is from the traditional female felon. On the one hand, much of her deviance is stereotypic (runaway, drug-use, sexual bartering). On the other, her acts constitute a sort of double deviance. As a top-level smuggler and drug dealer she is deviant, but doubly so because these roles and activities are typically male dominated. Lauren's deviance is gender-based as much as it is a violation of statutes.

What can account for her integration into and subsequent upward mobility in this drug market? I suggest that there are two key elements. First, Lauren's entry into upper-level smuggling and retailing was facilitated by her relationships with men. In very traditional ways, Lauren used her relationships and connections with men to gain access to persons who could benefit her own situation. Figuring prominently in this ability were James, her godfather, and Marcus. James' lifestyle and circle of friends provided Lauren legitimacy in the community. Known as his girlfriend, Lauren's presence at parties and other social gatherings was taken for granted and her networking was viewed as a natural extension of her role as "old lady" (Adler, 1985).

Unlike James, who is a relatively insignificant operator in the upper-level drug markets, Lauren's godfather is just the opposite. Though she is uncomfortable detailing or speculating about his business dealings, it is clear from her comments that he plays both sides of the business world, legitimate and illegitimate. His promotion (social and financial) of Lauren was tantamount to an anointment, she was presented as a capable woman who had powerful friends to look after her interests. It was his assistance in financing her legitimate business that gave her a front for initial smuggling activities and his Mexican connection that allowed her to break away from others and establish her own operation. Marcus literally supplied her with an entrée into an established operation. By gaining his trust and keeping her eyes open, Lauren established herself as someone who could do whatever was necessary to ensure a good deal. Once her reputation was in place, all she had to do was avoid arrest.

Another factor that contributed to Lauren's ease of integration is the nature of the cocaine and marijuana markets in her community. Both markets, when compared with heroin for example, are relatively new and disorganized. The pot-smuggling market has changed dramatically since the 1960s and the cocaine market has grown enormously. These drug networks are loosely coupled. Membership is fluid. Some relationships are close and long lasting, such as partnerships and connections, but many are ephemeral, as Adler notes. In markets like these, monopolization is next to impossible. Like Reuter found in his study of illicit markets, entry into and exit from these drug markets is not particularly restrictive. Each market may be populated with a significant number of small entrepreneurs, along with larger more powerful dealers like Marcus. It makes sense that this type of criminal organization would be easier for women to penetrate than ones that are more entrenched and controlled, more formal and rigid. Also, the fact that Marcus did not carry out his threat of violence against Lauren when she set up her own supply network suggests that he may not have had the power or support to do so—further evidence that the market was not monopolized and barriers to entry were minimal.

It is always a danger to draw conclusions from such limited data and I do not plan to do so. But if subsequent interviews with like-situated women reveal similar life histories and experiences, then Lauren's case is not anomalous and provides more basis for generalization. Feminist theory can help make sense of how gender stratification of occupations (if we can agree that the roles within illicit drug trade can be defined as occupations) occurs and is maintained. It may also provide direction for analyzing male-female relationships (economic, sexual, and emotional) within these illicit markets. The sociology of complex organizations may supplement this basic framework. Until research is expanded and more subjects are interviewed, however, we can only speculate about these types of women deviants. It is important to discover the degree to which women are integrated into smuggling and trafficking activities, at what level, and what influences patterns of mobility and exit? The characteristics of illegal markets also need much greater elaboration and documentation. However, the data are provocative, and I for one am excited by what might be uncovered.

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Bureau of Justice. *Special Report: White-Collar Crime*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice. 1987.

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A Visiting Scholar

"The last speaker alluded to this movement as being that of a few disappointed women. From the first year to which my memory stretches, I have been a disappointed woman. . . . In education, in marriage, in religion, in everything, disappointment is the lot of women. It shall be the business of my life to deepen this disappointment in every woman's heart until she bows down to it no longer."

(Lucy Stone at a National Woman's Rights Convention, Cincinnati, Ohio, October 1855)

How Feminism Has and Has Not Influenced My Field

Fifteen years ago I set out to write what I hoped would be a fairly comprehensive review of language and sex (as it was called then) research. I had checked new and old bibliographies, and used all the customary library reference sources. The material I found fit quickly and easily into an article of 25 typed pages. But I didn't know about the many relevant observations and studies of women in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. From my research review it appeared that feminists in the late 1960s and early 1970s were the first to see and hear language and communication norms as related to girls' and women's oppression. I didn't know!

"I have been a disappointed woman..."

Lucy Stone and Others on Education and Language Study

I know a little more today. In every research field, women have had to rediscover the actions and influence of the work of those "disappointed" but very active women, since the standard current educational materials do not record it.

When I published my first review in 1974, I didn't know about all the feminist scholarship that *should* have influenced language studies, but *did not* because it was neither mentioned in textbooks nor cited in articles of the "experts." One of my current concerns is to refind the important feminist research that had no lasting influence on language and communication studies and work to have that material included in contemporary histories and perspectives.

Some of this work can be recovered by careful searches, some of it by chance encounters. For example, working in the library stacks one day 10 years ago, I pulled a dusty 1913 book off a shelf because the title looked interesting: *The Old-Fashioned Woman: Primitive Fancies About the Sex*. It contained a marvelous discussion of what the author, Elsie Clews Parsons, labeled "sex dialects." The topics she covered anticipated the work of sociolinguists in the 1970s, who began (for the first time we thought) to study the way language reflects and maintains the separation of females and males. The book's title springs from Parsons' belief that women were living by antiquated societal rules.

Parsons became a research project for me as I traced her through teaching positions, travels, publications (148 books, articles, and reviews) under her own name and more under pseudonyms. *Religious Chastity*, for example, was published under a male pseudonym, possibly to make more persuasive her enumeration of the ways religious practices reflect the general unbalanced social status of men and women.

At the time of her death in 1941, Parsons was president of the American Anthropological Association. Her 25 years of fieldwork among the Pueblo Indians and her publications based on that work brought her recognition from other anthropologists. I wonder if the praise given to her publications based on that fieldwork, writings still cited in anthropological studies, is the reason that her earlier work even survives on the library shelf.

Her earlier work was concerned with the importance of freeing people from societal constraints based on sex or racial division, age, or economic or political class. Critics and biographers immediately after her death described it as containing "patient, impersonal, drily ironic evidence," as being criticism done with a "generalizing approach," and as showing more concern with intellectual criticism

Cheris Kramarae, Professor of Speech Communication, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign; 1988 Visiting Scholar, Center for the Study of Women in Society

of fundamental forms of modern ways of life than with factual accuracy. One critic praised her later work by saying that it showed she had learned "the difficulties of a purely intellectual attack upon catch phrases and meaningless symbols." This criticism is similar to modern criticism that is often directed toward those who write of their concern with the way the English language manhandles women or with the extent of the difference in the ways that women and men use words, and with the implications of the differences.

The topics Parsons mentions (for example, differential use of swearing, exclamations, and slang; and differential control of topics of conversation) are some of the very topics that have recently been "discovered," and made the focus of theoretical and empirical research. More than 70 years later, the same types of linguistic differences are being heard and discussed. Although in many respects social conditions have changed during those years, the ways in which women's speech is thought to differ from men's speech remain much the same. If Parson's work had not been disregarded or disparaged by the "experts," sociolinguists could have moved on more quickly with our analyses.

Yet even now, seeing Parson's work does provide us with insights. Her writings on language and sex illustrate the way that one's perspective and basic assumptions determine what is seen and heard. The linguist Otto Jespersen wrote in 1922 about some of the same topics in his chapter, "The Woman," that Parsons had covered earlier in her chapter, "Sex Dialects." But even as the titles indicate, while Jespersen treats women's speech separately, as an aberrant form of men's speech, Parsons discusses the two "dialects" as coexisting phenomena although recognizing that men do not hold women's speech in high favor. In her chapter, Parsons discusses the differential control of topics in North America, with men but not women talking shop, politics, and sports. In the same section she discusses the taboos of some tribes that prohibit speech between husband and wife for two months after marriage or which require women to address men using differing terms than those they use for each other. She thus questions the "logic" of our culture, in a manner that she must have hoped would be academic enough in tone to seem an acceptable, impersonal, presentation of data. However, the material and tone did not win her book a place in men's bibliographies, and thus until recently it was also lost to feminists.

Recent Changes in Communication Research and Practice

For all the inattention of malestream research to the feminist scholarship that *should* have influenced all communication work, we can still see that we all owe a great deal to early women's rights theorists and reformers working on language use and speaking rights. I will now mention just a few issues here that are not usually discussed in the communication text or theory books and articles in the field of communication. Opportunities are opening to women, but are still more likely to be open to white, middle-class women, than Black or Hispanic working-class women.

Access to some on-air broadcasting jobs. Broadcast officials for many years refused to consider women as possible candidates for broadcasting jobs.

Access to lecture halls. After a few women first gave public speeches in the early nineteenth century, many others also attempting to address women and men were denied the use of platforms in schoolhouses or civic halls as well as churches.

The right to retain their full birth name after marriage. The system of patronymic naming still has firm hold in this culture, though women are now legally allowed to keep their name. This does not mean, of course, that others will call us by our full birth names. In the first place, women in many settings and situations are called more often by their first name than are men. The confusion about what to call a woman, sometimes sincere but often an attempt to make sure we remain "other," leads to some strange address forms. Recently, assigned to a committee as the "I suppose we need a woman" representative, I heard the meeting called to order this way: "Cheris and Gentlemen."

Access to literacy and a literature of our own. The women's presses and women's studies divisions of large publishing companies still lead precarious lives, and their publications are not often distributed widely. However, a middle-class reader, at least, can find a wealth of feminist information, debates, and challenges. True, we must gather it quickly since it will likely be erased by "established" critics and ignored by most library and documentation centers. Still, at the moment, we even have feminist books available that chronicle *that* process (e.g., Dale Spender's *Women of Ideas and What Men Have Done to Them*).

Language is not as simple as the traditional dictionaries have it. In fact, language is not as Webster has it at all!

Temporary and limited access to some lecterns at universities and in churches. These are still largely governed by men who can thus control the number of women allowed in.

Current feminist research on language and gender. The dozens of books and many hundreds of articles on this topic are read, discussed, and cited by activists, students, scholars, and others engaged in many other occupations (mostly women). This impact, however, is not what is usually meant by questions asking how much influence feminist work has had. What is usually meant is "How have men changed their thinking and research because of feminist work?" But the importance of feminist research to women should not be trivialized. One of the difficulties of seeing what impact women's work is having on academic disciplines is that if men pay mind to it, they are likely to co-opt the work without acknowledging it as feminist work. For example, feminists' concern and experimentation with, and theorizing about language have had an (usually unacknowledged) influence on the talking, writing, and thinking of many men.

Current Research in Language and Communication

Increasingly in or across all disciplines feminists are working with such questions as "What can we learn about the structure of power through studying diversity of language use?", "How are discourses altered as economic situations and institutions evolve?", "What changes are in order and possible for women who say that English is unsatisfactory for explaining their lives?", "How are our experiences shaped by the words and syntax available?", "What other codes can be or have been used for expression of anger and protest?" Increasingly, we are making it clear that language is not as simple as the traditional dictionaries have it. In fact, language is not as Webster has it at all!

I had heard from a female faculty friend that several male professors regularly "gossiped and prattled" about what they called my "hysterical" ideas.

In the past 15 years, feminists have effected changes in the vocabulary and structure of the language we use to talk about ourselves. But work such as *A Feminist Dictionary* does indicate the extensive redefining that has been going on among women of all social classes. Suzette Haden Elgin has published a grammar and dictionary of Láadan, a language constructed precisely to enable women to talk about chunks of their reality that previously had no names, and thus were difficult to accept as reality (e.g., *radíidin*: nonholiday, a time allegedly a holiday but actually so much a burden because of work and preparations that it is a dreaded occasion . . . *A First Dictionary and Grammar of Láadan*, Box 1624, Madison, WI 53701-1624). While several women, including linguist Julia Penelope, have pointed out that the Láadan language at present is inadequate for talking about, for example, male violence or homosexual love, it is in conception a very important project that can illustrate problems in "our" English language and offer language possibilities. So studying language and gender has led to questions of dictionary formation, and language construction and change.

It has also led to close analysis of conversations. Feminist researchers have, for example, been very conscious of the conversational work done by women in many female-male conversations. In initial studies of white, middle-class speakers, women in conversations with men were more likely to follow up on the topics raised by men and to offer supportive "uh huhs" encouraging a speaker to continue. And women were more likely to be interrupted when they were talking. Jack Whalen, University of Oregon, and Marilyn Whalen, University of California at Santa Barbara, are doing close analysis of the conversations of girls and boys. These researchers are alert to the possibilities of similar interaction patterns. Dominance might be accomplished in other ways among boys and girls, or men and women, with different cultural heritage and economic backgrounds. The point is that feminists are encouraging the analysis of features of talk and relationships that were once considered uninteresting or incidental to language study. Much of their work has recently been on the constraints on talk between doctors and, especially, women patients, constraints which contribute to structuring doctor-patient power relationships. Elizabeth Holloway at the University of Oregon is one of the researchers working on conversational analysis of the doctor-patient relationship, building on her earlier research in the counseling process.

How Feminism Has Affected My Research

While feminist theory has a sometimes presence (irritating or funny or dangerous) for many masculinist communication researchers, for me it has provided sensible approaches to experiencing and explaining the world, including the world of research. A linguist friend of mine told me she was glad that she received her last degree in the 1960s before she had heard much about feminism or had begun "thinking"; now she identifies herself as a feminist, lesbian, separatist linguist, and she thinks she would be unable to sit obediently through the courses and ideology required for anyone wishing to obtain a Ph.D. at most universities.

On the other hand, I returned to graduate work in 1972 *because* of the people and ideas of the feminist movement. Trying to provide a nourishing environment for a husband with a career and for two young children eager to grow up and out had many good moments, and teaching (as a "faculty wife") several sections of the same course on a yearly temporary basis gave me some income along with valued time with students. But blessed as I was, I was a "disappointed" woman who worried that 20 years later, if I was *lucky*, the children would have left home and I would still be teaching the same course over and over again. My advocacy of the practices and ideas of the feminist movement had encouraged two of my friends to go back to graduate programs. I joined them but I was still very fearful that, since no teacher had ever encouraged me to work for a Ph.D., perhaps I wasn't smart enough to manage taking graduate courses *and* teach full time. (I didn't dare give up my teaching job because I knew I might otherwise find myself with a Ph.D. but no job.)

I saved time and effort in one way. I entered all of the courses and began all of my term papers with attention to language—looking critically at the assumptions of the lecturer and assigned authors about the characteristics of women's and men's thought and talk, and assumptions about whose talk is worth studying and in what settings. My feminist critiques were continually at odds with the overwhelmingly male-oriented and male-decreed research questions and standards. But I was able to turn my dissatisfaction with the curriculum into critiques that gave me intellectual satisfaction, university credit, and eventually a degree and publications. I was fortunate to be in a program that allowed some credit for challenging critiques. At the same time, I remember too well the ridicule my feminism received, and I heard from a female faculty friend that several male professors regularly "gossiped and prattled" about what they called my "hysterical" ideas. It was not a particularly supportive atmosphere. There was no women's studies program at the university until after I received my Ph.D., but by giving myself linking assignments dealing with sexism, language, and the superstructure of our culture, I could find material of value in most graduate courses.

My colleagues continue to give me lessons about the content and functions of sexism. I try periodically—say at every twelfth instance—to provide them with minilessons also, by pointing out their outrageous sexist, racist, and homophobic remarks and "humor." Once, hearing yet another Jessica Hahn joke at an official administrative meeting, I remarked on the sexism a colleague was expressing. His response was, "Lighten up, Cheris. We aren't all as interested as you are in constantly talking about sex differences and in making everything into some sex-division problem." I realized at the moment of his paternalistic comment that while I thought I was calling attention to the pervasiveness of men's sexualizing

and trivializing women (by just occasionally pointing out a few of the ways men portray women's words and other activities as different, sexual, and silly), he and many others might really think that I was, by such an act, increasing the division. *I* already felt the effects of the division, of course. But until I spoke, *he* didn't. So if I spoke and made him uncomfortable by asking him to reconsider his actions as discriminatory, the question still remains, which of us was *really* the problem?

So my colleagues continue to educate me and provide me with unintended research questions and analytic approaches. I began my research with what I thought was a single research thread—language use. But the thread soon became a tangle as I discovered that following it led to work done and issues raised by community activists and by researchers in literature, sociology, linguistics, social psychology, and anthropology.

The Future Influence of Feminist Scholarship on Language and Communication

Because of bold feminist analysis, we are ready now to stop using *sex* or *gender* as a term to describe a distinct, unchanging social and personal characteristic of a person and to begin using *gender* as a term to describe an inequity and hierarchy that also interacts in the construction of race, age, and class divisions. The use of these as seemingly separate *variables* (which are added on, or not, in any particular communication study) obscures rather than reveals relationships. We need, rather, to look at the connections—at, for example, the ways that a gender hierarchy is deeply embedded in race, class, age, and sexual orientation divisions and inequities. Gender then, appears as a political and thus possibly temporary division. When we study gender issues from this perspective, we will be better able to see the connections and divisions among women, whether white or Black or Third World. We can then better see whose purpose the political polarities (male-female, white-of color, West-East) serve.

Why, for example, are the verbal "games" played by young Black males often based on who can say the most demeaning, outrageous things about the other's mother? Why do so many people ridicule gay men in terms also used to describe and ridicule women? We need to study the many ways dominant groups use genderizing terms to organize and divide people into subordinate groups. Traditional communication studies are built on the assumption that separate variables can be usefully studied, say, two or three at a time. Feminist theory can be used as the basis of an argument that class, age, race, sexual orientation, and gender are not autonomous academic categories but essentially interrelated political hierarchies.

Lucy Stone said that she had been a disappointed woman most of her life. She was at the same time an optimistic woman who worked in many ways to change the conditions of women's lives. A feminist in communication studies is still thought, as was Lucy Stone, to have a wild tongue; we are still heavily censored. But we are still introducing our world views, describing our relationships, and providing ways of addressing the dominant society's perception of difference and antagonism.

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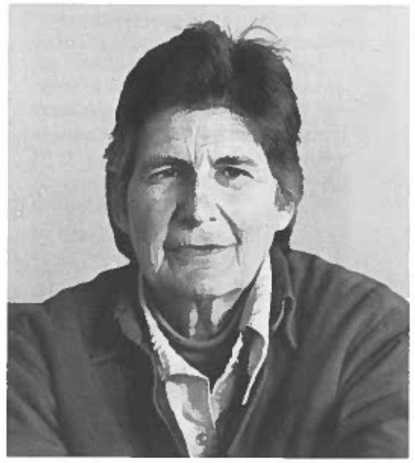
Why, for example, are the verbal "games" played by young Black males often based on who can say the most demeaning, outrageous things about the other's mother?

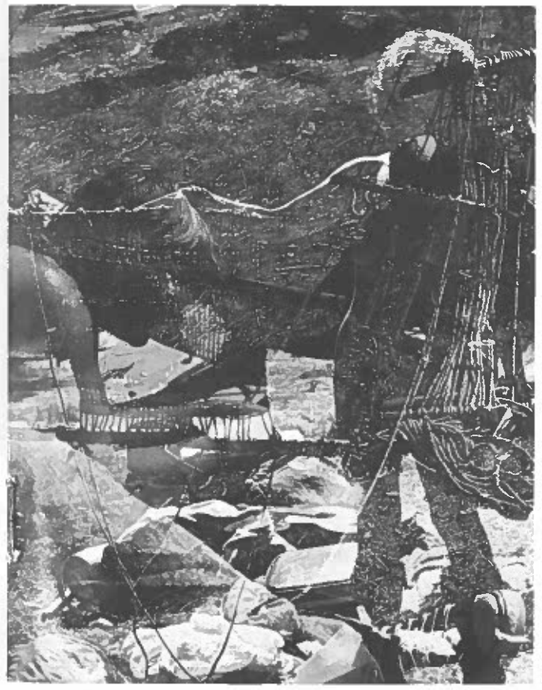
Jane Grant at her desk

Footnote—In 1855, Lucy Stone insisted on keeping her own name after marriage, challenging the laws and conventions that made husband and wife one, and that one the husband. Her action helped encourage others—including Jane Grant—to challenge the naming restrictions. Grant, who founded the Lucy Stone League, also envisioned a fund for the study of women and their accomplishments. After her death, her husband, William Harris, arranged for her money to be used in supporting what is now called the Center for the Study of Women in Society at the University of Oregon, which promises to continue supporting "disappointed" and resourceful, courageous, and accomplishing women.



Belle Shalon, Arcata, California, 1985

Mountaingrove



Ruth Mountaingrove

Dreamweavers

Dreamweavers—Finding Our Treasure

We wanted to have a dream circle around what was the future of the women's movement, so we gathered on this land and we kept close to the middle of the circle. We were all going to sleep in the dream circle. And from the coast we brought rope to make weavings, and everyone wove a weaving that she was going to sleep under, in her sleeping bag. Some women wove very beautiful weavings. Now mine was a symbolic weaving. It lasted through the night. Some women wove beautiful weavings with shells and feathers.

One of the dreams I remember was dreaming of a woman who was going down a spiral, down, down, down, into a forgotten city where there was treasure. She was going down to find her treasure, which I think is what we have been doing in this second wave of feminism, finding our treasure.

"The New Pioneers" Lecture, University of Oregon, 1988.

This winter the Center for the Study of Women in Society and the Photography at Oregon Gallery jointly sponsored an exhibition of Ruth Mountaingrove's work at the University of Oregon Museum of Art's photography gallery. Mountaingrove visited the University of Oregon to deliver a slide-illustrated lecture on her photographs and her personal history in the feminist communal movement. She underscored the need for feminists to preserve their history and promised her papers and photographs to the University of Oregon Library Special Collections after her death.

Written, musical, and visual images come together in Mountaingrove's work as she portrays the indivisibility of women's experiences. The photograph "Dreamweavers" merges literal images with moods through experimental techniques. In an excerpt from her recent presentation at the University of Oregon, Mountaingrove describes the collective weaving of a feminist dream.

Self - Portraits | Portraits of Self

Do Architects make self-portraits? Do carpenters? Do cooks?
If a woman creates a recipe can she call it a self-portrait?
If she designs a garden or a room, is that a self-portrait?

Everything we create is from the self. How do we separate the inner from the outer? What is mine/ours and what is the worlds?

Is there a difference between self-portrait and portrait of self? Gertrude Stein would call anything she wished a self-portrait. Would we?

What does all of this have to do with feminism? Is it because women are expanding their definition of themselves that the boundaries of meaning are expanding? How does *the personal is political* fit the self-portrait?

Ruth Mountaingrove
Blatant Image, *1982*

The Women of Rajneeshpuram

Marion S. Goldman
Associate Professor of Sociology

Mike Znerold

● *Gender, Achievement, and Ambivalence*

I studied the women and men of Rajneeshpuram to understand a process that is becoming increasingly common: women with excellent educational credentials or positions on lucrative career ladders set aside their hard-won success to pursue a different path. The fact that hundreds of high-achieving women followed Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh to his commune amidst the tumbleweed and sagebrush of central Oregon is interesting in itself. But what is far more interesting is the possibility that some of Bhagwan's disciples represent an extreme example of the many American women who, whatever their age or social position, equivocate and back away from the fruits of occupational success.

The high-achieving men at Rajneeshpuram were not central to the initial part of this research project and the inclusion of their interviews represents an afterthought, albeit an important one. Originally, I interviewed men to compare them to the women and weigh similarities and differences in the two groups' life histories and current activities. I found that almost everyone interviewed valued the collective purpose, friendship, and opportunities for their own spiritual growth that residence at Rajneeshpuram offered them, but the women of Rajneeshpuram generally came to Rajneesh with different childhood memories and different goals than the men. High-achieving women became disciples after they "fell in love with Bhagwan," and defined their decision to become a sannyasin as a means of self-completion. Male disciples cast their seekership in terms of a quest for personal enlightenment that would empower them in daily life. Although I will write in detail about the men later, this article will focus primarily on women disciples.

The gender differences in motivation for both achievement and also discipleship were part of a larger set of issues involving the historical tension between achievement in American society and the almost equal cultural ambivalence toward occupational success. The accomplished men and women who flocked to Rajneeshpuram also illuminated some of the crucial relationships between values and achievement that have been central issues in sociological theory since Max Weber's *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. The decision to follow Bhagwan and build Rajneeshpuram marked his disciples as fundamentally deviant in the popular imagination, yet their extreme case can clarify some general patterns in American society. Rajneeshpuram represented a solution to the fundamental tension between individualism and collectivity found at the heart of complex societies. Bhagwan's disciples are an extreme case of some of the central social processes in American society, but because they appear to be so different, so essentially deviant, they can reveal some of the dynamics that are hidden and taken-for-granted in similar, but more accepted situations.

● *Rajneeshpuram*

In Oregon one drives east over the Cascade Mountains and emerges in the wild west of dry ranchland and hundred-mile views. From Eugene, in good weather, it took me two hours to drive over the Cascades and two more to wind east past Madras, through the hamlet of Rajneesh (now renamed Antelope), and up a graded dirt road to the town of Rajneeshpuram. On the cold spring day in 1984 when I accompanied a group of four psychologists from the University of Oregon on my first visit to Rajneeshpuram, I was literally speechless. Bhagwan's disciples had shaped grazed-out ranchland into fertile fields and built rows of townhouses, a huge meeting hall called Rajneesh Mandir, and a small Sausilito-style shopping mall.

More impressive still were the residents, clad in sunrise colors ranging from orange to deep purple and bent in absorbtion over their work or bowed in adoration when Bhagwan passed them in his Rolls Royce during the ritual mid-afternoon "Drive-By." At lunch that day in Magdalena, the communal dining hall, I heard four different languages spoken by articulate, intelligent disciples who had come to Rajneeshpuram from every corner of the world to surrender their egos to Bhagwan. What had seemed like a fascinating sociological problem from a distance became even more compelling close up.

The Rajneesh organization purchased the Big Muddy Ranch in July 1981 and its resident population grew to a peak of almost 2,000 in less than two years. From the beginning, the publicity-conscious sannyasins attracted international media attention as they seized political control of the nearest town, bussed in almost 2,000 homeless men in an abortive attempt to swing the county election, and praised their leader's collections of Rolls Royces and Rolexes.

Just four years after the Big Muddy purchase, criminal charges filed against Bhagwan, his personal secretary, and a number of other leaders shook the commune, and in December, 1985, Bhagwan left the United States. Six months later Rajneeshpuram was virtually deserted and a small group of caretakers worked to sell the commune's remaining assets, including the 64,000-acre ranch itself.

While newspapers alternated between running sensationalized stories about pistol-packing swamis and promiscuous mas and simply repeating the praise that the Rajneesh public relations group articulated, psychologists Carl Latkin, Dick Littman, Norm Sundberg, and Rick Hagen had gained access to demographic information from 635 Rajneeshpuram residents in fall, 1983. The mean year of birth for resident sannyasins was 1949, and the average sannyasin was about 34 years old, while members of most new religious movements tend to be in their early twenties. More remarkable still was the fact that 36 percent of the residents had advanced graduate or professional degrees and an additional 33 percent were college graduates. In contrast to the 69 percent of the Rajneeshees with degrees, only 17 percent of the adult population in Oregon has graduated from college. Finally, 54 percent of the sannyasins were women, and a large number of them occupied key commune positions.

From May 1984 through October 1985, at a period when the disciples' commitment was at a peak, I spent a total of 30 days at Rajneeshpuram, sometimes driving down the mountain late at night and other times staying in the posh Hotel Rajneesh or in an A-frame cabin.

I taped a total of 25 in-depth life history interviews, which lasted from two and a half to 20 hours and usually involved several visits. Each interview included some specific questions, as well as open-ended queries that could be introduced into a flowing conversation. Subjects also responded to eight to 11 pictures from the Thematic Apperception Test, a well-known projective instrument for which individuals make up stories in response to different illustrations, such as that of a boy contemplating a violin.

● *Rajneesh Philosophy*

Sannyasins' seekership must be understood both within the context of Bhagwan's philosophy and the social arrangements at Rajneeshpuram and also in terms of wider cultural issues. The specific characteristics of the Rajneesh movement made discipleship attractive to relatively affluent individuals who had some experience with the movements for social change of the late sixties and early seventies. And it is possible that various Rajneesh-like groups combining a spiritual master's leadership and techniques of the personal growth and encounter group movements will attract growing numbers of disciples who are now in midlife and are searching for the exhilarating combination of individual autonomy and collective action they experienced briefly through the movements of their youth.

In asserting that material comfort was a precondition of enlightenment and that his ideal was the fusion of the materialistic westerner and the mystic easterner, Bhagwan attracted thousands of successful Americans to his ashram in Poona and later to Rajneeshpuram. "Zorba and Buddha" captured the essence of this synthesis and was the name given a worldwide chain of Rajneeshee-owned restaurants and discotheques. This sort of tongue-in-cheek humor marked the more than 400 volumes of Bhagwan's transcribed discourses, darshans, and lectures containing a melange of psychology, philosophy, and religion from Reich to Gurdjieff to Lao-Tsu to Jesus Christ. After the move to the United States, there were increasing references to a coming apocalypse from floods, volcanos, nuclear war, or acquired immune deficiency syndrome. Even the most macabre visions, however, contained elements of paradox and playfulness and held out the possibility that Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh alone could avert ultimate catastrophe by transforming human consciousness.

Disciples accepted or rejected these prophecies and other elements of Bhagwan's teachings as they chose, often asserting that a particularly gruesome vision, tasteless joke, or bizarre interpretation was simply a device to teach individuals to think for themselves. Free choice was the essence of Bhagwan's philosophy, but the ultimate freedom of enlightenment could only be realized through complete ego surrender to him. Every sannyasin had a slightly different path to follow in this process of self-transformation, but the personal path inevitably lay between Bhagwan's teachings and each disciple's heart.

Group therapy, a variety of meditations, and study were simply methods to develop this heart to heart, emotion to emotion communication. The key device, however, was work that allowed disciples to try on different roles, drop their egos, and build utopia simultaneously. High-achieving disciples did not have to abandon their dedication to work, they merely sanctified it and called it "worship." Although the goal was a flexible, graceful work rhythm, the often brutal work pace at Rajneeshpuram required sannyasins to work 10 to 12 hours, seven days a week in various departments called "Temples." But in building utopia and using work as a vehicle for self-transformation, disciples discovered an integration of work and community, of labor and love, that had been absent in their earlier lives.

None of the disciples interviewed complained about their work, although several were very tired because of extra long schedules and performance pressures. Also, only a few spoke

about having disliked earlier jobs at Rajneeshpuram. They relished the work, as they enjoyed the few duties common to all disciples: (1) wearing sunrise colors, (2) wearing a 108 bead mala with a picture of Rajneesh around one's neck, (3) meditating daily, and (4) prefacing a new or the same name with 'ma' or 'swami." Even these minimal requirements were loose and also subject to change by the master.

● *Gender Roles*

Rajneesh philosophy emphasized flexible gender roles in every aspect of life. The ideal sannyasin was neither overly masculine nor stereotypically feminine, but was instead a synthesis of both. Particular value, however, was placed on traditionally feminine traits such as intuition, expressiveness, self-awareness, and sensitivity to the supernatural. In fact, during the commune's final months, Rajneesh had some harsh words for women who had become too strong and articulate in the face of Rajneeshee men's passivity ". . . you seem to be part of that stupid movement called women's liberation. Here, there is no need for women's liberation. Here, the situation is totally opposite. The men are afraid of the women. They are writing letters to me, saying, "How can WE be liberated? . . . " (*Rajneesh Times*, August 16, 1985).

There was still traditional sex segregation in jobs at Rajneeshpuram, although an unusually large number of women were in managerial positions and in difficult manual jobs essential to the commune, such as construction and mechanics. Job rotation was a general ideal, but it was seldom enforced unless someone had been in the same job for several years or was perceived by leaders to be overly invested in a position with status and power. Even then, a few weeks pulling weeds at Surdas Truck Farm or preparing soup at Hasid Cafeteria was generally considered to be sufficient remediation.

Six of the women interviewed transferred skills almost directly from the outside to Rajneeshpuram, doing the same kinds of jobs for which they had arduously trained. The requirements of the ranch came before the requirements of individual growth. Attorneys were needed to fight the mounting numbers of lawsuits and trained accountants were essential to the complex holding corporations, even though these professionals might have benefited by worship at Ridas Temple—the roomcleaners corps. Two other subjects held jobs where they used the same skills to different ends, such as a former professor doing archival research. Only three had changed job directions entirely.

The high-achieving women of Rajneeshpuram found a sense of completion and release in their work. They were honored for their skill in serving Rajneesh and his commune, while in the outside world they had previously received ambivalent social responses to their achievement.

Rajneeshpuram was organized to discourage traditional family life. Child care was collectivized; cleaning, washing, cooking, and other household tasks were done by workers in various specialized departments, and couples were advised to dissolve their relationships if they hindered either partner's personal growth or pursuit of enlightenment. In some ways daily life at Rajneeshpuram resembled some nineteenth-century utopian feminist's dreams.

High-achieving women could immerse themselves in their jobs and not only have their material and status needs taken care of, but also receive something like love in return—love to and from Bhagwan and also a sense of being part of a larger, loving community. After Rajneesh began speaking publicly again, one woman recounted her experience, "I just knew in my being that I was going to have this opportunity to hear him. And it was a dream come true kind of thing to have this vision and here it is going to be given to you."

Another described life at Rajneeshpuram, "I've found a family. I've found people who also want to live in harmony. In fact I'm so happy, even, you know, it's like a lot of people are here because they loved Bhagwan and that's the reason they're here. And I love Bhagwan, but even if Bhagwan weren't here this family is here and I would be here."

The high-achieving women came from families with distinctive process and structure. They came from intact families, with only one of the women losing a parent through death before she was an adult. Only three of their mothers, moreover, had worked outside the home while their daughters were growing up and only one of those women had a career rather than a nine to five job. Behind this facade of ideotypic 1950s family life, however, there was something darker. All but two of the women's mothers had been emotionally removed from their daughters during their pre-and early school years, and some had been physically removed as well. Plagued by alcoholism, severe emotional disturbance, or chronic physical illness, they had been unable to offer their daughters sustained emotional support or, in a few cases, adequate physical care.

Most of the daughters, whether or not their mothers had difficulties, turned to their fathers for emotional support. Usually they received it and sometimes they were told that they were better, stronger, and more capable than their mothers. Their fathers, however, almost never encouraged their career aspirations, reinforcing general femininity rather than specific abilities. They spoke to their daughters of eventual marriage rather than of eventual careers; and some of the sannyasins' fathers actively discouraged their daughters' desires to enter professions. Said one woman who resumed a career after many years of marriage, "I really wanted to be a doctor . . . . [but, according to her father] women were wives and mothers, they weren't doctors!"

In choosing careers, the daughters affirmed their identities and every one of the subjects interviewed asserted that a major reason behind their most significant life choices was their desire not to be like their mothers. Said one older daughter who had helped her mother with the younger children, ". . . I was determined my life was not going to be a constant amount of housework. There had to be some adventure, something more of a contribution than that at least, and she [mother] herself felt frustration . . . and she knew . . ."

Another woman shared those sentiments and experiences, "[Mother] . . . was an alien creature to me, in a sense [I asked] 'who is this woman and what is she doing?' I can never remember relating, really feeling connected, like she was a role model or anything, I just can't . . ."

Finally, a mother of grown children said of her own mother, "She was a very deeply unintelligent, uncultured person."

Mike Zmrold

Surdas truck farm at Rancho Rajneesh

● *Conclusion*

Followers of Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh form a unique new religious movement, but they are representative of a growing number of groups melding psychology and spirituality together. These groups, whether they treat a master like a therapist or a therapist like a guru, appeal to successful women and men in midlife. The ratio of males to females in most of these organizations is unknown, but information about Rajneeshees and about therapists' clients in general suggests that the majority would be women and the relationships of gender to spirituality and religious seekership deserve further exploration. Also, both popular and academic literature abound with questions concerning why so many successful career women from ages 35 to 45 pull back or drop out just as they are moving ahead to levels of professional success and recognition that women of their mothers' generation seldom even dreamed about.

The women of Rajneeshpuram may have answers to some of these questions. Aside from obvious intellectual and interpersonal skills, they shared some common themes in their life histories. First, their primary motivation for a successful career was to avoid being like their mothers at all costs. Second, they pursued their educational and occupational goals with a singlemindedness that almost insured success. They were running away from any resemblance to their mothers while running toward some professional goals. This intense desire to succeed may, in fact, have been important in overcoming overt and covert sex discrimination and in insuring them competitive edges in graduate or professional schools or in the first phases of their careers. Third, academic or professional success failed to give their lives meaning. It provided them with some rewards, but it did not satisfy needs for intimacy or community.

The failure led them to search for something more, usually through philosophy or psychotherapy. In bookshops or university classes, through friends, or while traveling in India they came to hear of Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh. Some part of his vision eventually brought these women up Highway 97 in rural Oregon. The issues about why and how people achieve, the multidimensional relationships of work and self, and the interaction of life history and present decisions can be examined in terms of the lives of the women of Rajneeshpuram. But the import of this information lies in its applicability to a far larger number of women and men.

Suggested Readings

Carter, Lewis F. "The New Renunciates of Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 26: 148-172. 1987.

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Women in Institutions

Mary Wood
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Women's Recreational Ward, State Mental Hospital, Salem, Oregon. Early twentieth-century. Glass negative. Angelus Collection, University of Oregon Library Special Collections.

I have been doing research on autobiographies by women in mental institutions in nineteenth-century America for the past few years. Recently, I have begun to think about the ways these women conceived of the communities they helped build in the asylum—communities that reflected the complexity of power relations and personal interactions that made up the asylum as a whole. How did these autobiographers reconstruct their identities in relation to others after being uprooted from their homes and families and thrust into the strange, oppressive world of the nineteenth-century American asylum? More specifically, how did they establish connections of trust in their new situation of powerlessness after living within an ideological framework that links trust to the very familial authority and the very medical expertise that placed them in the asylum in the first place?

Much has been written about the harsh conditions of post-Civil War asylums, when institutions became much more crowded and personalized treatment virtually impossible. By the 1870s and 1880s, neurologists such as Edward Spitzka and William Hammond sharply criticized public asylums in the press, claiming that superintendents were little more than custodians. Newspapers frequently reported instances of asylum abuses such as beatings, rape, exploitation of inmate labor, imprisonment of sane individuals, and even the murders of inmates by attendants.

Dramatic testimony about these abuses came from Elizabeth Cochrane who went by the pen name Nelly Bly. As one of the first female reporters in the United States, Cochrane feigned insanity in 1887 to enter New York's Blackwell Island Asylum for 10 days of research for the *New York World*. After her release through a *World* lawyer, Cochrane wrote a series of articles exposing the beatings and other abuses she witnessed, including

Mary Wood

her own inability to gain release by insisting she was sane.

Women incarcerated as insane had to contend not only with these more blatant abuses but also with nineteenth-century conceptions of female nature and its relation to insanity. As the root word "hysteria" in the Greek word for "womb" shows, insanity was seen as linked to the female body. Nineteenth-century American doctors considered it a near miracle if women made it through puberty, childbirth, and menopause without going insane. For women in general, and especially for women in the asylum, the ideological link between femininity and insanity meant it was close to impossible for them to establish credibility or to resist the authority of either male family members or doctors who decided they should be committed. As historian Nancy Tomes has pointed out, although most nineteenth-century commitment laws required the signatures of two physicians, physicians tended to abide by the wishes of the family. Once a woman was in the asylum, the asylum structure mirrored the structure of the most authoritarian Victorian family. Popular and medical literature also generally described the superintendent as a father figure whose large household included assistants, attendants, other asylum workers, and the inmates themselves. The superintendent supposedly knew what was good for all his children, rarely consulting them as he made his decisions.

Asylum Autobiographies

Within this context, women in the asylum struggled to build communities that would help them survive their experience and gain release. In the autobiographies I've examined, written by middle-class educated women who wielded enough influence to be able to leave the asylums, this process of community building involved an initiation into asylum life in which they had to rethink their previous alliances and relationships.

In her 1890 autobiography *A Secret Institution* (New York: Bryant Publishing Co.), Clarissa Lathrop describes her own transforming introduction to the New York State Asylum at Utica, where she was sent by her relatives after becoming convinced she was being poisoned. When she first arrives, an attendant tells her to get ready for a walk with the other inmates:

> ***"No, indeed," I replied, as I looked from the door and saw the motly group arraying themselves in nondescript garments, old hats, hoods, bonnets, and shawls, a rare collection of old-fashioned clothing, which looked as if it had been "through the wars." Thus arrayed, they crowded out of the hall, presenting an odd and grotesque appearance. After they had gone, I again went to Miss Sterling's room, and had a little talk with her, as I felt I must have some one to speak to, and I also hoped that I might be able to understand the situation, in order to know what I could do in order to leave that place. I asked if she would kindly loan me a pen, ink and paper, as I had none with me, for I wished to write a letter. (111)***

It soon becomes clear that her efforts to communicate and ally herself with Miss Sterling, the asylum matron, are naive and fruitless. Her first impulse when brought to the asylum is to speak and to write, but she soon discovers that she will not be allowed pen and paper, nor will she be able to converse with anyone considered sane. Eventually she realizes she must walk with the others, though "I felt that by so doing, I was in one sense classing myself with lunatics" (131). Despite her initial feelings, she begins to have more sympathy for those around her, remarking that:

> ***I was not at first inclined to talk with my strange companions, and shrunk away from them in undisguised horror and alarm. As I was brought daily in contact with them, and saw their utter harmlessness, I began to divert myself by observing their different peculiarities, even though they were repulsive to me, for I could not remain in this contact with them without having my deepest sympathies aroused for their misfortunes. (129)***

Lathrop's shift to a sympathetic stance in the narrative foregrounds the complexity of her position within the asylum. As an educated middle-class woman, she at first reaches out to the matron, whose position of relative power she identifies with. Lathrop records her wish to be "classed" neither "with lunatics" nor with the lower-class people who made up the majority in the state asylums. Her need to distance herself from those whom she is in a sense forced to identify with continues throughout her stay in the asylum. While she does draw closer to the other inmates and depends on them to keep her secrets and carry her clandestine letters, she is never completely comfortable with them. I think her distancing is due both to her sense of class difference, which emerges frequently in the autobiography, and also to her fear that identification with the community of other inmates means acceptance of the label of insanity.

As Clarissa Lathrop's indoctrination into asylum life shows, her membership in the asylum world involves a continual balancing among its various communities as she struggles to maintain a sense of self-definition. This struggle is illustrated even more clearly in an incident that Lydia Smith relates—almost as a kind of instructive allegory—in her 1879 autobiography *Behind the Scenes; or, Life in an Insane Asylum* (Chicago: Culver, Page Hoyne). Soon after commitment by her husband, she meets a young woman named Hattie who entrusts her with a secret. Implying that she is being sexually assaulted by one of the physicians, Hattie asks Smith to carry a message for help from a trusted doctor, without revealing it to anyone else. Unaware of either the import of Hattie's message or the power relations among the various attendants and doctors, Smith casually mentions the message to an attendant. Soon after, Hattie disappears and Smith never sees her again; she hears rumors that she has been sent to a back ward from which few inmates return.

With this incident, Smith learns a hard lesson about trust, betrayal, and community-building both within and outside the asylum. She laments:

> ***Oh Hattie; would I had heeded your admonition; little did Dr. Pitcher, when he advised your mother to send you here, know of the awful doom that awaited you. Parents, can you trust your daughters to the care of an entire stranger, not knowing what treatment they receive? (35)***

On one level, Smith criticizes that chain of authority from doctor to mother to powerless daughter, a chain regarded with respect in the nineteenth-century American advice literature. Smith's experience exposes as ill-conceived a conception of trust in which a daughter loses control over her life and a mother gives her own power away to a medical expert within the asylum "family". On another level, Smith bemoans her own betrayal of the younger woman who had adopted her as a mother figure, a betrayal based in her own misplaced trust of those with authority over her. Smith learns the dangerous position of the asylum inmate who needs to trust other inmates to survive, yet who is in constant danger that the trusted one will expose her, if only out of ignorance or naiveté. She becomes more careful during her stay in the asylum, realizing that with prudence she can rely on many of the inmates and on some of the attendants, who occupy a middle position since they, too, are often underpaid and oppressed by superiors who show them little respect.

Smith also learns that she can least trust those who have the most power over her—the doctors. She adopts a guarded appearance in front of the doctors that she drops occassionally for other inmates and certain trusted attendants. Writes Smith:

> ***I had to use more strategem than a general would to win many battles, for this reason: I was a prisoner, without the means of defending myself; I possessed no weapons but my hands and my tongue. I knew those two members were very useful. But I must be careful how I use them. I must be discreet, must be wise, not appearing to be so; must feel my way along carefully, and, more than all, must stoop to do things distasteful to me. I must act a part. I must flatter [the doctor's] vanity. I must seem not to remember the past, or only as an insane freak, and think it all a delusion. I would be cheerful, and even gay, and tell them how much their treatment was helping me, and praise their skill. Every opportunity that presented itself to me I would take advantage of in one way and other, just as the circumstances called for. But above all, I must flatter them. (87)***

Smith tries to simulate wellness by "acting a part," adopting the feminine role in the late nineteenth-century male story about gender relations, in which the woman acts cheerful, praises the male doctor, and seems grateful for the "treatment" she receives. Significantly, her only "weapons" are her hands, which enable her to write, and her tongue, which allows her to speak. These are the tools Smith uses in the autobiography itself, as she unmasks the part she has been playing.

Gender Oppression and Community

Despite the trauma of their lives in the asylum and the anxieties of constant dissimulation, the practice of having to create an acceptable self and to manipulate power relations gives these two autobiographers a sense of community with other inmates based not on their label of insanity but rather on their common situation of oppression. As they develop this new identification, they create a controlled public persona that actually allows them to move into the public sphere as outspoken reformers. Smith and Lathrop tell us that not only did they go on to write these texts for the purpose of helping those still incarcerated, but they also both became public speakers promoting asylum reform. Lydia Smith, who had been a neurasthenic mother unable to care for her home and family, became an informed reformer who could quote figures on the complicated asylum budget and assert her own ability to administer it more efficiently than current superintendents. Clarissa Lathrop, referring to her speech before an 1883 investigating committee of the New York State Legislature, wrote:

> ***it was a trying position to me, who had never before appeared in a strictly public position; still, my heart was so full of sympathy for the poor sufferers and enthusiasm for what I hoped would be an effective attack upon the asylum, which would result in securing aid and relief to the poor patients, that I forgot about my own feelings or personality, and was surprised to learn that I had spoken an hour before the committee and a large number of auditors. (303)***

When she forgets her "personality," Lathrop transforms her former sense of identity as someone who could not comfortably speak in public and loses her feeling of isolated individuality. More importantly, by speaking and being heard she acquires a sense of authorial power over her own life.

This power is rooted in her ties to the asylum community, to others who share her experience. It needs those ties to survive. Lathrop relates that despite the fact that she becomes a strong writer and brave speaker, she is lost when left to her own resources in the city, barely able to support herself and necessarily silent about her asylum experiences for fear she will lose her job:

> ***Oh, the long, weary years, filled with patient toil and study! Work, work was my motto, and above all,—no time to think! Thought pursuing me must be put away. I must banish the past and all its associations, crush back the cruel memories that brought with them so much anguish, sorrow and despair! . . . How often I have longed for some Lethe to still this anguished heart, to destroy this blighting memory which overpowered me with its crushing weight. To wear a smile and work with feverish avidity to drive away the pursuing recollection and the knowledge of the baffled purpose, the isolation and loneliness in the crowd of a great city.***

Here she must deny her own story to herself. Memory, which is a source of identity and connection, is only a blight if it cannot be shared with others or acknowledged as part of her present life. The denial of her own experience sends Lathrop into despair, making her a woman alone without community, place, or story.

Any empowerment these asylum autobiographers experience, then, comes from their ability to move as writers between worlds, continually nourished by the verification of experience other asylum inmates give them as they balance between trust and fear in their overlapping community relations. As their narratives show, to maintain this sense of identity and sanity after their release, they must be able to speak their experience freely to the world at large. Ultimately, their empowerment enacts itself in the autobiographies themselves, which assert the ability of these women to express and create themselves despite the experts' denial of their sanity.

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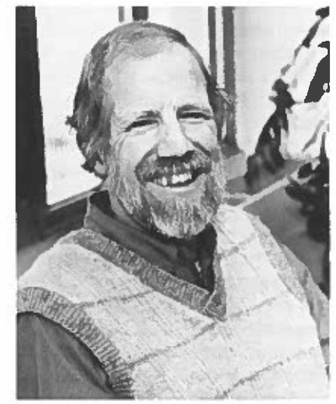
It is surely, to say the least, very odd that half the population should be apparently immune to the criminogenic factors which lead to the downfall of so significant a proportion of the other half. Equally odd it is, too, that although the criminological experience of different countries varies considerably, nevertheless the sex differentiation remains. *(Barbara Wooton, quoted in Adler and Simon, 1979: vi.)*

Women Assaulting Men



Robert M. O'Brien
Professor of Sociology

One of the best single predictors of whether an individual will commit a violent crime is gender. According to the FBI Uniform Crime Reports for 1986, men committed over 85 percent of the murders in the United States during that year. These reports, based on the official records of police departments, are collected by the FBI. National Crime Survey data, based on victim reports to Census Bureau interviewers, show that men committed 89 percent of the aggravated assaults and 86 percent of the simple assaults during the years 1979 to 1985. For as long as records have been kept, nearly 100 percent of the rapes occurring each year have involved male offenders. Clearly, sex is a major predictor of whether an individual commits a violent crime or whether he or she will be the victim of a violent crime.

Since men and women are exposed to many of the same sociological conditions that theoretically contribute to criminal behavior, such as poverty, broken homes, and unemployment, we must ask whether women commit violent crime for the same reasons as men.

Traditionally, the lower rates of violent crime among women have been explained on the basis of some combination of their physical weakness, moral superiority, and inherently less aggressive natures. As in other areas of sociology, such explanations have slowly given way to those emphasizing sex-role socialization and differential opportunity structures.

I have begun to explore the "intersexual nature of violent criminal acts" for homicide, aggravated assault, and simple assault, asking questions about how the sex of the recipient of aggressive acts is related to the sex of the dispenser of violence. That is, what is the pattern of victim-offender characteristics in terms of sex-of-victim and sex-of-offender?

In the 1950s Marvin Wolfgang, using Philadelphia police records, found that, although murder is predominantly a male activity, when women murder they typically murder men and when men murder they typically murder other men. Data for the past decade across the entire United States support this finding. For example, according to data from the 1986 Uniform Crime Reports, men committed 85 percent of the murders, but only 28 percent of their victims were women. On the other hand, 84 percent of the victims of women murderers were men.

To illustrate these figures, a stereotypical male murder might involve a drunken argument with another man at a bar late one Saturday night. A stereotypical female murderer could be represented by a wife stabbing her husband in the kitchen after a prolonged argument. These stereotypes illustrate the possible impact of what sociologists call people's routine activities. Do men's and women's daily activities differ so dramatically that their opportunities to murder those of the opposite sex vary systematically? Afterall, women do spend more time engaged in household and family activities than men, and these activities are more likely to be same-sex activities than those occurring outside of the household or family.

On the other hand, perhaps the reasons why women murder differ fundamentally from those of men. Is it plausible that women more often murder in self-defense than men, and thus are in some sense female defenders rather than offenders? Unfortunately, the data I examined are not fully adequate for differentiating between these two explanations, but they do provide an accounting of violent crimes in terms of sex-of-offender and sex-of victim, shedding more light on the patterns that need explanation.

Finding Appropriate Data

Aggregate data describing the sex-of-offender by sex-of-victim is not readily available in the FBI Uniform Crime Reports (UCR). The UCRs break down sex-of-offender by sex-of-victim for only a single crime: homicide. UCR data on homicides are generally considered to be relatively accurate, in part because of the severity of the crime and the tangible evidence that is often left behind. I only examined those cases involving a single victim and a single offender for which the sex of the victim and sex of the offender were known; this constitutes only 59 percent

of the total number of homicides reported in 1986. This section may systematically exclude a higher percentage of cases in which the victim and offender were strangers to each other.

National data on two other assaultive crimes are available on data tapes from the Interuniversity Consortium for Political and Social Research. These tapes are based on the National Crime Surveys (NCS) conducted by the Census Bureau for the Bureau of Justice Statistics. Each year the Census Bureau interviews a probability sample of approximately 60,000 households, totaling 130,000 to 140,000 individuals. The interviewers ask a series of questions about incidents occurring in the preceding six months; such as "[during this period] did anyone beat you up, attack you, or hit you with something, such as a rock or bottle? . . . . Did anyone try to attack you in some other way?".

These questions are designed to elicit reports of criminal incidents. For each incident reported, the interviewer asks a series of questions about the circumstances surrounding the incident. Two of these, the sex of the offender and the relationship (if any) of the offender to the victim, are used in my analysis.

There are obvious problems with these data. Respondents do not report all assaults to the interviewers, because of embarassment, lack of understanding that they were indeed victims, and a host of other reasons. Assaults involving a spouse or other family member are probably less likely to be reported than those involving a stranger. It is possible that men will be more reluctant than women to report an opposite-sex assailant. Thus, these data, based on the reports (and nonreports) of alleged victims to interviewers, must be viewed with caution. But while not providing a detailed map, they do provide a compass for direction of inquiry.

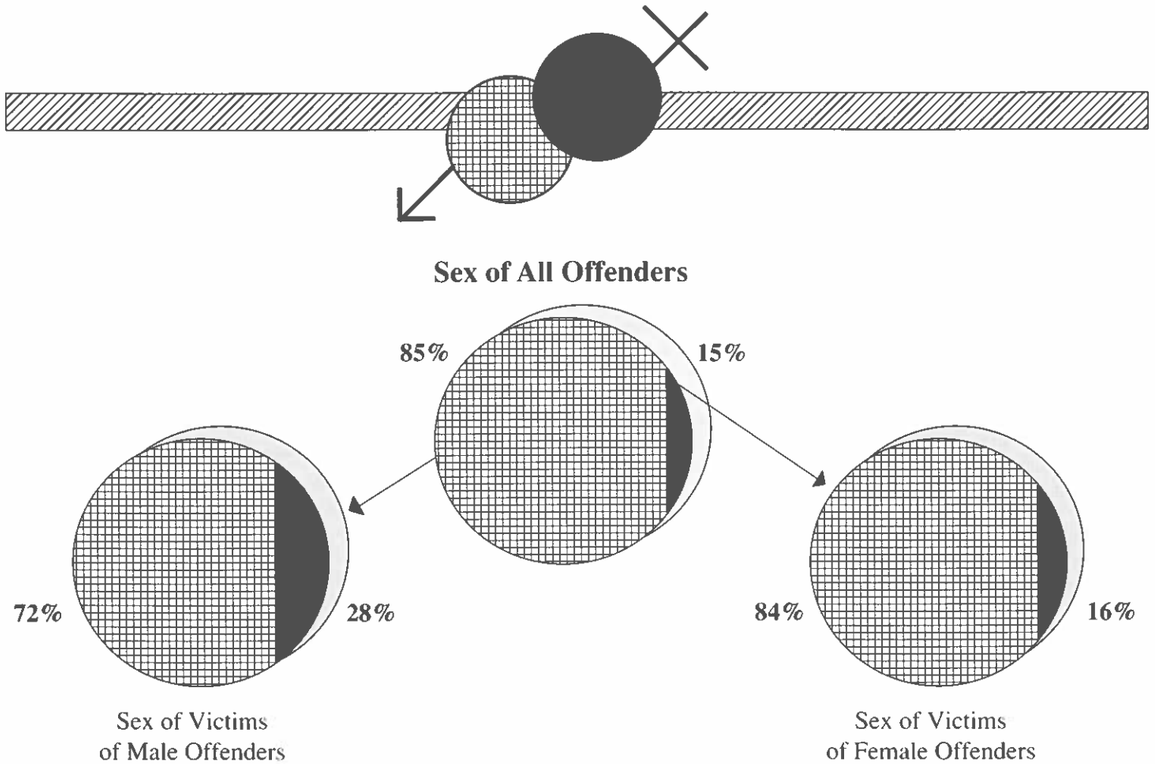
Findings

Before presenting the findings, we need to define three crime categories. Homicide is fairly straightforward. It results in the death of the victim and refers to the intentional causing of the death of another person without legal justification. Aggravated assault is considered to be more serious than simple assault. It involves attack with a weapon, irrespective of whether or not there is injury, and attack without a weapon resulting in serious injury. Simple assault involves attack without a weapon resulting in minor injury. Homicides and aggravated assaults frequently involve the use of weapons.

Women assault men more often than they assault other women in homicide incidents. Otherwise, women assault other women more often than they assault men. In homicide incidents 84 percent of women's victims are men, for aggravated assault the percentage drops to 39 percent, and for simple assault it drops further to 17 percent. For men, 28 percent of their victims are women in homicide incidents, 29 percent in aggravated assault incidents, and 37 percent in simple assault incidents.

The trends for men and women assaulting opposite-sex victims, are thus diametrically opposed. As violence becomes more serious, the target of women's aggression is more likely to be a man. For men, as the violence becomes less serious the target of aggression is more likely to be a woman. These results are indeed intriguing.

Data from the NCSs, based on a breakdown of incidents for both simple assault and aggravated assault by incidents involving relatives and strangers, again shows this same pattern. Further, as might well be expected, for both women and men,



crimes involving the opposite sex are more common among relatives than among strangers. For women 25 percent of the simple assault incidents involve men when the "victim" is a stranger and 40 percent involve men when the "victim" is a relative. For aggravated assault these percentages are 46 and 61, respectively. For men, 26 percent of the simple assault incidents involve women when the "victim" is a stranger and 87 percent involve women when the "victim" is a spouse or relative. The comparable figures for aggravated assault are 18 percent (stranger) and 80 percent (relative).

Violent crimes involving opposite-sex dyads have a greater relative frequency among related individuals than strangers. This supports the routine activities thesis, suggesting there will be more intersexual crime in situations where men and women have the greatest contact. But the routine activities approach does *not* explain why women commit aggravated assault against men rather than women relatively more often than they commit simple assaults against men rather than women. This trend holds even after controlling for the relationship between the victim and the offender.

To keep these findings in perspective, it is crucial to remember that they only highlight the relative frequencies of opposite-sex offending when the offender is a woman or a man. Men commit a far greater proportion of the assaults and homicides committed each year. For example, in 1986 for those murders in which the sex of the offender was known, men murdered 2,691 women while women murdered 1,384 men. Men were responsible for fully 85 percent of all murders, for a total of 9,769. In contrast, women committed a total of 1,657 murders. There were an additional 7,831 murders for which the offender's sex was unknown.

Speculative Explanations

The national-level data currently available in the UCRs and the NCSs severely limit attempts to choose between alternative explanations of the different patterns in the sex-of-offender by sex-of-victim relationships for men and women. Thus, any explanations of these patterns are quite speculative. I believe, however, that we must entertain the possibility that men and women usually commit violent crimes for different reasons. Thus, different theories must be developed to explain male and female offending.

The traditional picture of the *typical* male violent offender paints him as aggressive, attempting to dominate someone by using physical force, a person who is poorly socialized, or socialized into a culture of violence and masculinity. This picture probably does not fit the "typical" female offender in violent criminal incidents. Such an offender may be attempting to defend herself against a physically dominant man. She may need a weapon either to defend herself from, or to gain compliance from, a man. She may not view "slapping around" a man as a viable strategy. In fact, she may have to strike out with incapacitating force to avoid retaliation. This suggests that women, when they use force against men, often use it for reasons and in situations that are different from those in which men use force against women.

Different explanatory mechanisms must be used to explain the "typical" violent acts of women and men. I am not arguing that women and men are never violent for the same reasons, but I am suggesting that the explanations that fit most cases of male violence may not be the ones that fit most cases of female violence. Below, I describe one explanation that differs from those traditionally used to explain male offending behavior, but that is consistent with the results reported above.

Men may use minor threats to gain compliance from women. Such minor threats, given the typically greater physical power of men, may often work. Minor threats are not as likely to work for women, either as a mechanism to gain compliance or as a defense against male aggression. Indeed, they may result in the escalation of violence. Women who use physical force against men may need to strike out with a weapon or incapacitate a man once a cycle of violence has begun. Such cycles may have lasted for years, as recent studies of women who kill suggest. If not, women may submit to men's threats or assaults without retaliating. If this scenario is correct, one would find that in those situations in which women use force, they would be relatively more likely to use a weapon or severe force against a man than against a woman.

This scenario also reminds us of the problems in the standard criminological terminology of "victim" and "offender." When addressing violence among intimates, a woman may be a *defender*.

Although the scenario presented above is plausible and consistent with the emerging qualitative literature on violence among intimates, it will take the efforts of many scholars to unravel the causes behind the differing patterns of male and female criminal activities. There will be overlap in the causal mechanisms explaining some homicides, aggravated assaults, and simple assaults for women and men, but we will almost certainly need different theories or frameworks to explain the "typical" offending behavior of each sex. This is because women and men still frequently occupy different social worlds and those worlds shape their violent behavior.

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Women and Work in Sweden

A letter from Joan Acker
Professor of Sociology and
Founding Director of CSWS

Hello to the United States:

Stockholm is alive and busy in the fall after the long summer vacation. In Sweden, all workers have at least five weeks off and professionals, including researchers, usually have more. Back at work at Arbetslivscentrum (the Swedish Center for Working Life), days are full of meetings, research planning, writing. I am, together with a Swedish researcher, laying the groundwork for a project on women in banking.

In contrast to most of our work in the United States, this research will have the active cooperation of the union, whose membership is made up of about 90 percent Swedish bank employees and managers. The banking sector has a larger gender-based wage gap than any other sector in the Swedish economy. On the average, as full-time employees, women earn 70 percent as much as men in comparable positions. Women tend toward the lowest-level jobs, consistent with the general picture for Sweden, which has one of the most sex-segregated labor markets among industrialized countries. However, this tendency does not explain the complete wage gap, since men earn more than women, even compensating for the organizational level of their positions. And the wage gap between women and men in banking is growing. This is what worries the union and it has made women's wages a primary issue for the next round of bargaining.

Our research will look at the wage-setting process to determine, first, what is causing the gender-based wage gap to grow larger. Then we plan to work with groups of women cashiers who will describe their jobs to compare them with those descriptions in the job classification scheme now in use. As in the United States, wages are tied to a job classification system. It is very different from United States systems, but with a similar underlying rationale. Finally, we hope to give our findings back to the union to use in its work on the wage problem. We will follow its efforts to see how successful it may be in reversing this trend.

A pilot study I have completed on women in banking suggests that it may not be easy to get management to revalue the work of, for example, the bank cashier. From interviews with staff members and managers and the resulting information on cashiers' views of their jobs, I tentatively concluded that the work of the cashier looks very different depending on whether your viewpoint is from the top or the bottom of the hierarchy. Those at the top do not see the skills required to perform the work nor the pressures that those at the bottom talk about.

This study is a form of action research, which is a much more widespread approach here than in the United States. It is one of the missions of the Swedish Center for Working Life, where I am currently a staff member and adviser to the women's research group. Action research presents the possiblity of learning a great deal about work and work organizations that is difficult to discover through other methods. In addition, it actively involves the subjects of the research in the process, avoiding some of the dangers of exploitation and manipulation implicit in other approaches.

The study also takes up some of the comparable worth themes that I discuss in my forthcoming book (Temple University Press) on the Oregon pay equity efforts. It is possible that the underevaluation of women's jobs is so embedded in hierarchy that attempts at more than minimal revaluation will meet massive opposition.

I am looking forward to understanding aspects of the Swedish system better; Sweden has done more than any other country in reducing the wage gap between women and men, but now there are many pressures leading toward increasing inequality in every sector of the economy. In both the white-collar and blue-collar labor confederations women are speaking out on the issue and calling for action in much clearer voices than when I was here in 1981. Thus, looking carefully at what happens with wages also means observation of the development of the women's movement in Sweden.

For the first time in Swedish labor union history, women activists from both of the two traditionally competitive labor confederations are coming together this year in a training course inspired and organized by Arbetslivcentrum researchers Annika Baude and Eivor Englund. The course is an outgrowth of Baude's research on women workers and sex segregation in the food industry. She found an unspoken cooperation between the union and management men. Women workers' job satisfaction resulting from their close contact with other women at work also supported sex segregation to a degree.

Joke Esseveld, who received her Ph.D. in Sociology from the University of Oregon and who is now at the University of Lund, studied unemployed women. Esseveld found working class and immigrant women have a much more difficult time getting new jobs than middle-class Swedish women.

Researchers at the Arbetslivscentrum

She confirmed the interaction of gender and race differences in the experience of unemployment. In another study done at the Arbetslivscentrum, Lena Gonas found that, after plant closings, only a small proportion of women who had been laid off had another regular job after two years. Men, in contrast, had very likely gone into new and steady employment. This is surprising for Sweden, with its low unemployment rate, since it has excellent retraining and replacement programs. We see strong patterns of gender disadvantage in even the most advanced welfare state.

Immigrant women workers, Wuokko Knocke, another ALC researcher, has found, are particularly marginalized in the labor market. They find it difficult to get anything but factory or cleaning work, regardless of their education. Interesting differences between various ethnic backgrounds suggest that the patterns of patriarchy in their country of origin also influence the existing patriarchy in Sweden. For example, women from Muslim cultures are happy to work just to have some time away from their husbands' and other relatives' observation and control. Even though work in the factories or cleaning office buildings at night has its drawbacks, many of these immigrant women workers are glad to be in Sweden and intend to stay.

In their country, even though Swedes often tell you that there are no class differences, class differences figure prominently in some of the research here. Elisabet Nasman is finishing a study comparing working couples of different classes, their children, and their use of welfare state services. Many benefits and services are universally available here, and eligibility does not depend on poverty, as it usually does in the United States.

Professionally employed parents make better use of and get more support for daily living from welfare services than do parents who are blue-collar and service workers, probably because professionals have more flexibility in their working life and also more skill at using the bureaucracy.

Government investigative bodies in Sweden often recruit well-known academics. Right now, a body called the Power Investigation is looking at all aspects of power in Sweden and several women researchers are engaged in projects on gender and power. A large survey asking what the Swedish people think about power and powerlessness is being supervised by Helga Hernes, a political scientist from Norway. Her survey will produce data on gender and power. Helga believes, at least in the Scandinavian states, the real political divide is more and more along the lines of gender rather than along the lines of class. Voting patterns indicate that women are more radical than men and support the Social Democrats and other left parties in greater proportions. If these findings persist, the implications for theories of gender and class will be most interesting.

Theoretical work focuses a great deal on socialist feminist issues of patriarchy and capitalism, gender and class, although there are a few economists using neoclassical approaches to study women and work. (I am teaching a doctoral seminar on gender and class this winter.)

Interest is growing, more rapidly in Norway than in Sweden, in feminist philosophical issues, particulary feminist epistemology and the feminist critique of science. A recent Nordic conference on feminist theory raised these topics. In addition, they were among topics in a conference on gender and urban and regional planning that was held in Stockholm in January to discuss the feminist critique of knowledge and science. Planners invited Hilary Rose, a sociologist at Bradford University in England, who has published on knowledge in *Signs* and other international journals.

All in all, interest in research on women and work is very high here in Scandinavia. There is concern that so much gender inequality still exists in the face of a societal commitment to equality generally and to gender equality specifically. Swedes may be, in the aftermath of the Palme assassination and the Bofors affair (smuggling arms to Iran), more willing to confront their failures to live up to their public image than they have been in the past. That is probably good for the future of women here, because Sweden seems to take action once a problem has been publicly admitted and detailed. It is an exciting time of commitment and change.

From Stockholm, best wishes to all.

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This is a partial list of publications from 1986–1988.

Lee Morehouse, an Oregon photographer, took this picture of a Umatillo Indian woman in Eastern Oregon in 1905. She is among the many women who have contributed to the making of the state's history. This photograph is from the University of Oregon Library Special Collections. Special Collections houses and preserves many manuscripts, photographs, and other primary source materials for the study of women. The Library is building special strength in collections of materials on Oregon women, women in occupations, feminists and antifeminists, and women writers, particularly of fantasy and science fiction.

Over the past two years Special Collections and the Center for the Study of Women in Society have worked together to build research resources on women at the University of Oregon. The Center and Special Collections jointly produced a brochure, *Resources for the Study of Women and Society*, and also collaborated in producing *The University of Oregon Guide to Manuscript Collections Documenting Women in Society*.

For more information please contact the Center for the Study of Women in Society or the curator of Special Collections, University of Oregon Library, Eugene OR 97403; telephone (503) 686-3068.