CSWS REVIEW

Center for the Study of Women in Society
University of Oregon
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Women in Communication

Bending the Framework: The Feminist
Critique of Communication Studies
The Viewer, The Villainess and The Soap Opera
Women's Ways of Administration
The Case of Counseling Supervision—Power in Process

CSWS REVIEW

Cover photo: Anne K. McCosh. *Leaving the Lecture: The Faculty Wives*. Oil on canvas, 1936. For more information about the artist, please see page 28.

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During the past three years both the number of CSWS affiliates and the volume of their publications have increased. The center-related publications listed at the back of the *Review* indicate CSWS's commitment to diversity within research on women and society. Our recent list of publications also demonstrates once again that scholarship in the field has grown exponentially over the past two decades.

Less than a quarter century ago it was possible for an individual to read almost everything recently published about women and society. Now it is difficult to keep up with publications in specialized subfields, let alone in the broad area of gender and social organization. Feminist scholars are faced with the necessity of at once deepening and broadening our research and theory construction. Discovering pieces of the puzzle, researchers must rigorously collect and interpret data and also remain aware of how their work fits into a comprehensive analysis of gender.

The ostensibly simple question of whether adult women were "girls" marked the beginning of the second wave of American feminism. This and other issues concerning women and communication have been deeply embedded in feminist scholarship from its beginning. The question of communication spans a number of disciplines in the social sciences and humanities, including topics as diverse as language and its meanings, face-to-face interaction, mass media, and the social organization of knowledge.

Cheris Kramarae, our visiting scholar for 1988 and the current CSWS Acting Director, examines questions of race, ethnicity, class, and gender in feminist scholarship; as those questions have affected CSWS over the past year. She argues that feminist language tends to classify all women in the same category in both spoken and written analyses. Differences exist within ethnic and racial groups as well as among them, and scholars of women and society must develop multidimensional ways of considering the threads of commonality and diversity that run through the social fabric.

In *Bending the Framework,* Sonja Foss explores communications research and some of the ways in which language shapes and reflects the social organization of knowledge. One question that Foss asks is, "Why does dominant culture in the United States place high value on talking and little or no emphasis on listening?" In considering answers to this and other complex questions, she crosses between verbal and visual symbols, taking Judy Chicago's *The Dinner Party* as a women's artifact through which to examine alternative standards for judging rhetoric.

The rhetoric of soap operas is well known to most American adults. Ellen Seiter looks at the typical soap-opera villainess and the female viewer who follows her exploits. Seiter's research included examination of influential theories about women soap-opera viewers, analysis of the texts of soap operas, and interviews with small groups of soap-opera viewers. She came to the somewhat surprising conclusion that viewers loved and admired villainesses and reserved their contempt for ultrafeminine heroines.

Another kind of heroine preoccupied Diane Dunlap as she attempted to discover key cognitive characteristics of successful women administrators. Interviewing 24 women and men in senior administrative positions, Dunlap found that reliance on reflective time and some gender-role flexibility were common to all the administrators and that differences between women and men were less than she expected.

On the other hand, Mary Lee Nelson and Elizabeth Holloway found marked gender differences between male and female supervisors of counselors in training. Using a technical system of coding messages of power and messages of involvement, Nelson and Holloway concluded that supervisors' gender-related behaviors influence the apprenticeship and later professional orientation of counselors-to-be. If these findings hold true in studies of additional populations, they have profound implications for the social organization of helping professions ranging from medicine to social work.

This issue's feature articles move from theoretical interpretation to quantitative analysis of the broad area of women and communication. None of the authors, however, addresses the

implications for political action that may follow from her research. Participatory research is Franscesca Cancian's method for challenging hierarchical relationships within the process of investigating the social world. To illustrate her points, Cancian offers examples of feminist research with women graduate students and with university secretaries.

This year's *CSWS Review* incorporates our annual report to allow interested readers the opportunity of reviewing day-to-day expenditures and decisions. More complete information is available upon written request to CSWS. And finally and most important is the list of the work on women, gender, and society that affiliates have published during the past three years. As you can see, CSWS is contributing to the body of scholarship on women and society and affiliates are achieving international recognition.

Marion S. Goldman
CSWS Review Editor

This is the last of my three years as editor of the *CSWS Review.* I will miss working with our resource coordinator, April Minnich; acting director, Cheris Kramarae, and Lori Howard and Julie Schaum in publications. Most of all, I will miss the opportunities to find out more about CSWS affiliates' scholarship. We only publish the *CSWS Review* annually, but it represents hundreds of people who are committed to building feminist scholarship every day of their lives. I am pleased to have helped represent them to a wide audience, and look forward to contributing more through my own research.

The Language of Multicultural Feminism

Our languages are traditions, containing inventions and stories about the creation and organization of the world. Any reorganization in our thinking of our relations to each other and our environment requires some reorganization of the way we talk, including the terms we use. Talk about talk is not a "mere academic exercise," but activity basic to academic expertise and creativity.

At the University of Oregon, a largely white institution in a state that is governed by whites, most of the details and ornamentation of our talk are constructed and governed primarily by white traditions. This year Barbara Pope, director of Women's Studies, and Miriam Johnson and I from the center have been planning, with the support of a Ford Foundation grant just received, to work with a number of course directors to transform curriculum by including more literature and research from women of color. We know that if we really want to transform our visions and understanding, as they are reflected in recruiting and hiring practices as well as in curriculum development, we must change our language practices—including our ideas about who can talk when, where, and about what, and which symbols are used for this talk.

East, west, women, men, Indian, Black, white—these are common words used in the ordinary talk of everyday life. But as many women of color are making especially clear, these words do not have simple, shared meanings. They are embedded in categories of social relationship. What we say and do with these words determine how we account for ourselves, what problems we see, and what we consider social and economic "progress." These common words are also determining words.

During the early 1970s, many feminist theorists worked from the basic premise that women are a social group exluded from or demeaned in all the ruling apparatuses such as textbooks, mass media, proverbs, religious ceremonies, and museum art. Arguing that their own insights were a more inclusive

form of knowledge, many white feminists developed and debated social theories—often oblivious to our own assumptions about who constituted the social group called "women," and the limitations of our own experience. Euro-American women, for example, tried to imagine what placing ourselves (instead of Euro-American men) in the center of our descriptions and analyses would mean to our view of the world. But we did not often take a good look at which women we envisioned as in that center. Many women who were not from the dominant classes were made invisible or else placed at the periphery of the circle in spoken and written descriptions and analyses.

Because of the actions of minority women, most white feminists now make at least a brief acknowledgment of the importance of considering differences among women. In much published feminist work there is now a custom of including a short statement celebrating diversity among women, and a ticking off of -isms that need to be mentioned at least once an article—racism, sexism, ageism, as well as a reference to sexual

Cheris Kramarae
CSWS Acting Director

orientation and homophobia, and then back to the discussions that omit any real integration of these as concepts implicitly structuring so much of what gets said in the discussion.

I believe that most of us who, for example, often separate or marginalize the concerns of women of color from our own, really want to "get it right"—if

only to avoid criticism from those women. But the problem is that this requires so much more than desire to do it all correctly. It requires a great deal of work, including looking in new places for knowledge and being willing to see ourselves not as sisters to all others, but as often alien and oppressive rulers ourselves, as well as users of terminology that helps maintain divisions among women. Discussion of this terminology starts to tie up our tongues—a valuable if uncomfortable experience. We can find in the words of many oppressed women some initial guidelines for this work. Certainly not the only guidelines, but perhaps a few starters for those of us who need them.

❖ Ethnic or racial groups are not "human species differences." They are social categories with continuous flux. The groups are products of labeling conventions and processes that change with other social changes. Oppressed groups will often change labels, for example, when the old terms take on negative meanings. The labels used by and about Blacks have changed relatively frequently. But whites have not experienced the same need to change their label. As Marilyn Frye (1983) points out, the construct of whiteness is fashioned primarily by white men who do not just use but wield the concept. And of course many white women also uncritically use the construct.

❖ The labels used by dominant, naming groups are often deviously homogenizing. Some Euro-Americans (itself a label that sets asides and describes a group of women with vast dissimilarities) have begun to recognize the term and cultures labeled "Asian-American women." But as Shirley Geok-Lin Lim (1989) writes, this is a homogenizing label "of an exotica" since within that grouping are people with very different lives:

"Spanning hundreds of tribes, language groups, a variety of immigration histories (from first-generation Chinese Americans, arriving from Taiwan or Hong Kong or the mainland, who have different stories to tell, to the Sansei, third-generation Japanese Americans whose American roots go back to the early nineteenth century), we "Asian-American women" are not single but plural. (10)"

Writing about the label "Asian-American lesbian," Sally Dey (1988) asserts that many non-Asian lesbians assume either that she can be used as their sole source for any questions about Asians, or that they already completely understand racial oppression by virtue of being oppressed themselves by homophobia.

The use of the term "Asian-American" was encouraged by some coalition work in the 1970s to deal with racist practices such as the printing of United States government forms that distinguished the color of people as "white," "black," and "other." Activists could use the term to unify people who were experiencing similar oppression. However, like the other terms discussed here, it is clearly not an all-purpose word for everyone to use at any time. As with all social labels it's important to note who uses which labels for what purposes. A term for an oppressed group might be homogenizing when used by the dominant group and unifying when used by the oppressed group.

❖ Not all minority speakers will use the same terminology in different contexts—and for important reasons. Even those people who experience and express similar restrictions and cultural values do not always use the same terminology. For example, people of Mexican descent living in the United States use a variety of terms such as "Mexican," "Mexican-American," "Hispanic," "Latina or Latino," and "Chicana or Chicano." Some analysts write that "Chicana" (or "Chicano" for males), a previously pejorative term, is increasingly used as a rallying word, as part of a movement to restore pride and dignity. But it isn't used at all times by all speakers. Some speakers and writers will use different terms—to stress similarity or to stress differences—for different audiences in different situations. (For example, using "Chicana" or "Chicano" would more likely stress separation from Anglos than would "Mexican American.")

Photo by Doris Ullman
Special Collections
UO Knight Library

Activists' strategies will make a difference in what terminology is used by people being treated unfavorably. For example, in the United Kingdom most race equality professsionals and activists have agreed that the term "black" should be used as a common term by "Afro-Caribbeans," "Afro-Americans," "British Asians," and other diverse, relatively powerless minorities who suffer from racism. Some critics from among those groups argue, however, that use of "black" as a cover term has limited value since it imposes a definition from the outside—the term comes not from the identity of the individuals but from the treatment of others.

❖ Women of color do not necessarily have the same self-identification as their brothers, fathers, or husbands have. For example, in Canada, from 1861 to 1985, the definition of who is legally an "Indian" was determined by a person's relationship to a male person. If an Indian woman married a "nonstatus" (e.g., "white") man, she lost her own claim to being an Indian. When the Indian women organized to change the Indian Act, many members of the National Brotherhood tried to disrupt their efforts. Working upon the sexist ideas of the whites, the Indian men in effect said (falsely and oppressively) that it was Indian culture and tradition to discriminate against women (Janet Silman, 1987: 12, 191, 198). These kinds of actions, practiced many times and in

many places, mean that we should listen especially to women when they define themselves and their relationships to others.

❖ Solidarity may be a goal but it is not a reality. The fear and resistance of white, middle-class women mean that we often rank or deny differences in ways that ignore the lives of women of color and working-class women. Seeing all other women as "sisters" seems to lessen the perceived need to look at the meaning of differences, including the ways white women have contributed to oppression. Using the term "sisterhood" is safer for members of dominant groups than it is for members of oppressed groups who realize that unity with people in power might well mean that only the goals of the powerful will be recognized and remembered. Cherrie Moraga (1981) writes that white women often deny racism by saying that they are open to all women and asking why all women don't join them. She continues by pointing out that the white women "seem to feel no loss, no lack, no absence when women of color are not involved" (33).

❖ All activist women are not "feminists." Activist women in various social groups working to ensure that women's voices and lives are heard and seen do not necessarily consider themselves "feminists" with all the connotations of dominant behavior that word can have. Paula Gunn Allen (1986) writes that while some traditional American Indian concepts are being practiced to some extent by "western feminists," those feminists usually do not understand the total Indian system of cooperation (not noncompetitiveness or passivity), harmony (not just absence of conflict), balance, kinship, and respect (206). An acitivist in the Tobique women's campaign to change the Indian Act writes that they did not see an immediate connection with the views and values of western feminists; the activists saw themselves as women who just needed decent homes. Another

activist added that since the women were not getting help from anyone else they had thought about calling the Russians for help, since Tobique women saw themselves as neither Canadian nor American.

❖ Attention to these labels calls attention to the geographical labels used by dominant groups. "East" and "West" are used as if they are apolitical references to separate geographical areas—as in the frequently made white feminist disclaimer "Of course I can speak only of women's conditions in the West." What this usually means is that we are once again disregarding the extensive economic, military, and political links among the countries. The "West" is, of course, as it is in good part because of its colonization of the "East." "Women of the Developing Countries" and "Third World women" are other terms used by many United States ("First World"?) feminists that imply underdevelopment and insufficiency or, maternalistically, "ourselves undressed" (Michelle Rosaldo's term). "Post-colonial countries" is a more telling term suggested by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak.

Within the United States the prevalent textbook geographical terms of "East" and "West" are terms imposed by the conquering whites. As Elizabeth Jameson writes in a 1988 *Signs* article: "What Anglos called the 'West' was, after all, simply home for American Indians, the 'East' for Asians, the 'South' for Canadians, and '*El Norte*' or northwestern Mexico for Mexicans and Spanish-Mexicans." (761). East, West, South of where?

❖ "Race" and "Ethnic Group" are not synonymous terms. Often whites will use terms such as "race," "minority group," and "ethnic group" interchangeably or as one term as in "race/ethnic group." As many Black women have pointed out, in the United States "Blacks" are talked about as members of a race, while most "whites" consider themselves as belonging to ethnic groups such as Italian-Americans. (This is one of the reasons why Smitherman capitalizes "Black" but not "white.")

❖ Determining who is included in the categories of "race" and "ethnic

group" and "minority" is also a political decision. For example, Evelyn Torton Beck writes about the "strange removal" of Jews from categories of "minority" and "ethnic groups," even though Jews still only represent a small minority in the United States. The words "sex" and "race" are sometimes stretched to include "sexual difference" and "ethnicity," but these frameworks do not admit discussion of "Jew." This omission—this making invisible of a group that has experienced "removal" in many ways—is, she argues, itself evidence of anti-Semitism.

❖ Some terms used by whites are not merely racist but also "nondescriptive." Ellen Kuzwayo points out that the South African government has had a special department to impose government regulations pertaining to Black people. At one time the name of the department was "Bantu Administration Department." Kuzwayo writes she can only suspect that the term was shortlived because the Black people ridiculed the name, as the word bantu means people regardless of their status, religion, sex, or race. "Aborigine" is one of the words that the English colonizers used in Australia to describe the people they pushed around and killed when they invaded. Eve Fesl (Gabi Gabi and Gangulu Clans) points out that "aborigine" is a noun that refers to an indigenous group of any country, not the name of a group of people with shared languages and culture. "Koorie" is the preferred name by many who live in New South Wales, Victoria, and Tasmania. "Murri" is the Queensland term, and "Nyunga" the preferred West Australia term.

Obviously, there is no simple labeling scheme that we can get right "for once and all." If we are ever to talk about multicultural feminism in a way that makes sense to women interculturally, we need to listen respectfully to the labels used by members of various groups, and we need to look very carefully and critically at how geographical areas and the people who live in them have been cut up by our politics, including our labels. Perhaps our language structures and practices do not say it all—but they say a lot.

Suggested Readings:

Allen, Paula Gunn. *The Sacred Hoop: Recovering the Feminine in American-Indian Traditions*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1986.
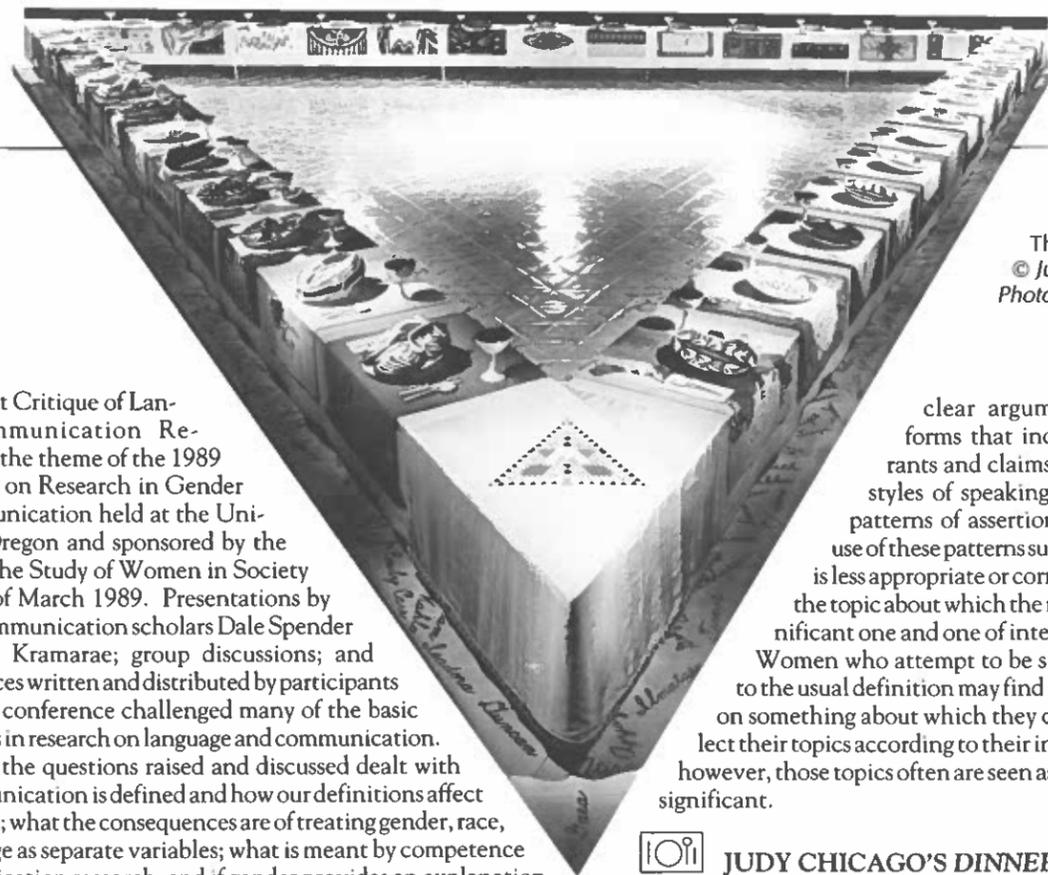
Grewal, Shabnam, Jackie Kay, Liliane Landor, Gail Lewis, and Pratibha Parmar, eds. *Charting the Journey: Writings by Black and Third World Women*. London: Sheba Feminist Publishers, 1980.

Lim, Shirley Geok-Lin. "Dazzling Quilt." In *The Forbidden Stitch: An Asian-American Women's Anthology*. Edited by Shirley Geok-Lin Lim, Mayumi Tsutakawa, and Margarita Donnelly. Corvallis, Oregon: Calyx Books, 10–12, 1989.

Mirande, Alfredo, and Evangelina Enriquez. *La Chicana: The Mexican-American Woman*. University of Chicago Press, 1979.

Moraga, Cherrie. "La Guerra." *This Bridge Called My Back*. Edited by Cherrie Moraga and Gloria Anzaldua. New York: Kitchen Press, 27–34, 1981.

Silman, Janet. *Enough is Enough: Aboriginal Women Speak Out*. Toronto: The Women's Press, 1987.

The Dinner Party
© Judy Chicago, 1979
Photo: Donald Woodman

BENDING THE FRAMEWORK:

The Feminist Critique of Communication Studies

Sonja K. Foss, Associate Professor,
Rhetoric and Speech Communication

"Feminist Critique of Language/Communication Research" was the theme of the 1989 Conference on Research in Gender and Communication held at the University of Oregon and sponsored by the Center for the Study of Women in Society at the end of March 1989. Presentations by feminist communication scholars Dale Spender and Cheris Kramarae; group discussions; and thought pieces written and distributed by participants prior to the conference challenged many of the basic assumptions in research on language and communication.

Some of the questions raised and discussed dealt with how communication is defined and how our definitions affect our research; what the consequences are of treating gender, race, class, and age as separate variables; what is meant by competence in communication research; and if gender provides an explanation for why so much theoretical and research emphasis is placed on talking and so little on listening. The conference represented only one of many efforts of current feminist scholars to challenge the framework of communication research and the communication discipline.

My efforts to engage in this kind of challenge focused on the area of rhetorical criticism. By rhetoric, I simply mean communication, and by rhetorical criticism, I mean the investigation and evaluation of communicative phenomena (or what I call rhetorical artifacts), including speeches, songs, painting, conversations, and buildings. I use the methods common to any critic to attempt to discover how particular symbols operate and use the theoretical explanations I develop to attempt to improve the effectiveness of our communication—to generate ideas about how we may engage in the practice of rhetoric more effectively.

RHETORICAL FUNCTION OF SYMBOLS

One aspect of the rhetorical function of symbols that intrigues me is the standards we use to evaluate rhetoric—to decide that a speech or a film or a song is effective or not. Traditional standards of judgment, viewed from a feminist perspective, often do not seem relevant to women's communication forms and usually result in a judgment of women's discourse as ineffective or inadequate. We ask communicators or rhetors to demonstrate ethos or credibility when they speak, for example, disregarding the fact that women have little credibility in our culture and that their discourse is devalued and perceived as the deviation from "real speech."

The establishment of authority, in the traditional sense, is likely to be difficult, then, for women. We require that the rhetor present clear arguments in particular forms that include data and warrants and claims. Women often use styles of speaking that involve other patterns of assertion and support; their use of these patterns suggests their discourse is less appropriate or correct. We require that the topic about which the rhetor speaks be a significant one and one of interest to the audience. Women who attempt to be significant according to the usual definition may find themselves speaking on something about which they care little. If they select their topics according to their interests and passions, however, those topics often are seen as inappropriate or insignificant.

JUDY CHICAGO'S *DINNER PARTY*

In an attempt to discover how the standards by which we judge rhetoric could change if women's concerns and forms of communication were seriously considered, I examined a woman's artifact, Judy Chicago's *The Dinner Party*, to discover what it might suggest about alternative standards of judgment for rhetoric. I chose this work for my object of study because of the richness of the data involved. Because *The Dinner Party* incorporates both discursive and nondiscursive data—words, colors, lines, textures, and images—it suggests standards that would not be apparent in a work of discursive rhetoric alone—in a speech, for example. In addition, because women's perspective is submerged in our culture, a work that is free to go beyond the bounds of the conventional language system that gives voice largely to men, might suggest more clearly some standards that are unique to women's communication.

The Dinner Party was the creation of feminist artist Judy Chicago in conjunction with a core of 125 individuals and another 300 who were less involved, working cooperatively over a three-year period. It opened on March 14, 1979, at the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, and over the next several years, traveled throughout the United States and to Europe and Australia. A permanent gallery space is now being sought for it.

The work itself is a room-size installation piece whose primary element is an open-centered, triangular table approximately 48 feet long on each side and 26 inches wide. Resting on the table are 39 place settings, each representing a woman from history—from the mythical past through the present. The first wing of the table represents women from prehistory to the decline of Greco-Roman culture and includes plates representing women such as Kali, an ancient Indian goddess, and Sappho, a Greek poet of about 600 B.C. The second wing of the table represents women from the period of Christianity to the reformation and includes plates for such figures as Saint Bridget, a sixth-century Irish saint, and Petronilla de Meath, a woman who was burned as a witch in Ireland. The third wing represents the seventeenth through the twentieth centuries and includes plates for Anne Hutchinson, a seventeenth-century American Puritan and reformer; Sojourner Truth; and Virginia Woolf.

Each place setting includes a gold-lined ceramic goblet, lustre flatware, a gold-edge napkin, and an elaborate needlework runner that contains the name of the woman represented in gold script. The featured object of each place setting is a ceramic or painted china plate that symbolizes in some way the woman it represents. The place setting representing Emily Dickinson, for example, contains a pink plate with a vulva-like center surrounded by six rows of real lace that were dipped in liquid ceramic and then fired. The plate rests on a round pink-and-white lace "collar" or placemat, and the gold runner beneath it is edged in the same pink lace of the plate.

The table, containing 39 such place settings, rests on a raised triangular platform called the Heritage Floor. It is composed of more than 2,300 hand-cast white pearlscent triangular tiles. Written across the tiles in gold script are the names of 999 women, grouped by historical period around the woman's place at the table who represents that particular period.

ART AND DISCOURSE

In *The Dinner Party*, viewers are able to see a number of possibilities for new standards for judgment of women's discourse. They center not on the impact of women's rhetoric as the dominant discourse but rather on the effects of women's rhetoric on themselves. One standard that emerges is the degree to which the rhetoric corresponds to women's experiences, suggested from the focus in *The Dinner Party* on the dinner-table setting. The dinner-party setting is a traditional one for women. It points to the domestic role usually assumed by women, a role which includes setting tables, preparing meals, and giving dinner parties. The traditional art forms of needlework and china painting used in the work—traditional art forms for women—also are derived from women's experiences, as are the vaginally suggestive images of many of the plates, corresponding to women's biological and physical experiences.

The Dinner Party suggests a second standard to use in assessing women's rhetoric: whether or not female imagery is presented as positive and valuable. This standard implies that images unique to or at least typical of women must not be demeaned, as they might be in the mainstream culture. In *The Dinner Party*, Chicago almost makes the feminine holy by elevating and celebrating female imagery and traditionally female arts to provide affirmative symbols for women. Because each woman represented at the table stands for one or more aspects of all women's experiences and achievements, the viewer is led to see that women have achieved in many areas throughout history; that the feminine is valuable is clearly asserted. The idea is repeated in the sophistication and superb crafting of the plates and runner, suggesting that women's creation and women as creators are outstanding and certainly deserving of positive evaluations. The 13 place settings on each side of the table, which evoke the 13 individuals seated at the Last Supper, encourage the conclusion that this is a gathering of particular worth and significance, again emphasizing the value of what is female.

The Dinner Party has the potential capacity to evoke a number of strong emotions in its viewers, suggesting yet another standard by which to judge women's rhetoric—its capacity to evoke emotions, to create excite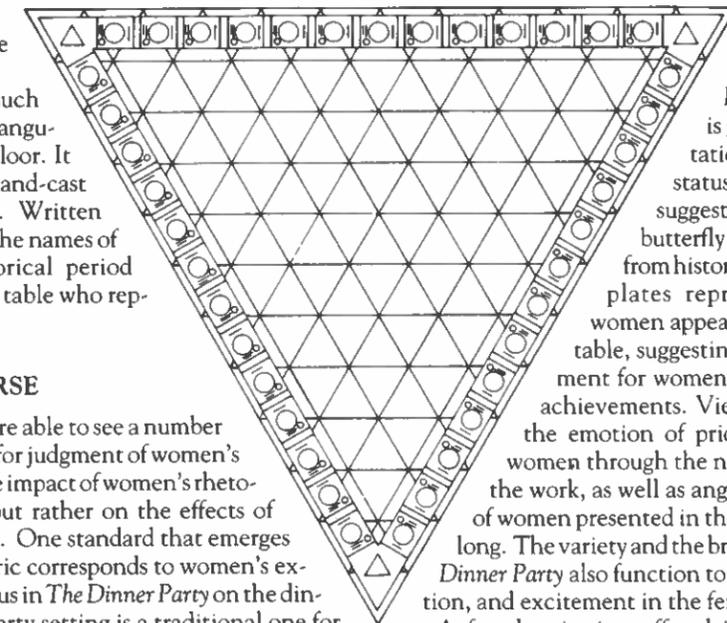ment about women's own culture, and thus to create or encourage strong desires to recognize and maintain it. One emotion evoked by *The Dinner Party* is hope or optimism, which is generated by the work's presentation of steady progress in women's status and condition. This progress is suggested by the gradual rising of the butterfly images of the plates as they move from historical to contemporary times. The plates representing the contemporary women appear as though they may fly off the table, suggesting continued growth and movement for women in their accomplishments and achievements. Viewers also are encouraged to feel the emotion of pride in the accomplishments of women through the numerous women represented in the work, as well as anger that the many achievements of women presented in the piece have been ignored for so long. The variety and the brightness of the colors used in *The Dinner Party* also function to induce qualities of joy, celebration, and excitement in the female experience.

A fourth criterion offered in *The Dinner Party* by which women's rhetoric might be judged is whether or not the rhetoric provides a context in which it should be viewed. When rhetoric is presented apart from the dominant culture, it may appear disconnected, irrelevant, and perhaps even a bit absurd simply because it does not conform to the standards established in the dominant discourse. To avoid these negative perceptions—even by women who are inculcated with the dominant discourse—a new context is needed so that the users of the rhetoric understand it in a context in which it is significant and legitimate.

The provision of context can assume many forms. In *The Dinner Party*, context is provided for women's voice through a presentation of the history of that voice. Of particular importance is the need for knowledge of women's history—usually a history that has been forgotten or suppressed by the dominant group. The re-

capturing of that history provides a basis for constructing current culture and generates a sense of pride in it. In *The Dinner Party* women's history is re-created for viewers through the traditional women's art forms of needlework and china painting. It is also shown in the presentation of women's accomplishments from the past, both in the plates representing women and in the names of women on the heritage floor.

A second way in which context is provided for women in *The Dinner Party* is through presentation of a vision for women in the future. Such a vision suggests to women that their rhetoric will survive and that it will continue to create a version of reality that is authentic and strong. *The Dinner Party* helps viewers envision the future of women's culture, discourse, and knowledge in a number of ways. The butterfly image of many of the plates is a conventional symbol of flight and growth. As the butterflies lift farther off the plates as they progress through time, they indicate that women currently are capable of flying much farther than they have in numerous realms of endeavor. The table setting itself creates expectancy and anticipation in the viewer that women will continue to achieve and make valuable contributions. The table is ready, and food presumably has been prepared; the hosts now await the arrival of the guests, just as the viewer awaits further contributions by women. The rhetoric of *The Dinner Party*, then, standing apart from the dominant discourse and the usual context it provides, creates its own context with a past and a future.

In *The Dinner Party*, traditional male standards of dominant discourse are rejected in judging female discourse. Instead, *The Dinner Party* suggests a new set of standards by which to judge rhetoric derived from the culture of women: the goodness of fit with the experiences

Sonja Foss

of women; the degree to which the images of women are presented as positive; the rhetoric's capacity to evoke emotions; and the capacity of the rhetoric to provide a context in which it is seen as appropriate and significant.

CONCLUSION

While my demonstration of how feminists are engaging in a critique of communication research has been necessarily brief, I hope it illustrates the new kinds of knowledge feminists are generating about communication. Conferences such as that sponsored by the Center for the Study of Women in Society and the exciting work being done by feminist scholars in communication research are creating a research product that is not simply an elaboration and extension of a singular world view—that of the male. Instead, we are gaining a clearer picture of the production and maintenance of the dominant order from which some of our biases about women's communication and their associated ideologies are derived. We are clearing the air of the conventions about women's communication that had become solidified in communication research into a "truth" that devalued and negated women.

The CSWS Executive Committee meets with the director to make major policy decisions and shape annual budgets. They are from left: Jack Whalen, Judith Hibbard, Acting Director Cheris Kramarae, Frances Cogan, Sonja Foss and Marion Goldman.

POWER IN PROCESS:

THE CASE OF COUNSELING SUPERVISION

The training and apprenticeship process is common to many helping professions such as medicine, clinical psychology, and counseling psychology. Many feminists, beginning with Phyllis Chesler, have noted the ways in which these helping relationships tend to diminish women clients, pushing them into traditional, sex-stereotyped roles. According to these critiques, both female and male professionals tend to replicate the dominant social structure within client interactions. We are using a relatively small sample of 40 counselor trainees and 40 counseling supervisors to examine supervisor-trainee interactions. Because so much theory has been written on the subject, we have made our methodology highly precise to record what actually transpires in these interactions. Our goal is to examine the ways in which gender influences the interactions. We will talk about our method, our preliminary findings, and implications for training in counseling and other mentoring relationships.

The purpose of supervision is to provide an educational environment in which a developing counselor can learn professional skills, attitudes, and expectations. The supervisor has mastered the role of the counselor and is given the responsibility to teach and oversee the trainee with whom she or

he works. The role of the supervisor is complex in that she or he must create a supportive supervisory relationship and provide specific information regarding the practice of counseling, while also acting as gatekeeper to the profession through evaluation of the trainee's counseling skills and readiness to practice as an independent professional. In this sense the supervisor has a clear and direct responsibility for the welfare of the client. The supervisory relationship is characterized both by the inherent power the supervisor holds over the trainee's professional advancement and by the affiliation the supervisor must engender to promote a supportive and facilitative educational environment.

Trainees are inevitably vulnerable because of the power imbalances created by the evaluative relationship. Given that the relationship is asymmetrical with respect to power, with the supervisor holding most of the cards, we must question whether a naturally occurring power imbalance, such as that frequently observed between women and men, would further affect the asymmetry. The primary role of supervision should be to empower the trainee. However, it is questionable whether women experience the same degree of empowerment as men.

In a previous study we analyzed supervision sessions conducted by five renowned clinical supervisors using power and involvement as the critical variables which describe different styles of supervisory practice. In that study all of the supervisors and the trainee interviewed were male. Each supervisor worked from a different orientation of counseling theory. The results revealed that supervisors, regardless of their theoretical orientation, used conversational messages of high power such as advising and controlling, while the trainee used lower-power messages. Overall, there was much less frequent use of messages that combined both power and involvement (for example, supportive or sharing-type messages).

In our current study we are including male and female supervisors and trainees in an investigation of the use of power and involvement messages in supervision discourse. We will discuss general findings from a preliminary analysis of 10 cases, as well as an in-depth analysis of four cases representing all possible gender and role combinations—female supervisor with female trainee, female supervisor with male trainee, male supervisor with female trainee, and male supervisor with male trainee. All cases have been taken randomly from our larger experimental study of 40 cases.

Methodology of Analyzing the Supervisory Discourse

We gathered audiotaped supervision interviews from 40 supervisors and trainees working in counseling agencies throughout northwestern Oregon. All of the trainees are master's level counseling students from four different institutions with counselor training programs. Most of the supervisors are employed in agencies that serve as field placement sites for the four graduate programs we have sampled.

Processing of audiotaped interviews requires transcription of the middle 15 minutes of each into readable form. Coders then evaluate them with instruments designed to both describe and illuminate interpersonal process in terms of the variables of power and involvement. Every message embodies a certain degree of both.

High-power messages would include advising, controlling, leading, or praising. Low-power messages would include accommodating, submitting, or seeking guidance. High-involvement messages would include collaboration and praise (which is high on both dimensions). Low-involvement messages would include aggressive remarks, abstention, or withdrawal from the conversation.

The coding system is unique in that we can compare the proportions of power and involvement messages demonstrated by both parties in an interaction. Thus we distinguish who uses more high-power or low-power messages and who uses more high- or low-involvement messages. The system also allows us to examine both direct (overt) and indirect (covert) messages. Because of its complexity, the coding system is difficult to present to a general academic audience. However, for those interested, the chart below presents the basic two-dimensional structure, as well as specific message categories used in the coding process.

We ask two sets of questions: First, who gives low- and who gives high-power messages in terms of gender in the dyad? Our questions are specific to all four gender and role combinations. For example, do male supervisors consistently demonstrate more high-power messages than female supervisors? Do male trainees demonstrate more high-power messages than female trainees? Or is the degree of trainee power within the interview dependent on the sex of the supervisor? Second, we ask what kinds of messages tend to predict other kinds of messages? For example, we try to identify the situations in which one speaker's high-power messages predict the other speaker's low-power messages and vice versa. We want to find out whether the supervisor-trainee power differential such as the one we observed in our previous study is greatest for male supervisors and female trainees.

What We Have Found

Following our predictions, the preliminary analysis of 10 cases revealed that male and female trainees both used significantly more high-power messages with female supervisors than with males. We tried to explain this through an intensive investigation of four cases. Although different gender combinations produced different kinds of messages, male supervisors always assumed and consolidated power.

The male supervisor with the male trainee assumed a lecturer-type role, primarily sending high-power messages in a continuous fashion. He was clearly there to instruct. Interestingly, the male trainee did not encourage the lecturing through the use of low-power, facilitative messages. Instead, he attempted to model the supervisor through imitation, using high-power, expert-type messages himself. The supervisor did not facilitate the trainee's attempts at being the expert but responded with continued lecturing. Thus the trainee's high-power messages were not sustained or supported. There were very few involvement messages in this dyad, and collaborative interactions were completely absent. Overall, the participants in the interview appeared to be jockeying for power with the supervisor coming out the clear winner.

Interaction between the male supervisor and the female trainee was a very traditional one up-one down pattern. The supervisor taught and gave advice, while the trainee assisted him through the use of low-power, involving, facilitative messages. His high-power statements almost always cued her low-power statements, and her low-power statements in turn paved the way for his high-power statements. He gave advice. She deferred. She deferred. He gave more advice.

On two occasions the trainee attempted to gain some power by suggesting reasons for her client's behavior. Her male supervisor thwarted her interpretation by continued high-power messages, just as the other male supervisor had thwarted his male trainee.

At one point in the interview the trainee tried to resist the supervisor's influence. She used several avoidant, low-involvement messages, but he regained his position through the use of high-power, controlling tactics. At times this interview sounded like a dance, with the supervisor leading and the trainee assisting him in his leadership. At other times it was almost a power struggle, not unlike that between the males; and once again the supervisor prevailed.

The female supervisor-female trainee interaction was the only one in which there was genuine sharing. It contained patterns of high-power to low-power and low-power to high-power statements, but power shifted between the two women. The trainee was able to sustain a high-power position in relation to her supervisor's ability to use high-power supportive and low-power facilitative messages. Roles reversed at times, with the supervisor guiding and the trainee facilitating. The women's conversation also included many collaborative interactions, with one collaborative message following another in succession. The supervisor encouraged the trainee in her efforts at proficiency, and the relationship was collegial. Each woman regarded the other as a professional and allowed her to contribute from a position of strength.

The female supervisor's interaction with the male trainee was characterized by many neutral-power messages. She offered information about a case and requested the trainee's opinion about how the case should be handled. When he offered his ideas, she rewarded him with praise and collaborative statement. In this interaction the supervisor actually invited the trainee to assume the position of expert and supported him in his efforts to do so. This was not observed in any of the other interviews. This supervisor maintained clear control of the interview by orchestrating the case consultation and selecting the material to be discussed. However, she avoided a power struggle with her male trainee by explicitly inviting him to assume an expert role. Thus a powerful woman avoided role conflict by structuring the supervision to accommodate the wider society's gender role organization.

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Conclusions

Our findings suggest that women supervisors are more likely than men to create a supervision environment that allows for the empowerment of the trainee, whether the trainee is male or female. Female and male trainees are able to sustain their power with female supervisors because of the female supervisors' willingness to share their own power and to support rather than dominate their trainees.

Preliminary case-study material must not be overgeneralized, of course; and although our preliminary findings confirm our hypotheses concerning the relationship of trainee power and supervisor gender, we look forward to the results of the final analysis. Should our conclusions ultimately be substantiated, the implications for hierarchical educational relationships of all types are staggering.

In the sensitive developmental milieu of mentoring, males may be learning to jockey for power with more powerful males, only to realize that they must be in the power position before they have full privilege. Females may be learning to assist and defer to their male mentors. Empowerment of a trainee may be far more likely to occur in relationship to a female mentor.

We contend that a subordinate learns from the direct and indirect instruction of the mentor. She or he acquires a sense of "self in relation to," or interpersonal style, resulting from the dynamics of the relationship. It is this learning that will influence the individual's lifelong professional development. It will affect the way the developed professional will mentor her or his own students. It will affect the way the developed counselor will interact with her or his clients. Substantiation of our results will clearly have implications for the training of educators, mental-health professionals, and helping professionals in general. Future training will have to emphasize communication skills that allow for the empowerment, rather than the suppression, of our students.

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POWER	REJECTS	CONTROL	INITIATE	SHARE
	• shows hostility • discredits others • denigrates task/others	• maneuvers to gain control • forceful challenges • takes over, directs	• influences others • leads without control • stands for self while inviting others	• joins forces • openly confronts • affirms self and others
	COUNTER • defies, refuses • defends self • stands for self at expense of others	**RESIST** • counteracts • is cynical, skeptical • sets up obstacles	**OFFER** • tentatively suggests • informs others • is task oriented	**COLLABORATE** • reciprocates others • consents to cooperate • expands on others
	EVADE • vague and wordy abstracting • does not respond directly • maneuvers out of situation	**ABSTAIN** • is indecisive • uses delaying tactics • is unwilling to commit self	**SEEK** • seeks confirmation • requests information • allows others to start	**OBLIGE** • willingly accepts • concurs with others • endorses others
	REMOVE • refuses to participate • ignores others totally • disassociates self	**RELINQUISH** • concedes defeat • backs away • abandons previous position	**SUBMIT** • defers to others • gives responsibility to others • takes path of least resistance	**CLING** • seeks control by others • accepts any directive • mutually excludes

INVOLVEMENT

Why have feminist critics of popular culture found so much to say about soap opera? To answer this question, we must call to mind the image of the soap opera viewer that has been around since the 1930s. We picture her slumped in a chair or standing at an ironing board. We imagine she suffers from a kind of neurosis; she is depressed; she is lazy; she is stupid and uneducated; she suffers from a compulsion to indulge in excessive emotional states via the media; she fails to distinguish television from reality. Though men's television and sports watching behavior might make them better candidates for such concerns, football fans are rarely objects of such disdain or such paternal worrying over their mental health. (Men, it seems, are entitled to relaxation at home in front of the television set; women presumably should be getting some housework done.)

The Viewer, the Villainess and the SOAP OPERA

From popular journalism to academic writing, the easiest way to condemn television viewing as a vice has been to offer up the female soap opera viewer as supreme addict, guiltiest of all. Recently feminist critics have rescued the soap opera viewer from her position at the bottom of the popular culture heap. She has been seen instead as active and aesthetically sophisticated. The soap opera has been likened to modernist texts, and the viewer's powers of appreciation elevated along with it. At the very least, she has managed to make the best of the limited choices that the culture industries offer her as a woman.

This article offers an introduction to some of these issues in soap opera criticism. I begin with a descriptive overview of American soap opera, followed by a review of Tania Modleski's influential critical work on daytime soap opera as a feminine narrative form. Then I will briefly describe some findings from a study of Oregon soap opera viewers that I conducted in 1986 along with my German colleagues and American Studies scholars Hans Borchers, Gabriele Kreutzner, and Eva-Maria Warth. By comparing Modleski's textual reading of soap opera with our own empirical study of the audience we can see some of the limita-

tions and class biases of feminist criticism based in a psychoanalytic model.

We carried out our research as part of the project, "Soap operas in American Popular Culture," based at the University of Tübingen and funded by the Volkswagen Foundation. Portions of this article have been published as "Die Niedertracht und die Tuecke der Schurkin," Trans. Eva Warth, Frauen und Film 42 (1987).

Soap Opera and Narrative Form

The tremendous worldwide success of prime time soap operas like "Dallas" and "Dynasty" spurred critical interest in soap operas. This was one reason that our own study of American soap operas was funded by the Volkswagen Foundation of West Germany. "Dallas" and "Denver Clan" ("Dynasty" as it was called in Germany) were visited upon European television without warning. Many culture critics viewed it

as something like the coming of the plague. But for audiences in the United States, these programs were not entirely new. They were dressed up in fancier clothes and they were broadcast only one night a week, but they were very close to a form that had been around for over 50 years: the daytime soap opera of American radio and television.

About 12 daytime soap operas are broadcast on American television at the present time: each one is shown one hour per day between 11:00 a.m. and 3:00 p.m., Monday through Friday. About 50 million people watch the daytime show, including two thirds of all women in the United States living in homes with TV sets (Allen). They provide a reliable source of profit for the entire American television industry and earn revenues of about 900 million dollars each year. During each one-hour broadcast, eight commercial interruptions per hour advertise products such as diapers, housepaint, panty hose, convenience food, toys, cosmetics, and soap. The titles of these programs suggest an address to a female viewer and their desires: "All My Children," "One Life to Live," "The Young and the Restless," "Another World," "Days of Our Lives."

Guiding Light

The Young and the Restless

AS THE WORLD TURNS

Daytime soap operas take place in a mythical world of suburban America. A lot of middle-class families and phenomenal numbers of doctors and lawyers live in these small towns. Everyone knows everyone else's business and can rely on long-term friendships to support them in times of trouble. Trouble abounds: parental and generational conflicts, illness, blackmail, marriage and love problems. The shows are serial melodramas, and like all good melodramas they rely heavily on accident and coincidence to bring about the web of complications that provide the possibility for their extended storylines (a character's storyline may have lasted as long as 25 years) and the maximum emotional effect of each situation. There is a lot of suffering and unhappiness on the soap operas, since no marriage is stable, since a character never can be sure who her parents really are, and since accidents always intervene to keep lovers separated.

Soap operas have a very bad name in most intellectual circles, as a kind of anti-art, as the most corrupt form of popular culture imaginable. Soap operas typify the sin of seriality, of storylines being dictated by commercial demands (as when characters who prove too popular to be killed off are routinely resurrected from the dead); of repetition and conventionality; of a violation of all demands for narrative plausibility, as in the often used example of the preponderance of amnesia attacks by soap opera characters.

One of the things that has made soap operas attractive to feminist critics is the significance and sheer numbers of women characters on these programs compared to the rest of American television. On soaps women figure not just as girlfriends and wives but also as heroines and villainesses, acting autonomously. Women characters over 50 years old play important narrative roles and are validated as the source of advice and wisdom for the community of younger characters who so often need help with their complicated personal lives. The central topic of the narrative is of course personal life: and in this regard soap operas have been seen as offering the potential for feminist interpretations, if not a prototype of a feminist narrative form.

Feminism and Soap Opera

Tania Modleski's article "The Search for Tomorrow" remains the most influential feminist work on soap operas. Modleski approaches the soap opera in two ways: first as a le-
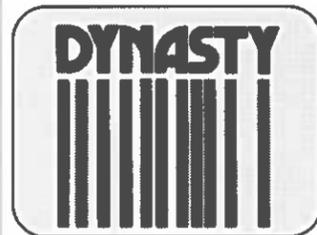
"Though she suffered head wounds and burns, Alexis' classic beauty still radiates during her hospital stay following the fire."

From Dynasty: The Authorized Biography of the Carringtons (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1984. P. 41)

gitimation in terms of its narrative form, generic rules and content; second, as an argument about how this distinctive form accommodates women's work in the home. Modleski's essay is first of all a plea to regard soap operas as not only a legitimate form but as a kind of modernist text: unique in its failure to end, in its deference of all narrative resolution, in making waiting an "anticipation of an end in itself." According to Modleski, soaps should be treated as a specifically feminine narrative form, sharing some features of the work of feminist artists. It is one in which the "important thing is that there always be time for a person to consider a remark's ramifications, time for people to speak and time to listen lavishly. Actions and climaxes are only of secondary importance" (106).

The spectator's position in relation to the text is that of an "ideal mother" who identifies with the multiplicity of characters in the narrative and sympathizes with their competing, conflicting desires for happiness. While focusing women's attention on the family, they reassure women with the truism that it is impossible for everyone to be happy at the same time. The villainess, the woman who tries to control the lives of others, who refuses to be content with her female role, is the object of the spectator's fascinated hatred. While the woman at home and all other characters on the soap opera accept the condition of feminine passivity, the villainess refuses to do so and thus incurs the wrath of the spectator. But the complicated identification with the villainess accounts for the repetition compulsion to watch the shows: Since the spectator despises the villainess as the negative image of her ideal self, she watches, captivated, while the villainess acts out the viewer's hidden wishes by simultaneously siding with the forces conspiring against the fulfillment of those wishes. As a result of this "internal contestation, the spectator comes to enjoy repetition for its own sake and takes her adequate pleasure in the building up and tearing down of the plot. In this way, perhaps, the soap operas help reconcile her to the meaningless, repetitive nature of much of her life and work in the home" (197).

Modleski offers no possibility for conscious resistance to the soap opera text: the spectator position is conceived of in terms of a perfectly "successful" gender socialization entirely in keeping with a middle-class (and white) feminine ideal. The desire to watch soap operas comes from a kind of repetition compulsion

brought about by the conflict between the ideal mother position of feminine passivity and the villainesses' expression of real but hidden fantasies of power. Bobby Allen has suggested that this work poses a problem that, although Modleski seems to present the mother-reader as a textually inscribed position to be taken up by whomever the actual reader happens to be, she comes close at times to conflating the two (Allen, p.94).

Audiences and the Soap Opera

In a series of interviews with all-women groups, we discovered many problems with Modelski's vision of the textual position offered by the soap opera. (For a detailed description of our methods and the theoretical motivation for audience studies of this kind see Seiter et al., "Don't treat us like we're so stupid and naive," in *Remote Control*.) While this position was partially taken up by some of our middle-class, college-educated informants, it was consciously resisted and vehemently rejected by most of the women we interviewed, especially by working-class women. The relationship between viewer and character more typically involved hostility toward some of the presumably sympathetic characters. There was also fond admiration for the supposedly despised villainesses.

Contrary to Modleski's critical reading, we found that strongly held preferences for some characters and dislikes for others prevented the ideal mother position that Modleski described as ever being fully realized. Sympathy for characters was mentioned only rarely; while outrages, anger, criticism, or a refusal to accept a character's problems were frequently expressed. The women we interviewed showed a conscious, full-fledged refusal of the narrative's demand for sympathy and understanding. This refusal was fueled by the recognition of a gaping class difference between the comfortable professional lives of the TV characters and the difficult financial situations in which many of our informants often find themselves.

The fact that women characters on soap operas usually bear no visible responsibility for childcare and housework increased this resentment. It is not the villainesses that these working class informants despise. It is the woman who suffers despite her middle-class privileges, a character type they call the "whiner," or the "wimpy woman!"

The "whiner" came up repeatedly in one of our group interviews with six women: the

"Rachel, softened by the love of husband Mac Cory, lovingly sculpts his likeness—but he is jealous of the time she spends in the studio."

From the Soap Opera Book *(New York: Latham Publishing, 1978. P. 78)*

mother, Mary Harper, her three daughters and their female roommates. All of them lived next door to each other in Millfield, worked at minimum-wage jobs (newpaper delivery, bartending) and also helped operate Mary's home telephone answering service. What was most irritating and infuriating to them about "the whiner" was her passivity, her dependence on men, and her failure to take care of herself. In reconstructing the story line around the character of Rick Weber, one of "General Hospital's" doctors, his wife, TV-journalist Jeannie Weber was discussed by the group:

DI: And now he married Jeannie and all she does is cry and whimper, that's all she does.

MT: I don't like her either!

DI: She don't do nothing! I mean she cries about her son, she cries about her job, she cries about her baby, she cries about everything.

MT: She cries when she makes love, I think.

DI: She cries all the time! She's a wimpy woman!

(IN CHORUS) They can take her off! She's a wimpy woman!

Among a group of six middle-class women in their fifties who were homemakers, we found another hostile rejection of a sympathetic character who herself acts like an ideal mother:

MD: Like Karen on "Knot's Landing," the neighbor that you'd like to choke. I mean she's a little busybody. She's always going around and telling everyone what to do and what they should do. And sympathizing.

This remark is especially interesting because Karen comes under attack specifically for her feminine qualities, such as sympathizing with others.

In a group consisting of a woman in her thirties named Jana Delagado, her mother-in-law, two foster-daughters, a cousin and a friend and neighbor, the women discussed their feelings for the villainesses on their favorite shows. All of the women commented on their preference of strong villainesses; the younger respondents expressed their pleasure in and admiration for the powerful female characters who were also discussed in terms of transgressing the boundaries of a traditional pattern of resistance for women within patriarchy. The pattern here of finishing each other's sentences was typical of many of our interviews with all-female groups:

LD: Yeah, they can be very vicious. (Laughs) The females can be very vicious . . .

JS: Seems like females have more of an impact than the males.

SW: . . . and they have such a . . .

TM: . . . conniving . . .

SW: . . . brain! Yeah? (Laughter)

LD: They're sneaky!!! Yeah!

SW: They use their brain more . . . (Laughter) instead of their body! They manipulate, you know!

Tania Modleski's work suggests that the only outlet for female aggression and anger on the soap opera is the character of the villainess. Drawing on psychoanalytic theory, Modleski suggests that female aggression is repressed and then symbolically taken up, played out, and neutralized in the character of the villainess. Our respondents, however, expressed love and admiration for these powerful female transgressors. One of the pleasures of soap opera viewing consists in targeting certain soap opera characters as objects of their own verbal aggressions. Kirsten and Janet, two college-educated women sharing a house and making their living from organizing adult education courses, put it this way:

JH: A lot of times we just get caught up in it, and (we go): "Oh, you bitch" or something .

KK: Yeah, it's a good cathartic kind of thing, you know, because, we can just kind . . . one creep Wade comes on, you know, and we go: "Yeah, I hate you, this is stupid," you know, so we get out a lot of stuff . . .

These women explained their own viewing in terms of their interest in Eastern philosophy and psychotherapeutic work. The pleasure in working out aggressions, however, seemed to be extremely important for many of our viewers. In another interview, Kendra, a 35-year-old woman employed doing clerical work for a cottage industry record business showed her enjoyment in expressing unrestricted aggression towards a male character:

K: We should have Jodie here, she's 14 years old, and she and I just get so excited talking about "One Life to Live."

D. Yeah, Jodie yells at them, I don't. (Turns to K) You sit there and yell at them!

K: Oh, I do! . . . especially when that ugly guy was on "General Hospital," and he played two parts . . .

D. Oh, Grant!

K: Grant and somebody . . . who was his own twin . . .

K: She hated Grant!

All My Children

WHAT WAS THE STUPIDEST SCENE YOU EVER SAW ON A SOAP?

"When Erica Kane on All My Children said to the bear 'You can't touch me, I'm Erica Kane.'"

—E.K. Francino, Ottawa

From Soap Opera Digest (New York: Network Publishing Corporation, August 26, 1986. P. 80)

K: And I hated him! I hated him, the original one, and then when they came up with a twin, and I had to see him again, in another part, I just screamed at him: "Where's your forehead? . . . " you know, I just hated him!

D: . . . and he was . . . he was in Eugene, and a friend of hers saw him and she wanted to run out and say: "Please, can I have your autograph, my friend hates you!" I love that! Isn't that great?

Aggression was not limited to the actors, but extended to the screenwriters as well, for slowing down the story lines and underestimating the viewer's intelligence, as Marty expressed it:

MT: . . . just don't drag them out and don't treat us like we're so stupid and naive, you know! Like I said: I don't like to figure out stuff myself: keep me hanging, too.

Most women had an ambivalent relationship to the narratives: enjoying the suspense but conscious of being manipulated by the story and made to wait for plot developments. And while some women enjoyed successfully predicting plot developments, for Marty (who works for minimum wage) screenwriters have a job to do, one they get paid a lot of money for, and they should be better at it than she is, i.e., able to provide her with surprises. Like Marty, a number of women felt they could write soap operas themselves, if given a chance.

In our interviews, female anger was far less repressed than the Freudian model of the feminine subject or Modleski's textual position allows for. In their interaction with the fictional world of the soap opera, women openly and enthusiastically admitted their delight in following soap operas as stories of female transgressions which destroy the ideological nucleus of the text—the sacredness of the family.

Soap Operas and Social Class

Our interviews indicate a vast gap between the model of the passive feminine subject inscribed in the text and our women viewers who fail to asume the position of the all-understanding (and therefore powerless) spectators of textual construction. "Successful" female socialization is restricted and altered by the contradictions of women's own experiences. Class, among other factors, plays a major role in how our respondents make sense of the text. The experience of working-class women clearly conflicts in substantial ways with the soap opera's representation of "a woman's problems," problems some women identified as upper or middle class. This makes the limitless sympathy that Modleski's textual position demands impos-

sible for them. The class discrepancy between textual representation and actual personal experience constituted their primary criticism of the programs. Let's return to our conversation with Mary Harper and her daughters:

MP: The one thing I guess I don't really care about in the soaps is that . . . they're playing all the women as being career-oriented and, ah, making lots of money, they are not . . . they are not bringing other people . . . you know, not every woman is making a good income.

DI: Asa's wife doesn't. Asa's wife, she's not

MP: Yeah, but she's not working, she's a staying-home wife. They need to bring in a few single mothers that are trying to . . .

DI: . . . make and take on five an hour. ·

MP: Yeah, right, trying to juggle the books and find a baby sitter . . .

MT: . . . deliver newspapers at one o'clock in the morning, working there until . . .

MP: They don't need too many of them, cause there is a lot of women that, you know, don't want that, they need escape to what it would be like when they're rich, but once in a while they should bring that in, cause . . . it shows: "Hey, this is what it's really like!"

DI: Say, "Wake up and . . . "

MT: That's why you want them to escape, cause after three hours you turn them off and you might return to your $3.35 job.
MP: Yeah, I know, but if that's all you see, then, it'll you'll lose your interest . . .

One problem with the spectator position described by Modleski is that the "ideal mother" implies the social identity of a middle-class woman with a husband who earns a family wage. This textual position is not likely to be as accessible to working-class women, who often formulate criticism of the soap opera on these grounds. But criticism is expressed only in terms of realism and escapism, as in the quote above, where a complaint about class norms (having only career women or stay-at-home wives as characters) is answered by a validation of their function as escapism on these very same grounds (characters whose lives are different from those of the viewers). Any alternative version of the soap opera is impossible for these women to imagine because it is so far beyond the horizon of reasonable expectation.

Ellen Seiter, Associate Professor, Speech

I began this essay by discussing the commonly expressed contempt for women who watch soap opera. Our audience study suggests that women criticize, reject, and contest much of what they see on soap operas, while at the same time taking great pleasure in these narratives. This type of study can also be used to build on feminist interpretations of popular culture such as Tanas Modleski's important work. The ways we understand television—or any other cultural text, including that of psychoanalysis—are linked to our class positions. I have dealt primarily with class identity here but racial identity urgently needs to be brought into feminist criticism.

Feminist criticism will always bear the marks of the viewer/critic's social positioning, but some empirical research into the meaning and the appeal of cultural texts can do much to open up our critical readings.

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DALLAS

FALCON CREST

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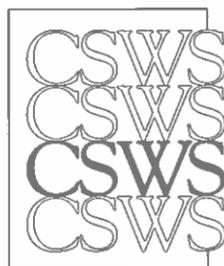
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Judith Hibbard, Associate Professor of School and Community Health
Jack Whalen, Assistant Professor of Sociology

Advisory Committee

Doris Allen, Associate Professor of Music
Irene Diamond, Associate Professor of Political Science
Patricia Gwartney-Gibbs, Associate Professor of Sociology
Linda Kintz, Assistant Professor of English
Lisa Leimar, Graduate Teaching Fellow, Women's Studies Program
Marsha Ritzdorf, Associate Professor of Planning, Public Policy and Management, Chair
Mary Rothbart, Professor of Psychology

Research Committee

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Patricia Gwartney-Gibbs, Associate Professor of Sociology
Sandra Harvey, Assistant Professor of School and Community Health, Co-Chair
Judith Hibbard, Associate Professor of School and Community Health
Elizabeth Holloway, Associate Professor of Counseling Psychology
Cheris Kramarae, Visiting Professor of Sociology, Co-Chair
Robert O'Brien, Professor of Sociology
Maureen Weiss, Associate Professor of Physical Education and Human Movement Studies
Mary Wood, Assistant Professor of English

Library Committee

Frances Cogan, Associate Professor, Honors College
Marion Goldman, Associate Professor of Sociology, Chair
Leslie Greer, Music Librarian
April Minnich, Student
Louise Wade, Professor of History

Speakers and Events Committee

Charles Griffin, Assistant Professor of Economics
Angela Jung-Palandri, Professor Emeriti of East Asian Languages
Ellen Kittel, Visiting Assistant Professor of History
Anita Weiss, Assistant Professor of International Studies
Jack Whalen, Assistant Professor of Sociology, Chair

Research Related Services

Resource Center

The CSWS Resource Center, located in the center office, subscribes to a variety of feminist journals and maintains a limited collection of feminist classics and current reference books.

CSWS working papers are also kept in the resource center and may be purchased for a nominal fee at the center or ordered by mail. The resource center also has working papers and other information from other research centers. Tapes of all public lectures that CSWS has sponsored are kept in the center and may be checked out for brief periods. A *Research Guide to Women's Resources* is now available in the center and the Knight Library. A bulletin board, outside the door of the center office, provides information on jobs, conferences, calls for papers, and special events.

The resource center is open during working hours, Monday through Friday, and students, faculty members, and people from the community are welcome to use its resources.

Library Services

The center provides a library runner program, a request for reprints service and bibliographic searches.

Library Runner Program

Under the direction of April Minnich, center resource coordinator, the Library Runner Program serves the center faculty affiliates on the University of Oregon campus. Runners check out books and photocopy chapters and articles available in the University's libraries and through the interlibrary loan program. During 1988, student runners processed more than 3,000 requests for items relevant to affiliates' research on women in society. Request forms for check-out and photocopying services are available at the center.

Reprint Request Service

The center subscribes to and circulates *Current Contents* for the social sciences and for the humanities to center affiliates who ask to be on the list. Affiliates may fill out reprint request cards and return them to the center to be mailed from the center, or they may simply initial the articles they want and a center staff member will fill out a reprint request card for them.

Bibliograpic Searches

Affiliates who want to have computer-based bibliography searches through the University of Oregon Knight Library for their work related to women and society may apply for funds from the center. Usually the funds needed are under $50.00 and may be approved through the executive grant procedure by using a one-page application form available at the center.

New Working Papers 1988

Is Female to Male as Nature is to Culture? Two Contributions from Melanesia. Aletta Biersack. (#30, $1.50)
The Women and Math Problem in a Computer Age: Working Toward Feminist Solutions. Suzanne K. Damarin. (#33, $1.50)
Sex Differences in Union Contract Coverage. Patricia Gwartney-Gibbs and Gregory S. Hundley. (#31, $1.50)
Feminism and the Theories of Talcott Parsons. Miriam M. Johnson. (#32, $1.50)
Individuals and Community: Women Philosophers in Ancient Greece. Julie K. Ward. (#29, $1.50)

Data Analysis and Word Processing Facilities and Services

The center now owns 14 microcomputers and seven computer terminals that provide access to the University Computing center. Some of these computers are available at the center for use by affiliates, including graduate students. Other computers are loaned on a yearly basis to faculty members for projects related to research on women and gender. The center also has a laser printer. Affiliates, including graduate students, with manuscripts prepared on an IBM-compatible machine may print the final copy at the center. Those who wish to use the machine should check first with the center office.

Curriculum Grants Committee

Frances Cogan, Associate Professor, Honors College, Chair
Janice Jipson, Assistant Professor of Teacher Education
Mary Kuntz, Assistant Professor of Classics

Travel and Dissertation Committee

Sonja Foss, Associate Professor of Speech, Chair
Joanne Taylor, Visiting Assistant Professor of Anthropology
Hilda Young, Counselor, Academic Advising and Student Services
Virpi Zuck, Associate Professor of Germanic Languages

Staff

Agnes Curland, Administrative Assistant (Budget), .50 FTE
Marcia DeCaro, Admistrative Assistant (Office Manager for CSWS and Women's Studies Program)
Lyn Cogswell, Secretary (Grants)
April Minnich, Center Resource Coordinator (part time)
Sara Satre, Computer Specialist (part time)
Part-time work-study student assistants (four on the average)

Travel Grants

The following scholars received travel grants in 1988.

Judith Barker, Sociology, Sociologists for Women in Society, Atlanta, Georgia, $250.
Irene Diamond, Political Science, American Philosophy Association, New York, New York, $350.
Sakre K. Edson, Community Affiliate, American Education Research Association, New Orleans, Louisiana, $350.
Sharon Elise, Sociology, National Women's Studies Association, Minneapolis, Minnesota, $250.
Beverly Fagot, Psychology, Tenth International Dysphoria Symposium, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, $500.
Sonja Foss, Speech, Research in Gender and Communications, Media, Pennsylvania, $350.
Linda Jencson, Religious Studies, American Anthropological Association, Phoenix, Arizona, $224.
Judith Jones, Speech, Research in Gender and Communication, Media, Pennsylvania, $248.
Denise Lach, Sociology, National Women's Studies Association, Minneapolis, Minnesota, $228.
Carl Latkin, Psychology, Western Psychological Association, Burlingame, California, $137.
Lisa Leimar, Anthropology, American Anthropological Association, Phoenix, Arizona, $250.
Susan Lewis, Anthropolgy, American Anthropological Association, Phoenix, Arizona, $250.
Daniel Miller, Speech, University Film and Video Association/Society for Cinema Studies, Bozeman, Montana, $250.

The center owns a photocopy machine with reducing and collating capabilities. Affiliates who are working on projects related to women in society and who do not have free access to photocopying in their own departments may use the machine.

Services provided by the grants secretary and data analysis specialist are described below:

Grants Secretary

The center employs a secretary who can help affiliates in the preparation of grant proposals to outside funding agencies. She is also available to type manuscripts and to help with data entry and the transcription of tapes. This year the grants secretary completed 41 different projects for 22 affiliates. This work included six grant proposals, six data-entry projects, seven transcription projects, and 22 miscellaneous projects such as articles, codebooks, and assistance with the work of grant committees.

For further information on these services, both faculty and graduate student affiliates should contact the grants secretary and make arrangements for her services. Scheduling in advance is important.

Computer Analysis Specialist

The center employs a part-time specialist to assist affiliates with various aspects of the computer analysis of research data. Her functions include (1) helping with the preparation of data for analysis (developing a codebook and organizing the data); (2) assisting with data-base management (defining, "cleaning," and checking the data); (3) advising on statistical strategies; (4) carrying out computer-generated statistical analyses; and (5) if necessary, providing help with interpreting results.

For further information and to arrange for an appointment to schedule the work, affiliates should contact the center. Scheduling in advance is important.

Cooperative Activities

CSWS cooperates with many departments and schools at the University of Oregon by cosponsoring speakers and other activities. The center also cooperates with other research centers in the state and is participating in a new plan for cooperative activities between research centers on the West Coast and the entire Pacific Rim.

CSWS is affiliated with the National Council for Research on Women and sends representatives to its annual meeting.

Research Grants

CSWS supports a wide variety of research on women and gender by awarding large grants ranging from $1,500 to $12,000 and small grants ranging from $50 to $1,500.

Large Grants Awarded in 1988

Ole Ronkei's Autobiography. Aletta Biersack and Vernon Dorjahn, Anthropology, $5,690.

Ivy Compton-Burnett. Kathy Gentile, English, $4,465.

Allegorical Depictions of Women in Eighteenth-Century French Portraiture Redefining the Myth of Courtly Femininity. Kathleen Nicholson, Art History, $6,560.

Assaults by Husbands: The Impact of Wives' Economic Resource Independence. Robert O'Brien, Sociology, $5,000.

America Transformed: Municipal Land Use Planning and Changing Gender Roles. Marsha Ritzdorf, Planning, Public Policy and Management, $7,660.

The Role of the Heroine in the Novels of Jane Austen and George Meredith. Richard Stevenson, English and Honors College, $7,900.

The Study of Occupational Learning Institutional Grant (continuation). Jean Stockard, Sociology, $10,240.

Sport Socialization Patterns and Role Model Selections of Female Athletes and Nonathletes: A Ten-Year Update. Maureen R. Weiss, Physical Education and Human Movement Studies, $4,153.

Small Grants Awarded in 1988

Expectancies of Success: Are Women More Accurate Than Men? Sylvia Beyer, Psychology, $203.

Miss Nora: Rescuer of the Rama Language. Colette Craig, Linguistics, $1,430.

Marcia Morgan, Sociology, International Congress on Child Abuse and Neglect, Rio De Janeiro, Brazil, $250.

Mary Lou Parker, Sociology, Pacific Sociological Association, Las Vegas, Nevada, $250.

Lisa Ponder, Independent Scholar, American Studies Association, Miami, Florida, $250.

Marsha Ritzdorf, Planning, Public Policy and Management, Urban Affairs Association Annual Conference, St. Louis, Missouri, $251.

Kathleen Rowe, Speech, University Film and Video Association/Society for Cinema Studies, Bozeman, Montana, $250.

Diana Sheridan, Speech, Research in Gender and Communication, Media, Pennsylvania, $250.

Silvia Spitta, Comparative Literature, *Congreso de Literatura Iberoamericana,* Mexico City, Mexico, $250.

Stephani Stephenson, Fine Arts, National Council on Education for the Ceramic Arts, Portland, Oregon, $44.

Phyllis Sonebraker, Anthropology, American Anthropological Association, Phoenix, Arizona, $250.

Joanne Taylor, Anthropology, American Anthropological Association, Phoenix, Arizona, $250.

Liliana Trevizan, Romance Languages, International Symposium: *Mujer y Sociedad en America,* Northridge, California, $235.

Cheri Vitez, Anthropology, American Anthropological Association, Phoenix, Arizona, $250.

Elizabeth Wallace, Community Affiliate, Modern Language Association, San Francisco, California, $263.

Anita Weiss, International Studies, Association for Asian Studies, Washington, D.C., $350.

Faculty Lecture Series

During this academic year, CSWS sponsored a lecture series featuring talks by two University of Oregon faculty members each term. The lectures were held on the third Wednesday afternoon of each full month in a term. Each lecture was followed by an informal social hour. Speakers and topics are listed below and on the following page.

January 20

Joni Hersch, Economics, *Explaining Sex Differentials in Wages: Toward a Complete Picture of the Earnings Gap.*

February 17

Mary Wood, English, *A Wizard Cultivator: Zelda Fitzgerald, Madness, and Body.*

March 2

Cheris Kramarae, Department of Speech and Communication, University of Illinois, Urbana, and CSWS Visiting Scholar, winter-spring 1988, *Compliments and Stranger Remarks.*

Social History of Chinese Women with Reference to Ming Painting. Connie Earnshaw, Art History, $300.

Reassessing the Canon in the Latin American Nineteenth-Century Novel: Two Latin American Women Writers. Juan Epple, Romance Languages, $1,000.

Single Parent Families in University Housing. Randi Gerson and Lisa Kramer, Architecture and Allied Arts, $1,368.

Affect and Sport: An Examination of Female Involvement in Youth Sport Gymnastics. Kimberley Klint, Physical Education and Human Movement Studies, $1,025.

The Portrayal of Women in Three Ecuadorian Newspapers. Mariana Landazuri, Journalism, $691.

Juan Luis Vives' The "Instruction of a Christian Woman" and Sixteenth-Century Conduct Books. Margaret Mikesell, community affiliate, $1,101.

Understanding Father-Daughter Incest: A Theoretical and Empirical Approach. Elizabeth Miller, Counseling Psychology, $150.

Dimensions of Sociopolitical Change: Women's Accession to Public Office in the West. Joyce Mitchell, Political Science, $1,409.

Toward a Comprehensive Analysis of the Development of L. Maria Child's Early Legal Philosophy, 1802-33. Lisa Ponder, History, $600.

The "Shelter Plus" Needs of Homeless Parents in Eugene-Springfield. Marsha Ritzdorf, Planning, Public Policy and Management, $650.

Kanriye Fujima, Nihon Buyo Teacher in America. Barbara Sellers, Theater Arts, $1,400.

Women in the Workplace of Coaching. Becky L. Sisley, Physical Education and Human Movement Studies, $1,400.

Nursing Cultures in Hospitals. Mary Ellen Steinman, Registered Nurse, $999.

Comparative Life Histories: Gender, Achievement, and Religious Seekership. Norman Sundberg, Psychology, $1,400.

The Relationship of Psychosocial Factors to Prenatal Care Access and Pregnancy Outcome. Dixie L. Whetsell, Public Health Education, $375.

Dissertation Grants

The following dissertation projects received awards in 1988.

The Rhetorical Construction of Motherhood. Linda Allen, Speech, $1,000.

Pathways Into Mental Health Treatment: Women's Histories of Seeking Help for Emotional Distress. Susanne Bohmer, Sociology, $1,000.

Women as Caregivers of the Elderly in Rural Thailand: Changing Patterns. Rosalie Caffrey, Anthropology, $4,000.

A Comparative Study of Female Religious Experience and Expression. Mary Courtis, Anthropology, $6,500.

Necessary Fictions. Maria DePriest, English, $3,500.

Referents for Intimacy: Women's Stories. Judith Jones, Speech, $6,500.

Achieving Global Harmony: Ecofeminist Strategies of Peacemaking. Diana Sheridan, Speech, $4,000.

Visiting Scholar Program

During 1988, Professors Cheris Kramarae, University of Illinois, Urbana; Francesca Cancian, University of California, Irvine; and Suzanne Damarin, Ohio State University, Columbus, were visiting scholars in the center.

Curriculum Development

A grant was awarded in 1988 to Carolyn Ashbough, Women's Studies, for her project *Women, Science, and Medicine.*

Education and Special Projects

CSWS organizes and supports a variety of educational activities and special projects to make available to various audiences the new scholarship on women, and to contribute to the cultural and intellectual life of the University and the community.

March 14

Emily Abel, Center for the Study of Women, University of California at Los Angeles, *Women and Informal Care of the Frail Elderly.*

March 16

Evelyn Nakano Glenn, Department of Sociology and Women's Studies, State University of New York, Binghampton, *The Racial Division of Women's Work.*

April 18

Suzanne Levine, former managing editor of *Ms.* magazine, *Love and Work.*

April 20

Marion Goldman, Sociology, *The Women of Rajneeshpuram: Achievement, Ambivalence, and Religious Seeking.* April 21

Deborah Rhode, Director, Institute for Research on Women and Gender, Stanford University, *Justice and Gender.*

April 27

Francesca Cancian, Department of Sociology, University of California at Irvine, and CSWS Visiting Scholar, April-May 1988, *Working Mothers Speak Out: Raising Consciousness with Participatory Research.*

May 5

Dorothy E. Smith, Sociologist, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Ontario, Canada, *The Work Families Do For Schools.*

May 18

Irene Diamond, Political Science, *What is Ecofeminism?*

May 23

Kay Deaux, Professor of Psychology, Graduate School and University Center, City University of New York, New York, *Putting Gender Into Context.*

November 9

Suzanne K. Damarin, Educational Policy and Leadership, Ohio State University, Columbus, and CSWS Visiting Scholar fall term 1988, *The Women and Math Problem: Feminist Solutions for the Computer Age.*

November 14

Lynda Koolish, English, University of California at Sacramento, *The Evolution of Feminist Culture,* a slide presentation.

Women's Ways of

ADMINISTRATION

A Preliminary Review of Differences in Successful Administrative Practices Between Men and Women

When I was a child, my family moved several times each year. I soon learned that one way to pass the lonely time until new friends were made was to find the local library and see what new stories of adventure and biography and fantasy awaited me. I developed a life-long love of libraries and books; at the same time I learned life skills of personal flexibility, academic adaptability, and group leadership. It was not until my early teens that I began to notice that so many of those lovely stories, whether reality or fantasy, did not have independent women leaders in them. In fact, I was experiencing leadership roles and adventures in life which seemed reserved mostly for men.

Thus, I began to ask myself the questions that I continue to pursue today. If freed from stereotyped social roles, are men and women fundamentally the same or fundamentally different in how they think and in how they lead others? How does an individual develop a sense of self and a personal concept of knowledge? Does sense of self and sense of knowledge differ by gender? How does a skilled learner construct new knowledge and new understandings of the world, and does that differ by gender? How does the ability to learn interact with the ability to lead others, and how is gender related to both? And, is this stuff virtually innate and unteachable, or can we teach it to ourselves and to others?

For several years, I studied uses of reflective time by expert learners, uses of group process techniques by men and women leaders, and verbal and nonverbal behaviors between men and women in supervisory settings. Each of the studies led me deeper into concepts of individual power and knowledge in leadership roles, and each of the studies led me to question more deeply differences between men and women in similar roles. I began to pull together what I had thought were separate threads of inquiry on learning and gender and leadership.

The purpose of the study I am now reporting on was to examine the knowledge construction and reflective practices of 24 successful senior administrators in order to extend our understanding of the interactions between concepts of knowledge, gender, and leadership. The study drew together separate strands of research on (1) knowledge formation and gender, (2) successful administrative practices and gender, and (3) expert learning practices by successful administrators.

Knowledge Formation and Gender

In 1986, four psychologists published an extraordinary report that for the first time gave me and other researchers a new way of looking at learning, gender, and leadership intertwined. Entitled *Women's Ways of Knowing*, the study extended the work of Perry (1981), Kohlberg (1981), Gilligan (1982), Lyons (1984), and others. The authors interviewed 135 women from different backgrounds, examining how they thought about themselves, others, and the world. The interviews both supported and redefined the earlier studies. The authors reported their findings in a new model. They described five different "perspectives" from which women view reality: silence, received knowledge, subjective knowledge, procedural knowledge, and constructed knowledge. These perspectives in some ways parallel the earlier male sample results and, in other ways, strike new territory.

The first perspective described is that of silence. Some of the women interviewed did not seem to have any concept of independent self or of knowledge. One of the first questions the interviewers asked was "How would you describe yourself to yourself?" This was a difficult question for many of the interviewees, but almost impossible for the women the authors subsequently called "the silent ones." A typical answer was, "I don't know . . . No one has told me yet what they thought of me." These women are passive and subordinate, with little experience with conversation and little ability to see themselves or others as individuals.

Life is out of their control. It is immediate, and the women of silence seem to have little ability to think about the future. Typically, these women have had painful childhoods with little of the play or dialogue which are the necessary precursors to inner speech and to an awareness of one's own thought processes. This is not a view previously identified in the studies that used young college men as the sample population, and is not a view I expected to observe among the successful administrators I interviewed.

The second perspective described by the *Women's Ways of Knowing* authors is received knowledge, or listening to the voices of others. If there is no voice of one's own, then some women learn to listen to other voices for guidance. Unlike the women of silence who are unaware of the power of words for transmitting knowledge, these women of received knowledge "think of words as central to the knowing process." They learn by listening to others, friends and authorities. These women saw themselves as somehow able to understand authority, but were separate

Diane Dunlap
Assistant Professor
Division of Educational
Policy and Management

Who is the President?

from it and unable to participate in "Authority-right" as full participants. This proved to be an interesting distinction between the men and women in my study of successful administrators, and I will return to this point later in the paper.

The third perspective described is women who develop subjective knowledge. These women have an inner voice. Their shift in relationship to the world and others is from passive to active, from self-as-static to self-as-becoming, from silence to a protesting inner voice based on an infallible intuitive sense. The woman becomes her own authority. Sometimes this inner voice comes from experiencing "failed authorities" and the inner voice replaces the outer voices. Sometimes the inner voice joins the outer voices of authority in a multiplicity of views that parallel Perry's concepts of cultural pluralism and multiplicity (Perry, 1970, 1981).

However, while the women who are subjective knowers have an inner voice, they frequently described truth and knowledge as private matters that should not be shared with the world. Subjective knowers are often afraid that "thinking" is not as "womanly" as feeling, and that thought can actually destroy feeling. They have a sense of truth for themselves, yet they often see it as an accidental result of their lives' experiences and not attached to any greater sense of shared truth in the world. They may, in fact, feel quite alienated from a world that does not operate on the same values as their own and that may demean them as individual knowers in the process.

The fourth perspective described is that of procedural knowledge. The women who were described as procedural knowers engaged in conscious, deliberate, systematic conversation and analysis. They know that truth is "learnable" if one just ferrets it out by objective study. Many of the women reported that when they began to approach problems of understanding in this way, they first felt diminished in ability. They had less faith in authorities and did not trust or listen to their own internal subjective voice. Their search for the "real truth" of an idea or a situation often started with a cold and lonely separatism from self and others.

Belenky and her coauthors divide the women of procedural knowing into categories of separate and connected knowers. They distinguish them by saying, "Separate knowers' procedures for

making meaning are strictly impersonal. Feelings and personal beliefs are rigorously excluded." Connected knowers "build . . . on the subjectivists' conviction that the most trustworthy knowledge comes from personal experience rather than the pronouncements of authorities . . . They develop procedures for gaining access to other people's knowledge." What the separate and connected procedural knowers share is the focus on procedural knowledge as objective, in the sense "of being oriented away from the self—the knower—and toward the object the knower seeks to analyze or understand."

The fifth and final perspective described by the authors is that of constructed knowledge where the women in this group worked to integrate all of the "voices" of authority and knowing: "All knowledge is constructed, and the knower is an intimate part of the known." These women speak of integrating feeling and care into the objective-subjective work of themselves and others. They work to create a "room of their own," a knowledge of their own, that can relate to the greater world as well as empower them in their chosen work. The focus is on people and objects outside the knower, but the knower is the active director of her choices in this phenomenological world.

The earlier researchers in knowledge construction and ways of viewing the world had examined male and female epistemological, psychological, and moral development, but had not drawn the work together as in the *Women's Ways of Knowing* report.

Perry's work and Kohlberg's work was done primarily with young Caucasian males as the sample; both researchers argued that the work applied to all people regardless of gender or ethnic background. In her studies, Gilligan built a strong argument that the male samples did not well represent women, or men of other ethnic backgrounds. The *Women's Ways of Knowing* researchers replicated the Perry, Kohlberg, and Gilligan studies and found a distinct, new pattern that extends the earlier work as well as raising as many new questions as they answered old ones.

For example, one of the questions raised by this work is whether the perspectives as described are developmental or sequential. Do these perspectives come in an order, where one must preceed the other? Can we "regress" to an earlier level when faced with a new situation? Or, are these perspectives parallel and interactive?

Another question is whether the findings are gender specific, whether this is a "woman's way" or is a "human way." When the authors identified the new perspectives of "development of self," they could only say that the 135 women interviewed fit the pattern; they could not say whether the pattern was specific to women, or is an extension of an all-human pattern. Are there significant differences between men and women in the ways in which they learn and in how they practice successful leadership of others?

A third question arises from the structure of the sample. The *Women's Ways of Knowing* researchers used a diverse population of women to look for the common ground that women might share, regardless of background. Unfortunately, the sample included few professional women (and the entire sample included no men). More research needs to be done to study the apparent discrepant findings between the earlier (male sample) work and the most recent (female sample) work, particularly as related to male and female leaders.

After talking with three of the authors, I decided to replicate the Belenkey group study with a sample of male and female senior administrators. I expected to find mostly "constructed knowers" in my carefully selected sample of senior administrators; I did not know if men and women would report similar conceptual paths.

Successful Administrative Practices and Gender

Part of why I found the *Women's Ways of Knowing* model so exciting as a method for examining successful administrative practice is because it parallels some of what we know, and don't know, about administration and women. The development, and nurturance, of leaders for schools, colleges, businesses, and government is critical for the success of individuals and organizations.

The demands of rapid chaotic change in the world require that leaders of organizations be able to recognize and respond to unexpected problems in ways that (1) maintain the core goals of the organization, and (2) maintain the leader's ability to function efficiently in the demanding environment. Some people do this very well. Others do well in some settings, but not in others. Some do not do well at all.

Since the beginnings of recorded history, humankind has studied and argued about who should be or who could be the best leaders across cultures and across time. From Lao Tzu and Plutarch to James MacGregor Burns, we have examined personality traits of leaders, have explored their family and early schooling, have argued about the influence of events on individuals, and have come to today with more questions than answers. In Burns' words, "we fail to grasp the essence of leadership that is relevant to the modern age and hence we cannot agree even on the standards by which to measure, recruit, and reject it."

The nature of administrative work has been frequently described as fragmented and driven by the demands of the environment instead of by the desires of the individual administrator, regardless of the type of work setting. Since the very nature of administrative work drives out quiet time, administrators often find themselves struggling to maintain regular time for planning and reflection. Many scholars argue that development of extensive reflective skills will increase

the effectiveness of the professional practitioner. Still, little is suggested about specific practices.

There are two additional problems in studies of administrative leadership. First, central to any definition of leadership is the assumption that the leader can glean what is needed in a new situation and then fabricate the best response. And yet, studies of learning implicit in leadership events are typically based on outmoded concepts of what constitutes expert learning.

A second problem is the assumption of male leadership, especially at higher levels of power, throughout the centuries. Historically, we have relied on stereotyped and socialized roles for men and women that are no longer sufficiently predictive of success for individual lifetimes and may also preclude needed development of alternative forms of leadership for society as a whole.

Methods and Data Sources

I decided to combine the replication of the *Women's Ways of Knowing* study with questions about reflective practices, hypothesizing that successful senior administrators (male and female) would be "connected knowers" and would have developed some form of successful reflective practice in the midst of a demanding administrative career. Twenty-four participants were identified as successful senior-level administrators through multiple peer nomination. At least three administrators were identified in each of four categories: (1) public schools, (2) colleges or universities, (3) for-profit businesses, and (4) nonprofit government or health organizations.

Since I was studying administrators in comparable positions, I tried to control for size of institution and nature of the administrative assignment, for age and educational background, and for prior administrative experience. Since I also wanted to know if the type of institution made a difference, I constructed a small sub-sample representation from each of four types of institutions. The overall sample included men and women. In addition, the sample included eight people who responded "Yes" to the question, "Do you keep a journal?" Journal-keeping was identified as one means to regular reflective practice; the results of this sub-study are forthcoming (Dunlap and Cooper, 1988). None of those interviewed was familiar with the prior research on this topic.

Each administrator was given an initial project description sheet and was asked to complete a personal demographics form. Position descriptions were collected and jobs were checked for rough comparability. On-site work observations were conducted both before and between two extensive on-site interviews. Under the direction of the authors of *Women's Ways of Knowing*, the interview guide for this project was developed to both replicate the Belenky group study (which, in turn, replicated earlier studies by Perry and Kohlberg) and also to gather information on specific reflective practices by administrators. All

participants were guaranteed confidentiality in treatment of data and results.

Results

The theoretical model proposed by Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger and Tarule was upheld, but with interesting implications for future research. I found no examples of "people of silence." Nor did I find many examples of subjective knowledge as the driving force behind an individual's view of the world.

My first surprise came in the number of instances that could be categorized as received and procedural knowledge. Of the 24 people interviewed, 11 described approaches to problems and to learning in terms that clearly match these perspectives. For example, several people made statements similar to this one:

"When I need to learn something I like to just listen to people who really know about it. I mean there are people who really know stuff and I don't know anything about it."

One of the few differences between men and the women in the sample was between the "Authority-right-we" vs. "Authority-right-they" dichotomy described under received knowing. While both men and women described received

knowledge events, the women more frequently referred to the knowledge as what they "had to accept" since the authorities were in power and the women were not. The women more frequently used language that excluded themselves from ever being part of the authority statement whereas the men more frequently used language that referred to the people with expertise as the ones "currently in power."

More than half of the respondents described at least one approach to solving a problem in language that is clearly within the Belenky study group definition of connected procedural knowledge. For example:

"[In order of what I listen to], gut is first, then your mind is second, and just listening [to experts] is third."

"[First], I'll usually listen for a while [to] people presenting information . . . then do a lot of questioning. So it's interacting with people or in a group . . . then sometimes drawing. Sometimes when I am faced with something new, I just go gather books and reading material and try

to read or absorb as much as I can about something. Then I think in terms of just thinking about it, just trying to make some connections about something in my experience, or something that is analogous to it."

More than two-thirds of the respondents, as predicted, described problem-solving and knowledge development processes that were categorized as constructed knowledge. Of the 11 who described at least one instance of connected procedural knowing, nine also described at least one instance of constructed knowing. This argues for an interactive (as opposed to developmental) explanation for the *Women's Ways of Knowing* "perspectives." Constructed knowing can be seen in the following examples:

"[I was trained that] women never express their opinion, keep your mouth shut, go along with what the men wanted. In fact, women were not even valuable, they were here to support men, you know, that whole thing. Well, I've worked real hard at redefining that, erasing that, reprogramming it. It gets you once in awhile when you least expect it, it grabs you and you realize that you've been caught by it again. But, I've worked really hard on that."

"This is a big world with a lot of options and a lot of opinions and I am, in fact, only one person with only one viewpoint and with only one set of information to bring to that. Some things I feel more strongly about and would defend to the death . . . but I know that that is not the only answer. It depends."

One person reported the pain sometimes evident for people who are constructed knowers in a procedural world:

"I'm just really envious of those people . . . who act as if they have got a handle on life. 'This is right, this is the way it should be done, these are the people you listen to, and these are the people you don't give a shit about.' God, life would be so much easier for me . . .[if I could do that.] They just don't have to work at trying to integrate, trying to know the huge differences of feelings and opinions that all these people have . . . sometimes it wears me down a little. Sometimes I like to be able to make a statement and stand by it . . . instead . . .[I'm always] trying to get them to see things a little differently . . . the first thing I want to do is correlate . . . with some of my values to see how strong they are and find the places that we agree and build some bridges and then send my convoys. I don't know how receptive I am to their convoy. I know I must be though because nothing I do in the program ever comes out the way I originally wanted it to and yet, I'm pretty happy with an awful lot that goes on . . . One of the [most joyful] experiences is when my ideas are worked over and changed and feel congruent . . . where others change and I change . . . and we create something new . . ."

All of the successful administrators reported either procedural or constructed knowledge patterns, or both. There was little difference be-

tween men and women in the reported patterns. However, some differences were observed between men and women that could not be attributed to differences in work assignments or type of organizational setting. Those differences were seen primarily in how women of power and authority see themselves in relationship to greater authorities; there was a pronounced tendency to use "they" language that excluded the speaker, even among very capable women leaders. The differences were also observed within the subsample of women, so it is not clear if this is a gender specific distinction. I would argue that the differences suggest an extension of the "constructed knowers" part of the *Women's Ways of Knowing* model, as potentially applicable to both men and women.

Another question addressed in this study is whether the perspectives as described in *Women's Ways of Knowing* are developmental, or parallel and interactive? Reflect upon these responses:

"I've changed as a thinker because as a youngster and as a younger person I thought only about the emotional content or the feeling part of any given subject, and it took me a long time into adulthood to learn . . . that emotions follow content or that you can in fact control your emotions. You don't have to spend your whole life thinking about how it feels, you can think about what it is . . ."

"I used to feel like if you disagreed you had to hide that. You had only to admit to those things that you agree upon and discuss only those. And I just don't believe that anymore."

I believe that these statements and others clearly argue for an interactive rather than a developmental model. A number of the respondents also described varying learning patterns, depending upon the type of problem they were trying to solve and how much time they had in which to solve it. Strategies often varied by situation, and the strategy sometimes looked more procedural and sometimes more subjective or received.

Reflective Time

There were fascinating reflective practices described or observed in the study. All of the respondents reported some regular effort to find reflective time. Several practices, such as regular weekly "quiet time" accomplished while completing some other task, were identified. Common practices included solving work-related problems while driving to a meeting, while spending an evening in a hotel room during a conference, while stretching for exercise, etc.

Specific reflective practices, such as meditation or journal-keeping, differed between participants. Other than the eight preselected journal keepers, no two people found reflective time in the same way—but all of them found it in some way. Some garden, some sit and think, some run, some dance. Some meditate, some pray, some

write. Everyone does some thing to find a quiet time to reflect on events and on themselves. Even among the journal keepers, patterns of journal keeping varied considerably. So, while no two people did the same thing, all 24 did some regular reflection. There was no discernable pattern by gender; women were as likely as men to engage in some daily form of reflective activity and men were as likely as women to use some form of physical exercise or relaxation technique for planned reflection.

The individual reflective patterns were combined with the absence of some traditional gender specific role behaviors. Seventy-five percent of the women seldom cooked and seldom did the shopping and menu planning related to preparing meals. None of the men cooked meals on a regular daily basis but half of the sample cooked meals at least twice a week. Seventy-five percent of the men frequently spent time with their young children; none of the women interviewed had young children. While administrative practice itself showed more variation in style and approach between individuals than it did between males and females, there was a distinct pattern of nontraditional social roles within the family setting for both men and women.

These successful administrators found some way to build reflective time into their lives and they also each built a unique support system around them. Daily work patterns, family units, and recreational and leisure patterns differed markedly between individual respondents. However, all of them reported an effective and supportive life outside of the workplace. Use of specific personal and professional reflection activities, combined with intentional development of a supportive nonwork environment, increased reported sense of satisfaction, innovation, ability to foster problem solving, and ability to facilitate the personal growth of themselves and others.

All of these successful administrators found a way to create new understanding of themselves and the problems they face by regular, planned "inward watching."

Implications and Conclusions

This study has implications for leadership training, for further understanding of what constitutes useful reflective practices in diverse work settings, and for extension of the continuing research on gender differences in knowledge development and subsequent work performance. Many of the identified reflective practices are easily described and can be taught to leaders as potentially enabling activities. These practices also increase our theoretical understanding of what constitutes useful reflective action by different people in different settings. Further, results of this study add new directions for the continuing research on gender differences in administrative leadership.

Questions are also raised by the results of this

study about the nature of the design of most administrative jobs and organizational structures. One possible explanation of the high incidence of procedural knowledge is that the large organizational structures in which all of these administrators work structurally inhibit or preclude connected learning and teaching by leaders in the organization. It may be that not only is constructed knowing limited by our current organizational structures, but may actually be precluded.

I began this paper asking if men and women were freed from stereotyped social roles, would they be fundamentally the same or fundamentally different in how they think and in how they lead others? After five years of study, I think the answer is "both." At some point of development of an integrated personality and expert knowledge, the edges blend together and we begin to each have an arsenal of weapons with which to approach a new area of exploration. Even with the most "successful" in our society, differences can be seen between men and women—especially in the socialized ways in which even successful women continue to see themselves as separate from power.

I asked how an individual develops a sense of self and a personal concept of knowledge: The answer is through experience, through caring, through experimentation. Development of a personal concept of knowledge does not appear to differ by gender, as I had questioned, except that more women report a detailed process of achievement, and fewer men report not developing a concept of knowledge.

I asked how a skilled learner constructs new knowledge and new understandings of the world and, with the authors of *Women's Ways of Knowing*, I answer that there are several perspectives that relate to how one sees self, voice, and mind related to others.

I asked how the ability to learn interacts with the ability to lead others, and I asked if this is different for successful female and male administrators. Through conducting this study and now through early analysis of the data, I believe that the ability to learn independently is the stuff of which leadership is made. All of these successful administrators, regardless of gender or personality or ethnic background, are experienced and expert learners. I now hypothesize that one cannot lead others until one can learn by whatever means needed.

I did not see that reality or that pattern differing between men and women as much as it differs between individuals. From this study, it is not possible to predict who will be a successful leader by the gender, or age, or appearance, or learning processes of the individuals. It is possible to predict that if someone is a successful leader of others, they have found (1) successful ways to maintain themselves and others while getting institutional (procedural) tasks accomplished, and (2) those successful ways will probably include

some ability to construct new knowledge in the face of extraordinary opposition to that construction. Are there significant differences between men and women in the ways in which they learn and in how they practice successful leadership of others? Yes and no. Gender is not the predictor of success or of style of leadership. Do the successful women administrators in this study bring new insights to the development of successful administrative practices? That is the next study! The results here imply that they may, and that is what I will next pursue.

Lastly, I asked if "this stuff" is innate and unteachable, or if we can teach it to ourselves and to others? While I am not sure at this point how much is "teachable," I am reassured after spending a year with these remarkable people that almost anything is "learnable." In the interactions between concepts of knowledge, gender, and leadership, and with a growing understanding of the types of activities and structures with which large organizations can encourage creative leadership, much is available to be learned and to be taught.

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Painting

possibilities

Anne K. McCosh painted *Leaving the Lecture: The Faculty Wives* in 1936, less than two years after she arrived in Eugene with her husband, the painter David McCosh, who taught at the University of Oregon from 1934 until retirement in 1970. Although she was never a tenured faculty member, Anne McCosh infuenced artists throughout the Pacific Northwest by means of her classes at the University and at the Maude Kerns Art Center.

During the period when McCosh painted *Leaving the Lecture,* the women married to professors rarely received full or formal acknowledgment of their own talents. Instead, they frequently worked on their own, without institutional support or recognition. More than half a century after she painted *Leaving the Lecture,* McCosh recalled, "Of course the women had to have been faculty wives! After-all, they asked such intelligent questions."

Anne McCosh began to draw "everything I saw" as soon as she could hold a pencil. After high school in Yonkers, she went to study at the avant garde Art Students' League in New York City. She worked her way through school as a temporary typist and as an assistant in Gladys Roosevelt Decks Fifty-Fifth Street art gallery. While at the Art Students' League, she exhibited her paintings at the Jon Reed Club.

In 1930 Anne McCosh won a prestigous Tiffany Foundation Fellowship award to paint for two months at Oyster Bay, Long Island. There she met David McCosh, whom she married in Santa Fe, New Mexico, in the summer of 1934. Anne McCosh continued to send paintings, drawings, and etchings from Eugene to galleries in New York City, Santa Fe, and other American cities.

Over the years her work has included oils, water colors, etchings, lithographs, ceramics, and charcoals. She has moved comfortably between the American regionalist tradition of the thirties and more abstract styles. In all of these forms and media McCosh communicates her own vision of light, color, and form.

Marion S. Goldman

Feminist scholars are becoming increasingly concerned with methods of producing knowledge in the social sciences and other fields. Sandra Harding, Evelyn Fox Keller, and many others are questioning the scientific ideal of the detached and value-free observer, attempting to devise universally true laws that will predict and control social behavior. We are uneasy with traditional methods that seem to reinforce the domination of elites and to silence the voice of marginal groups. Feminists are proposing alternative ideals of engaged researchers, constructing knowledge from the vantage point of our particular values and historical circumstances, and producing a multiplicity of interpretations.

The current ferment over methodology—which includes scholars of many disciplines and persuasions—has paid

feminism

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little attention to the social relationships involved in producing knowledge. Those who criticize traditional methods and categories on the grounds that they support domination rarely look at domination in their own relationships with the people they study, the students they teach, the people who read their books and attend their lectures.

Production of knowledge in universities obviously involves very hierarchical relationships. The research agenda is structured by elite groups of theorists and researchers; problems are typically stated in a mystifying language and have little bearing on the everyday concerns of most people. Those who are being studied usually have little control over the process; thus the experience is likely to intensify their feelings of powerlessness. The whole process of producing knowledge is monopolized by experts, and the social relations of doing research or teaching typically reinforce the assumption that untrained citizens are incapable of really understanding their own experiences or improving their circumstances.

Feminist opposition to this domination in university life has been sporadic. There is a small body of literature criticizing relations of domination in science and in universities (for example, the winter 1987 issue of *Signs*), but the social relationships that constitute feminist research and writing are seldom examined. Our everyday practice often reinforces domination, although our goal is to create a social science oriented to liberation—to empowering marginal groups and reducing inequality.

Participatory Research

Participatory research is an approach to producing knowledge through democratic, interactive relationships. Researchers work with community members to resolve prob-

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lems identified by the community itself, and the process of research is intended to empower participants. I use "par-

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ticipatory research" as an umbrella term to include a variety of methods developed by feminists, followers of Paulo Freire, Marxists, critical theorists, and applied researchers. Within this diversity, there are three core features of participatory research: (1) political action and individual consciousness raising are major goals; (2) participants share in making decisions and acquiring skills; and (3) the everyday life experience and feelings of participants are a major source of knowledge.

"Participatory research" is a term most often used by social scientists working in the Third World. Many of them follow the teachings of Paulo Freire, an exiled Brazilian educator, with roots in Marxism, critical theory, and Catholicism. His book, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970), argues that teaching and research should be

participatory research

based on dialogue with a community of oppressed people. Through such a dialogue, the groups can learn how they are oppressed, and then act to liberate themselves, while acquiring the skills, theories, and knowledge that they need to change their situation. Researchers and the researched are co-investigators in this method, learning to identify the "generative themes," or specific ways in which they are oppressed. Thus they become aware of how they have internalized "false" ways of thinking and are able to build trust and confidence in themselves. Although the leader is important in clarifying generative themes and challenging passivity and helplessness, this is a populist, bottom-up approach to research and teaching, not an elitist, top-down approach where the experts or the vanguard tell the uninitiated what to think and what to do.

A good example of participatory research in the United States is a project in Appalachia (Gaventa, 1980). The project was triggered by a flood, after which the federal government gave the community some trailers to assist relief efforts. But no land was available on which to put the trailers. Open land existed, but it was owned by absentee mining companies. Members of the community then met to deal with this injustice.

They began to do research on land ownership in their area, with the leadership of some professional educators-activists. People with little formal education carefully documented patterns of land ownership and tax payments, showing that many large landowners paid miniscule taxes. This project produced widespread support for increasing the mining companies' taxes. The participants in the research learned specific skills and replaced feelings of helplessness and inadequacy with more confidence in
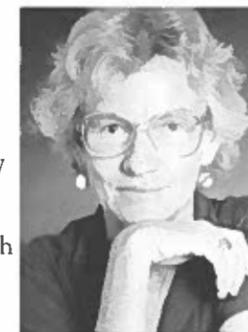
their individual and collective power. The project illustrates how participatory research can integrate research and teaching with political action to resolve the problems of a particular community.

The methods of research and teaching developed by many feminists are very similar (see Stanley and Wise, 1983). They emphasize using nonhierarchical discussion groups, integrating knowledge and action, and raising consciousness to combat internalized oppression. Feminists, however, usually place more emphasis on integrating personal experience and feelings with knowledge. They are also more critical of strong leaders and a single "correct line" on the nature of oppression.

Participatory and feminist methods also overlap with several traditional social science methods; especially participant obeservation, ethnography, intensive interviews, and applied research. However, there is no sociological tradition in which research is done by a nonprivileged community to resolve problems that are defined by that community.

Participatory research raises new conflicts and problems for researchers as well as new opportunities for democratizing the production of knowledge. There are often conflicts between one's loyalties to the community being studied and the academic and scientific community, especially for people like myself who are concerned with their status and membership in academia as well as their commitment to the people being researched. The two communities are likely to disagree about the best topic and methods for the study, how long the research should continue, the authorship and content of publications, and other issues. However, the following examples of participatory research suggest that many of these problems are surmountable, at least if the researcher is tenured and willing to make compromises.

Another crucial problem is how to ensure that researchers produce empirically valid accounts, despite their passionate involvement and political advocacy. As Patti Lather points out in her excellent analysis of participatory methods, a major challenge for participatory research is to develop "new techniques and concepts for obtaining and defining trustworthy data which avoid the pitfalls of orthodox notions of validity" (1986, p.270).

The Graduate Students' Group

My first experience with participatory research was to organize a group of 10 academic women with children to discuss the problems of combining career and family, and consider possible solutions. Our group met for two months and was only moderately successful in raising our consciousness and changing our situation. But we were very successful in producing rich, qualitative data on conflicts between home and work, sexism at the university, and ideological barriers to feminist political action.

I began by sending an invitation to join the group to all graduate students and faculty in social sciences at my university who were also mothers. Ten women, including myself, came to the first meeting, seven graduate students

and three faculty members; and all but one faculty member were regular attenders. Members were 30 to 50 years old, white, heterosexual, and married or divorced. We initially agreed to meet five times, for an hour at lunch, and later decided on three more meetings. Transcripts of the discussions were distributed to the group at the next meeting, and all members received an earlier draft of this paper for their comments.

I began the first meeting with introductions and a brief discussion of our purpose, and then described some of my current struggles with my husband and my colleagues, setting an example of talking about personal experiences. Each woman in turn talked about her current situation with considerable honesty and feeling, establishing a sense of trust and connection that persisted through most of our meetings. I opened the second meeting with a quote about trying to be superwoman from the first meeting, and in subsequent meetings other members usually set the agenda. It was easier than I expected to have relaxed yet focused conversations relating personal experiences to general issues of sexism and conflicts between home and work. Our sessions were lively and informative, covering most of the crucial issues that are examined in the social science literature on the topic.

Three major themes in our discussions were mothering—especially our anxiety about being adequate mothers and the high demands of child rearing on our time and energy; work—our love of academic work and our resentment over the sexism of male (and sometimes female) professors; and husbands and other men—especially conflicts over assuming responsibility for housework and childcare.

Another pervasive theme in our discussions was the difficulty of choosing between career goals and the demands of mothering, especially given male dominance and sexism at work, and inadequate male help at home. We often talked as if it were our responsibility to choose our goals (and perhaps also to bear the costs of our choices without undue complaint). Yet most of us wanted it all—career, children, marriage.

The combination of a very high sense of individual responsibility for succeeding in all spheres, and no clear way to succeed, seemed to make some women sensitive to being judged, and fearful of being criticized for making the wrong choices. Others avoided the dilemma by describing their lives as fairly free of conflict, or by taking a stoic, "it's up to me to make the best of this" attitude. We often worried if we were to blame for our problems. Did we have troubles at work because we lacked self-confidence and feared success? Had we been socialized to be loving, nice girls who were now unfit to succeed in academic competition? Perhaps because most of us had been in therapy, where we learned to be introspective and "take responsibility" for our problems, we often considered how our personal inadequacies contributed to our troubles, and had difficulty moving from the personal to the political.

On the other hand, we also discussed the dangers of blaming ourselves and often brought up the structural constraints on our choices. However, the social factors were so immense and diffuse—including childhood socialization, the structure of the university, the capitalist econ-

omy—that it seemed very difficult to change or even clearly understand them.

Partly because of our emphasis on individual responsibility, the group did not move toward any collective action to resolve our problems, although I repeatedly urged the group to consider taking action and several proposals were discussed; including establishing a program for mentoring female graduate students and getting the school to allocate a room for baby care.

The proposal of a room for baby care sparked this discussion:

> Carol: " . . . we need a place to change the babies. You know, we need a place to nurse the babies . . . "
> Sue: " . . . that's exactly the way the social structure keeps us in our place, keeps babies at home [with] women . . . "
>
> Joan: "It was their [men's] structure."
>
> Sue: "In Social Science where a bunch of us have little tiny infants I mean, we're still at that stage. It would be very nice if something collective could come out. But . . . "
>
> Joan: "One thing I think this fundamentally gets down to . . . [is] a lot of [feminists] saying, 'Look, we have to be treated like men . . . . That way, there's no sexual discrimination.' Part of me keeps screaming, 'I'm not like men . . . I am a childbearer, I am a life giver . . . 'If in a sense we try to change the structure to make it more amenable to us as women, then we're setting ourselves up in a sense to be discriminated against...'"

The group members then talked about their reluctance to "beg for things" by asking for special arrangements so they can mother, feeling that "you're not entitled to anything, it's always a gift." This was followed by comments on how women are discriminated against at the university, and how men and women cannot be equal competitors if the women are mothers. By then we had run out of time, and we never focused again on the possibility of the baby room.

While we did not engage in collective action, the group seemed to produce change on an individual level. For example, in a meeting of faculty members and graduate students to discuss problems in the graduate programs, one member raised the issue of male faculty members interrupting female graduate students in that meeting and in other settings. Her dramatic statement broke the official silence on sexism in our program and produced an immediate (if temporary) reduction in male faculty members interrupting others. One member told me later that the group had helped to give her the courage to speak out. I

noticed that I was less fearful of senior male colleagues after discussing my fears with the group; I became less ingratiating and more comradely towards them, and they seemed to treat me with more respect. In the questionnaire that I gave to all members after the group ended, half the members said that the group had changed their behavior. For example, another member said that she feels "more comfortable now that it is possible for women to work together...I find myself originating more conversations with women in general. I encourage them to talk about `taboo' subjects."

Turning to the results of the group from the perspective of producing knowledge for social science, the discussions yielded rich data on the daily lives and conflicts of women graduate students and faculty members with children. Many of the themes that emerged are similar to the results of studies based on intensive interviews, such as *Hard Choices* by Kathleen Gerson. New findings also emerged because of the discussion format and the possibility of action. In particular, discussions of whether to take action revealed how internalized oppression works, i.e., how fear, self-blame and an ideology of individual achievement maintain the status quo. I have used this data for talks at several professional lectures and meetings, as well as a paper currently in press. The major conflict between doing this research and being a conventional sociologist was that I became so intensely involved in the group that I rarely considered general theoretical and methodological issues until the group ended.

On the other hand, data obtained from one group is likely to be heavily influenced by group norms and the leader's attitudes. My tentative conclusion is that participatory research can produce excellent descriptive data that is comparable and in some areas superior to other methods; however, generalizing beyond the group requires data on other individuals, from other participatory research groups or from interviews, surveys, observations, and documents.

The Secretaries Group

My second experiment in participatory research was to organize a group comprised mostly of secretaries to discuss problems at home and at work. My secretary, Linda Cleland, and I led the group. The core members were four secretaries and administrative assistants, one graduate student, and Linda and myself. Our ages ranged from 30 to 51, all but one of us had children, and three were single parents. I will only discuss a few highlights from this group, since I have just begun to analyze the transcripts, and the group is still meeting.

After four meetings of discussing pressures at home and irritations in working with some faculty members, we began to take some action to resolve problems at work. In earlier meetings, the secretaries sometimes portrayed their relations with faculty members as pleasant, except for a few difficult personalities; at other times they described major problems, especially being treated with discourtesy or contempt, being blamed for errors made by the faculty members, and being pressured to get things done because the faculty members had put off their own work until the last minute.

In an effort to focus the group's attention on particular work problems at the end of the fourth meeting, Linda and I asked everyone to write down the three situations at work that bothered them the most. Linda began the next meeting by listing the most-mentioned situations on the

Swamped because of poor faculty planning: A secretary at U.C. Irvine.

board, and then each of us got up and marked on the board our three highest priority work problems.

These events somehow galvanized us into action. We discussed the top priority problem—being pressured to get something done in the last minute—and how we could approach the staff supervisor and the faculty member to lessen this pressure. Then one member suggested that we survey the rest of the 30 staff members in the school about their work problems since we would be in a stronger position to argue for change if our information was more representative. Others suggested that we also survey the faculty, because that would make them feel less threatened by the staff survey. Since then, we have completed a survey of all staff and faculty members and are in the process of writing a memo to the staff and faculty members to report the survey results. We are also discussing ways of resolving work problems with supervisors, and may collect some information about alternative models of organizing office work. Collecting this information and doing the survey exemplify how political action and producing knowledge are interwoven in participatory research.

Why did this group take action while the other did not? Contributing factors probably included a greater number of meetings and more effective leadership. I had learned a great deal from my first experience, such as the importance of defining the group's goal as more than providing emotional support to individuals, and the effectiveness of focusing on specific, feasable projects to counteract the feelings of helplessness and depression that emerged when we shared our problems. But members of the secretaries group also had to overcome many barriers to action, such

as fears of jeopardizing promotions or even losing their jobs, and an ideological commitment on the part of several secretaries to seeing the workplace as a nice, friendly community, where there was little conflict between "them" and "us."

Future Possibilities

Other participatory research projects conducted by graduate students suggest the varied potential of these methods for producing both useful social data and progressive individual and social change. Cathleen Armstead's project with a group of clerical workers contrasted the women's strategies of resistance against male domination at home and at work, and also encouraged the women to consider the possibilities of unionization. A brief study of high school "special education" students by Stacey Nagel documented the students' estrangement from school, and their desire for personal attention; it also prompted the students to articulate what they wanted from teachers and to communicate their ideas in a memo to teachers.

The development of participatory research as an academically legitimate method would have important benefits for feminists and others seeking to democratize the production of knowledge. If participatory research were a legitimate method of academic research for graduate students and faculty members, then feminists and political progressives would no longer have to sacrifice their values and passionate interests to have a successful career. The women's movement itself could be revitalized by a series of groups like the graduate students and secretaries groups, comprised of different social classes, ethnic groups, and sexual preferences, working out their own concerns and projects, and exchanging ideas and resources with national groups like the National Organization of Women. And many groups of citizens could be empowered if local participatory research centers were established, perhaps connected to community colleges that would offer facilitators and technical assistance to community groups that wanted to do research to solve their problems.

Knowledge, we often hear, is power, but this power is now far too concentrated. By democratizing the production of knowledge, we can take some steps towards realizing feminist and democratic values.

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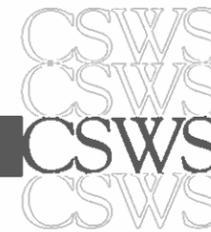
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Sisters Viola and Nanza Briggs, aged nine and 13, were photographed eating lunch at school in Hadleyville, Oregon. The photographer, Roy C. Andrews, was a member of the Lane County District 1 Board of Education in 1911 and 1912, when he traveled around the county taking pictures of schools. This compelling image of young women in communication is the first to appear in the "Windows on the Past" series of posters from the University of Oregon Special Collections.

Special Collections houses and preserves primary source materials and published work for the study of women in society. Special Collections' manuscripts on women in society focus on materials on Oregon women, the feminist communal movement, women in occupations, feminists and antifeminists, and women writers, particularly of fantasy and science fiction.

Over the past three years, Special Collections and the Center for the Study of Women in Society have collaborated in building research resources on women. CSWS and Special Collections have 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 Knight Library. Eugene, Oregon 97403; telephone (503) 686-3068.