

# **A CRITICAL SNAPSHOT IN TIME:**

## **UNIVERSITIES IN THE MID-1990s**

**AN ON-LINE VERSION OF THE 1994 BOOK**

***USER-FRIENDLY UNIVERSITY: WHAT EVERY STUDENT SHOULD KNOW***

**to provide a comparison for present-day university conditions**

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## Introduction

Because this book is written for students, I have tried to write from their perspective. In particular, I have focused on what might be called the counter culture of the large group of students -- mainly minorities of some sort -- who do not see their identities or aspirations reflected in the university courses they take. Even if their views are considered by some readers to be 'far out', no one can understand the modern university without realizing that for many students it is not the universally applauded institution featured in convocation addresses.

Officially, the university worships at the shrine of public debate and intellectual controversy. In the contemporary era much of the debate in the university, as well as outside it, deals with the very role and responsibility of the university itself. The views here are not those held by right wing conservatives who would like to see a return to the 'liberal education' that they themselves espoused when young. Neither, however, are they confined to an insignificant minority of disgruntled fringe activists. I hope that the reader -- student or not -- will give the arguments that follow a fair hearing. Not to do so is to repudiate the value of open inquiry and debate championed by defenders of the university status quo.

Universities everywhere are political institutions. Internal politics determines in large part who will be administrators, and who will be hired as professors. It affects what faculties and departments make up a university, what courses are taught in these units, and what information is included in these courses. Politics determines which students feel at home on campus and which students feel marginalized and alienated.

In turn, politics in the society which funds universities directs the way in which universities will function and who will attend them. If money is largely funnelled into science and technological research, then arts students will be more or less deprived. If student aid is funded through loans rather than grants, then working class students will be less likely to attend.

Because universities are so political, with political pressure they can be changed. This was demonstrated during the 1960s when student activism was at an all-time high. This manual was written to explain the political nature of the university, and enable readers to visualize ways it could be improved for the benefit of students.

The students in the Independent Studies program where I work are unusual in that they have found deficiencies with the highly structured way in which the most parts of the university function. Here is how some of them have reacted:

\* A Native man refuses to take any courses at all because he does not want to be brainwashed with what white professors think he should

know. Nor would he want his children to attend university. He has recently published a book criticizing Western civilization from a Native point of view.

\* A woman interested in spirituality refuses also to take courses. What courses could she take? Religious studies deals with established male-dominated sects which are often the antithesis in her mind of what she is interested in. She, too, does not want to be brainwashed by patriarchy.

\* A man devoted to popular music finds that music courses he has taken are inflexible and out-of-touch with the present. His concern with the music he hears each day in the real world is dismissed in favour of the classical giants such as Bach and Mozart. He has given up on music in academia.

\* Another Native man tries to take some courses, but finds most of them too Eurocentric and hierarchical -- the professors know everything and the students are expected to accept the given knowledge without criticism.

\* A lesbian drops out of a family studies course because it deals exclusively with heterosexual families. She had gone to the professor before the course started to ask if all types of families would be discussed in class. He had said that they would be, but she found this was not so.

\* A woman enrolled in a psychology course dealing with types of therapy feels forced to drop out when the professor comes to confrontational therapy. He is so aggressive that she cannot handle it.

\* A white woman in a women's studies course is horrified not only by her own marginalization as a working class person, but by the way she sees a Black woman in the class rendered invisible by the course content and the discussions.

\* A feminist driven out of engineering by its narrow focus and structured rigidity is appalled by the sexism she also finds in many arts courses.

\* An I.S. student reports that in her health studies' class of 18 there were only two men, one Black. When the class discussed reproduction, another woman said that only one person there could not get pregnant. To her, the Black man was invisible. The I.S. student was the only one to object to her statement.

\* A man of nearly 50 finds tutorial sessions taught by young graduate students offensive. He feels that issues are not considered broadly and that there is little time for reflection and worthwhile discussion.

These students would like the university to provide them with information and service relevant to their needs. And, since they are a diverse group of students, they feel the university also should

welcome diversity.

The language used in this manual to describe marginalized groups has been carefully chosen, but nevertheless will not be universally acceptable. The word "Black", for example, is used here to describe people of African heritage, but it offends some people. Bertha McAleer (1991), born in 1909 in Amherstburg, Ontario, notes that during most of her life she felt herself to be a "coloured person"; "Black" was a negative word which she can't use even today.

The word "Native" is used to refer to the First Nations, aboriginal people, and Indians. It, like Black, is capitalized to indicate the deep cultural importance of these two minority groups. The word "white", by contrast, is not capitalized which suggests that white is the norm and not a specific identifiable group; as well, whites do not claim their colour as a distinct heritage (see Brand and Bhaggiyadatta, 1986, iii).

Nor will the political stance that I have taken be acceptable to everyone. Some people believe that there is no use making cosmetic changes to the university when what is needed is a revolution to change completely both the hierarchical structure of the institution and the male-biased nature of its disciplines. Others feel that changes may be made, but they must be small and gradual to be realistic. I have tried to steer a middle road between these extremes, pointing out what modifications seem to me feasible and what reorganizations have worked for some groups.

To ensure that this manual addresses issues of importance to students, it has been analyzed and criticized over a period of several months by a panel of five undergraduate and graduate students living in the Waterloo region: Diane Lees, Jan Legault, Kathleen McSpurren, Mary Montieth and Pamela Thompson. In addition, other students of marginalized groups have read and commented on entries relevant to their group. I am most grateful for the help of these students.

## **Black Studies**

A commitment to Black studies is important to many Black students. In the United States in the late 1960s and 1970s, courses and programs relevant to low-income Black high school graduates were initiated to encourage them to go to university. The courses were so successful that by 1976, 40 per cent of these young people were enrolled in post-secondary institutions. After this, however, Black studies were largely abandoned; by 1988, only 30 per cent of these graduates were so enrolled (Carnegie, 1990, 26). (During this same period, Hispanic students were also encouraged and then ignored in tertiary education -- their number rose to 50 per cent, then fell to 35 per cent). Canada, with a small population of Blacks in the past, has never really tried to encourage Black students to attend university, so the number enrolled is low. With tuition fees rising currently, it is probable that low-income students, some of them Black, will tend to leave rather than enter university.

One of the early efforts to come to grips with Black studies was a symposium held at Yale University in 1968. It was organized by the Yale Black Student Alliance, addressed by Black and white scholars and students, and attended by Black and white teachers and administrators from across United States. The sessions revealed the importance of Black studies and resulted in the establishment at Yale of the first degree-granting Afro-American studies program at a major American university. The content of the conference is given in Robinson et al (eds.) *Black Studies in the University*, (a book difficult for a woman to read nowadays because it speaks only from men to men using sexist language. It is astonishing how eloquent academics can be in denouncing racism, yet how nonchalantly they seem to negate all women.)

Black studies were instituted on campuses across America in the late 1960s not because university administrations suddenly realized that such programs were needed to provide a complete curriculum for students, but because they were afraid of what Black students would do if their demands for such studies were not met. Black parents and students, angry that universities excluded them and refused to provide knowledge relevant to them, knew that such exclusion was racist and were prepared to fight such racism with force (Robinson, 1969, 207). Of major protests on 232 college and university campuses in the first six months of 1969, Blacks were involved in more than half, with a lack of Black recognition being the main issue (Forsythe, 1971a, 11). Today Blacks continue to study at American universities, but they tend to view the university as providing a necessary credential, not necessarily a useful education (Holland and Eisenhart, 1990, 16).

Besides giving Black students a sense of community (Redkey,

1969, 181), Black studies gives them self esteem that is noticeable almost immediately. At San Francisco State College, 45 Black students were on probation when the Black courses were instituted, but only 23 remained on probation at the end of the semester (Hare, 1969, 113). The successful students were not only getting good grades in their Black courses but were doing better in their "white" courses, too, because they had a new sense of pride and involvement in their education. "Whereas they used to sit back quietly, feeling inferior and not saying anything in class, now they speak out in class -- and they call the white folks down on some of their jive discussions."

In Canada, Blacks followed the lead of Blacks in America in the 1960s in demanding university reform, but their numbers were few. Some staged the Sir George Williams' sit-in in Montreal, but this resulted in little that was positive (Eber, 1969). They did not press for a Black studies program. Today, when one-third of young people in Canada are non-white and a large proportion of these Black (McLauchlan, 1991), Black studies should be initiated into university curricula.

One major problem faced by Black studies programs is that there has not been much academic research written from a Black perspective. During the period when most Blacks in North America were slaves, it was against the law for them to learn to read and write, so there are almost no manuscripts and documents by Blacks available before 1900 (Redkey, 1969, 189-190). Since that time, most Blacks have continued to be disadvantaged, with little of their writing preserved or published. However, information about Blacks has been taught in early American Negro institutions: nine of these offered an aggregate of 18 courses dealing exclusively with Black life and culture in the academic year 1921-22 (Ford, 1973, 181).

Many Blacks are against merely adding information about Blacks to mainstream courses already being taught. This could be worse than useless, given that until recently history, including Black history, has been written from a white perspective. W.E.B. Du Bois believed that many early books were full of misinformation; he noted that in 1935 "the whole history of Reconstruction has with few exceptions been written by passionate believers in the inferiority of the Negro" (Moore, 1981, 121). Boniface Obichere (1969, 86) feels that most educated Africans up to about 1956 were in effect Europeans because they had been taught by Europeans following a European curriculum and had continued academic work in a European tradition.

The racism uncovered in mainstream courses can be subtle. Maulana Karenga (1969, 43) notes that it is not good enough to call Marcus Garvey a "Black Moses". This appellation implies that Moses is the standard, and Garvey at best is second. Nor is it rational to assume, as has been commonly done, that the white family is the

norm for American sociology, so that the Black family by definition is seen as pathological (McWorter, 1969, 59).

A lack or distortion of history does not mean accurate Black history is unknowable, as has been shown by extensive use of statistics. Innovative use can be made of church, tax, and voting records, as well as city directories and police reports. In addition, old Black people can be interviewed for oral history projects (Redkey, 1969, 190).

Teachers of Black studies courses must themselves be Black. When San Francisco State College wanted to hire a Black studies' historian in the 1960s, the department of history favoured a white man with a Ph.D. from a major university and a number of published academic papers in other research areas. The Black students wanted a Black man with no degree but who knew more about African history than the white historian, having spent years doing research in this field. The history department called this Black man "unqualified"; the Black students called the historian "unqualified". The students contended that any person was unqualified who didn't realize it was anachronistic at that time to have a white professor teach Black militant students Black history, especially when he had no background in the subject (Hare, 1969, 105). In one survey of Black studies' directors at a time when there were few trained Black professors, 40 per cent preferred that all teachers be Black (Ford, 1973, 97). One said (p. 98) "Good courses dealing with black workers or community organization may be almost valueless unless taught by indigenous non-credentialed people."

The Black teacher, of course, must be knowledgeable about the Black condition. Gerald McWorter (1969, p. 73) writes that an expert is that person who knows a great deal about a subject: "if one wants to learn about social welfare, I would suggest that there are people out there representing three generations on welfare and these people might have peculiar kinds of insight into the way in which welfare operates. We must bring these people together with social workers and other people in schools of social work to get a more complete reality. Only by having *all* of these people interact can we come to try to understand this very perplexing phenomenon." McWorter states that white America has to come to grips with the Black experience and has to listen "with open ears and closed mouth" (p. 65).

It is important to have Black people teach Black studies for the inspiration they provide. Karenga (1969, 44) states that "education is basically an inspirational thing and that methodology should take into consideration inspiration before information." He notes "I cannot become emotionally committed to a white person, no matter what he [sic] says.... I must have an image to identify with and that image must be personified in the man [sic] who's

communicating that thing to me or the images that he projects."

Black teachers are also important to white students, some of whom may never have talked to a Black before. One Sir George William student read *Black Life Me* by John Griffin and began for the first time to think about racial issues because she had a Black English teacher (Eber, 1969, 93). (She may not be the best example, though, because she became committed to the Black cause, took part in the famous Sir George William computer room sit-in, and was arrested and briefly jailed).

The content of Black studies will focus on the history and interests of Blacks. Most literature studied will be by Blacks, while sociology and psychology will consider the Black experience as preeminent -- after all virtually all other education in the Western world is centred around whites. White people will be seen as the oppressors, as they have been in reality.

Course content in Black studies will be concrete as well as relevant, so that students acquire information they believe they should have for practical purposes. The vast majority of Black studies programs have been and are involved with the Black community, local, national, and world-wide, because of a strong desire to raise Blacks' awareness of all Blacks. Whereas early Blacks became educated usually to escape the ghetto, recently students have wanted to seek stronger ties with poor Blacks in order to understand and help them (Ford, 1973, 57). Karenga (1969, 46) states "I think we should learn how groups can deal with each other, how they can increase their power. I think that if social change is not taught in terms of how to increase power, it's meaningless." He insists that white people in universities are good for three things: not intervening in what Blacks are doing or planning to do; providing to Blacks foreign aid or money (as reparation), technical aid, and research data (without white interpretation); and civilizing people who are uncivilized, which includes a large number of racist/ignorant whites (pp. 38-40).

There is some controversy about whether courses in Black studies should enrol only Blacks, or both Blacks and other students. At one large American university, a Black professor had an enrolment in his popular Black course of 200 students, most of them white (Ford, 1973, 100). He decided to divide it into four sections, one all-Black, one all-white and two mixed. However, every Black student chose the all-Black section so that the other groups were per force all-white, an outcome which disappointed the whites. Blacks said they wanted their own group because whites were so ignorant of the simplest facts about Black life that much lecture time would be wasted in elementary descriptions; they also felt when whites were present, the professor might skip over material that could embarrass Blacks in front of

insensitive whites. Each institution has to decide its own policy in this matter. One solution is to have lectures open, but their related seminars or tutorials segregated by race if this is important to many of the students.

The style of teaching is also a matter of taste. Since Black culture is not hierarchical, Bell Hooks (1989, 76, 77, 81) feels it is important that personal experience have a place in education. Personal stories are a way for others to identify and connect, especially if the story teller uses simple language. Then these stories can be fruitfully combined with critical analysis and theoretical perspectives. Hooks says that when she speaks to an audience she makes eye contact, talks extemporaneously, and is not afraid to digress. When she writes, she does not use footnotes in her books, even though she has been sharply criticized for this. She knows that working class people believe books with footnotes are obviously for college-educated folks rather than themselves. She reports with pleasure that her books are widely read by students, other academics, and laypeople. Because of her efforts to reach the least educated, some colleagues assume she is anti-intellectual, anti-theoretical and unprofessional. However, her style is carefully thought out because she realizes the danger of being coopted by the system:

This issue of language and behaviour is a central contradiction all radical intellectuals, particularly those who are members of oppressed groups, must continually confront and work to resolve. One of the clear and present dangers that exists when we move outside our class of origin, our collective ethnic experience, and enter hierarchical institutions which daily reinforce domination by race, sex, and class, is that we gradually assume a mindset similar to those who dominate and oppress, that we lose critical consciousness because it is not reinforced or affirmed by the environment (p. 78).

What students learn at an institution and in a program is both spoken and unspoken, official and unofficial. The "spoken" information or course content is what is officially taught, but the unspoken information, often ignored, can be equally important. When the Black woman, Rosa Parks, attended Myles Horton's educational institute Highlanders to learn about equality in American Society, what she gained was ephemeral but vital. Horton reports that "Rosa Parks talks about her experience at Highlanders, and she doesn't say a thing about anything factually that she learned. She doesn't say a thing about any subject that was discussed. She doesn't say a thing about integration. She says the reason Highlander meant something to her and emboldened her to act as she did [in refusing because she

was Black to sit at the back of the bus in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1955] was that at Highlander she found respect as a black person and found white people she could trust" (Horton and Freire, 1990, 153). To be worthwhile, Black studies must foster both respect and trust.

### **Classroom Inequity**

Concordia University's manual *Inequity in the Classroom* defines inequity as the result of teacher/student (or student/student) interaction based on a particular student's sex, race, or other characteristic detrimental to the student. It lists a variety of types:

1. Sexism - usually ignoring women in the class, asking more questions of men than women and considering the men's answers of more importance, sounding surprised if a woman responds well, making disparaging comments about women and women's experiences or abilities.
2. Racism - ignoring or making disparaging comments about other ethnocultural groups, favouring a white Western perspective on the curricular material, tolerating jokes about races or groups of people, becoming impatient with students who have trouble speaking English.
3. Heterosexism - ignoring homosexuality entirely or considering it abnormal or a disease, making fun of gay men or lesbians, assuming normal people are all heterosexual.
4. Other Discriminatory Behaviour - becoming impatient with students who have disabilities, assuming all students can buy expensive books or materials, being inflexible about assignments despite the childcare responsibilities of students who are parents, assuming a student will be unable to do an assignment because of their disability or age, preventing a student from writing an essay on a subject related to age, religion, class difference, or disability.
5. Stereotypes - assuming that lesbians hate men (few people care if gay men hate women), that Asians are mysterious or inscrutable, that Natives are stoic, that gay men are promiscuous, that men can do math and science better than women. Such stereotypes can be conveyed in illustrations in textbooks and in classroom and textbook examples.
6. - Discriminatory Non-verbal Behaviour - doodling when a Native woman speaks in class but listening alertly to a white man, not making eye contact with a Black student, rolling their eyes when a feminist comment is made, gravitating toward an area of the class where men are sitting.
7. Language - using words that assume everyone is male (he, mankind, manmade), allowing jokes against specific groups of people, using language that universalizes experience and ignores the differences between people and cultures, using language that focuses on a disability rather than the person -- a "deaf woman" rather than a "woman who is deaf", assuming everyone is white unless otherwise defined.
8. Discrimination in the Curriculum - omitting from the course content some groups of people and their experiences and achievements,

discussing representative peoples in disproportion to their occurrence in a population, disregarding all perspectives except those of white men, assuming that knowledge can be neutral rather than biased.

Concordia's manual discusses four ways in which such classroom discrimination, which renders university "chilly" for so many students, can be countered:

#### 1. Oral Strategies to Break Silences

Often professors ask a question in class, then rush on to answer it or ask another after only a few seconds' pause. Research shows that women or minority students are more likely to respond if the pause lasts for thirty seconds or even a minute.

Teachers may pass over extremely active participants after a while and urge other students to contribute also to the discussion. They may make eye contact with students about to speak, to encourage them. However, they must not force a student to speak who feels too shy to do so. The comments of any student who does speak must be taken seriously. Sometimes a large class can be broken into smaller groups where some individuals will feel less intimidated. These groups are especially useful if they work cooperatively rather than competitively.

#### 2. Written Strategies to Break Silences

Students who feel unable to speak in class may want to keep a diary of their thoughts related to the coursework. The professor who reads the diary will be able to assess how this student as well as the class are progressing. Shy students can also hand in written questions at the end of each lecture that a professor can answer individually or in a later class.

#### 3. Fostering Appropriate Climate

Professors must respect the differences of all people and include information as broadly based as possible. They must reject all sexist, racist or discriminatory comments or humour. They should share their power by discussing the experiences or interests of students when relevant to the topic under consideration. The types of questions professors ask and their sense of humour and light touch strongly affect the "chilliness" of their classroom.

#### 4. Knowledge

The professor, who decides what knowledge constitutes the content of a course, should acknowledge that their choice is political. This means that students will have the excitement of critiquing theories from alternative points of view. Intellectual creativity can be fostered in discussions or essays related to the lecture materials.

### Course Content

What universities teach is rarely questioned, nor is the knowledge offered by universities ever explicitly defined. NOTE. However, it is clear that the courses offered consist largely of what white men have thought and done throughout history.

An example of bias is the use in history of the word "Renaissance", the transitional period (c14th-16th century) between medieval and modern times in Europe marked by great cultural and intellectual activities. Famous renaissance names include Medici, Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo, Machiavelli, Erasmus, Rabelais, Montaigne and Botticelli.

But this renaissance was only for European men. For European women, the 14th century meant the terrifying persecution of witches, ushering in a process which, over the next four centuries, saw exceptional women far more often terrorized and killed than lauded for their abilities. A more legitimate Renaissance for women was surely the increasing use of birth control toward the end of the 1800s.

The Renaissance for American Blacks was the 1920s. Those Blacks who served overseas in the army or undertook new jobs in factories had a new perspective on the world after the first world war ended. There was widespread belief in a better future for Blacks, along with great artistic and literary activity, especially in music (Cronon, 1955, p. 171). Will the desegregation of United States in the 1960s be seen as a second Renaissance? Only Black historians will be able in time to decide.

What is the Renaissance for Natives, lesbians and gays? Only they can say. Perhaps for Natives it will be when they have complete sovereignty over their own land, education and culture. Perhaps for homosexuals it will be when they can openly declare their sexual orientation without fear of reprisal.

No matter what official canon of knowledge one considers, whether it is in the humanities, social sciences, or even "hard" scientific disciplines, it is the canon that white men have legitimized. It contains what they have done, and what interests them. These men are seldom concerned that this canon excludes knowledge of importance to other groups such as Natives, Blacks, lesbians, gay men, feminists, working class, or people with disabilities.

One empirical way to assess course content is to analyze course descriptions in university calendars. This is possible for English courses, which often mention the authors to be studied. It is easy to count the number of male and female names to obtain a rough estimate of the importance in a department of women writers. From a sample of universities listed in Table 2, it is all too evident that women

writers are of little importance, even though most students of English are women (72% of graduating bachelors in English in 1989, Statistics Canada 1991b). One could argue that the low average, with only 12 per cent of the works by women authors, is not unreasonable, given that historically women's writing has been at first non-existent and then ignored. But there is no reason to go on ignoring notable writers such as Aphra Behn just because they have been disregarded in the past. There are scores of important women writers -- Concordia University considers 49 significant enough to list in its calendar -- whose work should be read and whose situation as writers discussed.

As disappointing as the lack of women writers is the dearth of other categories of writers who are also not white men. Scores of gay or lesbian writers are included but one wonders if their sexual orientation is mentioned during discussion of their work. Black writers are almost non-existent, as are Asians and Natives. If writing from underdeveloped countries is studied, it will likely be taken out of context so that the social message is lost (Mukherjee, 1988, 23). Arun Mukherjee (p. 5) comments that most white critics "writing and teaching about Third World writers flatten them down to their image patterns, mythic archetypes, allusions, intertextuality, east-west conflict and, ultimately universality." The reasons why such literature is important are muted and skewed.

A course title may seem enticing without actually delivering the material it promises or what a student wishes to obtain from it. The following assessments, written by feminist students about courses they took in 1991, give an idea of expectations and disappointments. A lesbian has written the following about a core course on women and Canadian history for a women's studies program:

An early comment which I picked up on was that [the professor] 'once had a radical feminist in her class and was able to keep her in her place'. I wondered if these ideas of "expertise" and control were to set the tone for the course, and indeed, they did.

The history course presented history about women from a white, middle class, heterosexist point of view. Women were examined as daughters (of men), wives, mothers and homemakers. Women were discussed if they were successful in mainstream culture. No references were made to lesbians, women of colour, Native women after colonization, as if they had never existed. Women who were known as lesbians were never identified. Single women were discussed if they brought about change for the betterment of the social institution of family. The only women of the first

wave who were discussed were those who were liberal feminists, "new women" who were coerced from political action by the male establishments of education, law, medicine, sexology and psychiatry. No discussion was made of the women who, during the first wave realized remaining single was a political action against men's control of them. Sweeping generalizations were made throughout the course. The History of Canadian Women presented a rosy picture of strides women have made, while omitting the cruel realities women have faced, many of which were beyond their control.

Another woman found racial bias in one of her sociology courses. She asked the professor in writing (April 10, 1991):

to present some critical analysis of the material which had sexist, racist, and classist implications. One such example of racism: in a lecture on the theorist Weber, you pointed out that the English poet Keats compared what he described as the clean, tidy and orderly Protestant Scots, with the dirty, untidy and disorderly Catholic Irish. This example was proffered to support Weber's theory of the link between Protestant asceticism and the spirit of capitalism. You had every right to present this example. However, you also had an obligation to place it in social and historical perspective.

As an Irish immigrant who had to leave England in the 1970s because of racism towards Irish people, I take great exception to this example, without demonstrating the racism in which it is nestled. If the Catholic Irish were perceived to be "dirty", and "disorderly" by Keats, it is important to note that such poverty was a direct result of the oppressive and brutal colonialism suffered by the Catholic Irish at the hands of none other than England.

When this woman also complained about other aspects of the course, such as changed due dates for exams which were difficult for working women and women with children to meet, she felt the professors, both male and female, were inflexible and rude. When she tried to talk to her professor alone, he shouted "balls" at her several times so that she soon left his office fearing physical violence.

The University of Winnipeg is innovative and usually responsive to the needs of minority and women students, but even it is negligent; Debra Blair (1992) describes how she and two friends "carry the financial, emotional and intellectual scars of women who have survived the institutional violence inherent in the university system." The three feminists, who together while at university, won

three gold medals, two citations, and more than twenty awards and scholarships, were deeply disappointed by the absence of women in their courses and by the way their feminist perspective was belittled and ridiculed by their professors. Collectively they took 41 non-Women's Studies courses, of which only four were taught by women. Of 150 texts read by one woman during her four-year university career, only 26 were written by women. Nine and a half of her 18 courses had no women's writing at all. Despite their excellent academic records, their research and study on feminist issues met with hostility and threats rather than with support and encouragement. The emotional and psychological toll was so great that none of them went on to graduate school.

A Black student from the Caribbean, Linda Carty (1991a, 26) described exactly what it was like for her to sit through many mainstream courses:

I would often come out of a classroom with my white counterparts having a vastly different interpretation of a lecture we had all just heard. They would hear their reality and world view being reinforced and made alive. But I would not have heard even remote references to mine or would hear mine disparaged. Furthermore, whenever I bothered to disagree with the views presented in the lecture, this would be seen as a challenge to "the facts" and I would be perceived as "having an attitude problem." Translated this meant that I was not a team player because I was not prepared to accept and help maintain a culture which derides and excludes me because I am Black and female.

Linda Carty (1991a, 13) was upset by the racism of a political science instructor who stated that Africans are not good managers of political power. He said African politicians "usually take state leadership positions and become despots because violence and barbarism are inherent features in their culture." When she questioned his assumptions and pointed to pre-colonial African kingdoms which reigned for generations before being destroyed by European imperial powers, he ignored her. He apparently did not think it relevant to consider that recent African rulers were often only copying the behaviour of European colonials who had seized power themselves and ruled by force, or that Hitler and Ceausescu also qualify as despots and inherent features of Caucasian culture.

She also attended an English course taught by a professor so racist that she felt forced to withdraw (p. 14). When the class discussed Joseph Conrad's "Heart of Darkness" and "The Secret Sharer", she requested that Conrad's notion of "darkness" be probed because it seemed to her a racist view of Africa and its people. The

professor again dismissed her concern, noting "Africa with all its strange rituals and primitive cultures is understandably referred to as dark and not only by Conrad." Carty writes (p. 14) "It did not occur to this purveyor of pure art that Conrad's analysis was childishly simple and that he had reached for the most handy, unanalytic and simplistic tools of racist common sense in his 'literary' meandering."

Relevancy to students' lives is anathema to traditionalists who inveigh against political agendas. But the old guard's agenda only seems nonpolitical because it has been around so long. As Myles Horton says (Horton and Freire, 1990, 186):

The people who claim to be neutral, and call us propagandists because we are not neutral, are not neutral either. They're just ignorant. They don't know that they're supporters of the status quo. They don't know that that's their job. They don't know that the institution is dedicated to perpetuating a system and they're serving an institution.

It is not difficult to supply diversity of content in courses. For example, in English and other literature classes, the teacher can include female authors and writers from various cultures and minority groups. This may be the first and last time some students will be exposed to such a breadth of riches. In courses where essays are assigned, he or she should allow a broad array of topics so each student may pursue individual interests. At Stanford University the Senate has gone as far as to rule that every course in the new "Culture, Ideas, and Values" program must include works by women and minorities including persons of colour (Kimball, 1990, 3).

Another way to encourage diversity is to increase course discussion dealing with minorities. For example, lesbianism is not just a sexual orientation, but a perspective which informs all aspects of society (Gammon et al, 1990, 219). It should be included in all social science and humanities courses. Literature classes can read and discuss books by lesbians and about lesbians. History can include the burning of witches and the treatment of spinsters and "independent" women as well as of mothers and wives. Anthropology can study matriarchies, African women's secret sororities and Chinese marriage resistance sisterhoods. Sociology can consider why lesbians have been labelled deviant. Education can study the way in which girls and boys are taught to assume fixed female-male sex roles. Lesbian material should also be present in courses in religious studies, psychology, art, women's studies, political science, journalism, law and philosophy (Gammon et al, 1990, 219).

When members of minority groups are discussed in class, this

membership should be acknowledged. For example, Alexander Pushkin and Alexandre Dumas were mulattoes; Jane Rule and Mary Meigs are lesbians; David Watmough and Stan Persky are gay. Janice Williamson (1990, 51) notes that in a first year English course she made a point of noting each author's sexual preference. When she stated that Virginia Woolf was bisexual, a voice from the back of the room groaned "Oh no, not another one. Aren't any of these writers normal?" This outburst enabled her to open up a discussion of what is "normal". It is better to introduce "taboo" topics such as homosexuality often and briefly rather than only once or twice in depth.

Universities can work toward educational equity in the classroom in several ways (Drakich, 1993). One is to add to course evaluation forms filled out by students a question about the instructor's attitudes toward, and treatment of, women and groups of other possibly marginalized students. Another is to institute university-wide policies on poisoned environment and inclusive language.

NOTE. It is perhaps not surprising that no one likes documenting publicly the actual content of their lectures. For one thing it is time-consuming. For another, such details have been used to try to dismiss a professor from his or her job, even though they may have nothing to do with the real cause of controversy (as Badger, 1986).

## Sidebar

### Theory in Sociology

A sociology student at York University was distressed to find that her course on classical sociological texts dealt only with the thought of four dead European men -- Durkheim, Marx, Weber and Simmel. She writes:

I do not take issue with the decision of the Sociology Department to present such material. The problem I have, in alignment with the current debate on this topic, is that social reality defined from such a narrow perspective is altogether limited. Presenting this material, as though it is the *only* authority, without due consideration as to why this came to be so, results in a very distorted and deceptive view of social reality. Further, in light of social justice movements which point to the politics of exclusion, such theory is damaging to young minds relying on the university to provide a well-rounded education. The university has a responsibility to prepare students to think critically so that they might function in a social structure where considerations of gender, race, and class are increasingly coming to the forefront. In this light it is imperative that students be informed of the existence of other social realities and why they are systematically marginalised and excluded. An in-depth and serious reflection on the context of [the professor's] material would certainly have proved insightful for students in this course, and discussion of the social construction of exclusion and marginalization according to gender, race, and class cleavages would certainly have placed classical theory in its proper perspective. I realize that for those who constitute the status quo of the male-dominant university, my concerns can be dismissed as "political correctness" considered to be an infringement of the liberty of those who wish to preserve their political interests. From my standpoint, the issue is the challenge to sexism, racism and classism that functions in every sector of society, including the university, as mechanisms by which middle class white males preserve their overarching power and privilege by means of the exclusion and marginalization of "others". What happened in this class was certainly an issue of liberty. By virtue of a Ph.D. and the power of interpretation and definition invested in [the professor] by the university, his liberty as a middle class white male to present a male, white, middle class Eurocentric definition of social reality

as though it were the *only* definition, compromised all social reality, and went contrary to the liberty interests and interpretations of many `others' including women, people of colour, and working class people. It was in this very sense that [the professor's] teaching emerged from a particular political agenda. Again, I do not take issue with someone who has a political agenda on condition that ownership of such an agenda is acknowledged. [The professor] never once acknowledged his standpoint. On the contrary, he presented his material as though it constituted the standard. He even insisted that his position was *neutral*! The result was that education was compromised. Sexism was rampant, not only by the absence of women theorists such as Mary Wollstonecraft, but also by sexist comments which included on one occasion a reference to the wife of Karl Marx who was so devoted to her husband that she squeezed his boils! [The professor] said he found that `touching'.

### Courses Offered -- The Curriculum

"The curriculum is the essence of any university" George Grant wrote (1969, 113). "It determines the character of the university far more than any structure of government, methods of teaching, or social organisation. Indeed, these latter are largely shaped by what is studied and why it is studied. The curriculum is itself chiefly determined by what the dominant classes of the society consider important to be known." Thus, it is no surprise to find that Canadian universities function as a "continental state capitalist structure" to produce personnel necessary to a capitalist society (p. 114). The social and natural sciences are taught to ensure mastery of human and non-human nature (p. 115).

The knowledge offered in courses taught at universities across Canada tends to be similar, which is not surprising, given that courses are conceived of by professors who have been largely nurtured at these universities and who often move between them when they change jobs. Since the professoriate is largely composed of white men, and the power to set up courses almost exclusively determined by these men, the courses themselves have also a Eurocentric male bias.

In the Humanities, these courses over the centuries have made up what is known as a liberal education, a canon against which some students who aren't white or male have spoken out since the 1960s. Nevertheless, the conservative professor, Allan Bloom, argues hotly in favour of such a canon of knowledge based on the classical works of our Western tradition; he claims that "It is a grave error to accept that the books of the dead white Western male canon are essentially Western" (1990, p. 27); rather, he feels this canon goes beyond one specific stream of philosophy -- "Plato and Kant claim that they speak to all men [sic] everywhere and forever, and I see no reason to reject those claims *a priori*" (1990, 28) NOTE 1. Bloom's book hit a responsive chord. Soon after it appeared, 300 professors of "the old school", taking the book as their text, formed the National Association of Scholars, whose aim was to "reclaim the academy". Page Smith (1990, 19) writes, "The special target for the `scholars' were the new programs for women and members of minority groups, which, the professors averred, had contaminated `objectivity on decisions about curriculum, promotion and academic discourse.' From which one naturally suspects that the dissenters are the beleaguered champions of `scientific objectivity'."

Bloom's view, although shared by traditionalist educators, is opposed by other teachers. Nathan Hare (1969, 104--105), for example, posits that this type of liberal education is connected to the leisure-class mentality described by Thorstein Veblen in his *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899) and other books. Veblen pointed out that it was not enough for people simply to possess wealth; they

must also display it by means of conspicuous consumption. Any work done should not be of any financial benefit, but clearly a useless enterprise. This syndrome persisted in higher education which was restricted in those days to the wealthy. To be the master of Latin, Greek, and writings from the ancient classical world would seem sufficiently impractical to satisfy Veblen's dictum.

The dominant group in a society has the power to make its canon of knowledge the accepted canon, and this is what white male academics have done. Knowledge is validated because it is what is taught at university. Professors then write books which ratify this elite canon, in case anyone is inclined to query it. As Thomas Carlyle has written, "What is all knowledge but recorded experience, and a project of history".

The late professor Northrop Frye states categorically in his book *On Education* (1988) that "A student cannot call himself [sic] a student without acknowledging the prior authority of the university and of its courses of study" (p. 26). He writes "The university can best fulfill its revolutionary function by digging in its heels and doing its traditional job in its traditionally retrograde, obscurantist, and reactionary way." Thus, although many students who are not white men may try to make classroom discussions more relevant to themselves by describing their own experiences, Frye will have none of this. He notes "The university informs the world, and is not informed by it" (p. 27). He also declares "Bringing value judgments, either explicitly or implicitly, into the classroom strikes me as a dangerous procedure" (p. 139).

Other professors have inveighed against any change to the canon. David Bercuson, Robert Bothwell and Jack Granatstein in their book *The Great Brain Robbery: Canada's Universities on the Road to Ruin* (1984) suggest that Canada's universities have reached a ruinous state, in part because of the teaching of "Canadian Studies" and other "studies" programs such as Native studies, northern studies and women's studies (p. 155). They decry the creation of Black studies in United States which followed the rise of black consciousness in the 1960s (p. 136), and the introduction of Native studies programs, Hispanic-American courses and ethnic history (p. 136). They want governments to cut the millions of dollars they are "throwing away" on such efforts (p. 159), an action which would mean that marginalized groups would lose the tiny foothold they now have at some universities to teach knowledge pertinent to themselves. Daniel Singal (1991), too, rails against the legacy of the 1960s when "In every conceivable fashion the reigning ethos of those times was hostile to excellence in education."

Recently a rash of books by men have considered the universities of North America and found them wanting (see Specialized Studies

entry) The subtitle of Allan Bloom's *The Closing of the American Mind: How Higher Education Has Failed Democracy and Impoverished the Souls of Today's Students* (1987), says it all. Bloom bemoans the lack of Latin and old-fashioned liberal arts in the universities. He declares that the solution to their general malaise is "the good old Great Books approach" (p. 344) which focuses on the works of Aristotle and Plato and their cultural descendants. Bloom's is "a sweeping attack on what is called 'cultural relativism', especially on those who want to place popular culture, ethnic and racially based cultures, and cultures grounded in sexual communities (either feminist or gay and lesbian) on a par with classical Western traditions" (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1991, 27).

Bloom is negative toward both women's studies and Black studies, noting "so far as universities are concerned, I know of nothing positive coming from [the 1960's]; it was an unmitigated disaster for them" (p. 320). On behalf of racism in the traditional liberal arts, he notes "it just did not play a role in the classic literature, at least in the forms in which we are concerned about it today, and no great work of literature is ordinarily considered racist" (p. 65) -- so much for *Huckleberry Finn*, *Merchant of Venice* and *Othello*. By contrast, he admits that "all literature up to today is sexist" which explains why "the latest enemy of the vitality of classic texts is feminism" (p. 65). In Bloom's view, then, we are not to be concerned about curriculum content both because great literature isn't really racist and because it is entirely sexist.

Page Smith, in *Killing the Spirit: Higher Education in America* (1990), discusses the new discipline of women's studies in his consideration of curricula. He refers to women who favour women's studies as militants, imperialistic, and armed; makes fun of many women's studies courses; takes offense at many women doing research on women; and expresses pity for women's studies students -- "they deserve something better" (p. 290). He writes that the existing situation of women's studies "is clearly out of hand" and that "things have gone too far" (p. 291). Yet Smith admits that women's studies, at least at the Santa Cruz campus of the University of California with which he is familiar, is not all bad (p. 289): "There is passionate conviction as opposed to the bland neutrality of much of the rest of the curriculum. My impression is that women teachers take a far more personal interest in their students/recruits than do their male counterparts.... There is an air of excitement, of discovering new truths, a unity of spirit and purpose, an exhilaration largely missing in the [rest of the campus]." At the end of his book, Smith declares that universities can only be saved if academics are willing to tackle their malaise with energy, passion and vision. How sad that he cannot conceive of women's passion for women's studies as playing

a part in the reconstruction.

Michael Oakeshott in his book of essays (edited by T. Fuller), *The Voice of Liberal Learning* (1989), is far more dismissive of women in academia. He believes that a liberal education is being seriously undermined by those who seek for relevance in what they learn. He strengthens his point by writing in sexist language that makes his content seem irrelevant to feminists. NOTE 2. He ignores women in all aspects of education, even its history, and in the private sphere as well. With luck, his call for non-relevance in the liberal curriculum will appear as anachronistic as his dismissal of half the world's human population.

The Commission on Canadian Studies, established by the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada in 1972, was one of the few bodies in Canadian history to try to alter the content of what is taught in Canadian universities (Symons and Page, 1984, 2). The Commission examined large numbers of briefs and presentations which documented the neglect of teaching and research about Canada, then urged that more attention be given to Canadian content of curricula in universities across Canada. The push for Canadian content, and the positive response to it, came almost entirely from white men, since they are in control of the universities. The Commission was a good way for Canadian professors to promote Canadian courses, often against the wishes of many hundreds of non-Canadian professors hired during the 1960s to staff the rapidly expanding university system in Canada. The Commission urged that more women be hired by universities (Chapter 9) -- they were Canadian too, after all -- but was silent on the role that Blacks, feminists, Natives, lesbians and gay men might have in the university. Yet the rationale for their inclusion is similar to that of Canadian studies. The Commission notes:

the most valid and compelling argument for Canadian studies is the importance of self-knowledge, the need to know and to understand who we are; where we have been; where we are going, and in what directions we may want to go; what we possess; what our responsibilities are to ourselves and others (Symons and Page, 1984, 3).

These same arguments are equally cogent if we replace "Canadian studies" with "Black studies", "Feminist studies", "Native studies", "Lesbian studies" and "Gay Men studies". However, as the Commission emphasizes, there must always be a question of balance in the curricula, so that students learn not only about themselves and their community, but also about the world around them.

Universities are not much interested in offering courses for

special groups unless, of course, they are offered funding to do so, or must do so to satisfy professional demands. For example, professional schools teaching law, medicine, dentistry, accounting, pharmacy, engineering, etc. have to cater largely or almost entirely to the wishes of the professional associations which control the licenses to practise these activities. Students study these disciplines to earn their license and thus their livelihood, so they need the appropriate association's approval.

An example of a professional organization that largely controls university curricula is the Canadian Engineering Accreditation Board (CEAB) made up of representatives of provincial organizations such as the Association of Professional Engineers of Ontario (pers. comm., Prof. Jim Cross, Dec. 6, 1991). This body determines who can be a professional engineer -- someone who has graduated from an accredited engineering program. CEAB has stringent rules which an engineering faculty must follow to maintain its accreditation. It requires that certain fractions of the engineering program must be basic science courses, engineering courses, and elective courses, and that there must be at least one course on society and technology. A group of engineers tours engineering campuses on behalf of CEAB to check course outlines, students, texts, and marking schemes; they want to make sure each university is doing what it is says it is doing. However, this does not mean its criteria for the curriculum are perfect. An American engineering dean did find that there was a correlation between university grades and good engineering ability, but the correlation was negative -- "the lower the grades, the greater contribution and presumed success of an engineering student" (Hacker, 1989, 68). In another study, employer ratings of the skills, ingenuity, and productivity of graduate engineers showed no correlation with the engineers' previous university grades (p. 68).

In professional programs, then, there is little room for universities to follow their own agenda. In the humanities, social sciences and natural sciences, by contrast, the university has free rein to teach what it wants. A perusal of calendars from universities across Canada indicates that universities in general do not teach many courses of primary interest to minorities. Some universities have Natives studies programs such as the University of Alberta, the University of Lethbridge and Trent University, but most at best have only a few scattered offerings on Natives in history, Native art and Native religion, even though there is nominally a push to attract more Natives to university where there are currently so few (Gerber, 1990). Native students and others are still exposed to anthropology courses which present the conventional male view that in a variety of non-literate cultures menstruation and child-birth are correlated with pollution; in reality, of course, these functions are a source

of great power (Cruikshank, 1990, 10-11). These biased views can be included in the anthropological category "myth of male dominance" (Moore, 1988, 35). Some women, such as Julie Cruikshank (1990), felt forced to do her anthropological research outside a university framework which she found to be too rigid and hierarchical.

For marginalized groups of people at university there may be several courses related to their culture in history and sociology but nothing more, even though one in three young people in Canada is of Asian or African ancestry (McLauchlan, 1991). Nova Scotia has a relatively large permanent Black population, but only in 1987 did Dalhousie University begin to address the imbalance there against Blacks. Concordia, with its chequered history of Black student activism in 1969 when it was Sir George Williams (Eber, 1969) lists no Black Studies program either, although there are a few courses on African history and development. At the University of British Columbia, one third of the students and staff on campus are people of colour ("Misrepresentation", 1992), yet there are few courses geared to their specific interests.

There are even fewer courses about gay men and lesbians than about Natives and Blacks, despite the far greater number of homosexuals at university. One of the most committed universities is Ryerson Polytechnical Institute which offers several such courses, including an extension course popular with people in the community who would otherwise have no connection with higher education.

The Status of Women in Ontario Universities Project offers two ways in which universities can work toward educational equity in the curriculum (Drakich, 1993). One is to set up curriculum review processes to deal with sexist and racist as well as other biases. The other is to offer incentives of cross-cultural perspectives into the curriculum.

Note 1. Bloom is not entirely content with the classical texts, either. He is uncomfortable with Plato's belief that women are as fit to rule as men, so in his essay accompanying his translation of *The Republic of Plato* (1968, 380-1), he argues that Plato was merely jesting when he stated this and did not mean what he said (Steuernagel, 1990).

Note 2. Many academic journals now refuse to publish papers that use sexist language because it is both inaccurate and biased. By contrast, some book publishers still publish books marred by such sexism (see *Language Alert Newsletter*). There is a danger that male chauvinists will now turn to writing books, rather than academic articles, which will more likely to be read by the general public.

## Sidebar

### Kinds of Knowledge

*Outside Knowledge* belongs to marginalized groups. It is gained by their experience and goes beyond knowledge validated by the dominant groups in society. Also called *Subjugated Knowledge* (Foucault), it is located low down on the hierarchy and therefore far enough away from, and sufficiently non-challenging to, the mainstream to be ignored (Carty, 1991a, 22).

*Academic Knowledge* is that sometimes arcane knowledge acceptable to universities but often popularly believed to be of no practical use -- as in an issue being purely academic.

*Taken-for-Granted Knowledge* originates in society at large and is acceptable to patriarchy (Carty, 1991a, 20). Its experts are WHMMs. Another name for it is *Common Sense Knowledge*, which is positive in that it is available to all, but negative in that it accepts stereotypes (Carty, 1991a, 28), for example, that women are subordinate to men, and non-whites inferior to whites. "Common sense knowledge is arrived at in the same manner by all groups but, of course, it is applied only to what is non-offensive to that particular group" (p. 42).

*Producer's Knowledge* is created by professors and other researchers who have power. *Consumer's Knowledge* is consumed by functionaries (students) and hoarders of information (Bannerji, 1991, 75).

*Recipe Knowledge* is "knowledge with components that are rather mechanistically added toward the creation of some pre-defined product" (Heald, 1989, 22). The recipe produces a standardized response to the teacher's questions: "the teacher plays a game of 'guess what's on my mind' with the students, who are not assumed to have anything of importance on their own minds."

## Dissent

Jerry Farber in *The Student as Nigger* (1969) claims that the first duty of schooling is to render the student submissive to authority. Among other things, this process involves persuading students that what they learn in school is what they should know. University students have been indoctrinated for twelve years before they enter university, so it is no wonder their training has been effective. Few students question what they are taught in university, nor should that surprise us; as Hildegard (1988) notes, "Every 'No' to received wisdom is a 'Yes' to being an outsider -- an unenviable status at the best of times." A 1990 survey listed the three top concerns of Canadian university presidents about students: preoccupation with their careers, a lack of interest in broader intellectual issues, and a general apathy (Sarick, 1991, 1). Their seventh top concern was that students were close-minded, believing that only one point of view is possible.

Students' acquiescence to the knowledge they are fed at university is not surprising. As George Grant notes (1969, 131), "the university curriculum, by the very studies it incorporates, guarantees that there should be no serious criticism of itself or of the society it is shaped to serve. We are unable seriously to judge the university without judging its essence, the curriculum; but since we are educated in terms of that curriculum it is guaranteed that most of us will judge it as good."

An example of universities' abilities to persuade students of the excellence of their product and students' desire to be so persuaded is provided by a survey of 656 arts and science students from ten Canadian universities carried out in April 1991 (Frizzell, 1991). The students were asked a variety of questions to determine how they felt about their university. The women's responses indicated that they were generally more satisfied than the men with their university experience (Table 1), even though it is well documented that women are less well served than men by universities -- for example universities offer many fewer women teachers, largely male-centred course content, prevalent sexism and sexual harassment, and less access to sports and sport facilities (Dagg and Thompson, 1988). The women's perceptions are an excellent example of *denial* by women described in the following Sidebar. The disadvantages women face have been often recounted in magazines and newspapers, but many or most women cannot bear to internalize these data because they differ so drastically from their perception of what a university *should* be. As Nina Colwill (1992) states, "So strong is this need to see ourselves as living in a just world, that we distort reality in order to create that perception for ourselves -- in order to believe in the "just world hypothesis".

This odd phenomenon of a group receiving an inferior education yet considering it a superior one is mirrored in society at large. Queen's University is regarded as one of the worst for women, following public negative reports from women such as law professor Sheila McIntyre (1987) and anthropologist Lucia Nixon (1987); published invectives against women's studies at Queen's (Toogood, 1987); well-publicized mockery by men of Queen's "No means No" anti-rape campaign ("Harassment. 2 males," 1992); and publicized rape-death threats of female editors at Queen's ("Female editors," 1991). However, the October 1991 and November 1992 surveys in *Maclean's* revealed that by its criteria, which ignored biased curricula, employment equity and effective harassment policies, Queen's university is considered almost the best. Obviously, although women number over half the undergraduates in Canada, factors which vitally affect them are considered unimportant.

Professors and graduate students may see clearly bias in university curricula, but virtually none is willing to complain. They have too much to lose. Professors don't want to alienate colleagues who may in future influence their career -- by recommending no tenure, no promotion, no research grant, no publication of an article or book. One steps outside the hierarchy of academia at one's peril. In addition, complainers set themselves up for disdain; it is too easy to assume that their ideas or articles are dismissed by mainstream academia because of incompetence. Few academics have the time or interest to consider all sides of a gatekeeping issue even of a friend, let alone of someone unknown. The well documented examples of gatekeeping indicate that it does exist, and imply that it is not uncommon (see Graduate Students entry).

### Engineering and Bias

All branches of study at university should be accessible to all students, and increasingly most are. In the past twenty years, the proportion of women in most professional schools has increased dramatically, as the following figures show (Statistics Canada 1973, 1992):

	1970	1990
Dentistry	4 %	36 %
Law	9 %	47 %
Medicine	13 %	46 %
Pharmacy	38 %	64 %
Veterinary Medicine	8 %	63 %

In contrast, in these same years, bachelor of engineering degrees earned by women increased from 1 % to a plateau of only 12 %. Few women go on to graduate school in engineering, and those who obtain PhDs (7 %) may still not be hired as professors (see Professors, Hiring entry).

This inequity is detrimental to women students, who miss out on satisfying and well-paid careers, and also to society; Brian Eslea (1983, 165) believes that "the principal driving force of the nuclear arms race is ... masculine motivation -- in essence, the compulsive desire to lord it over other people and non-human nature, and then manfully to confront a dangerous world." It is also strange, because this discipline has many applied areas (wheelchair design, traffic flow, plastic manufacture) that should appeal to many women.

The reason for the failure of many women to become engineers seems to be the male perception that this discipline is, and should remain, a masculine one. Fortunately, universities have been able to sanction engineering campus newspapers in the past which routinely denigrated women and sometimes visible minority groups as well. However, women-hating continues. At the University of Waterloo, for example, first year engineering students attend initiation events which include an excessive amount of foul language, humiliation of participants, and a ceremony of Tool worshipping, the "Tool" being a euphemism for the penis (Reinhold, 1992).

One University of Alberta woman engineering student who complained about sexism in her faculty received death threats (Williamson, 1990, 42) and was later verbally abused during an engineers' show ("University president," 1990). The audience chanted "Shoot the Bitch! Get her off the stage!", because she had said that

she often felt like an outcast in the engineering faculty. She withdrew from the university and the city soon after this.

At the University of Waterloo, women are verbally abused by male students for doing well in class. One engineering student who came second in a test was called a slut while another who had done well was told to wipe her mouth, the implication in both cases being that the women had received their high marks by having sex with their professors (pers. comm., Mar. 1990).

At this university there is a group of male engineers that calls itself the DAWGS -- Drunken Assholes Wanting Good Sex.

Not surprisingly, few feminists study engineering at university because of the "engineering tradition of degrading women" ("Barriers in engineering", 1990; Carter & Kirkup, 1990, 147). One of student at the University of Waterloo was pushed into engineering by her high school physics teacher, who felt she "might be able to stand it as it used creative applications to technology." After several terms, she found she couldn't stand it, however, and withdrew.

With encouragement, undoubtedly more women would enter engineering programs. At the University of Illinois, for example, a campaign to attract women to engineering was very successful (Dagg and Beauchamp, 1991). The university decided to publicize the word "womengineer" by printing it in newspapers and announcing it on the radio so that the word was exposed to people a total of fifty million times.

Another idea to encourage women to engineering has been suggested in eastern Canada. Kathryn Bindon (1991) and colleagues were concerned that the number of women engineering students in Canada continued to be low apparently because of the anti-women ambience at engineering schools. To bypass this hurdle, they proposed a class of thirty women which would take their first two years' training in the specified engineering courses at her university (known to be supportive of women) and then switch to an engineering school to complete their studies. This arrangement would give the women initial support and a strong sense of cohesion which would stand them in good stead when they later joined the regular (mostly male) engineering class.

### **Feminist Studies**

Feminism provides a range of political approaches to the topic of women, all of them based on the necessity of creating equality between women and men (Bryson, 1992). Feminist studies, therefore, critique mainstream knowledge for a bias against the female sex as well as encouraging research from a feminist perspective.

White middle-class women have had a place in Canadian universities for over 100 years, but feminists, who seek equality for women in the curriculum as well as in university programs and as professors, have been and continue to be largely shut out. Today, employment equity laws urge that more women be hired as professors because of past sexual discrimination (See Professor Hiring entry). However, anecdotal evidence indicates that hiring committees often prefer to hire non-feminists or anti-feminists, even if these are less qualified than feminists (Dagg, 1993).

Women, who have always had problems overcoming sexual discrimination and harassment in their personal lives while at university, began to appreciate the full extent of systemic sexual discrimination on campus in the second wave of the Women's Movement in the late 1960s. Then, feminists found knowledge about women in the curricula sorely lacking. Immediately they began to carry out research and to publish their findings so that feminist knowledge has since mushroomed. Today there are tens of thousands of scholarly books about and by women from a feminist perspective, and scores of feminist journals. Feminists believe in general not only that information about women must be added to virtually all arts and social science courses as well as many science and engineering courses, but also that the theory of these disciplines must be reconstructed so that they do not continue to reflect only men's realities. Their new understanding will enable women to carry out more research to help correct previous male-centred biases.

Feminists, like women in general, seem to prefer an interactive style of teaching, where the hierarchy between professor and student is downplayed and all members of the classroom are encouraged to bring forward their own experiences so that discussions are practical as well as theoretical (Aisenberg and Harrington, 1988). This style demands innovations that may not be appreciated by other professors or by students who want to be spoon-fed rather than in charge of their own learning. Some hardly see it as teaching at all. One woman professor in arts at the University of Waterloo noted (Coupal and Fast, 1990, 31):

It's certainly hard to be a teacher and a feminist, because I find that if they find out, many students turn off to everything else you say. I've had students come to me at the beginning of

a course and say, 'you aren't one of those feminists are you?' But I think teachers, feminists, have a duty to incorporate feminism into their courses, because sometimes it's the only way you can reach out to a few women students...

In classes taught in the traditional lecture style, with the teacher dominant and the students subordinate, women students are less obviously involved in classes than men. Fran Davis and Arlene Steiger (1991) feel it is a vital part of feminist pedagogy to have women speak more. They encourage the "use of personal and collective journals, question and answer boxes, brief free-writes, and personal self-disclosures -- all designed to allow students to use their voices and have them heard without raising them in a large classroom situation." These devices forge a connection between the knower and what is to be known.

Women have found that a teacher can reduce feelings of alienation in her students if she shares her own personal experiences and strategies. Kate McKenna (1991, 126-7) regrets that she did not mention either her own negative experience with psychiatry when her class discussed women and mental health, or her own encounters with male violence when the subject turned to battered women. She did not want to be thought self-indulgent, egocentric and emotional -- all stereotypes used to discredit women. She also did not want her disclosures to be used against her by students or other faculty. She writes "However, I am beginning to suspect that these silences and erasures of 'the private', of 'the personal', are practices that enable white middle class women to deny our positionality -- constructing it as obvious, neutral and universal."

bell hooks (1989, 49ff) teaches in a quite different feminist style. She does not provide a safe place where students can speak out or not without fear. Rather, she demands that every student speak out in class. Her goal "is to enable all students, not just an assertive few, to feel empowered in a rigorous critical discussion." They write of personal experience in class, and read aloud what they have written. They aren't allowed to miss classes. They check work for sexist and racist bias. Many students find this process frightening and demanding. They don't like it at the time, but later realize how important it was.

Feminist pedagogy as discussed by Linda Briskin (1990) involves the following dichotomies:

\* a contradiction between authority/expertise and nurturing/femininity. Male professors are accepted naturally as experts whereas female professors are often expected to be nurturing and supportive to students as well. Rather than give up authority in a mock form of democracy in the classroom, Briskin thinks teachers

should concentrate on teaching leadership to the students.

\* a contradiction between anti-sexism and non-sexism. The goal of non-sexism (non-classism or non-racism) implies that discrimination is somehow incidental to the system, and that with goodwill, sex, race and class can be made irrelevant. This view obscures systemic and pervasive discrimination in society that must be actively addressed. Anti-sexism seeks to expose bias so that everyone will see it for what it is and be able to fight it accordingly.

\* a contradiction between agency and victimization. Teaching must expose the manner in which women and girls are victimized, but also offer a way in which they can change what is wrong by collective action.

Brisken outlines what feminist pedagogy strives to accomplish:

\* the ability to view the world from a feminist perspective, which means recognizing the oppression of women. It means making intolerable the unfair inequalities widely accepted as natural.

\* the recognition of power imbalance in the classroom based on gender, class, race and sexual orientation, with measures taken to decrease this disparity and increase the students' feelings of empowerment.

\* the addressing and overcoming of women's feelings of anxiety, rage and inadequacy by openly acknowledging society's devaluation of women.

\* the emphasis on the personal being political to show that failure to succeed in life is not an individual fault but a fault in the way society is structured.

\* a classroom approach in which emotions and experiences are incorporated into the learning process and in which cooperation replaces competition.

Feminists have perceived the practice of science just as gays have done (See Gay Studies entry). Stephen Risch's (1978) analysis of the ideal aims of science makes sense for any group which dislikes what science and technology are often doing to the world and how they are organized to do it. Feminists do not want science and its products to be used against women, for example in urging tranquillizer use rather than addressing the reasons why women are depressed, in performing caesarian sections during childbirth when they are unnecessary, and in waging wars which result in rape and death. Second, science should work to produce birth control and abortion methods that could be useful for all women, (rather than concentrating on reproductive technology available only to a select few). Third, the democratization of research should be much more extensive, including secretaries, spouses, and immigrant workers who may have valuable contributions to make from a new perspective.

The presence of feminist studies will resonate throughout the campus. For example, a male student from the University of Waterloo

was empowered by feminism. He writes (Jan. 1991) "The strength and main tool of feminists, I believe, is their vocalization. I didn't realize you could vocalize against things that were wrong, rather than hide (naive me). I didn't realize what strength women had, how strong they were in their vocalization. I find feminist writing very powerful and passionate."

Many feminist concerns are addressed in women's studies programs, but some are not, leaving feminist students frustrated and angry (see Women's Studies entry).

## Sidebar

### Feminism and Knowledge

Active feminism is essential as long as women's labour continues to be exploited and as long as women continue to suffer from male violence. If we think critically about women's position in society, and have women students do so too, we clearly must consider three major concepts. Coralyn Fontaine (1982) defines the first as *patriarchy*, which is racist and classist as well as sexist; it involves the hatred and fear of women by men which has led WHMMs to create a male point of view of knowledge and reality. This perspective is political; it is necessary to maintain society as we know it. The second concept, *heterosexism*, stipulates that women's production and energy should go to support men; again, this reality is heavily supported by politics and culture. The third concept, *woman-identification*, demands that women's intellectual, emotional, political and sexual energies support women rather than men. When this concept is realized, women will be able to end their patriarchal oppression.

As women begin to understand these concepts, they go through four psychological stages (p. 78). The first is *discovery*, when women realize through myriads of data the extent of women's oppression in our society. The second (for some women only) is *denial* of what they have learned; the new perception is so devastating to what these women have previously thought that they cannot accept it. The third stage is *anger* that such inequities between women and men should have lasted so long and that they should have gone unremarked. The fourth stage is *woman-identification*, in which women can work out ways to destroy patriarchy. Fontaine notes that these same stages occurred in the second wave of feminism as a movement (p. 78). Scholars began first to document inequities between women and men, then to become angry at their enormity, and finally to work together with other women to combat them. The women at university who consider their education in the humanities and social sciences a good one are either at the *prediscovery* stage because their university courses have given them few data about women's place in society to think about, or at the *denial* stage -- they can't bear to accept as reality what they know intellectually. These women attack feminist theory with statements beginning, "But what about the men...", as if men need their help. Women must know that, statistically, the average annual net income of university-educated women is only equal to the average annual net income of grade eight-educated men (Lewis, 1991). If this fact does not arouse them, then the university can congratulate itself on doing a marvellous job in keeping its students uncritical.



## Gay Studies

Gay men are discriminated against in course content at universities as a survey of American universities indicates. In 1975, English chairs across the United States were asked questions about their perception of gay persons, defined as both male and female (Crew, 1978). One out of four of the respondents expressed open hostility toward them, a hostility especially evident in religious institutions, in small colleges and universities in the south and west, and among women chairs. A significant minority was against studying works of gay writers which gave a positive impression of gayness (32%) and against literature selections that would increase students' understanding of the gay experience (36%). Such heterosexism, pervasive in virtually all courses (Wine, 1990, 159), implies that everyone is and should be heterosexual.

Gay men have been important in history, but documentation about them has been limited. Although many ancient Greek scholars were homosexuals, we know relatively little about that aspect of their lives. Early in this century another group of largely homosexual academics was famous, the Cambridge University Apostles, but this group too published little about their personal lives although many of them were writers, notably Lytton Strachey in biography and Maynard Keynes in economics (Rowse, 1975). The first American political gay groups came together in the 1920s (Kyper, 1978, 389), but university courses were not organized by and for them until the early 1970s in California (Brogan, 1978, 155).

Before that time, information about gay people (then considered both men and women, with much more emphasis on the former) was usually clinical, cold, and negative (Gittings, 1978, 107). In 1971, (the year that finally allowed E. M. Forester's 1914 book about a gay man, *Maurice*, to be published because of the author's death), the first gay-positive bibliography included only 48 entries, but by 1975 this number had increased to 200 items (pp. 108, 114)

Gay studies provide information about gays as well as being important in critiquing courses which espouse heterosexism. Gay studies can be included within departments of literature, history, sociology and psychology and taught by a gay man who can serve as a role model and repository of a lifetime of experience as well as the authority on the material to be covered. Gay studies also form the basis for a community where gay and lesbian faculty and students can meet in safety to socialize and study material of interest to their community, with an enhanced feeling of self-esteem (Brogan, 1978, 157). Such openness should decrease homophobia on campus, for students report being less homophobic if they personally know a gay man or lesbian (Hansen, 1982).

James Brogan (1978, 157 ff), who taught some of the early courses

on gay literature, felt it was important to reveal his gayness to his class and to use explicit language. This reduced tension in the classroom and encouraged an atmosphere of openness. He was pleased to have heterosexuals in the class although he had originally tried to exclude them. Brogan urged his students to meet with each other in small groups for discussions, both in class and in informal get-togethers, and to express personal experiences as well in stories and poems. He felt his courses made all the students more autonomous and more tolerant of themselves as well as teaching them about gay literature.

Critiques by gay men may provide a new perspective on knowledge taught at universities. Stephen Risch (1978), for example, has published a gay analysis of how we teach, how we do science, and what kind of science we do. This analysis is similar to that of the political left, as exemplified in the journal *Science for the People* whose title reflects its philosophy. Risch believes that sex is positive, not mainly for reproduction, and that power relationships between individuals (such as males and females in patriarchy) are counterproductive. Risch declares the American strategy of science is to 1) maintain and strengthen its military domination even though this increases subjugation and suffering in the Third World; 2) increase productivity even though this puts people out of work; and 3) use science (eugenics, space research) to justify capitalism while ignoring social problems. Capitalism is served both by the products of science and by its hierarchical mode of operation.

Risch's gay analysis presents three imperatives for humane science. First, science must not be turned against human beings. Applied science must not be used to develop mountains of deadly weaponry; genetics and psychology must not be used to dehumanize groups of people such as Blacks; medical science must not define homosexuality as pathological. Second, science must give priority to objects which benefit all of humankind, not just the elite. For example, technology for mass transport must come before that involved with lunar flight and supersonic jets. Third, all scientific workers, not just the elite, must decide what research should be undertaken in a lab. In this way scientific knowledge will become more democratic.

### Graduate Students

Graduate studies may be problematic because of the hierarchy involved. A student is at the mercy of his or her supervisor; if the supervisor insists on finding fault with a student, it can mean the end of his or her career, even though the student has done nothing wrong. Wilfred Cude (1986) has described his own experience of frustration while working for his Ph.D. at the University of Alberta. After teaching full-time for two years, he enrolled in the doctoral program in English literature. He completed all course work for his degree in his first three years, obtaining first-division grades in everything. During the next two years, he held a Canada Council doctoral fellowship, after which he completed his dissertation while working as a lecturer. When his dissertation was submitted, nine of the work's eleven chapters had been published as separate articles in four reputable scholarly journals; two of these had been reprinted in two other reputable scholarly collections. When it was published as a book, it received strong reviews (Keith, 1982; Lecker, 1981-2; Moss, 1982; Peterman, 1981). Yet his university refused him permission to defend the dissertation in a final oral examination, so he has never earned his Ph.D. (p. 32).

His treatment sounds completely unfair, and Cude felt so strongly that it was unfair that he collected extensive documentation on the large attrition of Ph.D. students from universities and talked to many disaffected graduate students who had withdrawn from their departments in despair. The article detailing his findings, however, was not popular with academia. Universities receive a large source of their funding through graduate students and they didn't want this money jeopardized. Nor did they appreciate having universities criticized for inefficiency and callousness. Cude sent the article to four academic journals, but all four refused it. Their reasons varied widely, however, which makes one wonder about their credibility (p. 10-11): two considered it competently worked, but two declared its treatment hopelessly inadequate. Because of the apparent suppression of Cude's ideas, the *Journal of Canadian Fiction* finally agreed to publish his article. Cude (1987) has since published his information privately in *The Ph.D. Trap*.

This rest of this entry focuses on problems faced by women, because they are much less likely than men to go on to do graduate work, especially at the doctoral level. Graduate students have problems that are distinct from those of undergraduates. Besides having above-average academic ability, they have to spend a large amount of concentrated time studying and doing research and they have to be able to work closely with their supervisors. Young single men find these conditions easier to meet than do women.

Six women have carried out a survey of what it is like to be

a graduate student in history (de la Cour, 1993). Their questionnaire, sent to 210 women graduate students, was filled out and returned by 140 women, an impressive response rate.

The current underfunding of universities affects all graduate students negatively, but a number of respondents felt that women were especially disadvantaged. Many believed that their male colleagues were more likely to be taken seriously, and thus be awarded scholarships, large grants and strong letters of reference. If the women had a partner, they were perceived as less in need of funding, whereas a male with a partner was considered more in need of money for support purposes. If jobs were available in the university or the community, the men tended to get those that paid the best.

Women tend to have more constraints on their time than men. Over one-third of the survey's respondents had interrupted their graduate career for a period of several months to several years. Almost half of these interruptions involved personal crises (stress, breakdowns, unwanted pregnancies, sickness) and time taken for maternity and child-rearing. Almost half of the childless women had postponed or abandoned plans to have children because of their graduate work. They had good reason for doing this: twelve women with children reported that they were taken less seriously as academics because of their family. They had been told that women with young children did not belong in graduate school and that it was not professional to try to combine children and study. Some universities have maternity leave provisions, but taking such leave often results in a loss of funding and of various university privileges. The pressure of competition was the same for all women whether or not they had family responsibilities -- a struggle for funding, for marks, for ranking, and for jobs.

At graduate school, students must work closely with their supervising professors. Most supervisors are men, which creates more problems for female than for male students. Almost one-quarter of the respondents suffered from sexual harassment -- comments about their physical appearance, sexual jokes, and degrading sexual advances. Graduate students are completely dependent on two or three professors to write them letters for funding and eventually for jobs. If a woman complains of sexual harassment, she may jeopardize her entire career. Although most respondents reported that their universities had sexual harassment policies, only two women had filed official complaints.

About half the graduate students were exposed to sexual gossip about women in their department, usually faculty/student affairs or the general appearance of women students, which undermined the authority of female faculty and the confidence of students. One respondent wrote:

Men's personal lives are rarely discussed and usually assumed to be under control. Women's personal lives are a constant subject of curiosity and rumour. As a result, women's personal lives blur into their professional lives, and it is damaging to their careers (p. 9).

Women's history courses have a low priority in graduate programs. Fewer than half the respondents noted that such courses were offered in their departments, and fewer than one-quarter felt they were taken seriously by professors. Some women's history was integrated into other courses, but it was often perfunctory or grudgingly done at the students' request or insistence. Few men, peers or professors, were described as genuinely interested and supportive of women's history.

The six women who conducted the survey see the future for women in graduate studies as bleak. As well as the backlash against feminism and employment equity programs,

the general effects of the economic recession, the problem of underfunding in universities, the increased enrolments and speed-ups in graduate programs, and the decline in job opportunities following graduation have only added to the pressures women face as students in academia (p. 10).

Graduate students in science who are women also find their studies problematic for reasons that have little to do with the work itself. To gather data on how their gender might influence their graduate work research, Rachel Sender Beauchamp and I (1992) sent out questionnaires to women graduate students in science (including engineering and mathematics) at four universities (Simon Fraser, Manitoba, Guelph and Waterloo) and also to those in social science in the last two institutions. We asked "Do you think that you have chosen and choose research topics and/or do actual research differently than men because you are a woman? Please comment". A sizeable minority of the 272 respondents in science (about 40% return rate) thought that they did do science differently because they were women: 39 per cent for Master's students, 40 per cent for doctoral students, and 45 per cent for women science professors at Ontario universities (Dagg and Beauchamp, 1991a). For the social science graduate students (return rate about 30%), 69 per cent of the 77 Master's students and 48 per cent of the 21 doctoral students felt that women do research differently than men.

Many graduate students believe that doing science differently than men works to their disadvantage.

I would say I'm less motivated by achieving quick results i.e. viewing my work in terms of how many papers I can get out of it. Which perhaps translates into being less competitive and more interested in long term achievements/results. Traits I would defend but traits that can work to your disadvantage in male-dominated science (Entomologist).

I recognize the spirit in all life and orient my studies so as to best support and respect the growth of all creatures. I find most male researchers (and supervisors and men in general) disrespect such an attitude especially when it and conflicts with corporate funding policies (Botanist).

The women graduate students also felt constrained in a number of ways in the university environment. Many felt they worked harder than their male peers.

I think I am a little more dedicated to my research than my male lab-mates probably because I feel I have to almost prove that I am serious about my graduate work (Biochemist).

Some, with and without children, have refused to do so, however.

I don't put in the normal 16 hour days...partially because it is expected (rebellious!) of both men and women (Astrophysicist).

My feminist beliefs have led me to conclude that the total dedication required of scientists and academics is a patriarchal imposition and not a requirement of the disciplines themselves (Mathematician).

For a variety of reasons, women graduate students may have fewer choices than men. One respondent felt she had to be a feminist to survive in computer science.

I cannot imagine how a woman can choose to pursue a career in C.S. without being a feminist to some degree. C.S. has a masculine image (teenage hackers, war games,...) and the majority of people in the field are male (all my undergrad C.S. profs were men).

An economist felt limited in her field and constrained in her behaviour because she wanted a woman supervisor:

I did choose a female supervisor on purpose. (There are currently two female professors in this dept.) I feel I can't really emphasize my differences if I want to fit in and succeed. I feel pressure to succeed and "prove" myself.

A molecular biologist also has a narrowed choice of research fields and supervisors because of bigotry:

There are one or two scientists working in related fields to mine that I could not work with due to my perception of their attitudes towards women, especially women in science.

Some graduate students are leaving research because of discrimination or lack of encouragement:

My feminism has affected my desire to work in a male-dominated, sexist atmosphere. I am presently making plans to leave research and commit my time to teaching and a more activist career (Fish endocrinologist).

I believe one of the main reasons for the lack of women in Ph.D. programs is the lack of an official maternity leave policy, especially in male dominated departments like crop science.

A few women are perturbed because they feel they cannot be themselves while in science:

Sometimes I sense that my ideas strike certain men in the field as not being "serious" about physics and that can be maddening and/or saddening (Astrophysicist).

Women in science, it is my opinion, must *always* present themselves in a very serious and determined manner, in order to be considered serious (Molecular biologist).

The only times that I have felt a distinction [between men and women] are during scientific meetings where some older colleagues have shown more or less interest according to the presenter's sex (Veterinarian).

Finally, several women are affected by political considerations:

In order to provide a more visible role model (i.e. a larger number of women in physical science) for younger students, I

remain in a field which may not otherwise be my first choice  
(Quantum maths)

In summary, because science at universities is organized to appeal to and satisfy men, many women are alienated, either refusing to become involved in science at all or dropping out. Far fewer women than men receive an advanced education in scientific subjects, and far fewer women are therefore involved in producing scientific knowledge.

### **Homophobia**

Gay men and lesbians, who comprise ten per cent of the Canadian population, need special support at universities because they suffer there as elsewhere from explicit discrimination and harassment. Data from Pennsylvania State University indicate that for a sample of 125 homosexual respondents to a questionnaire, nearly three-quarters had experienced verbal abuse, 26 per cent were threatened with violence, and 17 per cent had personal property damaged (D'Augelli, 1989). Twenty-eight of the respondents had been chased or followed, 15 had had objects thrown at them, six had been spat on, five had been punched, and one had been assaulted with a weapon. Far more men than women had been so harassed. Few of these incidents had been reported to university officials (6%) because of fear of further harassment and the feeling that no action would be taken. Most of the respondents were fearful about disclosing to others their sexual orientation. Only four per cent were very comfortable doing so, whereas 45 per cent were not at all comfortable and 34 per cent only somewhat comfortable doing so. To avoid having their sexual orientation known, many of these respondents avoided lesbian and gay congregations and usually presented themselves as heterosexual. Even so, 64 per cent feared for their personal safety at least occasionally. Of these respondents, only six per cent felt that gay men or lesbians would not be harassed on campus, with 48 per cent considering harassment on campus fairly or very likely. These respondents were partly out of the closet in that they had filled out the questionnaire while at a meeting of gays and lesbians. The experiences of thousands of other gays and lesbians who pass as heterosexual are unknown.

Anecdotal evidence points to similar discrimination against gay men at Canadian campuses, as the following examples indicated:

\* At the University of Alberta, male students in the residence seized a gay male, pulled his pants down to his knees and forced him to bend over a chair where they tied him in place. They placed a sign beside him stating that he was gay and to be degraded (Cernetig, 1990).

\* At the University of Guelph, a notice for shared accommodation in the university Centre read "NO GAYS! only stipulation" (Orchard, 1991).

\* At the University of Toronto, homophobic graffiti remained on the campus sidewalk for almost a month before being removed, despite requests for quick action (Orchard, 1991).

\* At the University of British Columbia, the Board of Governors refused to allow the 1990 International Gay Athletic Games on campus. Some Board members were concerned that people might not want to go to UBC or to support increased funding for the University if campus

facilities were used for that purpose (Orchard, 1991).

\* At orientation marches at the University of Toronto, first-year students are urged to shout chants such as "Who do we like? Women! Who do we hate? Queers!" and "Artsies are faggots! Artsies are queers!" (Orchard, 1991).

\* At the University of Guelph, posters advertising events sponsored by Guelph Gay and Lesbian Equality are routinely torn down and defaced (Orchard, 1991).

\* At a ceremony called Episkopon carried out three times a year at Trinity College, University of Toronto, new male students were pressured into simulating oral sex with a dildo while onlookers taunted them for being 'fags' (Mitchell, 1992). Farhan Memon who complained of such rites was doused with human excrement and urine.

\* In a second-year sociology class at an unnamed Ontario university, a priest who was invited by the professor to speak on homosexuality and the church was immediately driven from the lecture room by derogatory comments and physically-threatening behaviour when he announced that he himself was gay. No complaints were lodged about this incident, which appalled at least one gay student who observed it (Crath and Regier, 1991).

\* When a student in the third year of his PhD program in Ontario came out as a gay man, his academic position was badly damaged; he "lost his ranking, saw his financial support disappear, and more importantly, sensed the withering of the strong moral support he had previously enjoyed from the department" (Crath and Regier, 1991, 11). This was so even though his thesis topic which addressed gay issues had been judged acceptable.

Although many professors aren't overtly homophobic, they are certainly insensitive to the subject of homosexuality (Wine, 1990, 160). Some attempt to explain the reason for homosexuality, but not for heterosexuality; some appear well-intentioned toward homosexuality, but make sure the class knows that *they* are straight; some mention lesbian or gay issues, but only at the end of a lecture so there is no time for discussion.

At York University two professors have been especially insensitive (York students, 1991). In a law course, a student wrote a paper on the use of law in the oppression of lesbians and gays. The professor gave the paper a poor grade in part because the lesbian and gay content was "personal and biased" and not from an "authoritative" source. As a second example, in a class on deviance "the professor spoke of the major deviants -- murderers, rapists and homosexuals -- without so much as a breath taken to delineate the three categories."

Students who disclose their homosexuality in academia may

suffer for it. One who revealed her lesbian identity in a sociology class was subjected to verbal harassment by male students both in the class and outside it (Wine, 1990, 159). As well, the male teacher began to ignore her and belittle her contribution. She found this so painful she began to see a university psychiatrist for therapy. When, after several sessions, she declared herself a lesbian, she was immediately sent to a psychiatric hospital. Nor is a homosexual teacher of the opposite sex necessarily a good thing; two lesbians who took courses from a gay professor felt that he was anti-women because he refused to listen to their ideas (Wine, 1990, 165).

However, some lesbians who stood up for homosexuals in classroom discussions felt affirmed by this process. One who entered a discussion about the causes of homosexuality found that by taking the position of an outsider, especially in the conservative atmosphere of a typical psychology class, her sense of self was strengthened (Wine, 1990, 164). Several women began to identify themselves as lesbians after being actively involved in such classroom discussions.

The more lesbians speak up for themselves, however, the greater is the backlash against them. In 1992, the University of Toronto Women's Centre received bomb threats during an advertised meeting there of lesbians and bisexual women (Klein, 1992). One man said over the phone "I'm going to bomb your fucking dyke groups. You are going to get it." Lesbians are also blamed for various activities carried out under a feminist label (Klein, 1992).

To combat homophobia at universities, the awareness of gay men and lesbians should be increased (Crath and Regier, 1991). At Ryerson Polytechnical Institute, the first sign announcing gay and lesbian studies was vandalized, so a much larger sign was mounted too high on the wall to be easily reached. Now the many thousands of students passing the sign every day have become acclimatized to the presence of gays and lesbians (George Bielmeier, pers. comm., Dec. 12, 1991).

### **Lesbian Studies**

All lesbians need support at university because of the prevalence there of heterosexism -- the basic assumption that all people are, and should be, heterosexual if they are to be perceived as normal. In addition, lesbians who are "out" are harassed on campus, called "dyke" in contempt and on occasion receive death threats (Orchard, 1991; Klein, 1992).

Until recently, any information about lesbians was rare. When Radclyffe Hall published in 1927 *The Well of Loneliness* which had a lesbian protagonist, the book was banned (Brittain, 1968). With the politicization of lesbians through the women's movement in the 1970s, the production of information about lesbians has soared. By 1981, for example, J.R. Roberts (1982, 103) was able to compile an annotated bibliography of over 300 entries about Black lesbians. In 1982, the first academic anthology on lesbianism appeared, *Lesbian Studies Present and Future* edited by Margaret Cruikshank.

Lesbians largely broke away from gay groups in the 1970s to form their own communities. They had found that similar kinds of power relationships between the men and women mirrored those found in society at large, and they realized their way of life was very different from that of gay men (Stanley, 1978, p. 124). Currently, many heterosexual people on campus and elsewhere refuse to acknowledge that lesbianism involves sex; they thus perceive lesbians as unimportant and invisible -- a group of disaffected women who hate men. Alternately, other heterosexual people believe that sex is the primary focus for lesbians; in this way they are marginalized and seen as less threatening than a movement anxious to dismantle patriarchy. Many heterosexuals insist that lesbianism is a "preferred lifestyle" rather than a question of identity.

Universities cannot, by their nature, provide an extensive education on lesbianism. Its essence would be lost if a lesbian studies program existed which had to answer to male administrators at a patriarchal institution. Indeed, lesbian separatists already refuse to become involved with universities because of the control and censorship this would involve. However, universities should offer lesbian studies courses for the benefit not only of lesbians, but of all non-lesbians, too, who will become knowledgeable and sensitive to this large population. Such courses are important for several reasons:

- a) They give information that is lacking in the curriculum in general, especially involving individual achievements of lesbians and the past and present treatment of lesbians as a group;
- b) They provide a perspective for critiquing for bias information taught at universities and accepted by society.
- c) Lesbian studies enable lesbians to find and offer each other

support and encouragement; as Margaret Cruikshank (1982, x) puts it, "The emotional high women experience when we feel for the first time a passionate connection between our lives and our work is hard to describe to someone who has not directly felt it." She goes on (p. xvi) "Having seen our lesbianism denied, and having sometimes denied it ourselves, we know that lesbian studies is more than a discipline or an intellectual pursuit -- it is an instrument of our survival."

If at all possible, lesbian studies must be taught by a lesbian. There is "nothing like a passionate lived connection when you're teaching a subject" (Moraga and Smith, 1982, 58). Such a person may be difficult to find, as any lesbian known to be such is likely to be denied tenure and therefore not to be around for very long; her lesbianism may not be stated as the reason for her firing, but it will almost certainly be held against her. (It is best, if possible, to have sexual orientation clauses in their contracts, as some Canadian lesbian professors do, so they cannot be sanctioned for being lesbian (Wine, 1983).) Universities sometimes warn each other not to hire certain women apparently because they are lesbians (Backhouse et al, 1989, 33). In 1981, a Fired Lesbians Caucus was formed at the National Women's Studies Association (Cruikshank, 1982, xviii). And of course the lesbian must be "out" and known to be a lesbian by her students. If a lesbian professor is teaching lesbian studies and is in the closet, this may negatively affect her teaching. She may lean over backwards to avoid being labelled a lesbian, choosing material to teach that does not traumatize her. Her closeted status cheats her lesbian students (Beck, 1982, 85).

All courses in the humanities and social sciences should address lesbian issues to some extent, not in special sessions but integrated into the course material (Beck, 1982, 85-86); in this way students are less likely to dismiss the topic. But lesbianism is such a frightening concept to many people that it needs an introductory course of its own, taught by an academic lesbian, the only possible expert in the field. Nancy Adamson (1983) gives an example of how such an introductory course can be organized. She begins by having the class present their stereotypes about lesbians. Then she comments that one in ten women is a lesbian. After the members of the class have giggled nervously and looked at each other to try to guess who might be a lesbian among them, she states that she herself is a lesbian. This statement allows an open discussion about lesbianism to take place. Sometimes a student feels confident enough to announce that she, too, is a lesbian, which enhances the discussion even further.

Adamson concludes the class with a look at heterosexism, something new to many students. She explains how lesbians are oppressed and made invisible by the assumption that all families are

based on heterosexual pairs and how every facet of society acts on this wrong assumption. She notes that asking a potential friend if she is married, or has children, or a boyfriend, can alienate and frighten her if she happens to be a lesbian. Far better to ask if she is in a relationship with someone. Jeri Wine (1983, 10) notes "I strongly sense that when we as lesbian academics agree that our lesbianism should not be publicly revealed we are agreeing that it is, indeed, unspeakable and evil."

Carolyn Gammon (1990) became an activist for lesbian studies when she attended Concordia University in 1987. Sitting in on a few women's studies classes there, she was dismayed at their commitment only to heterosexual material. She and lesbian friends formed the Lesbian Studies Coalition of Concordia, which distributed a questionnaire through the student newspaper asking about the need for lesbian studies. They prefaced it with an explanatory article about lesbianism "because censorship of lesbian education material has been so complete, that without some explanation it would be like asking a white person who had never seen a person of colour to comment on racism" (p. 218). Most of the respondents were very positive about the idea, especially since 95 per cent of them believed that professors were unwilling to deal with lesbian subject matter. Only a few respondents wrote negative comments such as "I am not in the least bit willing to be subjected to this junky attitude" (female student) and "All of this has nothing to do with university curriculum -- except perhaps health education" (male professor).

### **Model Program**

Education in the public mind is seen as a good thing. If you want a good job, or perhaps any job at all, you'll have a better chance if you have a university education. People who haven't been to university often make light of their apparent deficiency, quipping that they *have* been to the University of Hard Knocks or the University of the Streets.

But university for some groups has always been problematic, although they may not be aware of this. The best women students, unlike the best men, for example, graduate with less self-esteem than they had upon entering university four years earlier (Widnall, 1988). Women in the humanities and social sciences have learned explicitly that women and their works are inferior to men and what men have done. In short, universities are as sexist as society at large, reflecting misogyny and lack of political power for women (Dagg and Thompson, 1988).

Undoubtedly minority groups also learn at university, implicitly if not explicitly, that they too are inferior to white men. Because this negative effect has not been well documented, the model described here will be for feminists about whom a great deal of research has already been published. This model program will work equally well for any minority group, its thesis being that all information on a given subject must be read and weighed by each student so that he or she can reach as unbiased a set of knowledge as possible. There is no substitute for the legal mode in which all sides of a question must be seriously addressed before a final decision on what is truth is made.

Although sexism has been documented in universities across Canada since the early 1970s, there has been inadequate effort to overcome it. Undergraduate women now outnumber undergraduate men, but women professors in Canada are still uncommon (now about 20 per cent of professors, only one per cent more than in 1931); course content continues to be male-biased and hierarchical, with mainly white male professors deciding what is right and what is wrong; classrooms are usually male-biased as well; sexual harassment is rampant; and sports facilities continue to cater much more to men than women. Despite these extensive drawbacks for women, they must pay the same university tuition as men.

Many of the students I work with complain about their courses: some have been so upset by sexist curricula and teaching that they have lodged an official complaint or have dropped a course entirely. Or they refuse to take courses, because they already know they will not learn what they want to know from them. Examples of their complaints are given in the Introduction entry.

If there were more women professors, there would be less sexism

in classes, but the future looks bleak for this change. Since recent laws designed to create employment equity have been passed, universities have professed an interest in hiring more women professors, but little has happened. With continuing cutbacks in funding, universities have little money to spend on new incentives to benefit women, even if these were given priority. Although universities state they want to hire more women professors, the reality is that they continue to hire a number of men as well as a few women or are unable, because of financial restrictions, to hire anyone, with positions left vacant when a professor retires. Fortunately, significant gains are being made for women in administrative positions as presidents, deans and chairs, which may benefit women students in the long run.

Feminist students who go to university are much more likely than other women to perceive the sexism that exists there, partly because they are more sensitive to it, and partly because if they are known as feminists, the backlash will be focussed against them, especially if they speak out against the status quo. One might be inclined to suggest that feminists not go to university at all, but rather study by themselves so as not to have to face the negativity and skewness of biased curricula and teaching. This is what some radical lesbians have felt forced to do, knowing that professors always bring their biases with them to the classroom.

Ideally, a student should be able to bypass professors' agendas and prejudices to approach material with fresh eyes, as Virginia Woolf did. "She had the desire and ability to build for herself an education, in many ways superior to a more orthodox, institutional one -- as she was to maintain with justifiable pride" (Dunn, 1990, 134). This is a difficult job, however, as anyone who has tried it knows. In addition, no matter how hard a woman studies by herself, she has no diploma or degree to document her industry and enable her, if she wishes, to find a good job with decent pay.

Another possibility for a feminist student is to attend a Model Program, here described specifically as a Feminist Studies program. It would be set up to allow women to study material that is female-positive or at least female neutral. If a scholar wants to study female-negative material, she can do so in an environment where bias is also discussed, so that she need not feel too oppressed by it. A Feminist Studies program would also provide a setting that is encouraging to students who are feminists, defining their needs as important.

A model for such a program already exists and works well -- the small Independent Studies program (about 40 students) at the University of Waterloo where I have taught for the past 13 years; it is not at present ideal for feminists, but it could be made so

with few modifications. It attracts largely mature students who transfer from other programs and universities or who have been in the paid workforce or employed as homemakers.

The Independent Studies (I.S.) program, unique in Canada, was set up in 1969, reputedly to attract and marginalize anti-Vietnam War draft dodgers who were then a disruptive presence on campus. At first, the program was entirely run by students, but over the years their power has been cut back until they no longer have any part in the administration. Students do still have complete control over their own studies, however; they can take courses from anywhere on campus, or choose instead to make up their own units of study, working one-on-one with a professor or other expert of their choice in an area that interests them. In such units, each comparable to a course, they produce a major essay, or scientific report, or annotated bibliography as evidence of work done. In the final year of this three-year program, each student writes a thesis supervised by two professors on campus chosen by the student. The Bachelor of Independent Studies (B.I.S.) is awarded on successful completion of this thesis. The letters describing this work and signed by the supervising professors form, along with the transcript of any courses take, part of the transcript package. The rest of the package comprises a letter describing the program and a description of the academic history of the student.

The B.I.S. is an unusual degree, now held by 265 graduates, that has been well accepted by many employers and by many graduate and professional programs (dentistry, education, law, medicine) across Canada and United States. Graduate departments are especially impressed to find that an undergraduate has been able to complete a thesis which is sometimes judged to be at a fourth year or master's level.

The I.S. program should serve as an excellent model for a Feminist Studies program with few changes. At present, both men and women make up the I.S. body, and some of them, males and females, are antagonistic to the feminists in the program for the simple reason that they are feminists, and do such things as post notices of feminist meetings and conferences. The men sometimes tear down these posters and deface them, which upsets the feminists and drives some away from the lounge area where they should be able to relax and discuss ideas of interest with other students. This antagonism undermines the studies of these women. A Feminist Studies program should, therefore, be open only to feminists, and perhaps only to women feminists, so that they can develop an atmosphere supportive to women which is otherwise virtually unknown on campus.

Women should have the opportunity to learn from a feminist tradition in which there is an effort to eliminate both male and

female bias. Virginia Woolf believed that women should control their own education, just as men control that now dispensed at universities (Thibault, 1987, 156). Adrienne Rich (1979) fleshed out this idea more recently in her article "Toward a Women-Centered University." Although this idea has been accepted in Norway and in United States (Stephen, 1992) it remains unacceptable in Canada; when Sheelagh Conway and I presented a brief about the need for feminist universities in 1990 to the Commission on Freestanding Secular Degree-Granting Institutions in Ontario, organized by the Ontario Council of University Affairs, it was completely ignored.

In this Feminist Studies program, the students will be able to take any courses on campus they wish, or reading courses with selected professors or experts. If courses are offered by Feminist Studies, as several are now offered in I.S. on how to carry out independent research, they will be taught from a feminist perspective; theory of feminist pedagogy is now well-established (as Briskin, 1990; Davis et al, 1989). If a course they choose proves to be sexist, they can replace it with a Feminist Studies unit and not lose their term credit as they otherwise would. For their thesis supervisors they can choose two feminist professors who will respect their feminist perspective.

A similar Feminist Studies program could also be established for graduate work. At present, many women want to do graduate work in women's studies, but the chance of this is slight, with only two or three universities offering this possibility. York University, which established its program in 1992, had over one hundred applications for admittance, but has accepted only ten master's and six doctoral candidates (York comm., Oct 7, 1992). Simon Fraser University accepts five to seven students a year from a large number of applications (SFU comm., Oct 14, 1992).. Needless to say, the lack of women's studies scholars with graduate degrees badly undermines the discipline.

### **Feminist Studies - A Model**

This is a summary of how a Feminist Studies program, based closely on the current successful I.S. program of the University of Waterloo, would function.

1. To seek admission, a student would send in a transcript (if available) of previous university marks, an autobiographical letter explaining what she wants to study and why I.S. would be a good place to study it, and two letters of reference commenting especially on her ability to work independently.
2. The student attends an interview with two or three faculty members where her academic interests are discussed. To be admitted to the program, the committee must be satisfied that the student:
  - a) has the ability to do university work (by her transcripts,

or adequate secondary school marks, or other work if she has been away from school or university for some years),

b) will be able to find human and other resources she needs for her academic work on campus and in the community, and

c) has the motivation and ability to work on her own.

3. Once she is admitted to the program, the student must complete at least four terms of work (and no more than six) before she is allowed to enter Degree Phase. Each term she works closely with an Academic Advisor, who is usually a professor seconded for one day a week from her regular department. Together, the student and advisor prepare a Term Plan which outlines the student's long-term goal while in the program, her goal for the term, and what five units of work (or two units if she is enrolled part-time) she plans to complete. Her studies are covered financially by programs such as OSAP (Ontario Student Assistance Program) if she is full-time, just as they are in other programs. Each unit corresponds to either one course, or to a body of work which will require about 100 hours of effort. If she plans to do a reading course with a professor, she should determine with that person in writing exactly what she will do - for example, read ten books whose titles are given and write two short essays on themes from their texts. At the end of the term, that professor will send in if appropriate a letter to the program confirming that the work was satisfactorily done.

4. The student receives credit for her term's work if her professors are satisfied with her units and if she passes her courses. At the end of each term in Pre-degree Phase, she must submit a Term Performance Report in which she describes her studies and appends an annotated bibliography of books she has read during the term. If she fails to complete her work satisfactorily, she will not be allowed to continue, or may be allowed to continue on Conditional Status that her work improve.

5. Before entering Degree Phase, the student must prepare a Thesis Proposal which describes the thesis work she plans to do during her final two terms, as well as her own academic history and a relevant bibliography. She must find two professors willing to supervise this work, whose signatures are appended to the proposal when they both find it satisfactory.

6. The Thesis Proposal is then circulated to the members of the Academic Board of the program, consisting of representative professors from all the faculties on campus. These professors meet with the candidate to ensure that the work proposed is at a suitable standard for completing the three-year degree.

7. The student completes her thesis in two terms if possible, meeting often or occasionally with her supervisors. Copies of the thesis are then presented to the supervisors and the program which

binds them and keeps them for posterity. The student graduates from the university after the supervisors have written to the program stating that the thesis has been satisfactorily completed. A number of theses on feminist subjects have already been proposed over the years and most completed. These include:

- \* Differential Impact of Workplace Health Problems on Women,
- \* A History of Midwifery in Ontario: an Analysis of the Continuing Debate, 1795-present,
- \* What Stops Wife Abuse
- \* Hestia Community: a Conceptual Framework for an Intentional, Ecological Midwifery Community,
- \* An Ethnography of the Lesbian Community
- \* The Role of Women in the Foodways of the Swiss-German Mennonites in the Region of Waterloo,
- \* Child Witnesses: the Hidden Victims of Wife Assault,
- \* Women in Ancient Mesopotamian Law,
- \* Interdisciplinary Approach to Enhanced Sexual Responsibility and Knowledge through Fertility Awareness,
- \* Racism and the Women's Movement,
- \* Women Healing from Childhood Sexual Abuse,
- \* Sexual Harassment Policy and Programs at the University of Waterloo.

#### Starting up a Feminist Studies Program

A Feminist Studies program such as that outlined above could be put in place with a minimum of expense, both at the undergraduate and graduate level, given that there is a core of feminist scholars on campus dedicated to making the program work. These must be women for several reasons: so they can act as the female role models and mentors so lacking on the rest of campus; so that women students who have suffered from male violence will not be driven from the lounge area because of a male presence there; so that women professors and students can have respite from the aggressiveness of male students at least when they are in the Feminist Studies area (as Brooks, 1982). These women should be chosen as far as possible to represent more than one race, class, type of disability, age, and other minority groups.

In particular, the Feminist Studies program should have the following:

- a) a part-time feminist academic director who will oversee the program's functioning and have a regular appointment elsewhere on campus to give her credibility. Part of her time will be spent in administration, and part in advising students in Pre-degree Phase.
- b) a feminist and extroverted secretary who will look after all the paper work on a part-time or full-time basis, depending on enrollment. She must be friendly enough to know well everyone and

her fields of interest, and give the students a sense of community which can often be lacking when many will be working on their own.

c) feminist academics from regular departments who will give one day a week to be in the women's studies area and advise a roster of students in Pre-degree Phase. Each advisor will see her students for an hour every two weeks, so she can be responsible for perhaps eight of them, to allow her time also for paperwork, reading essays, meeting with new students, and group discussions.

d) feminists in departments throughout the campus who are willing to supervise theses pertinent to their academic interests. This involves at most a meeting with a degree-phase student every few weeks to discuss her progress.

e) a campus area with several offices and a lounge where the Feminist Studies students can socialize or have seminars. Such a safe place is vital to feminists, and could in time attract other women to the program.

This model program would work equally well for other minority groups of students -- Blacks, gay men, lesbians, Natives etc. But is it a temporary or a permanent solution for these people? An answer would be premature at this early stage of educational experimentation. The long-run goal is surely to have students of all sorts who understand each other, who treat each other as equals, and who educate each other. The goal is not to build permanent walls around separate intellectual worlds, but to educate people who are aware both of the 'otherness' of others and of what all people hold in common. For the moment, all that is required is agreement on the current need for separate educational streams for groups of students who feel they are currently being short-changed by university. We can keep our options open for the future.

### **Native Studies**

First Nations members come to education with a different perspective than non-Natives. Patricia Monture (1990) states that natives must know who they are (nation, clan, language, song, and spiritual name) and where they have been before they can begin to be aware of where they are headed: "In this way history is not of the past, history is walking in strength and pride with your ancestors today" (p. 184).

Native participation in university has been low. The isolation of reserves, discrimination against Natives in the work force even if they are well educated, prejudicial streaming in schools, and other educational policies have deprived (and continue to deprive) many Natives of a complete secondary school education and therefore possible entrance to university. In 1969 there were only 19 or 20 Native students graduating each year from high school in the whole of Canada out of a Native population of hundreds of thousands (Bimisay, 1990). In that year Native studies were inaugurated at Trent University to address an obvious need, because nowhere else in Canada was there a place where students could learn about aboriginal peoples from their perspective. There are still few Native graduates, however: only 3.5 per cent of Natives compared to 9.6 per cent of non-Natives have a university degree (Secretary of State, 1990). Various universities have set up recent schemes to attract Natives and increase their access to higher education, but equal effort at least must be spent instituting a curriculum relevant to their needs so that they don't later drop out.

If course contents were sensitive to Native issues, they would state in history that North American Natives were not somehow inferior, but people living in often complex societies able to survive in an incredibly harsh environment. Capitalism would be described for what it is -- a system that exploits most people (especially women and non-white men) and puts monetary interest before the health of the environment. An agenda for the environment would also be different. When an Ojibway woman spoke at a Women's Peace Conference several years ago, she said that nuclear war was not the immediate concern of her community (McKenna, 1991, 113). More immediate and basic problems were the poisoning by mercury of river systems, the flooding by Ontario Hydro of traditional rice fields and burial grounds, and radiation damage from uranium mine tailings. Faced with little interest in her observations at the conference, she felt silenced in a climate of racism. Some Native women are upset when white feminists support free choice on the abortion issue; many consider abortion a type of genocide rather than a matter of individual freedom. Being a Native woman means being the potential victim of racism or of sexism or of a complex mixture of both.

Today, Native students are present in small numbers in professional and general university programs and in relatively large numbers in the few small Native studies programs. Many courses are problematic because they are taught by professors often insensitive to Native issues. For example, one York sociology professor stated that the written word is a more advanced form of expression than oral statements, thus implying that pre-literate Native cultures are inferior to Eurocentric cultures. Yet the oral tradition and storytelling are vital cultural vehicles for expression. Many Native students feel marginalized at universities. Some regret the rigidity of the classroom -- there seems no place for new ideas or even for differences in hair style or dress. Some are disappointed with courses dealing with Natives: often they know more about the subject than the teacher, who may be a non-Native; usually, the class is predominantly non-Native as well.

The professional programs are mandatory for Natives who want to become professional -- lawyers, engineers, physicians, dentists, teachers, but these programs also may be insensitive to Native students. Now that more Natives are studying law, Monture (p. 199) urges that more courses and seminars on Aboriginal rights and issues be instituted. Natives need a legal education to address aboriginal issues concerned with the constitution and land rights, but they find the course contents biased and oppressive. One example is the basic tension imbedded in the different attitudes of some Native peoples (who do not consider themselves Canadian) and Canadians towards legal issues (p. 188). Canadians' world view suggests that laws are devised to resolved the natural and universal conflict in society between individual rights and group rights. To First Peoples, however, such an ideology is ridiculous. "Harmony is the center of our relations with the universe and all other beings, be they human, animal or plant." Monture was astonished that this immense dichotomy was ignored in her courses, as if it did not exist. Only the non-Native perception was acknowledged. The implication was that Natives should reject their own history, language and culture for European values and ideals, the solution that has always appealed to white Canadians. She regrets all that marginalized students are deprived of in their law education.

Oscar Latham, chief of The Pas band in Manitoba, emphasizes that if government money for Native education is to be wisely used, education must be combined with culture, not culture with education. Every effort must be made to counteract the devastating effect on three generations of Natives by Residential Schools mandated by whites. He writes "The trick is to maintain your roots while getting an education. You can get your Masters in science or get a Ph.D. or become an electrical engineer and still be an Indian. That's the

kind of programming that we need but was never delivered by Ottawa" (Commeau and Santin, 1990, 109).

Native studies programs have proved invaluable for Native students. Until recently, virtually all knowledge used in universities about aboriginal people was produced and dispensed by white academics. The focus of Native studies programs from 1970 on has been to critique such knowledge from a Native perspective, and to have Natives initiate and carry out their own research on the theory that non-Native academics and writers should not become involved in Native culture which they can easily misinterpret (Keeshig-Tobias, 1991). The University of Lethbridge, for example, now advertises that "The Native Studies Department was developed by Native leaders and is taught from a Native perspective" (Student Handbook, 1991).

At Trent University, in the oldest Canadian Native Studies program, Native professors have been hired over the years and now outnumber whites (see Bimisay, 1990). The chairs have been Native academics while non-academic Natives give special lectures and courses in Native languages. The program content includes research involving the Native community as well as indigenous people all over the world: "the creation of knowledge is a political act and therefore it has to be accountable to the people who are being talked about" (Brant-Castellano, p. 8).

Native courses discuss both Native and mainstream perspectives so that graduates will be able to function within the corporate structure of Canada but with "values like caring and respect, those sorts of things" (Newhouse, p. 16). Ian Chapman (p. 10) writes "Native organizations here in Canada, or aboriginal organizations all over the world, are likely not to need or want to run their organizations in the same way that the larger society around them does. We would not start with 'this is how we do it, and it's how you should do it,' but rather 'let us find out how you do it and therefore let us incorporate that into a curriculum for management education.'"

Native studies at Trent University take a practical approach to teaching. Case studies such as land claims are often used as a teaching aid rather than more theoretical approaches (p. 13). The learning style is comfortable rather than hierarchical. One teacher notes "At other schools the seminar leader is very much in control and directs the whole seminar.... I think I lead it to a certain degree, but it is sort of an open forum where all the students participate. A lot of exchange that goes on, not only between myself and the Native students, but between the Native and non-Native students, is really enlightening and interesting."

At a 1993 conference on aboriginal postsecondary education (Weston, 1993), those attending made the following recommendations:

- \* that First Nation postsecondary institutions be established and recognized within the education system;
- \* that aboriginal leaders be more involved in education and help educators focus on the needs of Native students;
- \* that aboriginal people have a 'shared' vision of research goals (NOTE) and maintain control and ownership of that research; and
- \* that training by Elders be recognized as an alternate or equivalent to existing professional development training.

However, everyone may not share these ideals, because members of the First Nations are very diverse.

Joseph Couture (1978) argues that the education of Native peoples should involve right brain (metaphor and symbolic perception) as well as left brain (intellectual analyses, linear thinking and language) approaches. In this way each person will be most likely to fulfil his or her potential. Virtually all Native tribes make decisions by consensus rather than by majority vote; everyone present must express his or her thoughts and feelings about an issue before a decision is made. This process emphasizes the importance of the individual as a responsible, creative, and thinking individual.

#### **End Note**

1. It is impossible even to assume a "shared vision" when hundreds of thousands of people from many tribes spread across Canada are involved.

### **Power and Hierarchy**

To some people, universities seem like open institutions. Granted, the professor has almost complete power over what to teach in his or her course and what grade to assign each student, but the course content may be reactionary, or even shocking. Professors may inveigh against democracy, or make fun of established religions, or mock what they refer to as various manifestations of "political correctness." A tenured professor of English at St. Michael's College in the University of Toronto may trumpet against an antiChrist regime, blaming in turn Masons, Jews, Mormons and the Vatican for the present world ills, as Robert O'Driscoll has done in the new book *The New World Order and the Throne of the AntiChrist* (Fulford, 1993). The critical word for O'Driscoll and other radical professors is "tenured". If a professor has tenure it is almost impossible for him or her to be fired. The university administration has to prove gross neglect of responsibilities of a professor, or "moral turpitude", which is virtually never invoked not least because it is impossible to define.

Despite the aura of intellectual ferment that a few professors may generate, every university is rigidly hierarchical. The academics who do much of the lecturing are sessionals, hired as needed to teach courses on a term-by-term basis, depending on student enrolment. They are hired usually as demonstrators, instructors, or lecturers. If they want to be rehired in the future, they must avoid confrontation.

Ranked above these non-professors in the hierarchy are the Assistant Professors. They virtually always have PhDs and are usually newly-hired and without tenure. After they have been at the university for about five years, a committee of senior professors (and therefore with tenure) decide whether or not they should be awarded this coveted designation. With tenure, they will have a job for the rest of their lives as long as they fulfil the minimum commitment of delivering some sort of lectures for the courses assigned them. Without it, they will lose their job and have little hope of finding another in academia since they are no longer young and have been seen as deficient. Again, as with sessionals, those scholars who have not offended their superiors while at the university will be much more likely to win tenure than those who have rocked the boat. Until recently, women were less likely to be awarded tenure than men, since tenure committees are dominated by men who are more comfortable with people who reflect their own interests. Today, with employment equity shifting the balance of fairness more toward women, tenure decisions are more likely to be unbiased, even if they raise controversy among the faculty who dislike being told by the government what sort of person they should

hire. **In no case in the present restricted hiring climate is there danger of an unqualified scholar being hired.**

Above Assistant Professors in the pyramid of power are Associate Professors. These usually have tenure and include young professors on their way up, and older professors who do not do much or any research and therefore have no hope of being promoted to the category of Full Professor. Full Professors, if they have been promoted recently, have met their institution's requirements for research. They have incredible power. They can make or break a fellow scholar's career if they wish to do so. Their assessment can determine who is hired and wins tenures as we have seen; who receives scholarships, awards and grants to do research; who is chosen to speak at conferences; who is asked to write books; and who has their papers published in professional journals.

The influence of top professors in refereeing papers submitted to academic journals is critical because such publication defines a scholar's reputation. The worth of these published articles is determined by how often they are referred to in the papers of other academics. For every article that is published in thousands of top journals, an enterprising group called the Institute for Scientific Information annually releases a Citation Index that lists the authors and citations of the works cited in the article's bibliography. The three indices are the Science Citation Index which includes citations from the articles published in journals, the Social Science Citation Index covering journals, and the Arts and Humanities Citation Index covering journals. The rationale is that each work cited was important enough to affect the argument of the article and therefore was influential to a small or large degree. The author whose work is cited by many other academics is assumed to be more influential than he or she whose work is rarely or never cited, (and that includes many researchers -- in one survey, 55 per cent of papers received no citations at all in the five years after they were published (Hamilton, 1990)).

Citation totals for a scholar are only a rough indication of his or her success in research (only first and not other authors are listed for each article; some types of journals are not included by the Citation Index service; some authors cite their own work more than strictly necessary; and the citation number varies with disciplines, for example), but they are vital because of their supposed objectivity. Scholars with high citation ratings may still not be hired if a hiring committee chooses to discriminate against them or if their teaching is poor, but at least if the candidate is a good teacher he or she can retain their self respect concerning their research and realize that it is the committee rather than themselves that is the problem.

The pyramid of hierarchy does not stop at Full Professors. It extends up in progression to Chairs, Associate Deans, Vice-Presidents, and Presidents. Each category is likely to be filled by academics from the rung or two below, so that there is no chance of a troublemaker reaching a position of high authority. Such a person would have been weeded out much earlier.

Hierarchy is efficient in many ways, but it can also lead to gross abuse of power. For example, Prof. Cyril Burt, chair of psychology at University College in London, falsified data on the inheritance of intelligence involving the study of twins. He was able to use this misinformation to influence profoundly the education of millions of British school children (Hearnshaw, 1979). Prof. Ewen Cameron, while chair of psychiatry at McGill University, used patients as unwitting guinea pigs to carry out brainwashing experiments funded by the American and Canadian governments from which some victims never recovered (Collins, 1988). Prof. James Tyhurst, former head of psychiatry at the University of British Columbia, is being retried legally for having sexually exploited at least four mentally-ill women by chaining, whipping and enslaving them (Hyde, 1991). If these men did not carry with them the aura of power which comes with being a top professor, they might not have caused the immense harm they did.

Hierarchy in universities is what allows harassment based on sex or race to occur. Patricia O'Hagan, Harassment Policy Co-ordinator at Simon Fraser University, argues that professors who use grade results to intimidate women students or, conversely, male students who show disrespect for women professors, are both involved in power games (Lewington, 1993). "If women had equal power in universities, sexual harassment either would not happen or would happen equally to men and women" (Osborne, 1992, 75). As long as incidents of sexism or racism are considered personal rather than systemic problems, harassment will continue.

Hierarchy in the classroom can be reduced by insisting that teachers listen to what students have to say, just as students must listen to teachers. A teacher and students might consider together the fairest way for marks to be assigned. The teacher should set a climate in which all questions and comments are treated with respect. The universities could decide to have the faculty, staff and students call each other by their first names, and share eating areas, lounges, and washrooms.

The university hierarchy can also be muted. Administrators could be elected rather than appointed. The ranking system of professors could be dropped, along with the endless hours of faculty time spent in deciding the worth of younger colleagues and the anguish suffered by these colleagues. The sessional teachers could be

treated more humanely and allowed such courtesy as a mail box, notice of seminars and meetings, and attendance at department gatherings (see "Professors" entry).

## "Professors"

The title of this entry is in quotation marks because, contrary to what many students think, the teachers of many if not most university courses and seminars are really not professors at all, but part-time academics called a variety of names such as sessionals, part-time faculty, definite-term or contract teachers, research professors, or adjunct professors. NOTE 1. They comprise three categories: graduate students who have not yet completed their PhDs, scholars who have their doctorates but have been unable to find permanent jobs, and professionals who have careers as doctors, lawyers, or accountants, for example, but who lecture as a sideline. The status of this third group is not defined by their university position; if it disappears or pays poorly, it is not too serious. For the other two groups of part-time teachers, however, their university job is vital. The number of sessionals employed at any one time varies, but at Wilfrid Laurier University they taught 30 per cent of all courses in 1991-92 (Asselin, 1993). At York University, more than half of all courses are taught by part-time faculty (Asselin, 1993). In Ontario, part-timers comprise about 31 per cent of the faculty (Rajagopal and Farr, 1991). In Quebec, there are almost as many part-time (7800) as regular faculty members (8000) teaching at universities (Smith, 1991, 55). The duties of these lecturers are identical with those of any regular faculty professor teaching a course -- deciding on the course content, delivering it to students enrolled in the course, and grading the students' efforts so that they can hand in marks to the registrar. However, the number of academics who want to teach so exceeds the need that they can be exploited at will. Many trek around the country each year to undertake temporary teaching appointments at various universities for salaries as low as \$23,000 (Messenger, 1993). They are often assigned "new, large, and general-interest courses requiring above-average workloads. And yet at the end of the day, or the academic year, we have no assurance that our work has won us any security, promotion, benefits, or better salary" (Asselin et al, 1993). At Wilfrid Laurier University, part-time faculty are paid little more than \$8,000 for a two-term course, while at York University they are paid 20 per cent more -- about \$10,600 for the same load (Asselin et al, 1993). The salary of a regular faculty member in Ontario who teaches a full-time load of three year-long courses could be used to pay for sessionals to teach nine to ten year-long courses, over three times as many (Rajagopal and Farr, 1991). No wonder the use of part-time teachers is increasing with current funding cutbacks.

Sessional jobs are unstable as well as poorly paid. They fluctuate with student enrollment and with the need to teach the

courses of real professors when they are on sabbatical or when they feel they have better things to do, such as working on a project, writing a book, or doing research. These professors use money they receive from their non-teaching pursuits to "buy out" their teaching time -- one associate professor was delighted when I talked to her because she didn't have to interact with students for three whole years; the first was her sabbatical and the next two were bought out with government money from a research grant so that a sessional could do her teaching for her. Universities are happy with this process of buying out because it saves them a great deal of money.

Many sessionals spend their non-teaching time doing research in the hope of eventually getting a regular appointment, but this seldom happens, even if the sessional publishes more research than the professors (as Dagg, 1992). Undoubtedly the university sees no point in paying sessionals more money for doing the same work.

There may be little more money in future to pay sessionals a decent wage, but their work environment could easily be made more humane, as ten sessional lecturers at Wilfrid Laurier University recommend (Asselin et al, 1991):

1. Give sessionals some job security by extending contracts over two or three years.
2. Create a salary scale, so that experienced teachers and those with strong student evaluations receive more money than a first-time teachers.
3. Organize an orientation session for part-timers dealing with their rights and responsibilities and ensure that department faculty offer them a friendly reception.
4. Guarantee resources such as adequate office space and access to research funds, support staff and computing facilities.
5. Consult with part-time faculty in decisions that affect teaching climate and remuneration issues.

Regardless of the status, or lack of it, of teaching "professors", they have the considerable authority of deciding what will be taught in each course, and what the students will have to learn. As Linda Carty (1991, 23) puts it, "The role of the professor in the classroom is that of arbiter of knowledge." (See Curriculum and Course Content entries).

### **End Note**

1. The variety of names reflects the decentralization of hiring of sessionals at Canadian universities. Because of this, few data have been collected on their lack of status. Only those few part-time teachers who have unionized have been able to negotiate appropriate wages and conditions of employment. At York University, these include drug, dental and vision-care plans, pension and disability

subsidies, maternity and caregiver leave, and professional development, research and conference costs (Asselin et al, 1991). Most universities refuse these benefits to their non-regular faculty.

All teachers bring their biases with them to the classroom. Ideally, students should be able to bypass professors' agendas and prejudices to approach material with fresh eyes. Unfortunately, the large number of students makes such an education impossible for most people, so students instead must sit in crowded classrooms and accept the knowledge professors give them. This knowledge is not necessarily of value. Agnes Smedley (1973, 262), an expert on China, wrote "Professors could silence me then; they had figures, diagrams, maps, books. Protest was my only reply. I was learning that books and diagrams can be evil things if they deaden the mind of man [sic] and make him blind or cynical before subjection of any kind."

There are millions of books and articles which could be studied in university courses, but only a few thousand of these are chosen to be so honoured. These few are largely common to universities across Canada and in the Eurocentric world. They view the world from a white, male, heterosexual, middle-class perspective. They are chosen, needless to say, by the professors who answer to these same descriptors and who predominantly comprise the administration -- in 1988, men make up about 95 per cent of the deans and full professors in Canadian universities (Statistics Canada, 1988).

With agonizing slowness and under pressure, some universities have acquired types of academics as professor often previously-overlooked -- women, Blacks, acknowledged gay men and lesbians, people of colour. Universities seem finally to have accepted that women students do better with women teachers and minority students with minority teachers; indeed, the presence of teachers from marginalized groups determines the length of time students of these groups continue their studies (Williamson, 1990, 46). On close inspection, however, many of these new professors are what could be called female non-feminists and/or "oreos": people who are obviously not white males since they are women and/or Blacks, but who have been so indoctrinated in their earlier academic careers that they see things from a Eurocentric male perspective.

Anti-feminist women are present in many universities, ready to side with men in denouncing women's studies as we have seen, or speaking out strongly against hiring women because hiring must only be by "merit" (Dagg, 1993). They refuse to consider that merit is always a biased standard. Hiring committees may decide that a person with merit is one who teaches in a male-approved style (even though women students may not respond well to this) and does research that men are interested in. A feminist who teaches in a non-hierarchical

way and studies childbirth in history, no matter how renowned she is among women, is unlikely to seem meritorious to many men.

Some Black academics similarly offer little alternative perspective to the white curriculum for their students. bell hooks writes (1989, 80):

One of the most tragic manifestations of the pressure black people feel to assimilate is expressed in the internalization of racist perspectives. I was shocked and saddened when I first heard black professors at Stanford downgrade and express contempt for black students, expecting us to do poorly, refusing to establish nurturing bonds. At every university I have attended as a student or worked at as a teacher, I have heard similar attitudes expressed with little or no understanding of factors that might prevent brilliant black students from performing to their full capability. Within universities, there are few educational and social spaces where students who wish to affirm positive ties to ethnicity -- to blackness, to working-class backgrounds -- can receive affirmation and support.

To ensure that the majority of students (those who aren't white males and therefore differ from most of their professors) is able to benefit as much as possible from university, compulsory workshops should be set up to expose professors to the problems women and minority groups face on campus. These can be led by members of such groups and include examples of what some students find offensive and demoralizing. NOTE 1. Professors will balk at such a perceived infringement on their time -- in one American report, for example, almost 50 per cent of faculty members believed that sensitivity training for homophobia would not be helpful in their department or office despite its prevalence (Martindale, 1992). But there is a precedent for such a mandatory session. In 1989, the federal government ruled that every person working in a scientific laboratory should attend a one-hour session devoted to the Workplace Hazardous Materials Information System (WHMIS). Most professors and students have complied with this requirement with little fuss. The result has been fewer injuries to lab workers. Information which will greatly benefit the atmosphere and course content of university classrooms should surely have an equally high priority.

End Notes

1. Examples of what gay men and lesbians find offensive are given by Crath and Regier, 1991).

### **Professor Hirings**

The people who are hired as regular professors are those who will determine the direction of a university in the years ahead. If primarily white men are hired as they have been in the past, then little will change. If, however, significant numbers of feminists and minority groups are hired, there is a likelihood that universities will change and become more relevant to society.

There is virtually no information about the hiring of members of marginalized groups as professors. This section, therefore, will discuss the hiring of women which has until recently been an uncommon event, even though many women are qualified to be professors -- at present about 20 per cent of professors at Canadian universities are women, but the hiring pool of newly-graduated PhDs contains 32 per cent women, and has always been far higher than the percentage of female professors (see table).

One would hope that women, especially feminists, would be welcome in academia, where their ideas and perspectives might be new and important. Unfortunately, studies continue to document sexual discrimination in hiring. Relatively more women than men are hired to part-time rather than full-time jobs, and to short-term contracts rather than tenure-track positions (Rajagopal and Farr, 1991).

The methods of discrimination can be subtle. For example, letters of recommendation for job candidates may suggest anti-female bias on the part of the writer: "the (female) candidate is compared only with other women; or statements made such as, 'she is the best female graduate student I have seen in the last five years.' We suggest that comparison of a Jewish candidate only with Jewish mathematicians, or a Black candidate only with Black mathematicians would immediately raise appropriate suspicions of ethnic or racial bias. The same applies for female candidates (Graham and Ramsey, 1992).

Canadian universities have been required by government to outline hiring plans which will lead to employment equity, but the implementation of these plans is voluntary. Universities do not have to hire any person, or any particular kind of person, that they do not wish to. When Ontario universities proposed such voluntary targets in 1990, over 200 faculty members from the University of Waterloo, the campus with which I am most familiar, petitioned the Ontario government expressing disagreement with the efforts to hire more women (letter and petition from philosopher J. Wubnig, Nov. 19, 1990). One philosopher claimed that for the past twenty years at Ontario universities *men* had been discriminated against in hirings (Narveson, 1991). This startling insight comes from a model stating that professors progress smoothly through the ranks, so that, for example, full professors were hired over a small three-year period

about twenty years ago, associate professors over a small period more recently, and assistant professors more recently yet. Using this model, postulated by philosopher A.D. Irvine (1991), one can theoretically compare the proportion of women with doctorates during the small period and the proportion of women in the appropriate rank many years later. The problem, of course, is that the model is wildly inaccurate. NOTE 1. Information could have been obtained for a similar study by using real data and finding out when specific male and female professors were hired, but this would have produced the apparently undesired conclusion, already well documented, that women have been discriminated against in hiring.

The article validating this model attracted angry responses from women on the University of Waterloo campus who refuted the author's claims and pointed out statistical errors. One English professor observed that because only two of the 22 professors in the UW philosophy department had Ph.D.s from Canadian universities, the model for this department would not fit for 91 per cent of its professoriate, even if its assumptions were true (Magnusson, 1991). A Computer Science professor showed that by giving a larger and more realistic Ph.D. pool from which professors had been hired in the past (11 years instead of 3), the model would indicate that even *non-existent* women were preferred over men (Lubiw, 1991). Their statistically-oriented responses were attacked by rhetoric from a number of male philosophers and other men who refused to accept these facts. One philosopher, F.F. Centore (1991), argues against paying too much heed to statistics, especially those preferred by "a coven of bloodthirsty witches who are out after [administrators and politicians`]....well let's say necks...." This correspondence served to chill even further an already chilly environment for women at this heavily male-dominated campus (Shaw, 1991; Dagg, 1991c). NOTE 2.

Some English professors at the University of Waterloo are also upset by affirmative action suggestions (not mandates) for their department. Prof. Keith Thomas (1991) argues passionately that his department only hires for merit, and despite the few women and minorities on faculty, has never discriminated against anyone. He goes on to inveigh against the government`s urging that Native people, visible minorities, and the disabled be considered for jobs. He makes fun of others who might want to be hired -- "groups from each of China, Japan, Korea, India, Pakistan, and Southeast Asia, not to mention Latin America." He implies that if all such peoples are given fair consideration, the university will be destroyed.

The English department at the University of Alberta has been involved in a similar incident. When in 1989 it hired five exceptional women, a reactionary and anonymous `Merit Only' group was organized

to protest this (Williamson, 1990, 40-41). The group "bombarded senior university administrators with misogynist and sexist denunciations" and lobbied the media against what it considered discrimination. Letters supporting the 'Merit Only' group flooded in to the faculty newsletter, one of which complained that "a wave of preferential hiring is now sweeping across the universities of Canada, pushed by ideologies and federal bureaucrats. It is doing harm and injustice to many people, including the graduates of our own departments." The letters came from professors whose departments together had only 14 per cent women faculty. NOTE 3.

The problem, needless to say, is that everyone wants to hire "the best," but who decides who that is? Is it a top teacher or a top researcher? How do you compare numbers of published books and published articles? Does an article have to be in a scholarly journal? What is a scholarly journal? "Is a French feminist reading of the novels of Jane Austen to be considered equal to a Formalist reading of the same novels? Is a Semiotic reading of Superman or Bugs Bunny as important as a Reader Response reading of Keats?" (Shield, 1991). All of these decisions are judgements which depend upon the person making them. And as we have seen from the table, when men are making the decisions, as they are in virtually all university disciplines, they tend to favour qualified men over qualified women. Susan Crean (1991) has a splendid suggestion for individuals who trumpet about merit: "ring every mention of the e-word [excellent] with a modifying phrase like 'in my opinion' -- and watch it deconstruct." She declares "Different cultural experiences and diverse intellectual and aesthetic orientations naturally breed different manifestations and -- just maybe -- different concepts of excellence."

Despite the minuscule number of women professors in engineering schools across Canada (2%), and the great need for them to act in general as role models and to encourage women students, few are being hired. The well-publicized case of Dr. Aleksandra Vinogradov indicates that the University of Calgary has taken extreme measures to *prevent* her obtaining a regular faculty appointment in the Civil Engineering Department, even though she has worked there since 1977, written a number of research papers, and received excellent reports for her teaching. The Canadian Association of University Teachers sponsored a Committee of Inquiry to investigate this matter which found, after extensive investigation (boycotted by many of the men involved), that Vinogradov had been treated unfairly in the appointment procedure and been denied "natural justice" (CAUT, 1991a). At this university the percentage of full-time female academic staff has decreased in many faculties since 1986. The University of Calgary Faculty Association Newsletter of June 1991 reports that the hiring procedure there is male-biased -- "The nature

of the interview process, the questions and format of the interviews, the decisions about how applicants are screened, and the criteria used to evaluate them, all tend to be androcentric, although under the guise of 'professional' or 'normal'" (CAUT, 1991a). As with Vinogradov, other women teachers have also found that the longer they teach at a university on short-term appointments, no matter how successfully, the less likely they are to win tenure-stream appointments there; these appointments may go instead to less qualified scholars (as Wilson, 1992).

Evidence concerning the hiring of feminists, rather than of women in general, is anecdotal. It indicates that sometimes universities will hire, or try to hire, a non-feminist or an anti-feminist, even if the feminist has better qualifications (Dagg, 1993). In the 1989 Backhouse et al report on the University of Western Ontario (pp. 7-8) (NOTE 4), one woman felt that department members interviewing her were trying to find out how feminist she was when they asked "How would you feel working in a department that is mostly male?" Another respondent said a male professor came up and boasted to her about his "male chauvinist pig" tie after she gave a feminist seminar. A third reported listening to colloquia by two women candidates for one position; one of these had good credentials, gave an excellent talk, and handled questions with great confidence. The second, although less competent, less confident and less calm, was much prettier and dressed in a more feminine manner. The second woman was hired. The respondent noted "I think that she was chosen because she was less threatening to the men in the department." It was easy for men to perceive that the second woman seemed less of a feminist.

Recently, several positions became vacant in the Department of Sociology at the University of Waterloo, where there were only two women professors. One department member noted that a woman was interviewed for one of the openings, but that she "devoted her seminar presentation to uncovering male bias in the conduct of Canadian demography. It was not because she was a woman that the job went instead to a man. It was because of the kind of woman she turned out to be" (Westhues, 1989). She apparently seemed too feminist.

Self-proclaimed lesbians are seldom welcome as professors. Of four lesbians with tenure interviewed by Jeri Dawn Wine (1990, 161), all were certain that they would not have received tenure had they been doing research that reflected a lesbian or even, in some cases, a feminist vision. Yet being a lesbian informs feminist work and allows one to see patriarchy more starkly for what it is. "A stigmatized outsider position is often an excellent vantage point for stimulating creative re-vision of existing knowledge" (p. 169). However, there is danger that, if her students see a professor as

too woman-centred, they may discount what she says -- "oh, she's anti-male" or "oh well, what do you expect from a dyke?" (p. 165).

One systemic feature of universities that has discriminated against the hiring of women as professors has been anti-nepotism (Dagg, 1993). Institutions have often favoured policies of anti-nepotism to show that their faculty was hired and promoted on merit rather than as favourites of those in power. In 1970, for example, a study of some American universities showed that 74 per cent had some written policy pertaining to restricted employment of more than one family member (Martin, 1975).

In Canada, the idea of anti-nepotism is pervasive. A survey of 304 professors at the University of Waterloo found that 30 per cent believed spouses of faculty members, virtually always wives, should not be hired into the same department (Dagg, 1993). This belief has been unfortunate for the significant number of academic women who met and married their husbands in graduate school and have since pursued the same discipline.

Another systematic feature affecting such faculty academic wives, who number at least 75 at the University of Waterloo past and present, can be that of "inbreeding", whereby graduates who obtain their Ph.D. in a university department are not eligible for a faculty position in that department, or not until they have spent several years elsewhere as postdoctoral fellows (Dagg, 1993). In the same survey of 304 professors, 44 per cent believed that such "inbreeding" of a department's own Ph.D.s should not take place. This belief works against faculty wives and other women who have taken advantage of their local university to obtain Ph.D.s, but then are unable for family reasons to go away for further research experience.

More women professors would be a wonderful addition to university faculties. Here we shall unfortunately have to consider largely the status of professors who are white women, as there is little information on the difficulty minority groups of men and women have in gaining positions in academia. At the University of Toronto, the largest university in Canada in its largest multicultural city (with 37 per cent of its population in 1986 belonging to marginalized groups), there are no Native professors and probably fewer than one per cent professors of colour (Carty, 1991b). The emphasis here will be on women who are feminists and lesbians because they, much more than non-feminist women, will seek to bring new knowledge and new perspectives on established knowledge to their students; it is they especially who will be resisted by the old-guard professors.

Women are important for universities because they are more likely than men to be interested and involved in teaching rather than research (Blackstone and Fulton, 1974, 136). Women are more likely to be found at universities with a greater emphasis on teaching (as

Tidball, 1976, 380) and, if feminists, often teach in a less hierarchical, more innovative way (hooks, 1989; Sherwin, 1988, 23). However, especially in disciplines which are traditionally male-dominated, women professors tend to be taken less seriously by male students (Christensen, 1978) and to receive more negative student evaluations (Martin, 1984; Koblitz, 1990). In one social work graduate school, they were significantly more likely than male professors to be interrupted by male students (Brooks, 1982). In short, professors who are men generally have greater freedom than women to express their ideas in the classroom. The less "palatable" the ideas are (feminist ideas, for example), the more antagonistic the traditional-thinking male students become, and the more the ensuing controversy will silence all but the boldest women.

Women professors are also vital in acting as mentors for women students, especially those doing graduate work. They frequently serve as supervisors for individual women as well as role models for all women students. Statistics show, for example, that women were much more successful at Columbia University than elsewhere in earning Ph.D.s in anthropology because of the position there of Ruth Benedict, who offered advice, sympathy, and a standard to live up to (Caffrey, 1989, 270). Data also indicate that scholars who have had a dissertation advisor of the same sex publish significantly more research after receiving their doctorate than do those whose advisors were of the other sex; women graduates who have had to work with male advisors for lack of female advisors will therefore tend to be at a disadvantage in their future research (Goldstein, 1979).

Discrimination against women academics, and in particular against feminists, has been well documented by statistics and anecdotes. In most disciplines, the percentage pool of women with Ph.D.s is far larger than the percentage of professors who are women (see Table below), contradicting many professors who continue to complain that they would hire women as professors but there are none available. Although male professors are almost all against hiring women to fill quotas, they may themselves visualize restrictive quotas for women. One University of Waterloo professor said of her department "there was a sense that when they hired me, they now had two women in the department, that they had filled their quota. You know if they were going to hire anybody else it wasn't going to be another woman -- what did you need another one for? I mean, you've got two; they can keep each other company" (Coupal and Fast, 1990, 47).

If women professors try to help other women, they are often censured. When Prof. Constance Backhouse (1990) of the University of Western Ontario complained openly in 1980 about the dearth of women faculty in Ontario law schools, she was immediately castigated for

her feminist stance. Some of her colleagues demanded that she retract her statements (p. 38). The president of the students' legal society claimed publicly she was guilty of reverse sex discrimination in connection with her actions inside the law school, her dean told her ominously that he had clipped the article and placed it on her file, and the university president advised her to scale down her public activities if she hoped to win tenure.

Universities desperately need professors who are not white men to act as mentors and role models for women and students from marginalized groups and to provide new course information for students and new insight into traditional university knowledge. So far, most efforts by Canadian universities to hire women and members of other marginalized groups as professors have been ineffective, in part because of resistance from tradition-minded professors. When women and men from marginalized groups have been hired, they sometimes feel so oppressed by the negative atmosphere they encounter that they soon leave again, even if they have been lucky enough to win tenure. With creativity and a progressive attitude, new professors can be hired permanently who will bring new energy and diversity to the campus (see suggestions in Baar, 1992 and OCUFA, 1990).

One hiring success story has been documented for the Biology Department of the Université de Quebec a Montreal (Kranias, 1990). In 1976, feminists Karen Messing and Donna Mergler were the only full-time women faculty members there. Together, they lobbied for more women to be hired. They were so effective that now women constitute about one-third of the full-time faculty. A feminist biology course was inaugurated in 1978, "Biologie et condition feminine" and a feminist research institute, GRABIT, is a pioneer in research affecting women. NOTE 5. Significantly more women have also been hired recently at two universities which have taken employment equity seriously -- the University of Windsor and Ryerson Polytechnical Institute (CAUT, 1991b).

In an ideal university which would offer academic freedom to students and not only to tenured professors, the professors would be people of great diversity reflecting the diversity of the society served by the university. At present, such a diversity is impossible because too many people have been deterred from obtaining Ph.D.s and there is no pool of doctoral academics from which such a range of professors could be hired. With financial support and encouragement of top students, such a pool could be in place in ten years, but little such support and encouragement exists in universities. Instead, universities complain bitterly about lack of government funding, although in reality they receive enormous amounts of tax dollars and should be able to function adequately (Smith, 1991). It is the

priority on spending by universities that many people find offensive; universities continue to function with large numbers of expensive top administrators, field expensive teams of male athletes, and entertain using discretionary budgets while at the same time cutting back on the hiring of professors which drastically reduces any hope of acquiring enough minority and women academics to correct the serious imbalance of these groups in the professoriate (see Funding entry).

### **End Notes**

1. The model is inaccurate for a variety of reasons. For example, members of each rank weren't hired only during the few years specified. Professors don't progress smoothly through the ranks -- women are promoted more slowly, for example -- and some individuals advance faster than others of the same sex. Some professors are never promoted at all.

2. One wonders about philosophers? In Waterloo, philosophers are prominent among those against affirmative targets for hiring more women professors, just as they are in Edmonton (Nelson-McDermott, 1991; Terol, 1992). Philosophy Prof. Ferrel Christensen, from the University of Alberta, threatened feminists with a devastating pronouncement: "hatred has a way of being returned. It would not surprise me if one of the demons that tortured Marc Lepine was the steady torrent of abuse directed at men in general by too many feminists" (Cernetig, 1990). Must women who criticize patriarchy fear for their lives?

At Concordia University, a student reports that although most philosophy students are women, the department has 29 male and one anti-feminist female professors (Gammon, 1991). When the student asked the chair why there was only one occasional course dealing directly with women's issues and all the other courses had reading lists of books by men only, he replied that if she wanted to learn things from a woman's perspective, she was in the wrong department. Perhaps she should investigate women's studies, he suggested. These activities jibe strangely with entries in Webster's Dictionary on philosophy: "pursuit of wisdom" and "calmness of mind expected of a philosopher." We are reminded of Descartes' dictum "There is nothing so absurd or incredible that it has not been asserted by one philosopher or another" (Johnson, 1988, 243).

3. It is not surprising that, historically, English Studies was "not designed to emancipate but to confirm women in their established roles" (Baldick in Williamson, 1990, 45).

4. In this report, the 35 female faculty members interviewed all chose to remain anonymous for their own protection. The angry response to the report by UWO President George Pedersen, who called it a selection

of "unproven, untestable, and unverifiable complaints", seems to justify their fears (Anderson, 1989). The authors of the report believe that, if withholding the identities of the respondents makes the report invalid, then so is most social science research invalid. They note that "at present, freedom of speech on these issues seems more like a distant dream. Threats of libel suits, professional stigmatization, and the multiple ways in which colleagues can evidence personal displeasure all combine to silence most discussion of this sort. For now, at least, the information must come by way of confidential sources" (p. 3).

5. Strangely, Quebec women, who were only allowed to vote in 1940, are now often ahead of other Canadian women in their search for equality at university.

**Table** Women Professors at, and Women Doctorates from, Canadian Universities

	Percentage of Women who are Full-Time University Teachers 1989-90 (Stats Can 1992a)	Percentage of Doctorates Awarded to Women in 1990 (Stats Can 1992b)
Education	30	55
Fine and applied arts	27	47
Humanities	25	43
Social sciences	19	42
Agriculture and biological sciences	18	29
Engineering	3	7
Health professions	26	38
Mathematics and physical sciences	7	20
Total	20	32

### **Professors - Tenure and Promotion**

These two entities are important, because they determine who will become permanent faculty members and who will have the power to make change at a university or to prevent change. Tenure is imperative for a professor who wants to make his or her career teaching in university; without it, a permanent position as a professor is impossible. There are so few members of minority groups present in the professoriate that it is impossible to make generalizations about their having problems being awarded tenure and promotion. We shall consider here the problems that feminists (women), a somewhat larger group, face. Antagonism against feminists will be similar to that suffered by Blacks, gay men, lesbians, or Natives who choose to present knowledge in their courses from their own perspective.

Three factors make it especially difficult for feminists to achieve tenure and promotion. Most importantly, feminist research will usually be judged by a predominantly male tenure committee, few of whom are familiar with it. "Yet lack of knowledge doesn't seem to deter these people from judging feminist literature" (McIntyre in McLeod, 1989). As well, feminist research often has a political basis, which offends men who perform more academic and less useful work.

Second, to provide an alternative viewpoint, feminists are commonly asked to sit on time-consuming committees for such things as hiring and policy. Such committees are vital, yet women receive little credit for serving on them and they take time that might be better spent on research to advance their careers.

Finally, by sticking to her principles and using gender-neutral language and examples pertinent to women in her lectures, a feminist is likely to anger male students. These students can hurt a feminist's career by complaining about her to the department head and by giving her poor class evaluations (Backhouse et al, 1989, 21). One study "strongly suggests that women faculty in the social sciences must try harder than their male colleagues to convince male students that they are well prepared, decisive, and likable" (Martin, 1984, 492). Another study showed that male students gave female professors significantly poorer ratings than they gave male professors (Basow and Silberg, 1987), just as students rate the same professional article higher if they think it was written by a man, John T. McKay, rather than by a woman, Joan T. McKay (Goldberg, 1969). If women professors are openly feminist, the bias of their male students against them will undoubtedly be greater.

The data available for feminists, as opposed to women in general, are again per force anecdotal. One sociologist hoping to win tenure, Dr. Marylee Stephenson, helped to launch women's studies

in Canada (Dagg and Thompson, 1988, pp. 48-49). A colleague said that McMaster University "felt very threatened because her field involved women reflecting on their changing role. It was very threatening for an established university." Seventy-six letters of support from across Canada were sent to the McMaster Tenure Appeal Tribunal, which studied her case. Although her teaching and service to the community were judged "clearly outstanding", her research was found inadequate and she was denied tenure.

Another found her choices narrowed by the imperatives of tenure. She commented that the interdisciplinary nature of her research marginalizes it. She realizes she has to publish in academic journals if she wants tenure, but she is "interested in a larger audience for my work and not that interested in reaching overly academic audiences" (Coupal and Fast, 1990, 38).

One tenured woman who has won prestigious awards in her field was at first denied promotion to full professor for reasons she believed amounted to systemic discrimination. Only full professors were asked to give references for her work, yet none of these professors was a woman. As well, outside referees were asked "Would you hire this person in your department?" even though almost all these people had shown by their past record that they were very unwilling to hire a woman. They would only be capable of giving a biased answer to this question. She finally won her promotion on appeal (per. comm. Nov. 25, 1988).

Even if a woman professor does become established in a university, she will probably always feel marginalized, especially if she is a feminist. One arts professor at the University of Waterloo observed "It's been a major thing for me to get over...the bonding, the friendship, and the conversation patterns. I just felt so absolutely excluded.... The men don't think of women as colleagues, but as wives" (Coupal and Fast, 1990, 46). Another arts professor stated "I've always been the only woman and never on the inner track...when decisions were made I always found myself challenging the decisions....I see the university...as an anti-feminist institution, and that if you make a point, that is a feminist point, it's resented. It's seen as a special pleading and special interest group, and that true professionals wouldn't be acting like this...women are accused of talking out of turn and not being loyal" (p. 46-47).

Very few women are promoted into the higher administration of universities where, according to one woman at the University of Western Ontario, "The persistent use of sexist and sexual language, and the blatant insensitivity to issues having to do with racism and sexism are quite remarkable" (Backhouse, et al, 1989, 24-25). Indeed, recently a man claimed that he was fired as associate dean of law

at Western because he was pro-feminist (Cameron, 1989). The number of women administrators who are feminists must be minuscule. At present, if a feminist were in the top administration, she would be greatly outnumbered by men and would not likely have much influence on decision-making; as a woman administrator at the University of Western Ontario put it, "there's a very small range of acceptable behaviour for a woman [administrator] between speaking out enough to get attention and being seen as an extremist" (Backhouse et al, 1989, 25).

## Racism

Racism at universities involves the demeaning on campus of people who do not belong to the white majority. It can be exemplified by racist taunts or by stereotypes such as that all Asian people are good at mathematics. It can be incivility to individuals who cannot express themselves fluently in English or French, depending on the university

Because of racism, marginalized groups in Canada have been impeded from going to university by poverty, problematic school education and cultural expectations ("Visible minorities", 1991; Gerber, 1990) (see Black Studies and Native Studies entries). Recently, because of a now recognized need for Black and Native school teachers, these groups are being encouraged to attend university ("Schools woo," 1991). But whether they will be able to study material relevant to them in a supportive environment remains to be seen. It seems doubtful, given anecdotal evidence from various campuses.

In a fourth-year seminar at York University on feminist thought, sixteen women and one man collected various negative experiences students had had in their lectures (York students, 1991). They report that "Depending on our gender, race, class and sexual orientation, we discovered that we are heard differently and hear differently and as a result, we take away with us more lessons than we are consciously taught" (York students, 1991). Knowledge being taught in courses rests on shifting ground, so that students may not take in even the basic information because of racist and sexist practices in the classroom that undermine them just as they were undermined at high school ("Black students dropping," 1991). The York students were focussing on gender in their assignment, but racism was pressing enough that it was considered, too. Here are some of their comments:

\* A Black student from Jamaica spoke in class with a tone, dialect and body language dramatically different from that of the white men present. He was ridiculed by the professor who mimicked his mannerisms and speech rather than answering his questions. Sometimes the professor singled this student out as a source of comic relief. The other students felt powerless to challenge the professor. If a student of colour did so, "he would assume that the student's colour was operating as a bias. And if a white student challenged the professor, he might view it as a tactic to undermine his position in front of this large class."

\* A few white women in a course analyzing racism and sexism complained that the woman of colour teaching it focussed too much on racism. They couldn't understand that the class was examining sexism from the point of view of women of colour for whom an analysis of racism is central.

\* A Black woman finds the material in her economics classes mostly irrelevant to her experience because the professor never addresses the issues of race or racism. The class talks about women and economics as if women represented a homogenous group when the realities of Black middle-class and working-class women are entirely different.

Interviews with Canadians from marginalized groups also elicited examples of racism in universities which Dionne Brand and Krisantha Sri Bhaggiyadatta (1986) include in their book *Rivers Have Sources, Trees Have Roots*:

\* A student is annoyed when classes discuss how Third World countries take *our* money and use it for a revolution or to nationalize, then ask for even more. This person tries to tell the class how multinational companies take out far more from Third World countries than they put in, but no one is interested in this.

\* A student from India felt patronized when professors would suddenly bring up Third World issues and ask her/him to explain what things were like in India.

\* In a women's history course, a woman was angry because Native women were included only in relation to white men, not in relation to their own environment. Nor was there much material on Black women although they have been in Canada for centuries. She thinks the course should be retitled "A History of White Women in Canada".

More recently, racist comments have been collected from the University of Guelph (Monteiro, 1992):

\* When discussing the old Chinese tradition of foot-binding, a white female student says, "Oh! Is that why they shuffle?"

\* A Black woman is asked by her professor, "How come I always have trouble with you Black students?"

\* A caller on the campus radio station tells a disc jockey, who is playing reggae music, to "stop playing that [expletive] immigrant music", imitating a South Asian accent and proceeds to tell her to tell "all those Pakis to go home."

\* A professor makes fun of students who are not understanding material by saying in French, "What are you, Chinese or something?"

In the 1960s and 1970s, some universities in the United States appeared to embrace Black/African-American studies as an important manifestation of cultural diversity. However, bell hooks (1989, 66) believes that since then there has been an about-face at Yale and other universities; Blacks now experience "frustration, demoralization, alienation, and despair," sensing that Black professors have contempt for them, judge them harshly and exploit them. Paula Rothenberg (1990, 51) calls this the "new racism": "Since race has been obliterated as a category, the only way to explain differences in achievement is by pointing to individual

differences. If blacks as a group fail to achieve, the implication is that there is something in their nature that prevents them from achieving." Black students are now encouraged to assimilate with whites if they hope to succeed in life, rather than to work toward a new model where difference is valued; they are trapped between their skin colour and the white ethnocentrism which surrounds them. This dichotomy in students is heightened by Black professors who may function as racists, acting as though black students are lazy, questioning only whites in class so as not to appear biased towards Blacks, and not mixing with the Black community. bell hooks herself (p. 71) has been doubly criticized -- by non-black students for showing greater attention in class to Blacks, and by Blacks for paying too much attention to non-blacks.

In Halifax in 1991, members of the Black Canadian Students Association from Dalhousie, St. Mary's and Mount St. Vincent Universities organized a presentation for their faculty to raise their consciousness about racial issues ("Black students turn," 1991). These universities have well over 1000 professors, but only 35 came. The skits and readings related how peers and professors assume that Black students are not enrolled in regular courses, that they're less intelligent than other students or that they're not Canadian. One professor was reported as saying that Blacks born in Canada are the stupidest people. If a student received an A on a paper, it was assumed that she was from the Caribbean rather than born in Canada. A psychology lecturer at the gathering said he knew that his department lost Blacks each year from the massive first-year psychology courses, but that it did nothing about this.

Some Natives experience academic harassment. On Patricia Monture's (1990, 189-190) first day at law school, she was confronted by a hostile male student who said he was angry because one of his friends had been denied entrance to the school while she, a Native presumably there only because of the special access program, had been admitted. He implied that her qualifications were inferior to those of his friend. In fact, she had been accepted by regular admission, but she did not tell him this, knowing that he would simply perceive her as exceptional, not like other "inferior" Natives, a typical racist stereotype.

Others suffer verbal abuse. At the University of Manitoba, an aboriginal woman was threatened after taking a parking space wanted by another car ("Public pressure", 1992). The driver of the car pounded on her window, calling her a "fucking bitch" and a "fucking Indian". Later he put a note on her car saying "Better look over your shoulder bitch, you never know what good citizen might exterminate you."

It is only recently that racism has been acknowledged as

occurring frequently at university. As more individuals feel able to speak out against racist behaviour, we will have a better understanding of its pervasiveness and will be more able to counteract it.

## Research

Research is vital at universities for two reasons: it produces knowledge that is then available to students and society, and the professors who do the research have the potential to be top-notch teachers, explaining in class the latest research topics and techniques.

University research is at present almost never a question of teachers pursuing topics that pique their interest. Instead, this construction of knowledge is heavily and immediately politicized. To begin with, professors are virtually the only ones able to do research and receive credit for it. Marginalized people at universities such as sessional lecturers, instructors, and students, do not have the time, the money, or the encouragement. Professors, too, are restricted in what they choose to study. Many scientists do no research at all because they have no funding; others do research that will attract government money or that will be considered favourably when they apply for tenure or promotion. Politically, it makes sense to scatter words such as "cancer" or "the family" or "work" through a research proposal requesting funds and to avoid mentioning that the results may be considered from a "gay consciousness" or a "feminist perspective".

Research is of little value unless it is published, and this process, too, is political. Only acceptable journals receive funding from the government and other agencies, and the editors are mainstream academics who look for "suitable" papers. Even if they want to take a chance and publish innovative material, they must bear in mind that doing so may alienate their readership and those who fund them.

Even if research is published, it will have little impact if few people read it. Such neglect is not uncommon considering that well over 14,000 scholarly journals are published world-wide each year (Science, Social Sciences, and Arts and Humanities Citation Indexes, 1990) and that a vast number of published research papers seem inconsequential, repetitive, peripheral, and incomprehensible to an educated layperson (Broad and Wade, 1982, 56). Books must be reviewed, and journals and articles must be included in as many citation procedures as possible if one's work is to become known; this process is often political.

In practice, white men control what research is funded because they form a majority on almost all funding decision-making bodies. Since men reject any proposal they deem not worthwhile, some women censor their own impulse to do feminist research, knowing that it will have a difficult time being funded and published (Backhouse et al., 1989, 32). Some feminists have had their work derided. At the University of Western Ontario, one women professor had her feminist

scholarship belittled by a male colleague during a lecture, another was criticized for publishing her work in a major feminist journal, and a third, who had a lengthy publication record and had received prestigious academic awards, had other difficulties (pp. 20-21):

She reported that graduate students were actively discouraged from working with her. One senior male faculty member told his class that she was "incompetent" and another cast aspersions on her "academic integrity". Comments such as these were not isolated instances, she noted. Further, her department chair had denied her the academic freedom to identify her area of research in the departmental graduate brochure, and she was refused permission to teach graduate courses. This situation obtained until it was formally disallowed by the university.

Some marginalized professors finance their own research, but most need external funding. In Canada, social scientists and humanists currently apply to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC). In 1991-92, it funded 1007 research projects. Of these, 6 per cent involved women as individuals or a group, but fewer than 1 per cent mentioned that the work involved a feminist perspective. Three per cent involved Native groups, and less than 1 per cent other minority groups in Canada. No papers had titles that indicated they would deal with gay men or lesbians.

Of course, rejection of proposals may not be based on their content *per se* but on their innovation. For example, the peer review process for proposals submitted to the National Science Foundation has been criticized because it "discriminates against new interdisciplinary science and scientific thinking that is not *"au courant"* even though creative and ripe with `unusual possibilities for breakthroughs'" (Jones in Chubin, 1980).

Social science and arts professors are having their research support even further curtailed because of the federal government decision to fund primarily science and technology, where there are few women. Only one of the 15 heavily-funded Networks of Centres of Excellence went to a social science project (on aging).

At least some anti-feminists have no problem funding their research. As Lesley Lee (1986) notes, "the scientists involved in research into the intellectual inferiority of women [such as Camilla Benbow and Julian Stanley, whose findings are published in *Science*] are not and never have been marginal or mavericks. They are main line scientists, recognized and respected and at the center of their scientific communities. Their advice on racial and sexual inferiority exerted a great deal of influence, for example, on

immigration and educational policy. And their impact on how people thought and still think about scientific/mathematical ability has been tremendous." (Despite her success in finding research money and publishers, however, Benbow too complains of bias against her work (Alaton, 1992).) In 1988, ten of the 12 women actively publishing in the neurosciences were committed to the proposition that male and female brains are biologically different (Brush, 1991, 407).

The human misery resulting because groups other than dominant men have not had access to the means of doing and publishing research is staggering. It affects women and every minority group to a huge extent, how huge we cannot know because of lack of data.

A topic about which we would know almost nothing without research by feminists is that of male violence against women. In the *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, for example, there is not a single index entry for "Violence" up to 1969. Men were far less likely than women to suffer from family violence, with one in ten women being beaten by her partner, so the subject presumably seemed of little interest (Stordeur and Stille, 1989). The lack of such research has allowed the beating and murder of women, as well destruction of their self-esteem, to continue without comment almost to the present.

The abuse of women by their psychotherapists has been similarly neglected, although it has been going on since the time of Sigmund Freud and Anton Mesmer who invented modern hypnosis (Hyde, 1991, 180). Neither the male-dominated Canadian Psychiatric Association, nor the male-dominated Canadian Mental Health Association, has shown much interest in the subject. It has been women who have collected the statistics to expose what has been going on. It is now estimated that between 10,000 and 20,000 Canadian women have been involved in abusive relationships with their psychiatrists, 10 to 20 per cent of the women who have been in abusive relationships with all types of professionals (p. 183).

Lack of research on the health of women has only recently been addressed, usually by professional white women. University medical schools as well as other institutions receive huge grants from the government to do research on human health, but this money presently creates medical knowledge that serves men far more than it serves women. Women's needs are neglected in numerous areas:

\* Breast cancer is the leading cause of death for Canadian women aged 35 to 49; 5,100 died from it in 1991. Yet of the \$460 million the federal government spent in 1991 on health research, only \$1.5 million went to breast cancer (Parton, 1992). The Canadian Cancer Society spends less than six per cent of its \$45 million budget on breast cancer, even though it represents 15 per cent of all cancers (Bristol, 1992). Thanks to prodding by women's groups, the federal government finally agreed in December 1992 to spend \$26 million over

a five-year period in research on breast cancer (Taylor, 1992).

\* Many millions of women suffer from menstrual pain but, as an area worthy of research, this has been ignored until recently. In 1974, only eight articles on this subject appeared in the entire world medical literature. Premenstrual syndrome/tension (PMS) was first described only in 1931. Although women believe that PMS is not psychosomatic, one compilation of studies has come out in The Progress in Psychiatry Series (Osofsky and Blumenthal, 1985) and another as proceedings of a Psychosomatic Obstetrics and Gynecology congress (Van Keep and Utian, 1981). PMS is now being given serious attention, thanks to feminism, but at the same time it is sometimes used as an ideological weapon to control women and is sometimes a factor in marketing expensive products such as progesterone (Eagan, 1985; Jackson, 1985).

\* A report by a committee of the U.S. National Research Council noted that no major developments have occurred in contraception research since the early 1960s (Gooderham, 1990). Research into birth control methods, including a contraceptive pill for men, would surely have been on the agenda many decades earlier and would be more aggressively pursued today, if women rather than men had controlled research projects.

\* When a new procedure is developed, such as the RU486 chemical product for abortion, the government is reluctant to let women have access to this breakthrough technology, even though it would eliminate the need for potentially dangerous abortions carried out under general anesthesia (as Lader, 1991).

\* Intrauterine devices for contraception have been inserted into women by the millions without adequate testing. For example, the most notorious device, the Dalkon Shield, has been used by at least three million women. Five per cent of women became pregnant while using these devices, and hundreds of their children were born badly deformed. Tens of thousands of women have suffered pelvic inflammatory diseases, many of whom are now infertile. At least eighteen women are dead (Mintz, 1985, pp. 3-4).

\* Menopause, though it affects every woman who lives into her fifties and is associated with a number of medical concerns, has been ignored until recently when women scientists began to address it. The hot flash, for example, was first scientifically investigated only in 1975. In 1969, information about middle-aged women was available from only 30 of the 700 societies represented in the Human Relations Area Files (Cobb, 1990).

\* Osteoporosis, a painful, sometimes deforming bone disease prevalent especially in older women, affects one-quarter of those over 60 (and 17% of men) and half of those over 70 (and 20% of men). Although Canada spends \$300-million a year treating osteoporosis,

research into this crippling disease is funded by only \$1.5-million a year. By comparison, cardiovascular disease gets 22 times as much funding, and cancer 27 times as much (C. Smith, 1991). This compares with \$14-million allocated in Canada for AIDS research (Lipovenko, 1990).

\* Another problem only recently being addressed, again because of pressure from women, is postpartum depression. This affects many new mothers, one in 1,000 so severely that they have a complete nervous breakdown with extreme suicidal or homicidal feelings for which they are usually hospitalized and/or heavily medicated (Field, 1989). Yet few studies exist on this phenomenon, even though it is well enough known in some countries to warrant a reduced legal punishment for postpartum mothers who kill their babies (Revised Statutes, 1985).

\* AIDS research focuses almost entirely on men; in 1989, for example, few of the 6,000 papers presented at the June 1989 Sixth International AIDS Conference provided information on the actual course of HIV infection in women (Adams, 1989). Women were identified primarily as prostitutes who transmitted the virus to men or as mothers who infected their children before birth. Some HIV-positive women have been denied government benefits because their symptoms did not resemble those of gay men on whom the definition of AIDS was based (Easton, 1992).

\* No tests at all have been done in Canada to ensure the safety of Meme breast implants in women, even though 17,000 Canadian women have received them. American scientists have put the risk of these implants causing cancer as high as one in 200. The Canadian Medical Association declares the implant is safe, but nullifies this assurance by recommending more research (Kirkey, 1991).

Some scientists have banded together specifically to rectify this lack of research on and for women. GRABIT (Groupe de recherche-action en biologie du travail) is a Montreal group of mostly women scientists whose research focuses on the occupational health concerns of women workers (Messing, 1991). Member Karen Messing (1986) notes that such scientists emphasize the importance of context and connection in scientific experiments: "'Green Revolution' produced new crops and fertilizers, but enormous economic and social problems for the Third World. The discoveries of 'better living through chemistry' have brought a great deal worse living to industrial cancer victims. New discoveries in gynaecology and obstetrics have brought uncomfortable and even dangerous positions to childbirth".

If research money is available for anthropological research of specific cultures, it should be offered first to members of each culture who already know much about it and perhaps the language, too. Julia Cruikshank (1990, 13) notes that in the early 1970s she felt

comfortable undertaking a study of older Native Yukon women because otherwise their knowledge might be lost. A decade later, however, Athapaskan women and men were ready to document facets of their own culture. Before 1945, myths of Native peoples had been collected and published by 11 women, only one of them Native (Dagg, in press a). Today, it is widely accepted that Native writers should be the ones to publish Native myths. Anthropologists should also consider deeply their role as detached observer. One anthropology professor told me that she was disturbed to have to witness the savage beating of a woman by her husband in the culture she was studying. Of course she could not intervene, she said, because that would have meant invalidating her results. What are we coming to when a woman's safety is judged less important than an impartial account of such violence?

### Science and Bias

The history of science has been a male history, of men first "mastering", "unveiling" and "penetrating" nature (considered to be female), and then of technological advances largely for economic gain. The technology of today is magnificent -- most people who can afford them own a car and a television set. But hand-in-hand with these wonders go military achievements, especially nuclear weapons, that threaten not only humanity, but the whole planet.

The patriarchal nature of Western society has meant that the dominant figures in science history were white men. In the 1500s, however, white women began to form a large fraction of those interested in things (science) rather than in words (classical literature) (Phillips, 1990, 45). A training in the classics was considered one fit for gentlemen on both scholarly and social grounds (p. x); science, by contrast, was too trivial to merit male attention but suitable for women. "The operations of the laboratory, after all, were not dissimilar to those of the kitchen, and scrutinizing lower forms of life through a microscope was more womanly than vain attempts to master the complexities of Latin and Greek" (p. x). Women were deemed especially suitable for science because their "innate originality and modern outlook" had not been stultified by a classical education. Science promised to improve the female sex in "that it induced reverence and modesty; that it encouraged domesticity and curtailed flightiness; that it offered a harmless hobby, a curative for depression and a corrective to the evils rife in society" (Phillips, 1990, x). In fact, the preponderance of women involved in science declined only about one hundred years ago with the gradual swing toward professionalism in the sciences largely excluding women (p. xi). At this time girls were encouraged to study more of the classics, as uniform standards of education for boys and girls were adopted (p. 251). Girls' interest in science was sidetracked to home economics and domestic science.

Women have expressed great interest in science in the past, although they were not in a position to discover new knowledge. Now they feel largely shut out. Barriers to women graduate students in science result in progressively fewer women applying for and therefore receiving financial help in their graduate studies and research. As Rachel McKenna and colleagues (1990) have documented for the health sciences in Canada, "two-thirds of the women who might pursue careers in health research are thus lost between entry into graduate school and the attainment of independent investigator status."

Comments by our graduate respondents and others reveal a deep incompatibility between science and feminism. Gina Feldberg (1991), who has taught science and gender courses at universities in United

States and Canada, finds that some women students downgrade science. "Adopting what they labelled a `feminist' stance, these young women wanted to dismiss science as patriarchal and `malestream'; women, they argued, spoke with a different voice." One teacher was asked to speak to students about how "biology was an oppressive, male tool", and a group of women science students was told they were unwelcome at the University Women's Centre because they were "men in women's clothing". In one survey of classes in science and gender and in women's studies, half of the 209 respondents (12 of whom were men) answered yes to the questions "Do you think that the content of science is anti-woman? Do you think that the method or enterprise of science is anti-feminist?" This attitude is not surprising when half the world's scientists are engaged in military research (Dale, 1991) and when 90 per cent of the United States' federal research funds come from the military (Smith, 1990, 10).

On the other hand, many feminists are anxious to remodel science so that it will be responsive to women and to all society; they fear that, without drastic changes in science, the earth may be destroyed. Science and technology are too important to society for women to turn their back on them.

One way to lure women into science (and related non-traditional subjects for women) is to find out why it alienates them -- why so few enter science and why some of these later leave again. Sid Gilbert and Alan Pomfret (1991), who tracked male and female students through programs at the University of Guelph, found that women entering university with an `A' high school average often tended later to transfer out of science and technology programs. The authors note (p. iii): "intellectually competent women, more so than their male counterparts, may be leaving science partly in response to pressures created by a lack of fit between their value orientations and expectations and the practices, realities and values of the educational environment". Women found science to be cold and unrelated to real-life concerns. An earlier study also found that the top women undergraduates in science were more likely than average performers to drop out (Nevitte et al, 1988).

Science seems to repel feminists, who tend by definition to be socially active, even more than it repels women in general. For the women graduate students we surveyed, only 40 per cent of the scientists called themselves feminists while 64 per cent of the social scientists did so (Dagg and Beauchamp, 1992). Three of the women are planning to leave science. One feminist writes:

I am a woman doing science. I enjoy research. So why am I not planning a career in academia? I'm good enough -- I know I could make it. But I would have to fit into a male-dominated, and

hence, very competitive environment. I'm not aggressively competitive and I hate politicking (something I see many of my male colleagues spending much time at). I want to be a part of a cooperative field -- yes we need competition, but not antagonistic competition. But I would have to sacrifice other parts of my life. I want a family. I know it can be done by special people, but I've seen more failures than successes, and I don't think I can do it. So, two "buts", the first to do with limits within science, and the second to do with societal limits. Because of these I'm headed towards the sidelines of science (e.g. college and summer research positions) rather than towards the active central core. Sad, and it's all due to my sex.

what holds women back in science is not ability, because young women do as well as young men in mathematics and science in high school (Decore, 1984). Whatever the reason, if science is to become more human, to be made less dangerous and more fruitful, evidence indicates more women must enter the field. The scientist Estelle Ramey (1981) notes:

Let's say that we desperately need a cure for cancer or for heart disease....The last thing in the world that is useful to me is to have everybody be a carbon copy of the way I think. Then, not only are my good ideas duplicated and reinforced, but my bad ones, my misconceptions, my blind spots, are also....If we eliminate from this process 52 per cent of society, it is bound to cut down by 52 per cent the chances of making quick solutions to extraordinarily complex problems....If you have a different kind of trained antennae, you will pick up differences in different ways.

Unless there are changes in the way science is perceived and carried out, there will always be people, such as the feminists already mentioned, who are against Western science and technology. Gay men are also on record as wanting a science that is more open to all humanity (See Gay Studies entry). Some Natives feel this way too, preferring to live off nature as their ancestors have done rather than deal with technology (Maracle, 1975, 118). Others are reporting on Native science.

Native people have not only been experts at their own way of life, but have documented the properties and laws of what they call Native Science (Colorado, 1988), which insists upon a state of balance in which all things which support life be renewable. Decisions are made only if they will not negatively affect people

seven generations ahead. Native Science involves qualitative and subjective research -- it must feel right rather than being rationally correct; as we know from history, "rationally correct" solutions to problems can lead to horrendous results of pollution and warfare. Broader than chronological events historically, often collapsing time and space, Native Science is subservient to the people, giving every person's opinion credence and depending on consensus. It draws upon myths and stories derived from ancient wisdom. In practice, when involving people, it resembles participatory research. Conceptually, it acknowledges the limitations of Western science, stresses the importance of non-Western tradition, and assumes that change can begin with each one of us. These concepts are anathema to most Western scientists, so it is no wonder that Native Science has no place in the Canon of our universities.

Leroy Little Bear (1990) characterizes the Western world view as "linear and singular, specialist and product oriented. This leads to sequential, fragmented, and reductionist way of thinking. Value-wise bigger, faster, newer, higher are considered better. One right answer, one correct way, one true God and specialization are all ramifications of western way of thinking". By contrast, Little Bear characterizes the Aboriginal world view as "cyclical and wholistic. Cycles and phases are important considerations. Value-wise, the whole is more important than the part, the perspective is from the forest as opposed to the trees. Knowledge of the whole is considered more important than some smaller aspect, consequently a generalist point of view".

### Science Teaching

The presentation of science information can determine who takes science courses and who drops out, as Sheila Tobias (1990) discovered when she asked a number of non-science people to take introductory physics and chemistry courses. These guinea pigs found the subjects interesting and even "fascinating", but the teaching doubtful (far too much emphasis on problem-solving) and the course content often deficient. Tobias writes (p. 81), "They hungered -- all of them -- for information about *how* the various methods they were learning had come to be, *why* physicists and chemists understand nature the way they do, and *what* were the *connections* between what they were learning and the larger world." They thought the class size was too large, the competition too fierce, the absence of community appalling and the lack of evident enthusiasm for the subject matter depressing. The women were especially disaffected by the unfriendly environment. All in all, it seemed that the professors weren't interested in attracting more people to science. Tobias conjectures that the science majors "may well be teacher-proof, curriculum-proof, and classroom culture-proof, in which case they will learn no matter how the course is taught" (p. 80).

However, it may be that the intransigent scientist-in-the-making is merely a different breed. Sharon Traweek (1988) reports that such physicists actually complained when a professor wanted to have class presentations. They were content to have the textbook lay down the law and to have history rewritten with only the successful discoveries included; of course history itself is devalued in science because of the devaluation of much past work (p. 75). (Traweek, who studied the elite scientists doing high-energy physics at Stanford, California, found that those who succeeded had to have an aggressive and demanding personality as well as a strongly supportive family (p. 90, 84); women did not thrive in the cut-throat atmosphere (p. 92).)

Lab procedures can also drive away prospective scientists. A number of women students have told me that they decided not to become biologists because they could not bear to kill animals. NOTE. One psychologist said that she wouldn't have minded a dissection itself, but she did mind that an animal should be killed so that she could learn from it. Barbara Dodds Stanford describes her decision not to go into science as follows (in Mura, 1991, 44-45):

I think that my own subconscious decision against a career in science was made when I discovered that the initiation rite required for admission to high school science courses was the cold-blooded murder of a frog. At the time I could only describe my perceptions in emotional terms, and neither I nor anyone

around me recognized emotions as a form of information processing which is often more accurate than rational thought. I could not explain it at the time, but it was not just the blood and the sliminess that bothered me. Underneath the act of dissecting the frog, I dimly perceived a view of the world which I could not assent to.

I could not accept the premise that one could only understand a frog by taking it apart -- that the essential constituents of a live frog were present in the pieces of a dead frog. My world view said that a living being is more the sum of its parts. While my concept was not denied by my biology teacher, we spent much more time studying the parts of the dead frog than the relationships of a live one.

Even more important, however, I sensed that my relationship with the frog was as real and important as, or more important than, the relationship among the organs of the frog. It was this premise which my teacher, my parents, and everyone who wanted me to succeed in the world denied. When I tried to raise questions of ethics and morals, I was dismissed as a squeamish girl who probably was not fit for a career in science.

Many men dislike cruelty and dissections too, but gender does create a difference in attitude. Ron Heise (1991) questioned 139 University of Waterloo biology students in a dissection lab, about half women, on the use of animals for teaching purposes. All the men and most of the women thought dissections were valuable or very valuable, but 8 per cent of the women thought they had no value. When students were asked if they could personally kill an animal for dissection, 58 per cent of the men said they could compared to 19 per cent of the women, a huge gender difference.

Universities are not always sensitive to animal rights. At the University of Adelaide, a professor of zoology who complained to the chair about the unnecessarily cruel way rats were killed before student dissections (by gassing rather than an injection of barbiturates) had his concern turned against him and produced as a reason for his firing. This was so even though technicians and the university animal welfare policy also were against "the rodent Auschwitz" (Baker, 1986, 97).

If science is to readily accessible to all groups in society, then changes will have to be made in the way it is taught. The most important criterion is to place material taught in a broad social context, so that as many students as possible will be able to empathize with it. As an example, Paulo Freire (Horton and Freire, 1990, 108) states:

First of all, I don't separate the content as a scientific object from its historical and social context -- as you said before, the social conditions in which I am teaching the content to the students. On the one hand, I know that I cannot leave the content in a parenthesis and just speak with the students about the political situation of the country, because the students come to me to learn biology, for example. If I put biology in a parenthesis to say Brazilian politics are terrible now, the students have the right to say, but look Paulo, we came here to study biology. I can't do that. But on the other hand, I cannot put history and social conditions in parenthesis and then teach biology exclusively. My question is how to make clear to the students that there is no such a thing named biology in itself....These two risks exist: the risk of putting in parenthesis the content and to emphasize exclusively the political problem and the risk of putting in parenthesis the political dimension of the content and to teach just the content. For me both attitudes are wrong. And it is a question that comes up because of the nature of the process of education or the process of politics.

Recent possible changes are often directed toward women, one of the large groups that feels excluded. Fran Davis and Arlene Steiger (1991) believe that feminist teaching strategies applied to physics courses may help alleviate women's objections to science. Their classes "emphasize integration rather than separation, collaboration rather than competition, ambiguity rather than truth." Similarly, Pat Rogers (1991) of York University has successfully used feminist methods of pedagogy to teach mathematics. She writes that "When the environment is genuinely open to and supportive of all students, women are just as successful at mathematics as men." She finds it effective to lecture sparingly to her class and to spend time instead in discussion, board-work, writing down ideas, brainstorming, problem-posing, and small group work.

**NOTE.** Some women's distaste for cruelty is long-standing. Robert Boyle in 1660 noted that in an air pump experiment he was carrying out for an audience, the death of the laboratory animal was prevented "by the pitty of some Fair Lady's...who made me hastily let in some Air at the Stop-cock, the gasping Animal was presently recover'd and in a condition to enjoy the benefit of the Lady's Compassion" (Phillips, 1990, 123). Currently, the journal *Alternatives to Lab Animals* (ATLA) offers important ways to prevent unnecessary cruelty at universities.

### **Sexism**

The best analyses of harm that can be done to students because they are marginalized by sexism at university have come from feminists. One form of devastation, the loss of self-confidence for women, is probably never regained. A study in United States has shown that when young men and women enter university from high school, about one-fifth of each sex describes itself as being "far above average" in intelligence (Widnall, 1988). When these students are in their fourth year at university, the women (unlike the men) no longer describe themselves in such glowing terms. The self-esteem of all the women, including the brightest, has been eroded. This lack of self-confidence continues into graduate school, our questionnaire returns show, where many women science and social science candidates feel like outsiders. Here are some of their comments:

\* Women (in general) are aware of their position -- being discussed in relation to men, whereas men's experience is taken as given, or the norm (sociologist).

\* Sometimes when I think about a project or what avenue I wish to pursue, it is not seriously considered merely because it is not the conventional way (geographer).

\* I have less confidence than male peers even when my achievement record is superior (chemist).

\* I find myself intuitively drawn to a more holistic approach in my research. Yet I find little room or encouragement to proceed in such a manner, even though my supervisor is female (biologist).

\* I have been encouraged in the "softer" side of computer science (making computers easier to use etc.) (computer scientist).

\* As a woman, I do tend to underestimate myself as compared to men in my position (veterinarian).

Other results show that men are treated more seriously than women students although women, on average, receive better marks (Davis et al, 1989, 2). Professors, even if they are women, ask the men more questions and spend more time on their answers and concerns. If a woman asks questions related to women's interests, the male students may soon become restless and urge the professor not to waste time with irrelevancies (Dagg, 1991d). In one year-long study of a group in which instructors and most of the students were men, male students spoke two and half times longer than their female peers (Krupnick, 1985). By contrast, when the teacher was a woman, female students spoke much more than they did when the teacher was a man. Since a large majority of university teachers are male, women students are more often silenced than their male peers.

In a survey of changes in Canadian universities over the past five years, university presidents rated antipathy toward women activists as their fifth greatest concern -- higher than sexual

harassment, rated eighth, or date rape, rated 17th. "It is ironic that in terms of attitudes on campus, the backlash against those who identify and speak out against sexism is identified as being a bigger problem than sexual harassment itself," the report says (Sarick, 1991).

The effects of sexism on university women range from anger to denial that it is present to a subtle reshaping of their behaviour. When Gloria Steinem (1992, 112-4) compared the behaviour of her friends who had not gone to university with those who had, she found the former to be "self-confident, productive, bawdy, and very much themselves." By contrast, her friends who had gone to Smith College had succumbed to the "seductive power of niceness and unanimity", the importance of not rocking the boat or offending anyone. Steinem notes (p. 114) "It seemed that for women of all races and classes, education had separated *what we studied* from *how we lived*. It had broken the link between mind and emotion, between what we learned intellectually and what we experienced as women."

Such subtle phenomena are almost impossible to document, so we shall be concerned here with overt examples of sexism such as those related by York students (1991):

\* In a course on urban planning, the problems of building a community were discussed. Two single mothers who negotiated their own neighbourhood with small children in prams and strollers said that accessibility had a particular impact on women and children. The professor could have affirmed their contribution, but instead he stated that gender had nothing to do with accessibility.

\* In a screen-writing workshop, the professor asked each student to prepare a proposal for a documentary. One woman wanted to work on women's ambivalent feelings toward motherhood, but the professor stated that motherhood wasn't an issue, because all the women he had known had enjoyed it. A Native woman proposed a docudrama on her realization of her racial difference, but the professor said this might be too personal. He was concerned that these two topics might not speak to a wide-enough audience. By contrast, he approved a male student's proposal for a documentary on plumbing. This professor was not intentionally biased and tried hard to be open, but his perspective as a WHMM kept him blind to issues of gender and race. In the three hours it took to summarize the proposals, "lessons were learned by the entire class about what is worthy of documentation and what is not. Such lessons further drive women and people of colour to the margins."

\* Students in politics, philosophy, economics, psychology and history all complained that women's participation and roles were ignored in these subjects. One declared that such omissions "reinforce the powerlessness I normally feel in the community outside

the classroom".

\* A woman with illiterate parents was upset by the other students in the class -- "their comments about `welfare bums' make me hate them."

\* The authority of a white male professor is more acceptable than that of other professors. In a second-year economics course taught by a female professor from a racial minority, "the male students challenged her authority by constantly interrupting her during the lecture, most of the time to ask trivial questions in order to disrupt the class."

\* In classrooms the male students speak more often and with more authority than the women students, and the professors give the men more positive feedback. "These dynamics are seen as `natural' because they reflect what happens outside the classroom." Men resist changing roles because it means giving up their privilege.

Similar example of sexism in the classroom exist in universities across Canada. As mentioned earlier, Maclean's rated Queen's University as one of the top universities in Canada, yet here the sexism is particularly virulent. For example, students of feminist law professor Sheila McIntyre (1987) who wanted their law courses to be non-gender-biased were continually hassled by male students and professors. One of these women was labelled a lesbian, then shunned and discredited. At least three others were trivialized or silenced by male teachers who made feminist-baiting jokes, ignored their questions, and allowed no class time to discuss the implications of sexist practice. Two women began to skip classes and three considered dropping law. The most ardent reformist "stopped talking in class and occasionally spoke to her teachers in private about remarks she had found offensive, but she did so jokingly and appeasingly."

A feminist graduate student at Queen's reported on sexist behaviour from her professor ("A personal," 1987). At first, he was pleased with her work, until she began to pursue feminist ideas in her term paper and ask pointed questions in class; then he told a colleague she was "stupid," a "dolt," and threatened to fail her. When she asked him to state the significance of women's role in the topic of study, he dismissed their involvement as "limited to womanlike activities such as making tea." A teaching assistant with whom she discussed her work said "That gender stuff is crap."

Women report similar treatment at the University of Western Ontario. Graduate students in one department found that, if they challenged traditional views in courses, the professors became very upset (Backhouse et al, 1989). "One had walked out of class. Another asked a student to leave his office because she was `wasting his time.'" The woman teacher reporting these events felt sure that the

grades of some of these women students had suffered because of their stands.

Women are also disparaged in diverse disciplines at the University of Waterloo. In a small 1986 survey (Dagg and Thompson, 1988, 7, 9), women students complained about sexist behaviour and comments from professors of history, geography, sociology, accounting, engineering, mathematics, and kinesiology. This sexism silenced women who wanted to discuss feminist ideas not only in an offending professor's class, but also in their other classes. Far from disciplining professors who use sexist comments in their classes, the University of Waterloo in 1991 gave two men well known on campus for such behaviour Distinguished Teacher Awards (Dagg, 1991a). Teachers who make sexist jokes are popular, and popularity is apparently important for the best teachers at any group's expense.

At Wilfrid Laurier University, a professor in a class of mostly male students persistently asked the few women to answer his questions, then made derogatory remarks such as "Well, there's a woman for you" if a student did not know the answer (Simone, 1991). He never picked on men in his class in this way. Members of this class complained to the sexual harassment officer, who helped them draft a letter to the teacher pointing out his offensive behaviour.

In its 1992 report, "Women in Universities: Survey of the Status of Female Faculty and Students at Canadian Universities", the Canadian Federation of University Women identifies 54 changes that could be made to eradicate sexism and make universities a comfortable place for women to work and study.

## Sidebar

### Response to Students

In 1991, I urged a group of sympathetic male professors at the University of Waterloo to approach a colleague who taught in an openly sexist manner to see if something couldn't be done about this. The professors agreed they were very worried about gender-biased teaching but couldn't just take my word for it that this lecturer used sexist language, which is what the students had told me. We needed proof. So I asked the students to tell me some of the comments and jokes about women that the lecturer had made. When one did this, the professors still were not satisfied. Maybe she didn't hear the lecturer properly, they said. Maybe she misconstrued his meaning. So I went through back issues of *MathNews*, a University of Waterloo publication, and found sexist remarks the lecturer had made listed under "Prof. Quotes". The professors expressed dismay over these remarks, but said this evidence wasn't really good enough; it was hearsay evidence. So I said what if a student took a tape recorder into class and taped remarks by the lecturer that offended her and her friends? The professors thought about this for awhile, but then announced that they couldn't do anything about the sexist teaching even then because tapes made without a person's permission are not admissible in a court of law. I wonder how worried they really are about stopping sexism in the classroom?

### **Sexual Assault**

Sexual assault, often in the form of date rape, is endemic at Canadian universities. At Queen's University, there were at least three sexual assaults in the university residences in September 1992 (Johnson, 1992). In a survey of 447 students at the University of New Brunswick and St. Thomas University in Fredericton, more than one in four respondents (29%) said that they were victims of sexual assault or attempted sexual assault in the past year ("One in four", 1992). Most of these victims (83%) were women who had usually been attacked by people they knew. Most of the victims did not report the incident to authorities, believing that it was not serious enough, that unwanted sex was a private matter, or that they were partly to blame. Other reasons for not speaking out included embarrassment, a desire to protect reputations, and a fear of court proceedings.

Although authorities may express empathy for those attacked, their behaviour often belies this. When one teenage woman student at the University College of Cape Breton was gang raped by three men at a campus party in 1991, she was herself charged with mischief by the investigating RCMP when she complained (Flaherty, 1992). The case against her was soon dropped, but it took her a year to have the men charged for their crime. She left the university because of this attack.

Another sexual assault reported at the University of Prince Edward Island in 1992 was covered up for nearly a week by the administration and security. The woman had been abducted, bound with duct tape, raped, and beaten so badly that she was hospitalized for several days ("Handling of", 1992). The crime only became public knowledge when the victim's mother complained to the media.

For all students, the ultimate threat is that of murder. The man who killed 14 women, mostly engineering students, in Montreal on December 6, 1989, did so because he believed them to be feminists, although some at least were not (Conway, 1991, 33). Shortly after these killings, some Toronto men, including a few students, suggested or implied that feminist aggressiveness was partly to blame for the killer's action (Blattberg et al, 1990). A year later a university vice-president discussing a memorial march on Dec. 6 with a student said that such events were like a red rag to a bull so that women shouldn't be surprised at a backlash by men against feminists (pers. comm. Nov 26, 1990).

Despite the horror of sexual assault, many women feel that universities do not take them seriously enough. At the University of Waterloo, for example, no statistics are kept of the occurrence of rape, so that on the surface it seems not to exist. Yet a number of rapes occur each year. The chaplains at UW almost never have to

deal with these cases of rape, probably because they are all male.

### **Sexual Harassment**

Much of the negative behaviour aimed at university women escalates imperceptibly from sexism into sexual harassment so that the two are difficult to distinguish (see Sexism entry). Sexual harassment is usually defined as comments, behaviour, or visual or other material that poisons the academic or work environment for a person or group of people (Simone, 1991). It is common at universities across Canada as the following surveys show:

\* A 1985 survey of University of Waterloo women students (28 per cent return rate) found that, for example, 74 per cent had suffered sexual insult, 47 per cent of these while on campus, and 37 per cent had suffered sexual invitation in a harassing context, 49 per cent of these while on campus (McDaniel and van Roosmalen, 1991).

\* At Simon Fraser University, a 1986 questionnaire survey (53 per cent return rate) showed that 50 per cent of undergraduate and 61 per cent of graduate students said they had been sexually harassed (Dagg and Thompson, 1988, 107), the former mostly by students and the latter mostly by faculty.

\* At the University of Manitoba, a 1987 survey (68 per cent return rate) found that 16 per cent of women students and staff said they had been sexually harassed; 45 per cent felt that if someone complained about this they would "suffer in some way"; 9 per cent changed their study plans to avoid sexual harassment, which could involve having to switch to another university (Polanyi, 1988).

At the time these surveys were carried out, there was only a limited understanding of what sexual harassment was, so the reported incidence for this type of behaviour would be higher if the surveys were done today, but not high enough. In a recent survey of 161 female undergraduates at the University of Western Ontario, over half said teachers habitually made sexist or sexual remarks in their presence, nearly 14 per cent said teachers gave them unwanted sexual attention, and a few said teachers made forceful attempts to touch them, but even so under five per cent of the respondents believed they had suffered from sexual harassment ("Why sexual harassment," 1992). June Larkin (1991), who is highly attuned to the problem, documented five incidents against herself over a four-month period while she was on campus at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education in Toronto.

At York University women students often react against feminist students for fear of being labeled a "feminist" or a "lesbian" (York students, 1991). Such fears are substantiated by the men's reactions to feminists. One male student invaded a feminist's private space by asking her if she shaved her legs and if she slept with men. After this initial attempt at intimidation, he directed sexist comments at her for the rest of the year. Also at York University, a professor

disparaged the development of the sexual harassment policy. He said that unintentional gestures might be misinterpreted "with all the feminists out there," thereby trivializing sexual harassment and marginalizing feminists.

At the University of Windsor, women students who raise feminist concerns in their classes (for example, a concern with bias against women) may be derided and silenced. One such student was Sheelagh Conway, who objected when a psychology professor at the University of Windsor compared a twin-peak graph to a woman's breasts and referred to female staff as "girls" ("Student charges," 1986). Made to feel humiliated and isolated in class, she approached the professor privately, only to be flippantly dismissed. When she spoke to the department chairman, he compared her methods and motives to those used in Nazi Germany. Nor were her peers supportive. One male student in this communications class complained that they shouldn't have "to listen to this old lady" when she interjected her feminist views ("Activists protest," 1986). This class then sent a petition to the president of the university requesting that because Conway's feminist views "were a threat to society," she should be expelled (pers. comm., May 1991). Conway, an A+ student in this course, noticed that other women were silenced after witnessing her treatment.

One doesn't have to be a feminist to receive abuse. At the University of Waterloo, the computer network supplies pornography free to its students (Moon, 1992):

a female student could walk into a computer laboratory and find a picture of a woman being raped on the computer screen next to her, hear male students laughing as they read about a woman being tortured, or be forced to wait at a computer printer while a male student got a printout of an obscene photograph of a woman.

At the University of Alberta, the Law Student Association produced posters announcing social events that featured violence against women (Williamson, 1990, 43). One depicted a woman splattered with blood and the words "be there or be dismembered." Another read "Student gets molested on dance floor, student gets hysterical, student gets slapped around." These posters were removed after many students and faculty complained, but a proposal to establish an ethics committee to discuss the issue with law students was rejected.

Feminists are more likely than other students to recognize and react against sexual harassment (as McCrea, 1991, 19). Despite its prevalence, it is seldom reported to the university authorities (Dagg and Thompson, 1988, 107-9). The professors who do the harassing do not see it as a problem. Few or no professors attend workshops

designed to educate them.

Threats of death to university women continue. In October 1991, threats were made to female editors of *Surface*, a Queen's University paper. The letter read "Congratulations! Here's your politically correct death notices...we're gunna rape u dykes...In fact, we will kill any and all feminists slowly" ("Female editors," 1991). At Concordia University, a co-president of the student council who had been elected on a feminist platform received a note the day before the second anniversary of the Montreal massacre which said "Bitch dykes you're dead tomorrow" (Klein, 1992). When a feminist today finds herself in her department when everyone else has gone home, or notices a man standing in front of a noticeboard glancing at her frequently, she feels fear. It takes courage nowadays to declare that one is a feminist, believing in equality between women and men.

Most universities have sexual harassment policies, but they are weak, with little or no punishment for the harasser (Osborne, 1992). Some are not only unworkable, but cause additional harassment to women who complain (Slights, 1992). Sexual harassment officers have themselves to put up with insult and abuse from faculty and students alike (Weston, 1992). In one well-publicized case at a large Canadian university, a feminist part-time student complained of harassment by a professor, only to be threatened with a defamation suit unless she withdrew her accusation. She felt forced to do so after suffering many months of mental anguish. The professor's stance was endorsed by the local civil liberties association on the grounds of academic freedom. Neither the professor nor the university in question can be named publicly, for fear of a defamation suit (Lahey, 1990, 205-6).

**Sidebar****Invitations to a Party**

These were some of the personalized invitations to a 1990 party following a tug-of-war that 300 women on campus received from about twenty-five male University of British Columbia students (Hookham and Merriam, 1991).

- \* Come to the tug-of-war -- we'll fuck the shit out of you.
- \* You're a fat cow, but I'll fuck you anyways.
- \* What's the best thing about fucking an advisor? Killing her afterwards and giving her 2 points for screaming.
- \* We'll suck your nipples bloody.
- \* If you're tired of pulling on your tampon string, come to the tug-of-war.
- \* Life sucks, but so do you.
- \* You're a Whore.
- \* What's the best thing about fucking a 12-year old? Killing her afterward.
- \* You're not good enough for me to fuck, but you can fuck my dog.

### **Specialized or Interdisciplinary Studies**

Allan Bloom (1990, 25), who taught for a time at the University of Toronto, made fun of the Chinese person, Black person, Armenian and probable homosexual who approached him after a lecture because they wanted to see their own life experiences reflected by the university. He writes "They seemed to think that Greeks and Italians have been in control of universities and that now their day is coming. One can imagine a census which would redistribute the representation of books. The premise of these students' concerns is that 'where you come from, your culture, is more important than where you are going."

But why shouldn't students be concerned with where they have come from? Often it is only being secure in this knowledge that enables them to face the future. Taxpayers pay billions of dollars to support universities. Why shouldn't universities respond to the students' needs?

In the last 30 years, following pressure from students and groups of professors, scattered programs have been set up in some universities for women's studies, Native studies, Canadian studies and other interdisciplinary bodies. These new additions were not welcomed by everyone, especially professors of the old guard. However, they were vital to many students, especially those inclined to ask "If you don't know and don't care about who I am then why should I give a damn about what you say you do know about?" (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1991, 52). Aronowitz and Giroux (1991, 37) believe that education should be tied "to what students themselves want, what they think and feel, and -- most important -- what they already know."

In this manual, specialized studies are considered for five groups of people which have asked universities to include their interests in the curriculum. The groups are, in chronological order in which their activism resulted in some courses being offered in at least a few North American universities, Blacks, feminists, Natives, gay men and lesbians.

By choosing to discuss only five groups of people, of course, we omit other groups, some of which have been less organized -- older students, students with disabilities, students of colour, part-time students, students forced to study by correspondence. Himani Bannerji (1991, 69), for example, expresses dismay at her experiences as an Indian graduate student in English at the University of Toronto. She was often the only non-white person in class where the others carried on discussions as if she were not there. If she made a comment from her anti-colonial, Marxist perspective of English literature or compared it to Third World literature, the flow of conversation would be interrupted. "Then they would look at each other and teachers would wait in the distance for me to finish. There might have been some uneasy and unclear response at times -- but generally no one

would pick up my points. I would feel out of place, my face warm, and wished I had not spoken."

As another example, a woman much older than her classmates in a social work course prepared a group report to be presented to the other students. When she discussed her work with the professor, he said that she must not do the presenting because she was too old; the other students would be unable to empathize with her (pers. comm. Nov. 1991).

Another difficult problem arises when students fit several categories and don't find their multiple needs met.

\* The Gay American Indian (GAI) organization wants the needs of its hundreds of members addressed, as well as those many thousands of non-members who are Native and gay (Thompson, 1987). \* Women's studies courses, like mainstream courses, usually focus on middle-class heterosexual whites, and thus negate the experience of working-class women, as well as lesbians and women of colour (Moraga and Smith, 1982, 63).

\* Jewish courses usually omit mention of gay men and lesbians, even though these groups have Hitler's extermination in common (Beck, 1982, 83).

\* Courses in lesbian literature tend to exclude Black women and women of colour, an exclusion which justifiably annoys such women (Moraga and Smith, 1982, 58). Moraga notes (p. 63):

if you happen to be a Third World Lesbian, forget it. Because there's not going to be one course that you could totally relate to. Your Lesbianism gets dealt with in an all-white atmosphere and your colour gets dealt with in a straight context. Then they want to know why there are no Third World women or Third World Lesbians taking women's studies.

Another problem is that members of each self-identified group may be so different from each other, that classifying them together seems preposterous. However, one has to start somewhere. As an example, Linda Carty (1991a, 36) mentions taking a political science class with two other Blacks, both men. These men agreed with her ideas and the way she challenged the professor in class, but only mentioned their feelings to her in private. Openly, they accepted what the professor said because they were unwilling to alienate him as Carty was doing; the university hierarchy gave them a close affinity to the professor that a black woman lacked.

Many universities have developed a few interdisciplinary programs, but they receive far less support than mainstream disciplines. Even to publish in an interdisciplinary journal may be suspect (Sykes, 1988, 107). NOTE 1. Bercuson and his colleagues

(1984, 136 ff), typical of traditionalists in finding interdisciplinary programs unacceptable, insist that such programs give a shallow piecemeal effect "along with unhealthy introspection and self-congratulatory navel-gazing" (p. 137). Supposedly instilling in students no solid training in the mainstream disciplines and offering little information about other cultures, these programs are claimed to be too often staffed by academically weak professors. The same authors quote Claude Bissell, former president of the University of Toronto, in stating that such a program "is akin to other curricular developments that tie a whole range of disciplines to a particular aspect of a subject, e.g., 'women's studies' -- it is difficult not to turn such programmes into didactic exercises, and to make the search for truth the search for the holy grail" (p. 138). Bissell is also quoted as saying "The problem with all interdisciplinary studies is that they become vital only in the mind of the individual who can fuse insights from a variety of sources" (p. 138). But this fusion of insights is surely what makes women's studies and Black studies and Natives studies momentous. To see knowledge in new ways and to be able to apply it to one's life experience is incredibly important and exciting. Bercuson and his colleagues, however, feel that few individuals have this ability, none of them undergraduates (p. 139). Could this be because these professors teach in mainstream disciplines which have little new and exciting to offer? Certainly the undergraduates I work with who are feminists and lesbians and Natives have amazing insights into their areas of interest.

On a global scale, the lack of interdisciplinary contact and thinking in universities has helped create the disastrous condition of the earth (Orr, 1991). For example, economists who graduate from university know little or nothing about ecology. They work extensively with the Gross National Product, but are not capable of taking into account the actual cost of exploiting natural resources. When an area is logged, the pulp and paper produced are a positive end product but equally important are the negative effects, usually ignored, of polluted water, eroded soil and degraded land.

The generalization in *The Great Brain Robbery* that specialized studies should be abolished because they have no depth may be true for Canadian studies: each of the involved disciplines are large enough to be able to offer a variety of courses on Canada, usually taught by a Canadian professor who has done research on Canada. These disciplines cannot, however, offer a number of courses on Blacks, Gays, Lesbians, Natives and women taught by members of these groups because they do not have the resources and willingness to do this. If we consider the largest category, that of women, we realize that most departments have some women faculty, but few or none may

be feminists; even if there are feminists, the atmosphere may be so oppressive that they cannot teach in a feminist-positive way -- students and the other professors will not let them, as Sheila McIntyre (1987) found at Queen's University when she tried to do so and was overwhelmed by a male backlash.

Specialized studies are important for a number of reasons. Primarily, they provide information on subjects of personal interest to groups of students whose educational needs and interests are otherwise overlooked. Some subjects in mathematics and science may be taught with less bias, but all subjects are culturally biased to some extent and this bias must be acknowledged and addressed. Courses in general have been conceived by Eurocentric, heterosexual, middle-class males and they serve the students who have these same characteristics well. Everyone else, however, is not best served by such courses.

Specialized studies go deeper than having courses taught by knowledgeable people who have relevant experience (as opposed to "paper" experts who have Ph.D.s in the relevant discipline). Both teachers and students need a supportive ambience where it is safe to discuss their ideas. "Neutrality" in the classroom isn't good enough because it isn't really neutral. One lesbian commented that "People in academe tend to be of the sort of self conscious liberal variety where they would rather die than actually admit that they were sexist and homophobic or anything like that. But they're being frightfully liberal through clenched teeth all the time" (Wine, 1988, 50).

Specialized studies are important because they bring people of like nature or interest together, giving them a sense of community. On a large, impersonal campus, this attribute is vital if members of minority groups are to benefit as much as possible from their university education. It gives a feeling of empowerment that enhances both the students' academic work and their lives.

Specialized studies should be available to everyone on campus so that their value will be unquestioned. Their presence will encourage student and faculty research in these areas. The results of this research in turn will enrich the university and society.

Are specialized studies a long-term solution? Or should their aim be to integrate material relevant to special groups into mainstream courses? Members of special groups have to decide how to apportion their energy and money between these two possibilities. Having a special studies' program is invaluable for those interested in it, but it has political implications. It indicates to the rest of the campus that the special need is being addressed so that little change is required in the mainstream courses. It also renders the program vulnerable to later attack; if a university wants to save

money, it will have less difficulty closing a small program of powerless people than attempting cuts in the long-established disciplines. (The principle of separation vs integration is discussed in more depth in the Women's Studies entry).

Black activists have known for decades that integration of Blacks into white schools and even all-Black schools does not necessarily improve conditions for most Blacks. Indeed "integration" scarcely describes the experience of a small subordinate group having to function within a large dominant group. Alvin Poussaint (1969, 198-9) believed that integration in education of Blacks was not healthy for the successful graduate. It turned many into "Uncle Toms" and white racists; they spent a great deal of energy making themselves and their ideas acceptable to whites. They became tokens who were pleased to be told by whites that "they were different" and "didn't seem like other Blacks." They might be acceptable individually to white people, but white people continued to discriminate against Blacks as a group.

Blacks have had their own colleges in United States for many decades just as many Blacks have gone to universities in the North, yet most of the Blacks so educated have become "white" and middle class. They have seldom used their skills to fight for better conditions for all Blacks (Karenga, 1969, 38). The emphasis in the Black schools has been to educate for social status, so much so that the average Black professor or Black student was reluctant to learn about Black experience (Cruse, 1969, 23). Activists who know that universities are always political hope to change Black education with Black studies leading to social use.

The backlash against specialized studies programs is large, and will probably increase with the continuing restraint in funding.

As early as 1984, Bercuson, Bothwell and Granatstein argued in *The Great Brain Robbery* that programs such as Canadian studies, Native studies, and women's studies should be abolished: "The cross-disciplinary mush being spooned out in 'studies' programs gives students an extremely generalized knowledge about one subject with virtually no depth" (p. 155). They believe that students must get a solid interdisciplinary training at university (p. 137) and that this can only come from the established disciplines such as history, sociology, geography and literature. Their view is shared by Canadian scholar Northrop Frye (1988) and by conservative authors who have written best-selling books in the United States: Allan Bloom's *The Closing of the American Mind*, Charles Sykes' *ProfScam*, Page Smith's *Killing the Spirit*, Roger Kimball's *Tenured Radicals*, and Dinesh D'Souza's *Illiberal\_Education*. Their stance is often well supported: the neoconservative Olin Foundation, for example, gave D'Souza a grant to write *Illiberal Education* and \$90,000 to help

promote it; Bloom, who wrote *The Closing of the American Mind*, received \$3.6 million to operate the John M. Olin Center for Inquiry into the Theory and Practice of Democracy (Keefer, 1992). NOTE 2.

End Note

1. Disciplines which by their nature would seem to be terminal, such as geography now that the world is fully mapped, and anthropology now that there are almost no autonomous isolated societies left to observe, have become interdisciplinary in their desperation to survive, but this is not seen as a problem.

2. The John M. Olin Foundation also feels threatened by the support Anita Hill has garnered following her comments to the United States Senate about Clarence Thomas as a possible Supreme Court judge (Moore, 1993). It financed a book, *The Real Anita Hill: The Untold Story*, by David Brock, which is a "character assassination" of this woman.

### Teaching Alternatives

No matter how radical and unhierarchical the aim and content of a course, virtually all professors are educating for domination when they organize and teach it. bell hooks (1989, 100) notes that this includes feminist professors and especially Marxist professors who are "even more oppressively authoritarian than other professors. Everyone seemed reluctant to talk about the fact that professors who advocated radical politics rarely allowed their critique of domination and oppression to influence teaching strategies."

Given the necessity for a teacher to evaluate students' work, courses for credit will always be hierarchical to some extent. However, their content, and the way marks are generated, usually depend upon the teacher.

The best way to raise consciousness about alternatives to what students have been taught for twelve years as they grew up is to plunge right in and introduce classes to new ideas, even though this can be dangerous for the professor and stressful for the student. All curricula are biased to some extent, yet no university in Canada has a policy insisting that balanced material be taught. Indeed, students have been so indoctrinated that they may object to efforts made by professors, no matter how slight, to correct the imbalance.

For example, Patrocinio Schweickart tried to introduce diversity into her English classes, but found her students hostile to her efforts (in Williamson, 1990, 47). They felt "cheated because the discussion of the issues of race and gender interfered with the 'larger issues' -- the critical approaches to literature -- that [they] had come to the course to learn."

Evelyn Beck (1982, 85) was similarly nonplussed by her efforts to include the subject of lesbianism in her courses. She notes "any mention of lesbianism, no matter how brief, in a heterosexual environment seems to expand until it takes up all the space. Students are so unused to this most taboo topic, that once they hear about 'it' all else seems to recede into the background."

Nancy Manahan (1982, 66) agrees with Beck about the phenomenon of the mention of certain issues overwhelming some classes. In one of her English courses "a story by James Baldwin, a passage by Maya Angelou and a poem by Nikki Giovanni in an otherwise white literature anthology was perceived by my white students as 'reading about Blacks all the time'." In another course, she was attacked by parents because several Catholic students chose to do reports on *Rubyfruit Jungle* by Rita Mae Brown. This book had been one of forty in a suggested reading list drawn up to supplement the establishment literature texts prescribed for the course, a reading list which also included literature by Blacks, Native Americans, Asian Americans, Mexican Americans, gays, lesbians, and working class writers.

A feminist at a northern Canadian university was threatened when she tried to broaden her students' perspectives. She was openly called a "fucking feminist" by a male student because she showed -- in a social work class that had voted to see it -- a CBC film on services provided to rapists (pers. comm. Dec. 12, 1989). This student and others were egged on in their revolt by anti-feminist male faculty.

When Janice Williamson (1990, 54) gave a lecture on Erin Moure's lesbian writing, her property was vandalized that night in what the police decided was a negative reaction to her talk. Someone with a truck tied a rope to her backyard fence and tore it down.

More recently, Prof. Rebecca Coulter (1991) received death threats to herself and her daughter when she inserted several lectures and tutorials on gender from a feminist perspective in a University of Western Ontario education course.

Other feminists have censored their lecture material to avoid antagonizing students and other professors. At the University of Western Ontario, some women were deterred by sexism from teaching "in areas that are commonly viewed as challenging to heterosexual or male-dominant stereotypes" (Backhouse et al, 1989, 32). One student complained to the head of a department that her professor was gay because she included academic materials on homosexuality and lesbianism in her courses and spoke in class about enforced heterosexuality (p. 32). Still other women teachers felt that, even if they did not encounter overt hostility from male students, the message was clear "that women faculty are attributed much less authority than their male counterparts" (p. 22).

Much less often, students may complain because an alternate approach is not radical enough. In one women's studies core course offered in 1991, a lesbian student was critical of the professor's efforts when she examined the issue of sex. The student wrote:

I thought the three films that were presented were inappropriate. Heterosexual sex was depicted by a 30-second film in which a man (organist) played a woman (organ). Gay sex and lesbian sex were displayed as purely genital as well. This is a stale and sexist view of sex. I felt it was particularly detrimental to display "sex" acts before discussing intimate relationships or sexuality. The way in which this topic was presented perpetuated the stereotypes of gays and lesbians as sex-crazed perverts and vampires. First and second year students were also shown that in heterosexual sex man makes the moves, women are passive and played (preyed) upon. There are many films available that explore the issue of sex within a much more suitable, up-to-date context.

It was frightening to hear the professor attempt to address the

issue of rape, simply as a sex act. She made the comment that because she is now older and does not possess the "desirable goodies" that younger women do, she is no longer in as much danger to be raped. This is serious misinformation. Not once did she mention that rape is an act of violence. She failed to mention that old women and children are raped too. She did not link violence against women with misogyny. Her solution was that all women should carry high-heels in bags, pull them out, put them on and dig them into the perpetrator's foot.

The backlash in academia against teachers who try to give balance to knowledge taught there is focussed mainly on feminists. It is this group that has had most success in questioning patriarchal values, notably in women's studies courses, and against which many men fulminate both inside and outside the university. The backlash against feminism has been most virulent at law schools, where questions of feminism naturally arise among students taught to think critically about justice. Prof. Sheila McIntyre (1987), who tried to teach unbiased law courses at Queen's University in the mid-1980s, found her efforts to raise feminist concerns strenuously undermined by actions ranging from annoying disagreement or argument to angry confrontation. The classroom climate was made unworkable when students discredited their teacher's expertise and ability. Students sometimes boycotted classes, ridiculed feminist teachers in public, portrayed them pornographically in the men's washroom, and attacked them in course evaluations.

Similar antagonism exists at other (and perhaps all) Canadian law schools. In the spring of 1989, a law students' newspaper "contained critical, indeed scurrilous, comments about feminism at the law school" (Martin, 1989, p. 7). Prof. Rob Martin of the University of Western Ontario, who reported this, himself writes contemptuously of women law professors who others say are trying "to transform the power within the classroom through the use of new and innovative teaching methodologies and methods of evaluation" (Majury and Young, 1989, 5). Martin calls the feminist professors trying to improve the law schools "liars, bullies and charlatans," and notes "A lot of male faculty will not have anything to do with female students out of fear of being subjected to allegations" (Makin, 1989, 16). By contrast, Prof. Constance Backhouse and her colleagues (1989) think that "What we are witnessing is a revolution in how women fit into the profession of law. It is a very creative, vibrant, exciting time."

A bias against women is reflected in the curricula taught in law schools, material which, until recently, focused mostly on legal issues of interest to men and considered all issues from a male

perspective. Feminist professors trying to correct this imbalance face a difficult task, because only 19 per cent of law professors are women (Statistics Canada, 1991a), some of whom lack tenure and some of whom are not feminists. Any backlash against their efforts discourages feminist students interested in our legal system.

Some innovative ways of teaching have been developed at Dakosky and Paludi (1990, 16). At Vanier College in St. Laurent, Quebec, Fran Davis, Arlene Steiger and Karen Tennenhouse (1989) have devised other methods which should increase the interest of women and minority students in their studies and encourage them to enter and remain in graduate school. They involve making the classroom more comfortable, decreasing competition, and increasing student participation. Three methods are:

1. Have teachers share regularly with the class personal examples from their own lives which are relevant to what is being studied and personal examples of how they go about the learning process. This practice personalizes the classroom and establishes an atmosphere of respect for intellectual enquiry. The teacher can mention how he or she had similar problems with the material when a student or how his or her research is progressing in the same field. The teacher uses "I" statements on written work rather than a red X -- "I like this approach, but check your arithmetic" or "I think you went wrong here."
2. Encourage the partnership of two or three students both inside and outside the classroom. Two students have "enormous educational advantages" (p. 17) if they can talk about and solve problems together. Peer partnerships "deal directly with those feelings of alienation and marginalization which female learners describe as part of their experience of traditional classrooms" (p. 33). Partners can interview each other briefly and then introduce the partner to the class; they can help each other with assigned readings; they can check each other's writing; and they can together prepare a class presentation. A few marks should be given for partnerships that continue to work effectively throughout the term.
3. Use writing in the learning process. Writing about what one is learning focuses student attention and forces a process of thought. The authors recommend four specific exercises:

- a. Five-minute free writes in which students address a simple topic or question. They can be used at the first of a class to engage the student, at the end to summarize material, or in between to explore problem areas.
- b. Journals in which students reflect on what they are learning or paraphrase sections of the text. Women who talked

little in class often kept excellent journals related to their learning process: "Had it not been for their journals, [the professor] would not have been able to communicate individually with the quiet female students at all" (p. 112). Journals help students think about the course content and alert teachers to what is working and what is not.

c. A collective class log kept in the library in which students write at least one page a week. By reading each others' entries students have a feeling of community.

d. A question and answer box in which students write once a week about problems they are having. The teacher answers the questions in class or individually with a student, in either case forming a closer relationship between them.

The authors emphasize that a few marks should be given for taking part in written work and that the teacher must read the work but *never* criticize it or point out grammar or spelling errors: "If such correction takes place, the student is penalized for taking risks, trying out ideas, and expressing confusion, all of which are parts of the exercise" (p. 36).

A more far-reaching change in undergraduate teaching is being launched by McMaster University which is setting up "theme schools" focused on interdisciplinary education and self-directed learning. "A group of faculty members identifies a set of intellectual problems arising out of their research, establishes a program of study focused on these problems, and gathers a group of students interested in learning about these problems" (Vale, 1993). The first two schools are "New Materials and their Impact on Society" and "International Justice and Human Rights". Graduates of these schools should be capable of solving problems touching on a variety of professions and disciplines either alone or working in groups.

#### **End Note**

1. For a "Selected bibliography of feminist pedagogy and inclusive curricula," see the Canadian Association of University Teachers Status of Women Supplement, April 1993, p. 11.

### **Textbooks**

Textbooks are vital in providing an overview of a subject to a large number of students. They can also be dangerous:

- a) information is often presented as if cast in stone, with alternate theoretical frameworks and contentions points of view ignored, and
- b) information that is omitted becomes irrelevant or invisible to students, no matter how important it may be in reality.

Professors who want to introduce different perspectives into their courses may be out of luck. There are many introductory texts in each discipline designed to attract the huge market of first-year students, but their content is strikingly similar; it is uneconomic to bring out a text that appeals only to a small market. One feminist at an Ontario university who taught a course on theory in sociology found that no textbook included much information on the important women sociologists such as Beatrice Webb she planned to discuss. Rather than use a standard deficient text and add extra material on these women, which would leave the impression that they were unimportant and merely dragged in on the professor's feminist whim, she elected not to prescribe a textbook. This action frustrated her students, including those women who appreciated why she had acted as she had. However, the older women students approved her efforts to provide them with balanced material.

One example of what could be considered censorship involves subjects of interest to women addressed in psychology courses. Psychology is an important subject at university. Many students are at an age when they are keenly interested in human behaviour, especially their own, and many either elect to study psychology as their major field, or at least to take a course or two in it. Women are especially interested in psychology -- in Canada, for example, they comprise three-quarters of psychology undergraduates (Statistics Canada, 1992). Young women have a more difficult time than men working out how to fit into society -- as wife, as mother, as career-person, as dropout, or some combination of these; such conundrums have driven many young women to bulimia or anorexia, maladies that can prove fatal. Young women have more past or potential personal crises to face than men, such as a history of incest or other abuse (about one in four girls), unwanted pregnancy (as high as one in three teenage girls in some groups), the question of abortion, and, like men, for one in ten the realization that they have a homosexual orientation.

Given the enormous number of young women who have undergone or are undergoing high psychic stress, it would seem obvious that general psychology courses at universities should focus on behaviour related to these crises. Such seems not to be the case, however. I consulted nine textbooks of general psychology written by professors

and aimed at college or university students, all published between 1982 and 1990, and all at least 580 pages long. In each book I looked in the index under nine headings for subjects directly related to women's lives. Here is what they contained:

abortion -- in none of the nine books  
 abuse of children or women -- mentioned in only one book  
 battering or beating of wives or women -- in none of the books  
 homosexuality -- mentioned in seven books, especially male  
 homosexuality  
 incest -- in none of the books  
 lesbianism -- mentioned in only one book  
 pornography -- mentioned in only two books  
 rape -- mentioned in only one book  
 violence against women or children -- mentioned in only one book

This quick survey indicates that psychological issues of extreme concern to individual women are of little interest to the discipline as a whole. However, psychology textbooks use much less sexist language than they did in the past and include more discussion of sex role development and stereotypes (Percival, 1984).

Because of male bias in mainstream psychology textbooks, many textbooks focusing on the psychology of women have recently been published to counteract the neglect and misrepresentation of women. Of the 28 of these surveyed for their treatment of Afro-American women, 18 offered either token or no references to this group (Brown et al, 1985). Rather, Euro-American middle-class women were treated as the norm. The textbooks were as biased as the mainstream texts, displaying not sexism, but racism, ethnocentrism, and classism. When the experiences of Black women were addressed, they erroneously seemed to represent the experiences of all non-white women including Hispanics, Natives, and Asian-Americans.

Other research has focussed on misinformation or lack of information in textbooks about homosexuality. Gary McDonald (1981) perused 48 introductory psychology textbooks published in the late 1970s and used in Canadian universities. He found that for every one source of relevant information on homosexuality (which information was itself scarce), there were five sources of misrepresentative data which involved misleading information, liberalism and heterosexual bias. He concluded (p. 53) "that authors are perpetuating societal stereotypes, thereby justifying the prejudice and discrimination encountered by gay people in their daily lives."

In another study, Bonnie Zimmerman (1982) reported that in university courses and anthologies of literature, women's work

comprised about eight per cent of the whole whereas in women's studies texts, lesbianism was evident in only three per cent of inclusions. If literature by a lesbian is included in a text, the author may not be identified as such so that her sexual orientation remains invisible.

As well as problems of content, textbooks can influence students by their sexist, racist or homophobic use of language. One feminist student wrote about a 1991 course:

I enjoyed the course, but I was displeased that we used out-of-date textbooks that were not written using gender-inclusive language. It was difficult for me to wade through the obvious sexism to get to the point of the book. I can understand that gender sensitive language is a relatively new issue and must be a concern in new books, but one of the texts used in this course was a Book of Readings that could have been updated had someone taken the time. When I asked other students if they were having the same trouble I was getting by the language in order to absorb the information, I was disappointed that most hadn't noticed it until I pointed it out. However, once more people in the class became aware of it, many of us expressed our displeasure by using the course evaluation form. I hope that this problem will be corrected for the next course.

### Women's Studies

One of the earliest proponents for women's higher education was the English woman Mary Astell. In her book *A Serious Proposal to the Ladies* (1694), she sets out the need to train women academically (Perry, 1986, 101 ff) so that they could attend to spiritual matters in a community with other women and thus realize an alternative to childrearing and housekeeping.

Astell's ideas were largely forgotten for over 150 years. Women's higher education in England was discussed again in the 1860s, but only in the context of what they should learn: what young men were taught or what was suitable for future wives and mothers. Emily Davies, a prominent suffragist, was desperately anxious that women be educated with the same curriculum as men, so that they could prove their intellectual equality. This is what happened when Hitchin College was opened in 1869 and later with other colleges (Herstein, 1985, 180-181).

In United States, there was more emphasis on domestic science for young women. Emma Willard, an early pioneer for women's education, espoused in 1819 women's role in the home. She stated that education would make women better mothers (and of course teachers, too, which she advocated less openly so as not to rock the boat) (Rossiter, 1982, 5). By 1840, another reformer, Catherine Beecher, was urging that women train for both a professional and a domestic education (Thibault, 1987, 39). In the first American colleges, women usually studied Latin, Greek and history, as the men did, but also the arts and religious studies as well as domestic science (Thibault, 1987, 19).

For Virginia Woolf, teaching women what men were taught in universities was not necessarily a good thing (Thibault, 1987, 156), for she believed that women must control their own education. Adrienne Rich (1979) fleshed out this idea more recently in her article "Toward a Women-Centered University." Such an idea remains unacceptable in Canada, however, although it has been accepted in Norway. NOTE 6. NOTE 2.

Governments and universities may not be ready to support educational institutions run by and for women, the way universities are now run largely by and for men, but many universities have been pressured by women into establishing women's studies programs. Their success indicates what can be done when a large group within academia demands a curriculum relevant to its needs and interests. The limitation of women's studies, however, is related to universities' reluctance to welcome such an interloper, as the following example illustrates:

Let us say that a university decided, to be up-to-date, that

it needed a science department we'll call physics. It seconded an assistant professor as head from the mechanical engineering department to spend half his time overseeing this new department, and it arranged for five other professors to give courses that students interested in physics could take. Three of the faculty members, from electrical engineering, applied math, and chemistry, had each taken courses in physics as graduate students. Another was a biophysicist but a bit of a maverick because he did not believe in evolution. And one was a sessional lecturer taking graduate courses in the history of science who desperately needed money because he was a single parent.

The new physics department grew slowly despite the keenness of most of its faculty members. The director had little clout in the faculty council because he was on a probationary contract. He did his best for physics, but the time involved meant that his own research suffered and he failed to win tenure. His replacement, a mature part-time Ph.D. student in applied math, worked equally hard as head but was handicapped because his predecessor had to leave the university and could not give him advice on what innovations in the department might succeed. Both heads had to deal with students upset by the maverick's comments undermining evolution and by non-physics faculty members anxious that physics not encroach on their own disciplines. There were worries about finances and about the actual content of the physics' courses, over which the head had no control. Many people on campus seemed antagonistic to the new department, vilifying it to their colleagues, harassing the head, trashing its brochures, urinating in the department and plastering tampons on the professors' doors (Dagg and Thompson, 1988; "Women being silenced", 1991).

Well, we've gone a bit far here. It's hard to imagine physics arousing quite so much passion. But if we consider physics as a stand-in for women's studies, such passion against it is all too pervasive. Worse still, such activities happen (as Williamson, 1990).

Can we really expect a new department or program to prosper when it is considered by probably most of the university community as at best unnecessary and, at worst, a desecration of academia? When male students waste class time by questioning the existence of women's studies and feminist scholarship, a stance unimaginable in the traditional disciplines? When its head often has no job security and no power base in the faculty? When the discipline must rely for courses taught under its jurisdiction on teachers who may have little overall knowledge of the subject and may sometimes be against its tenets?

Women's studies in Canadian universities must operate like a

person with both hands tied behind her back. The discipline must put up with inertia from administrators and active opposition from some faculty members. Some professors tell their students that women's studies courses are Mickey Mouse or "bird" courses. At Queen's University a geology professor wrote in a letter to the *Queen's Journal* (Toogood, 1987): "There can be little doubt in anybody's mind...that the course [in women's studies] is taught by feminists and is solely concerned with orthodox feminist ideology. We regard this as a blatant and entirely unacceptable attempt to politicize legitimate academic activity at Queen's and we wish to take this opportunity to exercise...influence in redressing an intolerable distortion of our academic system." The author claimed his views had wide support, especially in the Science Faculty.

In a more recent almost hysterical outburst, Bert Fairbanks (1992) of the University of Lethbridge claims that Women's Studies is out to destroy the universities. "Women's Studies is the 'Trojan Horse of radical feminism,' and hopefully before they accomplish their deception we will recognize that it was a grave mistake to ever allow it to come within the walls of the university." He states that "Affirmative Action is nothing less than a deceptive form of plain old discrimination" and that anyway, using 1982 data, "53 per cent of women do not want to be in the job market at all".

Women professors, too, attack women's studies. Dr. Edit Gombay of the University of Alberta's Department of Statistics concluded a brief to that university's commission on alleged sexist transgressions of engineering students by saying, "the chief purpose of the women's studies courses is to provoke hatred against men and to instil contempt for non-feminist women" (Byfield, 1991, p. 28). Dr. Helga Vierich, a University of Alberta anthropologist, also distrusts women's studies, believing that the discipline breeds a "witch-hunt mentality" because of the importance in its theory of the concept of patriarchy (Byfield, 1991, p. 26). NOTE 7. Ruth Gruhn (1992), her colleague, claims women's studies tolerates neither scepticism nor criticism.

It is not surprising that a York student feels under attack: "I often feel that I am discriminated against because of my choice to pursue Women's Studies. Derogatory remarks are made about Women's Studies, and about my participation in it. I have become a tangible target for the free floating hostility which perpetuates sexism and racism" (York students, 1991).

Although there are now more women than men undergraduates at Canadian universities, some of these universities do not have women's studies programs. Some women's studies programs that do exist are not listed in their university calendar index, making it difficult for students to be aware of them (Tite and Malone, 1990, 12). Women's

studies programs have pitiful budgets: in Ontario in 1989, the budgets of women's studies programs ranged from zero up to \$133,000 (Council of Ontario Universities, 1989, 17). The University of Guelph, which has had a women's studies program for 13 years, has only had its own budget since 1990 and its own space since 1991 ("Women's studies program", 1991). In comparison, a regular department's budget may be \$2 million or so. Most women's studies programs control only a few core courses, which are therefore taught from a feminist perspective, but the women who teach them often lack tenure and have little status on campus (Brodribb, 1987, 3). At the University of Toronto, women's studies is funded to employ only 1.7 full-time faculty despite course attendance figures of over 2,000 students (Wayne and Ulster, 1991).

The greatest concern is that most women's studies courses are non-core and taught by regular tenured faculty members from mainline disciplines, especially sociology, language (as English or French) and history (Eichler and Tite, 1990). Some departments overlook feminist faculty deliberately and choose instead non-feminist professors to teach "women's" courses in an attempt to diffuse feminist critique (Williamson, 1990, 46). Some women teachers are anti-feminist (Brodribb and Pujol, 1991). Some male professors, self-declared non-feminists, imply that feminism is biased and state that they do not read any of the new feminist research (Eichler and Vandelac, 1990). This is like believing one can teach physics without knowing about Einstein's work. At the University of Waterloo, a women's studies' male professor is an activist trying to prevent employment equity programs from hiring women professors, even though these are badly needed to correct the extreme gender imbalance on campus. Most women's studies personnel have little or no control over who is hired by regular departments (one exception is Simon Fraser University), even though these new professors may take on important teaching commitments in women's studies. Nor do they have a real say in tenure decisions for professors.

Another major concern is that, although lesbians have worked hard for women's studies, women's studies does not always work for them. Marilyn Frye (1982, 194) notes "The predominance of heterosexual perspectives, values, commitments, thought, and vision [in women's studies] is usually so complete and ubiquitous that it cannot be perceived, for lack of contrast." Frye avoids discussing lesbianism and heterosexuality with many heterosexual women "for fear their already-nervous association with women's studies would become simply untenable for them" (p. 194). She finds it worse, however, that she has to censor her words even when talking with heterosexuals who are supportive of lesbianism. "What is a topic for them...is a condition of life for me. I avoid 'alienating' them, but

they constantly and (usually) unconsciously alienate me by the mostly uncritical and apparently unalterable, to me unfathomable, commitment to heterosexuality" (p. 195).

Despite opposition, women's studies programs have been vital in Canada for university feminists and for the women's movement. They were set up at each university in response to pressure from women (Eichler, 1990, 15), and continuing pressure from students who want to take women's studies courses keeps them healthy and expanding despite adversity. Even so, the agenda for women's studies is huge. As well as teaching suitable courses, it includes critiquing existing knowledge for sexist and other biases, and producing new information pertinent to women and society. Can we really expect a program to accomplish much when few research grants are available for feminist projects, when the three top academic journals for feminist research have recently had 100 per cent of their budgets from the Secretary of State slashed (Eichler and Tite, 1990), when the discipline and its proponents are openly scorned by many faculty members and administrators and some students as well?

It is arguable that the research generated and the students inspired by women's studies will do more to benefit society than the research and teaching of the traditional departments. Should universities continue to fund women's studies programs only by about five per cent of the money given to other departments? Are their priorities not badly twisted?

These questions are pertinent in Canada, but less so in United States, where women's studies programs have a longer history. However there, as will likely be the case in Canada, certain forces are considering whether women's studies courses are really needed. In 1982, a call went out from Yale University for papers for a proposed anthology to be called *The Changer or the Changed: Feminism in the Universities* (Wenzel and Joni, 1984). It was to address whether the equality of women would best be served by emphasizing women's studies programs in universities, or by focussing on the integration of information about women into the regular disciplines and courses. Proponents of women's studies believed that feminists could work and study best in a woman-supportive environment among scholars with similar perspectives and interests. New research about and by women would theoretically spread from there in time to the rest of the campus. Proponents of integration pointed out that relatively few students took women's studies courses, so that principles of equality could best be disseminated in universities by incorporating knowledge about and by women into the mainstream courses which all students had to take. Ideally, both strategies should be pursued maximally, but in reality this is seldom possible.

In the United States, a great deal of money at that time was

being funneled into the integration model through large grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Fund for Improvement of Post-secondary Education. About fifty American campuses were involved in such mainstreaming projects (Schmitz, 1982). These projects succeeded in strengthening women's studies on a variety of campuses, especially by raising the profile of feminist scholars and their work (Spanier, 1984; Aiken et al, 1988; Schmitz, 1982). Many more courses included information about women, even if they were not completely revised from a gender-neutral perspective.

The integration model had several advantages: being less conspicuous than the women's studies model, it was less subject to backlash from antifeminists. It was also less expensive for the administration to declare that the entire humanities and social science curriculum was accommodating feminism than to set up or maintain a women's studies department or program (Rosenfelt, 1984, 174). However, trying to create a gender-neutral curriculum is certainly not easy, and perhaps impossible.

Transforming universities as they are now into institutions that are *not* male-centred seems to be an almost impossible task, as the University of Arizona found (Aiken et al, 1988). The women's studies program there received a large National Endowment for the Humanities grant beginning in 1981 to conduct a four-year cross-disciplinary project. Its aim was to revise many courses so that they were no longer male-biased. The targets of the study were 45 professors from 13 departments, all but three men, and all but three of these tenured white heterosexual men. These professors were given either a stipend or released time for taking part in the project, and were required to revise at least one course to include materials by and about women.

To enable these professors to revise their course effectively, they were first required to attend weekly seminars on feminist theory given by women's studies teachers, mostly young untenured women. These women found the resistance to the project high, even though the participants had volunteered to join it. Some of the tenured professors showed real commitment to learning about feminist scholarship and then working to reconceptualize the tenets of their discipline, but most did not. Some attended the weekly seminars because of the money. Others did so out of curiosity. Many refused to become involved in discussions; others did selective reading and hearing only, and deflected discussions into tangents, "debating, for example, whether Aristotle or Plato better exemplified the classical tradition or the exact beginning date of the (male) Renaissance" (p. 108). Many refused or were unable to comprehend information that was interdisciplinary, as much feminist information is. Some resisted the theory entirely, "requesting instead

preassembled "how-to" classroom materials that they might fit into their otherwise unchanged courses" (p. 109). One major problem from the tenured professors' point of view was that adding material on women to their courses would mean leaving out other material, something that genuinely upset them.

By the end of the project, many of the tenured professors had been profoundly unsettled by the feminism they had been exposed to, and many of the women faculty were burnt out. The revised curricula contained more information about women, but the revisions had been modest considering the large cost of the project in money, time, and psychic energy. The few men who had become pro-feminist sometimes refused to state their position openly -- "the male peer group -- not to mention masculinist culture and tradition -- exercises a considerable tyranny over many of its members, in effect acting as a tacit police force over their discourse, hence over thought itself" (p. 119).

Despite pressure to put their energies into incorporating knowledge about women into universities, probably most feminists believe that women's studies should be a distinct academic discipline. The reality that "Women's Studies is incompatible with patriarchal academic institutions, implies that integration projects are accepted only because they dilute and subvert Women's Studies" (Kirschner and Arch, 1984, 149). Rosenfelt (1984, 167) writes:

'Mainstreaming,' while important, cannot represent the full scope, complexity, vitality, and contextuality of Women's Studies. Women's Studies has its own subject, gender, just as other disciplines have their central subjects. The new body of knowledge and theory about gender cannot be assimilated into 'traditional' departments and disciplines. Women's Studies is in the process of constituting itself a discipline: and knowing a discipline implies familiarity with the central issues of a given discourse, a knowledge of its central questions and controversies, an awareness of resonances among texts, and participation in the institutions and activities generating new knowledge and ideas. It is this sense of relationship among texts, ideas, empirical findings, theories, even the personalities and visions of individual human beings that cannot be fully transmitted in any mainstreaming project. Only in autonomous programs can Women's Studies continue its evolution toward disciplinary status and achieve its full intellectual and political promise.

Following this same rationale, a year after the editors had

requested papers for their proposed book *The Changer or the Changed*, they scrapped the project upon deciding that the Changers would be Changed. Wenzel and Joni (1984) felt that the mainstreaming of knowledge about women would lead essentially to an "add women and stir" process which was "a frightening one, and one which we feel ultimately contains and betrays women's studies, and women" (p. 190). They write "we cannot look happily on as women's studies, a potentially radical rupture with patriarchal discourse and methodology, enters instead into respectable marriages with standard disciplines and traditional curricula" (p. 191).

**NOTES** 1. The world's first feminist university was founded in Norway in 1985; its goals "consist of building a center for education based on feminist values and feminist methods of instruction" (Stephen, 1992). Professor Berit As notes that "at Kvinneuniversitetet, instead of having isolated [women's studies] cells on women's rights, women in literature, women in history, we gather information toward a new understanding of violence, war, the 'Third World' -- everything." She believes that a feminist understanding of the world "is so contradictory to the general academic understanding [that] it is impossible to teach in that context."

2. When Sheelagh Conway and I presented a brief about the need for women's universities in 1990 to a commission on Freestanding Secular Degree-Granting Institutions in Ontario, organized by the Ontario Council of University Affairs, it was completely ignored.

3. Women have always been vulnerable to the threat of deviance. Those who don't act as society prescribes are called feminists, spinsters, Nazis, man-haters, lesbians, sluts, and witches. When they are so stereotyped, they can be more readily ostracized and controlled (Harris, 1991). The word "witch" is particularly powerful because in the past it led to torture and death of at least 300,000 women. Exceptional women who practised medicine for the benefit of others were killed as witches, their competence having elicited envy from someone who then denounced them. "Witch" today usually means an evil woman; that is why many chauvinists use the word for feminists. To also blame feminists because they "witch-hunt", a few women pitting themselves against the huge juggernaut of patriarchy, twists rationality even more incredibly.

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