

ARTICLES

BOUND FOR THE PROMISED LAND: THE GENDERED CHARACTER OF HIGHER EDUCATION

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Given the history of women and higher education in the United States, the fact that fifty percent or more of undergraduates are now female is cause for celebration,¹ but not complacency. This article discusses the chilly coeducational classroom climate² for women in institutions of higher education,³ the inadequate representation of women in the professoriate,⁴ and the relative silences about and misrepresentations of women in higher education's curriculum.⁵ The goal is not to reiterate what is already well known. Rather, the emphasis is on the importance of seeing what are often considered to be quite separate problems concerning women in higher education as related to one another and of treating them as forming part of a larger pattern. To this end, I will propose a new way of thinking about women and higher education rooted in immigrant imagery.⁶ One strength of this reorientation of perception and thought is that it encourages the pulling together of what have been seen as unrelated phenomena. Another is that it points to the valuable distinction between assimilation and acculturation. In the concluding section, I will list some of the benefits of an acculturationist stance not only for girls and women, but also for the nation.⁷

I. THE IMMIGRANT HYPOTHESIS

Not quite sixty years ago Virginia Woolf invited women to stand on the bridge connecting two worlds—private and public, home and professions, women's and men's—and “fix our eyes upon the procession—the procession of

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1. See Mary Frank Fox, *Women & Higher Education: Gender Differences in the Status of Students and Scholars*, in *WOMEN: A FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE* 217, 220 (Jo Freeman ed., 4th ed. 1989).

2. See BERNICE RESNICK SANDLER ET AL., *THE CHILLY CLASSROOM CLIMATE: A GUIDE TO IMPROVE THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN* 7-35 (1996) (describing myriad inequities women experience in the classroom which, when looked at together, create a chilly environment); see also *infra* notes 78-98 and accompanying text.

3. See *infra* notes 78-98 and accompanying text.

4. See *infra* notes 47-64 and accompanying text.

5. See *infra* notes 65-77 and accompanying text.

6. See *infra* notes 8-40 and accompanying text.

7. See *infra* notes 147-84 and accompanying text.

sons of educated men.”⁸ “We have to ask ourselves, here and now, do we wish to join the procession, or don’t we? On what terms shall we join the procession? Above all, where is it leading us, the procession of educated men?”⁹ In 1938, the few women Woolf could see were traipsing along at the tail end of the procession. In 1996, it is hard to find a woman who is not joining the procession bound for the Promised Land.¹⁰

I summon up the image invoked by Mary Antin in the title of her autobiographical work, *The Promised Land*,¹¹ to describe her own journey of immigration to the United States to mark the difference between the men Woolf saw on the bridge and the women I see today. Those men were not foreigners in the world of politics, work, and the professions; the women are. The land women walk into has long belonged to men.

In her autobiography, Antin recalled that after her family immigrated to America in the late nineteenth century, the children “were let loose on the street.”¹² She said that in all branches of domestic education “[c]haos took the place of system; uncertainty, inconsistency undermined discipline.”¹³ Making it clear that parents had become unmoored from the rites, rituals, customs, and habits in which they had been trained, she wrote: “In public deportment, in etiquette, in all matters of social intercourse, they had no standards to go by, seeing that America was not Polotzk.”¹⁴

In his introduction to *The Uprooted*,¹⁵ historian Oscar Handlin called the history of nineteenth century immigration to the United States “a history of alienation and its consequences.”¹⁶ Emigration took people “out of traditional, accustomed environments and replanted them in strange ground, among strangers, where strange manners prevailed.”¹⁷ With the customary modes of behavior inadequate and with old ties broken, the immigrants “faced the enormous compulsion of working out new relationships, new meanings to their lives, often under harsh and hostile circumstances.”¹⁸ Because “emigration had stripped away the veneer that in more stable situations concealed the underlying nature of the social structure,”¹⁹ the responses could not be easy or automatic. On the contrary, “every act was crucial, the product of conscious weighing of alternatives, never simple conformity to an habitual pattern.”²⁰

8. VIRGINIA WOOLF, *THREE GUINEAS* 92 (1938).

9. *Id.* at 94.

10. It was only in the last decade or so that the number of bachelor’s degrees awarded to women matched the number awarded to men. See Fox, *supra* note 1, at 220-22.

11. MARY ANTIN, *THE PROMISED LAND* (2d ed. 1969).

12. *Id.* at 270.

13. *Id.* at 271.

14. *Id.* Polotzk is the small town in Russia from which Antin’s family emigrated in 1891. See *id.*

15. OSCAR HANDLIN, *THE UPROOTED: THE EPIC STORY OF THE GREAT MIGRATIONS THAT MADE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE* (1951).

16. *Id.* at 4.

17. *Id.* at 5.

18. *Id.*

19. *Id.* at 5-6.

20. *Id.* at 6.

This immigrant story narrates the plight of women in the United States and many other nations at the end of the twentieth century. For women who have entered university teaching, medicine, the clergy, law, banking, and commerce, the smallest actions become objects of conscious decision making. With no informal rules in place governing women's behavior and no established customs to follow, walking, talking, eating, dressing, smiling, and scowling become products of the conscious weighing of alternatives. Small wonder the women Mona Harrington interviewed for her book *Women Lawyers*²¹ cited clothes, hairstyles, jewelry, and necklines as having at one time or another been pressing problems for them.²²

With the inadequacy of customary modes of behavior for women's new roles and environments,²³ and with men frequently at a loss as to how to act in the presence of women,²⁴ there is also an enormous compulsion to work out new relationships.²⁵ A female student in a physical science program at a British polytechnic institute aptly told an interviewer about the men's confusion:

[W]hen we first met the lads, they wouldn't swear or anything, they were really nice; and then, after about two or three weeks, they realized that you weren't any different to them, and just went back to normal, but the first weeks were really strange because they were so nice it was unbelievable, and you wondered what you were doing, they'd hold open the door, they wouldn't swear, if they swore they'd apologize²⁶

In contrast to this relatively benign male behavior, consider the psychological and verbal abuse directed at female police officers in Springfield, Massachusetts. Captain Paula Meara, the woman in line to be the city's next chief of police, testified to a United States Senate Committee:

[A] sanitary napkin was taped to one female officer's locker; an artificial penis was put in another's desk drawer; sexually demeaning cartoons, with female officers' names scrawled on the characters, were posted in common areas; one male officer told a female officer he wanted to dress her in a Girl Scout uniform and rape her.²⁷

21. MONA HARRINGTON, *WOMEN LAWYERS: REWRITING THE RULES* (1994).

22. See *id.* at 100-03. But see Roslyn S. Willett, *Working in "A Man's World,"* in *WOMEN IN SEXIST SOCIETY* 367, 367-83 (Vivian Gornick & Barbara K. Moran eds., 1971) (expressing no concern for clothes, hairstyles, jewelry, or necklines).

23. "[A] lot of the traits required for reporting—aggressiveness, coolness under pressure, and self-reliance—are bred out of women in this society." Lindsay Van Gelder, *The Trials of Lois Lane: Women in Journalism,* in *SISTERHOOD IS POWERFUL* 81, 83 (Robin Morgan ed., 1970); see also HARRINGTON, *supra* note 21, at 122-50 (noting that the culture of big-city law firms was defined and shaped by men); Margaret Adams, *The Compassion Trap,* in *WOMEN IN SEXIST SOCIETY,* *supra* note 22, at 401-16 (explaining the belief that women's primary social function is to be compassionate which keeps women out of high-salaried jobs and reduces them to mere sexual objects); Linda Nochlin, *Why Are There No Great Women Artists?* in *WOMEN IN SEXIST SOCIETY,* *supra* note 22, at 344-67 (explaining that social institutions affect the way male and female artists are judged).

24. See HARRINGTON, *supra* note 21, at 122-50.

25. See HANDLIN, *supra* note 15, at 5.

26. KIM THOMAS, *GENDER AND SUBJECT IN HIGHER EDUCATION* 124 (1990).

27. Kevin Cullen, *Breaking Thin Blue Line of Bias: Policewoman Is Likely Next Chief of Springfield,* *BOSTON GLOBE,* Jan. 16, 1996, at 15, 20.

Woolf knew that the procession on the bridge led to the men's world and she had no illusions about its character.²⁸ Of the educated men in the procession across the bridge, Woolf remarked:

[T]hey lose their senses. Sight goes. They have no time to look at pictures. Sound goes. They have no time to listen to music. Speech goes. They have no time for conversation. They lose their sense of proportion—the relations between one thing and another. Humanity goes. Money making becomes so important that they must work by night as well as by day. Health goes. And so competitive do they become that they will not share their work with others though they have more than they can do themselves. What then remains of a human being who has lost sight, sound and sense of proportion? Only a cripple in a cave.²⁹

Although Woolf wanted women to think twice before taking on what she considered to be the warlike traits possessed by denizens of the country on the far side of the bridge, she did not reveal the new world's assimilationist policies.³⁰ She neglected to say how loath this land was to receive newcomers and that only those brave souls who could demonstrate their ability to think and act like the natives would be able to establish residency there.³¹ Nor did Woolf mention that the task of assimilating foreigners had been given over to the education establishment.

Woolf's extraordinarily compelling image of the procession turns attention away from these vital issues. Although brilliantly illuminating in so many ways, the metaphor of a bridge that connects the world of the private home to the world of work, politics, and the professions begs the big education questions for both women and men: by placing men who have already been educated on the bridge, Woolf's metaphor effectively excludes from the discussion education's function of formally preparing people for life in the world of work, politics, and the professions.³² When she asks if women should join the procession of educated men, the implication is that the objectionable traits women would acquire upon becoming doctors, lawyers, and other professionals are by-products of the professions themselves.³³ However, education is not a neutral spectator in the transformational process.

At the close of his introduction to *The Uprooted*, Handlin wrote:

The immigrants lived in crisis because they were uprooted. In transplantation, while the old roots were sundered, before the new were established, the immigrants existed in an extreme situation. The shock, and the effects of the shock,

28. See WOOLF, *supra* note 8, at 109-10.

29. *Id.*

30. See *infra* notes 99-146 and accompanying text.

31. See HANDLIN, *supra* note 15, at 5.

32. See JANE ROLAND MARTIN, RECLAIMING A CONVERSATION: THE IDEAL OF THE EDUCATED WOMAN 1-10 (1985); JANE ROLAND MARTIN, CHANGING THE EDUCATIONAL LANDSCAPE: PHILOSOPHY, WOMEN, AND CURRICULUM 35-52 (1994).

33. Woolf asks what "quotations from the lives of successful professional men prove?" WOOLF, *supra* note 8, at 109. She answers her own question by saying, "[T]hose opinions cause us to doubt and criticize and question the value of professional life," and makes no reference to education. See *id.*

persisted for many years; and their influence reached down to generations which themselves never paid the cost of crossing.³⁴

Untold numbers of women now live in crisis because the roots of the old gendered divisions of labor have been sundered.³⁵ And while one might have expected education to alleviate the shock and its effects, it has proven itself to be in the service of quite a different end.³⁶

II. A HARSH AND BRUTAL FILTER

The crossing in all its phases was a harsh and brutal filter for the immigrants. On land in Europe, in the port of embarkation, on the ocean, in the port of arrival, and on land in America, it introduced a decisive range of selective factors that operated to let through only a few of those who left the Old World.³⁷

Some of the selective factors were of course physical. The trek across Europe could cover as much as 300 miles, and hunger, illness, assaults by beasts and humans were common occurrences.³⁸ Other factors, however, had to do with an individual's ability to adapt, for "only those who were capable of adjusting from peasant ways to the needs of new conditions and new challenges were able to absorb the successive shocks of migration."³⁹

To find a harsh and brutal filter that lets relatively few women into the Promised Land—the world of work, politics, and the professions—unscathed, women need look no further than education. Dividing education into temporal phases, as Handlin did the crossing, one can see that from elementary school through professional school and into the professions themselves, selective factors now operate.⁴⁰

34. HANDLIN, *supra* note 15, at 6.

35. See Francine D. Blau, *Women in the Labor Force: An Overview*, in *WOMEN: A FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE*, *supra* note 1, at 266-71 (discussing the changing role of women in the American economy from the colonial period to the present).

36. Cf. Blau, *supra* note 35, at 274-77 (discussing demographic studies showing which women are entering the workforce).

37. See HANDLIN, *supra* note 15, at 61.

38. See *id.* at 39-40.

39. *Id.* at 61.

40. These factors include the chilly coeducational classroom climate for girls, sexual harassment, and lack of curriculum content about girls and women. See generally AM. ASS'N OF UNIV. WOMEN, *THE AAUW REPORT: HOW SCHOOLS SHORTCHANGE GIRLS* (1992) [hereinafter *AAUW REPORT*] (pointing out that girls receive a lower quality education than boys); *LEARNING TO LOSE: SEXISM AND EDUCATION* (Dale Spender & Elizabeth Sarah eds., 1980) (arguing that women were learning to lose before gaining the right to education and that the denial of proper education contributed to societal inequalities); PAT MAHONY, *SCHOOLS FOR THE BOYS? CO-EDUCATION REASSESSED* (1985) (finding that mixed-sex groupings constitute a disaster area for girls); PEGGY ORENSTEIN, *SCHOOLGIRLS: YOUNG WOMEN, SELF-ESTEEM, AND THE CONFIDENCE GAP* (1994) (documenting the disparate treatment between boys and girls at different levels of education); DALE SPENDER, *INVISIBLE WOMEN: THE SCHOOLING SCANDAL* (1982) (noting that many women still feel a justified disenchantment with the education system); MYRA SADKER & DAVID SADKER, *FAILING AT FAIRNESS: HOW AMERICA'S SCHOOLS CHEAT GIRLS 1* (1994) (finding that although girls are a majority of the nation's school children, they are treated as "second class educational citizens."); NAN STEIN & LISA SJOSTROM, *FLIRTING OR HURTING? A TEACHER'S GUIDE ON STUDENT-TO-STUDENT SEXUAL HARASSMENT IN SCHOOLS* (1994) (discussing the importance of combating sexual harassment in schools).

What follows is a discussion of three selective factors that operate in higher education: the inadequate representation of women in the professoriate,⁴¹ the relative absence of women in course content,⁴² and a chilly educational classroom climate.⁴³ Among other selective factors which are not discussed here but should be noted are the employment of pedagogies and ways of knowing that are more congenial to men than to women. Calling education a filter of girls and women should not be taken to suggest that it is the only filter or that it works independently of other filters, such as family,⁴⁴ church,⁴⁵ and the media.⁴⁶ There is no reason, however, to think that the existence of other screening devices diminishes education's role in maintaining the "purity" of the Promised Land.

A. Inadequate Representation of Women in the Professoriate

In contemplating education as a filter, consider education statistics from Sweden, a country committed on the state level to a policy of gender equality.⁴⁷ Approximately sixty-five percent of Sweden's undergraduates are female, sixty

41. See *infra* notes 47-64 and accompanying text.

42. See *infra* notes 65-77 and accompanying text.

43. See *infra* notes 78-98 and accompanying text.

44. See generally NANCY CHODOROW, *THE REPRODUCTION OF MOTHERING: PSYCHOANALYSIS AND THE SOCIOLOGY OF GENDER* 173-80 (1978) (analyzing the biological and psychological basis for women's mothering); KATHLEEN GERSON, *HARD CHOICES: HOW WOMEN DECIDE ABOUT WORK, CAREER & MOTHERHOOD* (1985) (discussing and analyzing work-force participation and the resulting effects on traditional concepts of family).

45. See, e.g., Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Search of Women's Heritage*, in *WEAVING THE VISIONS: NEW PATTERNS IN FEMINIST SPIRITUALITY* 29, 30 (Judith Plaskow & Carol P. Christ eds., 1989) (stating that "biblical texts and traditions formulated and codified by men" are oppressive to women); Judith Plaskow, *Jewish Memory from a Feminist Perspective*, in *WEAVING THE VISIONS*, *supra*, at 39, 39-50 (stating that women are traditionally seen as not being "shapers of tradition and actors" in the Jewish faith); Barbara F. Stowasser, *Women's Issues in Modern Islamic Thought*, in *ARAB WOMEN: OLD BOUNDARIES, NEW FRONTIERS* 3, 6 (Judith E. Tucker ed., 1993) (stating that issues of women in Islam "go beyond the women themselves and involve concerns such as political legitimacy, human rights questions, and the like.").

46. See, e.g., HILARY M. LIPS, *SEX AND GENDER* 225-45 (1988) (noting that gender stereotypes are reinforced through television and children's books); E. Ann Kaplan, *Is the Gaze Male?*, in *POWERS OF DESIRE: THE POLITICS OF SEXUALITY* 309, 309-25 (Ann Snitow et al. eds., 1983) (discussing how women on the film screen are male projections, and that the film-viewer, the actor, and the camera are all male); Mary Jo Kane, *Media Coverage of the Post Title IX Female Athlete: A Feminist Analysis of Sport, Gender, and Power*, 3 *DUKE J. GENDER L. & POL'Y* 95, 96 (1996) (noting that sport reinforces fundamental assumptions underlying patriarchal concepts of gender); Gloria Steinem, *Sex, Lies & Advertising*, reprinted from *Ms.*, July/Aug. 1990, at 18 (describing how advertising in the media perpetuates negative stereotyping of women).

47. "Sexual equality as defined in Sweden implies that:

- Women and men are equal.
- Family and social responsibilities are shared equally between women and men.
- Working women and men have the same opportunities of taking part in working life and public affairs.
- Women and men have the same opportunities of developing themselves, their interests and their personalities."

SWEDISH NAT'L BD. OF EDUC., *SEXUAL EQUALITY—AN INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT THEME OF SWEDISH EDUCATION TODAY* 1 (1986).

percent of those receiving undergraduate degrees are female, thirty-five percent of those entering postgraduate studies (the equivalent of graduate studies in the United States) are female, and twenty-eight percent of Ph.D. recipients are female.⁴⁸ One hears this same story of attrition wherever one goes.⁴⁹ One obvious filtering mechanism, namely, the relative absence of women in the professoriate, is itself the product of higher education's long history of filtering out women. A female mathematician at Zurich University has calculated that at its present pace, it will take 11,406 years before women make up half that institution's professorial staff.⁵⁰ The latest statistics from Sweden show that six percent of university professors are women.⁵¹ In countries like the United Kingdom and the United States, female teachers are "disproportionately numerous in the lower grades."⁵² At Cornell University in 1989, for instance, fifteen percent of the professoriate as a whole were women, while at the full professor level, only seven percent were women.⁵³ A detailed analysis of a 1988 survey of Ivy League and Big Ten institutions revealed that women constitute seventeen percent of the total professoriate but merely eight percent of full professors.⁵⁴

The question remains whether the absence or unequal representation of women on faculties functions to filter out female students. Whatever doubts I might once have had were laid to rest when I attended a philosophy department colloquium at the University of Oslo in the fall of 1995.⁵⁵ Walking into a seminar room that was filled with more than thirty men and only two women, I felt myself transported back to my own years as a graduate student. The difference was that then I could not understand what I had been experiencing. Now I can name the sense of oppression and feelings of intimidation that rushed over me, and can but marvel that any women at all were trying to make a place for themselves in this territory.

Perhaps one day there will be an adequate representation of women in the professoriate.⁵⁶ In the meantime, it is both interesting and a bit troubling that the

48. See MINISTRY OF HEALTH & SOC. AFF., GOV'T OF SWEDEN, SHARED POWER, RESPONSIBILITY 42-44 (1995) (documenting statistics relating to men and women in employment and education).

49. See, e.g., WOMEN IN ACADEME: PROGRESS AND PROSPECTS 165-66, 178-87 (Mariam K. Chamberlain ed., 1988) (discussing the lack of women on university faculties and affirmative action's efforts to remedy the problem); Suzanne Stiver Lie & Virginia E. O'Leary, *In the Same Boat? Academic Women Around the World*, in STORMING THE TOWER: WOMEN IN THE ACADEMIC WORLD 17, 19-21 (Suzanne Stiver Lie & Virginia E. O'Leary eds., 1990) (noting that in the United States and other countries, few women hold high positions in the academic hierarchy).

50. See *Preface to the Second Nordic Symposium of Women in Philosophy* (Inga Bogstad & Elin Svenneby eds., 1994) (citing AGAINST PATRIARCHAL THINKING: A FUTURE WITHOUT DISCRIMINATION? (Maja P. Engel ed., 1992)).

51. See MINISTRY OF HEALTH, *supra* note 48, at 43.

52. Lie & O'Leary, *supra* note 49, at 25. In 1995, Harvard University boasted 21% women on its overall faculty, but women accounted for only 11% of its full professors. See Linda S. Wilson, *The Pace of Progress: Striving for Gender Equity*, RADCLIFFE Q., Fall/Winter 1995, at 6.

53. See Jennie Farley, *Women Professors in the USA: Where Are They?* in STORMING THE TOWER, *supra* note 49, at 192, 197.

54. See *id.* at 198.

55. The colloquium was Methodological Pluralism in Philosophy of the Social Sciences, offered at the University of Oslo, on Sept. 8, 1995.

56. Opinions differ as to what counts as adequate representation of women. Is it, for example, a proportion of women in the professoriate that mirrors available Ph.D.s in each population in a given

English language has no word to indicate the mixing of the sexes on educational faculties, as coeducation designates their mixing in student bodies. Co-teaching refers to team teaching, and co-researchers are collaborators on research projects. A new special term might facilitate discussion of the new phenomenon, spur inquiry, and even serve to rally action. A new term is needed, in any case, because the affirmative action label that is sometimes used is misleading.⁵⁷ The United States government-sponsored affirmative action programs of the 1970s undoubtedly helped women gain entry into the professoriate,⁵⁸ but that policy initiative was only one contributor to the development of a co-professoriate, for want of a better expression. Women were admitted into the professoriate long before affirmative action policies were instituted.⁵⁹ Increasing numbers of Ph.D.s were granted to women in the 1970s and 1980s, thereby expanding the pool of female candidates for university level teaching positions.⁶⁰ The affirmative action label also masks the gendered character of the entrance of women into higher education as teachers and scholars. While emphasizing the similarities between the situations of women and minorities in, for example, the underrepresentation of both groups on faculties, the affirmative action label deflects attention from whatever connections might exist between and among the three separate entrances of women into the academy—as students, as professors, and as curriculum content.

The question of what kind of representation on higher education's faculties would count as adequate will be left open. The immediate concern is that, welcome as the achievement of a genuine co-professoriate would be, this event is no more likely to put an end to higher education's function as a filterer of females than coeducation itself has.⁶¹ It is no guarantee that girls and women will finally be represented adequately in the curriculum of higher education for the simple reason that many female scholars do not engage in the study of women.⁶² Nor is there reason to suppose that the now chilly climate for women⁶³ in coeducational settings would improve automatically.⁶⁴

college? For a very brief discussion of the issue, see *Women On the Faculty*, RADCLIFFE Q., Fall/Winter 1995, at 10.

57. See, e.g., WOMEN IN ACADEME, *supra* note 49, at 165-66.

58. Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, 20 U.S.C. §§ 1681-88 (1994) and the Equal Educational Opportunity Act, 20 U.S.C. §§ 1701-58 (1994) among others, extended discrimination protections to faculty and administrators in higher education. See also WOMEN IN ACADEME: PROGRESS AND PROSPECTS, *supra* note 49, at 171.

59. See WOMEN IN ACADEME, *supra* note 49, at 10-11.

60. See *id.* at 178.

61. See *supra* notes 40-46 and accompanying text.

62. See *infra* notes 65-72 and accompanying text.

63. SANDLER ET AL., *supra* note 2.

64. "[S]ome [behaviors] are more likely to occur in male-taught classes, particularly overtly disparaging gender-related behavior and denigrating sexist humor." *Id.* at 16. However, "[b]oth male and female teachers may inadvertently reinforce gender-related behaviors that fit the stereotypes of 'femininity' and 'masculinity' but are not necessarily valuable in the classroom." *Id.* at 24.

B. The Absence of Women in Course Content

The androcentric orientation of just about every area of learning has been duly noted,⁶⁵ scholarship about women has for some time flourished,⁶⁶ and programs designed to integrate these studies into both liberal and professional education abound.⁶⁷ However, when I began teaching an upper level course in feminist theory⁶⁸ at the University of Massachusetts at Boston in the 1980s, I discovered that my students, most of whom were seniors, had never been introduced to the feminist critiques of their own disciplines. They knew next to nothing about attempts to

65. See, e.g., Nancy Schrom Dye, *Clio's American Daughters*, in *THE PRISM OF SEX* 9-32 (Julia A. Sherman & Evelyn Torton Beck eds., 1979) (discussing the androcentric bias in history); Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Methodological Sophistication and Conceptual Conclusion*, in *THE PRISM OF SEX*, *supra*, at 229 (discussing the androcentric bias in political science); Ruth Hubbard, *Have Only Men Evolved*, in *WOMEN LOOK AT BIOLOGY LOOKING AT WOMEN: A COLLECTION OF FEMINIST CRITIQUES* 7 (Ruth Hubbard et al. eds., 1979) (discussing the androcentric bias of Darwin's theory of evolution); Carolyn Wood Sherif, *Bias in Psychology*, in *THE PRISM OF SEX*, *supra*, at 93 (discussing the androcentric bias in psychology).

66. See generally *FEMINIST LITERARY THEORY: A READER* (Mary Eagleton ed., 2d. ed. 1996) (collecting a wide range of extracts on feminist theory in literature, from Virginia Woolf through the post-modern feminists); SANDRA HARDING, *THE SCIENCE QUESTION IN FEMINISM* (1986) (developing a feminist theory of science); EVELYN FOX KELLER, *REFLECTIONS ON GENDER AND SCIENCE* (1985) (examining the relationship between gender and science); *MEN'S STUDIES MODIFIED: THE IMPACT OF FEMINISM ON THE ACADEMIC DISCIPLINES* (Dale Spender ed., 1981) (attempting to include and make women visible in the concept of "knowledge" that historically has been defined by men in western society); SUSAN MOLLER OKIN, *WOMEN IN WESTERN POLITICAL THOUGHT* (1979) (examining the treatment of women in classic political philosophy); CAROLE PATEMAN, *THE SEXUAL CONTRACT* (1988) (noting the importance of sex to the concept of the social contract); *THE PRISM OF SEX*, *supra* note 65 (essays discussing the female perspective on fields of study that traditionally ignore women); MARTIN, *RECLAIMING A CONVERSATION*, *supra* note 32 (noting the importance of feminist theory to education philosophy); *REVOLUTIONS IN KNOWLEDGE: FEMINISM IN SOCIAL SCIENCES* (Sue Rosenberg Zalk & Janice Gordon-Kelter eds., 1992) (developing feminist social science themes through a collection of essays); LAUREL THATCHER ULRICH, *GOOD WIVES: IMAGE AND REALITY IN THE LIVES OF WOMEN IN NORTHERN NEW ENGLAND 1650-1750* (1982) (noting values and describing lives of 17th century women who have historically been marginalized); *UNEQUAL SISTERS: A MULTICULTURAL READER IN U.S. WOMEN'S HISTORY* (Ellen Carol DuBois & Vicki L. Ruiz eds., 1990) (examining the dynamics of race and gender in American women's history); *WOMEN LOOK AT BIOLOGY LOOKING AT WOMEN*, *supra* note 65 (examining the androcentric nature of biology and offering alternative feminist viewpoints).

67. See, e.g., *WOMEN'S PLACE IN THE ACADEMY: TRANSFORMING THE LIBERAL ARTS CURRICULUM* 89-157 (Marilyn R. Schuster & Susan R. Van Dyne eds., 1985).

68. The class was *Feminist Thought*, at the University of Massachusetts, Boston.

bring the study of women into history,⁶⁹ literature,⁷⁰ science,⁷¹ psychology,⁷² anthropology,⁷³ and the like.

Curriculum's disregard and misrepresentation of not only girls and women but also the domestic processes and practices of rearing children, caring for the sick and the elderly, and generally tending to the needs of family members that the culture has associated with them, serves as a selective device whose continued existence we ignore at our peril. An African American woman, recalling for Harrington how she happened to come across legal scholarship about sexism and racism in the law while at Harvard Law School, said: "I cannot fully capture the full extent of my reaction to this discovery; it was akin to how most people have described a religious experience, or how a person born blind, through some miraculous medical procedure, becomes capable of seeing the world for the first time in her life."⁷⁴ It is an extraordinary woman who can see herself as an active participant in the Promised Land when the hidden curricula of her lower and her higher educations have all along been bombarding her with messages to the contrary in the form of stereotypical images of women's societal roles and portrayals of the world of work and politics in which women are conspicuously absent.⁷⁵

It would be incorrect to give the impression that the deconstructive and reconstructive investigations have all been done and that the problem now is simply curricular transformation. On the contrary, areas of past scholarship have yet to be examined from feminist perspectives⁷⁶ and new work resembling the old in its androcentric bias⁷⁷ is constantly being put forward. The point is that while it is very

69. See, e.g., Dye, *supra* note 65, at 9-32 (describing how the periodization employed in American history neglects women); UNEQUAL SISTERS, *supra* note 66; see also Linda Gordon, *What's New in Women's History*, in FEMINIST STUDIES/CRITICAL STUDIES 20 (Teresa de Lauretis ed., 1986) (analyzing the feminist perspective of historical and political questions); Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, *Writing History: Language, Class, and Gender*, in FEMINIST STUDIES/CRITICAL STUDIES, *supra*, at 31 (applying critical techniques of close reading to women's history).

70. See generally THE NEW FEMINIST CRITICISM: ESSAYS ON WOMEN, LITERATURE, AND THEORY (Elaine Showalter ed., 1985) (collecting feminist literary critiques); CAMILLE PAGLIA, *SEXUAL PERSONAE: SEXUAL DECADENCE FROM NEFERTITI TO EMILY DICKENSON* (1990) (analyzing the theme of decadence in the works of various female artists).

71. See Hubbard, *supra* note 65 (finding that the Victorian picture of the activated male and the passive female is projected onto nature).

72. See CAROL GILLIGAN, IN A DIFFERENT VOICE: PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORY AND WOMEN'S DEVELOPMENT (1982) (associating different modes of thinking about relationships with male and female voices in psychological and literary texts); Naomi Weisstein, *Psychology Constructs the Female*, in WOMAN IN SEXIST SOCIETY, *supra* note 22, at 133 (questioning traditional definitions of female psychology).

73. See generally WOMAN, CULTURE, AND SOCIETY (Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo & Louise Lamphere eds., 1974) (criticizing the lack of interest in women in conventional anthropology).

74. HARRINGTON, *supra* note 21, at 67.

75. See *id.* at 66-67.

76. For example; philosophical theories of human action and of the structure of explanation in history and the social sciences; sociological theories of cultural capital; the educational philosophies of Johann Friedrich Froebel, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Alfred North Whitehead, have not yet been examined.

77. But see SUSAN MOLLER OKIN, JUSTICE, GENDER, AND THE FAMILY (1989) (writing how many of the recent political theories are "demolished" when analyzed from a feminist perspective); Bice Manguashca & Mairi Johnson, *Feminist Theory: The Next Stage in IR?*, Address at the Interdisciplinary Conference, A World in Transition: Feminist Perspective on International Relations (June 14-16,

hard to correct the androcentric biases of higher education's curriculum, this extraordinarily important project is quite different from the achievement of a genuine co-professoriate.

C. The Chilly Coeducational Classroom Climate

From what is now known about the chilly coeducational classroom climate for girls and women,⁷⁸ the adequate representation of women in the professoriate would seem to be no guarantee of an improved atmosphere in higher education's classrooms, halls, clubs, and dining areas.⁷⁹ The different treatment of males and females that results in a chilly climate for women takes myriad forms, extends beyond the classrooms to the school halls, lunchrooms, gymnasiums, playgrounds and athletic fields, residential settings, and extracurricular sites, and ranges over school experiences both great and small.⁸⁰ Among the components of the chilly coeducational classroom climate are blatant behaviors such as the sexual harassment of women and the telling of derogatory jokes and stories.⁸¹ However, there are countless other behaviors, each of which may seem unexceptionable in and of itself, yet each of which is a contributor to the overall pattern of unfriendliness toward women. For example, male and female teachers alike make eye contact with their male students far more often than with their female students; they more frequently assume postures of attentiveness toward males; they call male students by name more often than female students.⁸² They call on males more often than on females, ask males more difficult questions, wait longer for males to answer questions, urge males to try harder, and work with males much more than with females to elaborate answers to questions.⁸³ In addition, teachers are apt to address the class as if only males were present, interrupt female students and allow them to be interrupted by others, respond more extensively to questions put by male students, use examples that reinforce negative stereotypes of women, and make comments and tell jokes implying that women are not as competent as men.⁸⁴

Coeducation was viewed by earlier feminists as replacing or remedying the existing two-track gender-based education system that required girls and boys to attend separate institutions where they would study different curricula as preparation for different societal roles and responsibilities.⁸⁵ No less a feminist philosopher than Mary Wollstonecraft embraced coeducation on the grounds that, by extending men's education to women, women would have the same opportunity as

1996) (transcript available in Sweden Library, Lund University).

78. See SANDLER ET AL., *supra* note 2.

79. See, e.g., *id.* at 3 (noting that gender prejudices and stereotypes affect classroom behavior).

80. See *id.* (proposing that classroom prejudice has repercussions beyond the classroom).

81. See *id.* at 16-17; cf. Cheri Kramarae, *Technology Policy, Gender, and Cyberspace* 4 DUKE J. GENDER L. & POL'Y 149, 152-53 (1997) (discussing the hostile environment of cyberspace).

82. See SANDLER ET AL., *supra* note 2, at 7-14.

83. See *id.*

84. See ROBERTA M. HALL & BERNICE R. SANDLER, *THE CLASSROOM CLIMATE: A CHILLY ONE FOR WOMEN* 7 (1982). I will never forget the time I arrived in my Philosophy of Education class, pamphlet in hand, prepared for an academic discussion, only to see behaviors listed by Hall and Sandler, such as the men dominating the discussion, enacted before my eyes.

85. See MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT, *A VINDICATION OF THE RIGHTS OF WOMAN* 89-130, 184-209 (Deep & Deep Publications 1992) (1792) (recommending coeducation as the best alternative to Rousseau's proposal in *Emile* of separate and different educations for boys and girls).

men to demonstrate their rational capacities.⁸⁶ Wollstonecraft believed that once the rationality of women was demonstrated, there could no longer be any justification for refusing to extend the rights of men to women.⁸⁷

It has probably taken longer than Wollstonecraft dreamed it would, but two centuries after the publication of *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*,⁸⁸ coeducation has become an accepted way of life for millions of people in this country.⁸⁹ Unfortunately, this great historical development has turned out to be a carrier of old inequities, for example, the tracking of women into areas of low status and pay,⁹⁰ and the creator of new problems for women, among them, the chilly coeducational classroom climate.⁹¹ Wollstonecraft could not have known that when the existing de jure tracking system of separate schools with distinctive curricula for males and females became all but extinct, a de facto gender tracking system would develop within coeducation to take its place.⁹²

The language of "choice" is sometimes used in discussing coeducation's de facto tracking of women into "soft" areas of study having low status.⁹³ However, this terminology tends to mask the degree to which the self-selection that directs girls and boys, women and men into different courses of study and ultimately into different occupations⁹⁴ is influenced by social pressures and cultural expectations. The terminology also tends to divert attention from the fact that coeducational environments have themselves become informal sorting devices that function very much as the formal mechanism of single-sex institutions once did. Whereas the old arrangement channeled men into the world of work, politics, and the professions while educating women to take responsibility for managing the world of the private home,⁹⁵ the new gender-based tracking system tends to channel males and females into different fields of work within the Promised Land. Thus, for example, while representing the plight of women undergraduates in his department, a physics professor at Harvard said:

In the hard sciences, the undergraduate climate for women is a problem. In the case of physics, even though we've done a lot to improve them, those beginning introductory courses for physics majors are a very macho environment. There are 120 kids, all of whom have always been the best students in their class in physics and math and chemistry, and they're a competitive lot. Trying to tone

86. See *id.* at 203-08.

87. See *id.* at 11-18.

88. *Id.*

89. See, e.g., Gwen Moore & Deborah White, Pathways to the Top for Women and Men Business Leaders (Apr. 1995) (unpublished manuscript) (on file with the *Duke Journal of Gender Law & Policy*).

90. See *infra* notes 92-98 and accompanying text.

91. See generally SANDLER ET AL., *supra* note 2.

92. See NAT'L RES. COUNCIL, SUMMARY REPORT 1986: DOCTORATE RECIPIENTS FROM UNITED STATES [SIC] UNIVERSITIES (1987) (noting that the majority of doctoral recipients in English and American language and literature, and in foreign languages and literatures in 1986 were women, while women comprised only about one-eighth of the new Ph.D.s in the mathematical and physical sciences, including engineering); see also Fox, *supra* note 1, at 222-25.

93. See LIPS, *supra* note 46, at 294-95 (discussing women's selection of careers in female-dominated occupations and professions).

94. See *id.* at 295.

95. See *infra* notes 101-10 and accompanying text.

down that competitiveness a little bit is one of the most important things that we try to do for the climate.⁹⁶

An historical perspective on the harsh and brutal filter of girls and women called education leaves one with the sobering thought that this highly efficient screening system is rooted in the past. Feminist researchers and educators often view the three selective mechanisms of the chilly classroom climate, the inadequate representation of women in the professoriate, and the lack of women in the curriculum⁹⁷ as separate and unrelated phenomena each of which can be dealt with on its own terms. Yet the reality is that education's filtering processes are linked to one another in a multitude of ways.⁹⁸ Worse still, this purification system is so sophisticated that as old screening mechanisms such as separate schools and colleges for women and men wear out, mechanisms like the new gender tracking system evolve to take their place.

III. THE EDUCATION-GENDER SYSTEM AND THE PROMISED LAND'S ASSIMILATIONIST POLICY

Referring to the thirty-five million immigrants who left Europe for the United States between 1820 and 1920, Handlin exclaimed, "[W]hat a distance between the old homes and the new!"⁹⁹ While discussing the crossing, he made it clear that "distance" meant more than the thousands of miles the men, women, and children had to travel: "[T]he crossing involved a startling reversal of roles, a radical shift in attitudes. The qualities that were desirable in the good peasant were not those conducive to success in the transition."¹⁰⁰

As a number of feminist scholars have pointed out, a startling reversal of roles and radical shift in attitudes is implicated in the move of women from their private homes into the world of work, politics, and the professions.¹⁰¹ What feminist analysts tend to forget is that the better part of the transformational process has been placed in the hands of education. Thus, when higher education functions as a harsh and brutal filter of women, it does so in relation to its ostensible business of turning women into good citizens of the Promised Land, a realm that expects its

96. *Women on the Faculty*, *supra* note 56, at 14. *But see* Evelyn Fox Keller & Helene Moglen, *Competition: A Problem for Academic Women*, in *COMPETITION: A FEMINIST TABOO?* (Valerie Miner & Helen E. Longino eds., 1987) (arguing that women do experience competition amongst each other in natural non-academic environments).

97. *See supra* notes 47-98 and accompanying text.

98. For example, the chilly classroom climate contributes to women's relative absence in the professoriate. The relative absence of women in the curriculum contributes, in turn, to women's relative absence in the professoriate. *See generally* SANDLER ET AL., *supra* note 2 (discussing causes and aggravating factors creating the chilly classroom climate).

99. HANDLIN, *supra* note 15, at 37.

100. *Id.* at 61.

101. *See* SIMONE DE BEAUVOIR, *THE SECOND SEX* 639-73 (H.M. Parshley ed. & trans., Bantam Books 1970) (1949) (discussing the independent French woman and the movement toward liberation). *See generally* GERSON, *supra* note 44 (discussing work-force participation); HARDING, *supra* note 66, at 58-81 (detailing the gender stereotypes and cultural barriers to women's advancement in science); LIPS, *supra* note 46, at 1-26 (discussing general gender stereotypes for men and women); HARRINGTON, *supra* note 21 (discussing the people, culture, and professions implicated in preventing equal power for female attorneys).

immigrants to become assimilated to the dominant culture. This is not an easy task because the qualities considered appropriate for performing the activities of women's native land, the world of the private home, are the polar opposites of those deemed necessary for settlers in the new world. At least one of the most important thinkers in the Western tradition has deemed it impossible for women to acquire these qualities,¹⁰² and others who have acknowledged women's capacity to do so have insisted that the result is an abomination of nature.¹⁰³

Feminist scholars who have reported on Western culture's perception of women as aliens in the world of work, politics, and the professions¹⁰⁴ have tended to overlook the transformational function of school, college, and university. Evelyn Fox Keller has pointed out that in Western culture the dominant practices and ideologies of science constitute a "science-gender system."¹⁰⁵ Similarly, the larger context of educational practices and ideologies represent an "education-gender system."¹⁰⁶ Implicitly dividing social reality into Woolf's two worlds,¹⁰⁷ the one public and political and the other private and domestic, just about everyone—parents, politicians, school teachers, administrators, and regular citizens—takes for granted that the function of formal educational institutions, be they vocational, technical, professional, or liberal, is to transform children who have heretofore lived their lives in the domestic world into members of the other world. There is an assumption that the private home is a natural institution where membership is a given rather than something one must achieve.¹⁰⁸ Accordingly, the Western mentality sees little reason to prepare people to carry out the tasks and activities asso-

102. "Women are directly fitted for acting as the nurses and teachers of our early childhood by the fact that they are themselves childish, frivolous and short-sighted; in a word, they are big children all their life long." Arnold Schopenhauer, *On Women*, in PHILOSOPHY OF WOMAN 228, 229 (Mary Briody Mahowald ed., 2d ed. 1983).

103. Cf. Immanuel Kant, *Of the Distinction of the Beautiful and Sublime in the Interrelations of the Two Sexes*, in PHILOSOPHY OF WOMAN 193, *supra* note 102, at 194-95 (suggesting that women who gain knowledge are destroying their natural beauty and might as well have beards).

104. See, e.g., OKIN, *supra* note 66, at 3-12; PHILOSOPHY OF WOMAN, *supra* note 102 (including a representative sampling of texts discussing the status and role of women); THE SEXISM OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL THEORY: WOMEN AND REPRODUCTION FROM PLATO TO NIETZSCHE vii-xvii (Lorenne M.G. Clark & Lynda Lange eds., 1979) (containing articles detailing political philosophers' views on women).

105. KELLER, *supra* note 66, at 8 (stating that this system consists of an "interacting network of associations and disjunctions," among which are the "mutually sanctioning, mutually supportive, and mutually defining" dichotomies: "public *or* private, masculine *or* feminine, objective *or* subjective, power *or* love."); see also HARDING, *supra* note 66, at 9 (arguing that the fundamental nature of science is "sexist . . . racist, classist, and culturally coercive.").

106. This education-gender system is comprised of an interacting network of educational practices and ideology, all of which are rooted in culture's gender ideology. This system includes institutional forms and structures, accepted pedagogies, standard approaches to curriculum and organizations of subject matter, definitions of the function of school, and conceptions of an educated person. See MARTIN, RECLAIMING A CONVERSATION, *supra* note 32; MARTIN, CHANGING THE EDUCATIONAL LANDSCAPE, *supra* note 32.

107. See *supra* notes 8-36 and accompanying text.

108. Cf. PATRICIA JAGENTOWICZ MILLS, WOMAN, NATURE, AND PSYCHE 13 (1987); LINDA J. NICHOLSON, GENDER AND HISTORY: THE LIMITS OF SOCIAL THEORY IN THE AGE OF THE FAMILY 105-30 (1986); MARY O'BRIEN, THE POLITICS OF REPRODUCTION 25 (1981); Sherry B. Ortner, *Is Female to Male as Nature Is to Culture?*, in WOMAN, CULTURE, AND SOCIETY, *supra* note 73, at 67, 67-80.

ciated with the private home.¹⁰⁹ Perceiving the public world as a human creation and membership in it as something at which one can succeed or fail, Americans make the business of education preparation for carrying out the tasks and activities associated with entering the public world.¹¹⁰

This in itself does not make our education system gendered. That quality is conferred on it by the fact that, culturally speaking, Woolf's two worlds are gender coded.¹¹¹ Given that one world is considered man's domain and the other is considered woman's, and that education's ideologies and practices are predicated on this dichotomy, gender becomes a basic dimension of the whole system—so basic, in fact, that it permeates Western culture's educational ideals, aims, curricula, methodologies, and organizational structures.

Consider liberal education. Every curriculum subject takes something in the world as its starting point—referred to here as a subject-entity.¹¹² Thus, for example, the subject physics gets its name from the science physics and the subject French is named for the French language.¹¹³ It is much more difficult to think of any subject in higher education's liberal curriculum that clearly and unequivocally takes its subject-entity from the world of the private house. Home economics (also referred to as family studies) does so, but it is not normally thought of as belonging to liberal studies.¹¹⁴ Granted, some critics might be inclined to say that home economics' problem is not its subject-entity's kinship with the wrong world but a lack of academic respectability. One has only to be aware of the education-gender system, however, to see that the negative assessment of home economics is part of a larger pattern of discrimination.¹¹⁵

Liberal education's very different treatment of the strikingly similar cases of politics and education illustrates the double standard by which subject-entities are judged.¹¹⁶ Education and politics would each seem well-suited to be a subject-entity in a liberal course of study given the activities in the real world around which institutions have developed. Nevertheless, one and not the other has been made welcome.¹¹⁷ In becoming a subject-entity for liberal education, as opposed to voca-

109. The courses in home economics, nutrition, and sex education that are intended to serve this purpose occupy a small fraction of the overall curriculum of all but those who specialize in them, and in times of financial exigency are often the first to be dropped.

110. See Leonard Waks & Rustum Roy, *Learning from Technology*, in *SOCIETY AS EDUCATOR IN AN AGE OF TRANSITION: EIGHTY-SIXTH YEARBOOK OF THE NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF EDUCATION, PART II*, at 24, 24-28 (Kenneth D. Benne & Steven Tozer eds., 1987) (describing the goals of the vocational system in the development of productive members of society).

111. See WOOLF, *supra* note 8, at 18, 21, 55-56.

112. See MARTIN, *CHANGING THE EDUCATIONAL LANDSCAPE*, *supra* note 32, at 188-91 (discussing the evolution of subject names from their area of study).

113. See *id.* at 230.

114. The vocational education movement in the United States was reported to include home economics. See Marvin Lazerson & W. Norton Grubb *Introduction* to *AMERICAN EDUCATION AND VOCATIONALISM: A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY 1870-1970*, at 1, 2 (Marvin Lazerson & W. Norton Grubb eds., 1974).

115. See *supra* notes 90-98, 104-11 and accompanying text.

116. See JANE ROLAND MARTIN, *THE SCHOOLHOME: RETHINKING SCHOOLS FOR CHANGING FAMILIES* 139 (1992) (discussing the differing treatment of politics and education in stature and the education system).

117. See *id.*

tional, the activity called politics has been converted from an occupation to be undertaken into an object of study.

Students are taught theory, history, research *about* politics, not politics itself . . . success in the subject that often goes under the name political science or government is judged by the comprehension of a body of knowledge and perhaps the ability to undertake relevant inquiries, not by the efficacy of action taken in the real world.¹¹⁸

But education has inspired theory and research, too, and is no less interesting or important than politics. Education is vital to the survival of both the individual and society.¹¹⁹

Why do liberal educators favor politics as a subject-entity over education? The advantage of politics is that it is considered one of society's "productive" processes.¹²⁰ Western culture has situated politics in the public world and placed it in men's care.¹²¹ Education's problem, however, is that although much of education has moved out of the private home and into the public world as the public school system has developed,¹²² it is seen as a "reproductive" societal process whose "natural" practitioners are still assumed to be women.¹²³

The liberal curriculum's practice of drawing its subject-entities almost exclusively from the world of work, politics, and the professions is one manifestation of the education-gender system. Another is a cultural conception of a liberally educated person that includes only those attitudes, traits, knowledge, and skills considered appropriate for those who inhabit the world on the other side of Woolf's bridge.¹²⁴

A liberal arts education is directed at developing the mind through the acquisition of knowledge and understanding.¹²⁵ Neglecting feelings and emotions, it also ignores procedural knowledge or know-how.¹²⁶ Complex conceptual schemes are to be acquired, but aside from the know-how involved in using them, knowing how to do something like play the violin, ride a bicycle, or manage a political cam-

118. *Id.*

119. *See id.*

120. "Productive" processes include political, cultural, and economic activities. *See* MARTIN, RECLAIMING A CONVERSATION, *supra* note 32, at 6.

121. *Cf.* Lorene M.G. Clark, *The Rights of Women: The Theory and Practice of the Ideology of Male Supremacy*, in CONTEMPORARY ISSUES IN POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY 49, 51 (William R. Shea & John King-Farlow eds., 1976).

122. *See* BERNARD BAILYN, EDUCATION IN THE FORMING OF AMERICAN SOCIETY: NEEDS AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR STUDY 15-49 (1960) (discussing the evolution of the United States education system from colonization).

123. *See* MARTIN, RECLAIMING A CONVERSATION, *supra* note 32, at 6.

124. *See* MARTIN, CHANGING THE EDUCATIONAL LANDSCAPE, *supra* note 32, at 70-83 (discussing the historians of education and their notions of the "educated" person).

125. For the most developed statement of this conception of liberal education, see Paul H. Hirst, *Liberal Education and the Nature of Knowledge*, in PHILOSOPHICAL ANALYSIS AND EDUCATION 113-38 (Reginald D. Archambault ed., 1967). *But see* MARTIN, RECLAIMING A CONVERSATION, *supra* note 32, at 184-93 (discussing the proposals of Wollstonecraft, Beecher, Gilman, Rodriguez, and others for the education of men and women).

126. For the classic account of know-how, see GILBERT RYLE, THE CONCEPT OF MIND 25-61 (1949) (discussing the concepts of intelligence and intellect).

paign is not primarily a matter of having learned concepts, logic, and criteria. Rather, it is a matter of having learned skills and procedures.¹²⁷

One result of the identification of liberal education with the acquisition of knowledge is that physical education and vocational training are placed outside liberal education's bounds. What is perhaps less apparent is that this concept of liberal education also excludes the development of artistic performance, the acquisition of language skills including the learning of a second language, and education for effective moral action as opposed to simply moral judgment.

Woolf suggested that life in the world across the bridge from the private home is competitive, in other words "that the people there have to be pugnacious and possessive in order to succeed."¹²⁸ In educational thought and practice, people in the United States signify agreement with Woolf by assuming that the qualities or traits of love, nurturance, and the three Cs of care, concern, and connection¹²⁹ that are associated with the private home, and, of course, with women, run counter to education's *raison d'être*. Indeed, Americans take these qualities to be such obstacles to the objective of preparing people for membership in the public world that they make one of lower education's main tasks the casting off of attitudes, values, patterns of thought, and actions associated with home, women, and domesticity.¹³⁰

Where does higher education's participation in the education-gender system place women? Quite simply, whether women pursue a liberal, vocational, technical, or professional education, or all of the above, they are expected to assimilate, acquiring the knowledge, skills, traits, attitudes, values, and world views that are considered appropriate in the Promised Land.¹³¹ As in the case of the Europeans who immigrated to the United States in the nineteenth century, these "goods" run counter to the old cultural norms as well as to women's socialization by home, church, and media.¹³² But women face the added difficulty that the qualities they must strive to acquire are gendered in favor of males. In other words, these qualities are valued when they are possessed by boys and men, and are viewed negatively when acquired by women.¹³³ Aggression, logical acumen, and cool reasoning, for example, are thought becoming in a man but not in a woman.¹³⁴ Indeed, since the qualities that the cultural stereotypes assign to men and women are construed as polar opposites,¹³⁵ to possess traits that have been attached to males and

127. See *id.* at 49.

128. MARTIN, *THE SCHOOLHOME*, *supra* note 114, at 138; see also WOOLF, *supra* note 8, at 71-77 (suggesting that women are disadvantaged in an already competitive world).

129. See MARTIN, *THE SCHOOLHOME*, *supra* note 116, at 138; MARTIN, *CHANGING THE EDUCATIONAL LANDSCAPE*, *supra* note 32, at 70-129 (discussing the ideal educated person).

130. See MARTIN, *RECLAIMING A CONVERSATION*, *supra* note 32, at 137.

131. See *supra* notes 8-36 and accompanying text.

132. See *supra* notes 44-46 and accompanying text.

133. Cf. LIPS, *supra* note 46, at 2 (discussing how less emotional women are labeled masculine); MARTIN, *RECLAIMING A CONVERSATION*, *supra* note 32, at 101 (citing a warning not to train female students to think like men); Susan P. Sturm, *From Gladiators to Problem-Solvers: Connecting Conversations About Women, the Academy, and the Legal Profession*, 4 *DUKE J. GENDER L. & POL'Y* 119, 131-32, 141 (1997) (discussing the double bind of women being both feminine and effective legal gladiators).

134. See LYNN Z. BLOOM ET AL., *THE NEW ASSERTIVE WOMAN* 11-18 (1975) (discussing the way boys and girls, men and women are treated and act differently based on societal expectations).

135. See LIPS, *supra* note 46, at 2 (discussing the polarity of the sexes and the common phrase "opposite sex.").

masculinity is to lack those associated with females and femininity.¹³⁶ In *The Subjection of Women*, John Stuart Mill said, "Women who read, much more women who write, are, in the existing constitution of things, a contradiction and a disturbing element."¹³⁷ Reading and writing may no longer render women anomalous, but to this day, cultural stereotypes of masculinity and femininity turn those women who attain or even approach the governing ideal of an educated person into living contradictions.¹³⁸

It is not easy, day in and day out, to be an aberration, a freak of culture if not of nature.¹³⁹ The psychic costs of being a woman and yet not being a woman are enormous and the threat of ridicule is ever present. Whether the scorn, disdain, and outright hostility that are occasioned by women's anomalous status are seen as contributing to the chilly climate in both the halls of academe and the traditional male professions, or as comprising a screening mechanism in their own right, they serve the overall filtering process well. And so, of course, does the self-doubt engendered by the culture's stereotypes. Were there a genuine co-professoriate, female students would be able to seek comfort and draw inspiration from a wide range of people who had learned to cope, each in her own way, and had lived to tell the tale. Were there warm, supportive classroom climates, some of the self-doubt could be worked through. But these scarcely exist, in part on account of women being living contradictions.

Given the Promised Land's assimilationist policy,¹⁴⁰ the alternative to women attaining contradictory status is for them to study subjects such as languages and the arts that are perceived as "soft" and "womanish" and to enter the so-called caring professions of child care, nursing, teaching, and social work. Avoiding many traits gendered in favor of males that their sister immigrants strive to acquire, women settle, whether consciously or not, for a lifetime in which they conform to one or another cultural construct of femininity.¹⁴¹

It is difficult to comment on the new gender-based tracking system¹⁴² without seeming to share the culture's devaluation of both the subjects of study, such as language and the arts, and the portions of the workplace, such as teaching, nursing, and social work, to which women now flock.¹⁴³ In light of the societal devaluation of the areas in which women congregate, the question arises, however, why so

136. See generally Ortner, *supra* note 106, at 67-87 (discussing the relationship of men and women to each other and their relation to nature and natural things).

137. JOHN STUART MILL, *THE SUBJECTION OF WOMEN* 29 (M.I.T. Press 1970) (1869).

138. When Police Captain Mary Evans wore her blue uniform and sported a gun and handcuffs, children would ask her if she was a lady. See Jennifer McKim, *Woman Set to Lead New Police Station*, BOSTON GLOBE, Sept. 22, 1996, at 1, 7.

139. "[J]ust an old bag who'd been hanging around Cold Spring Harbor for years" is what a famous geneticist called Nobel-winning scientist Barbara McClintock. EVELYN FOX KELLER, *A FEELING FOR THE ORGANISM: THE LIFE AND WORK OF BARBARA MCCLINTOCK* 141 (1983).

140. See *supra* notes 99-110, 131-36 and accompanying text.

141. See CHODOROW, *supra* note 44, at 167 (discussing how Freudian psychology characterizes women as more nurturing and empathetic).

142. See *supra* notes 92-98 and accompanying text.

143. Let me stress that I do not mean to cast aspersions on teaching, nursing, social work, and other fields culturally perceived as women's fields. On the contrary, I believe them to be most important.

many women seem drawn to them?¹⁴⁴ Of course it is possible that they are devalued precisely because women predominate.¹⁴⁵ But the causal question aside, one wonders if these fields of study and work do not function as safety zones for women: places within the Promised Land where they do not have to shed their gender-identities. In the eyes of many women, lack of status, power, and financial rewards may seem a small price to pay to escape the toll the Promised Land imposes on living contradictions.¹⁴⁶

IV. THE ACCULTURATIONIST ALTERNATIVE

If one alternative to women's assimilation in the Promised Land is divergence from its norms, another possibility is acculturation. As anthropologist Ralph Beals explained, assimilation is a not a two-way process.¹⁴⁷ In a clear case of assimilation, an individual or a group replaces its original culture with a new one, but when acculturation occurs, both parties to the transaction are affected.¹⁴⁸

Acculturation is offered as a plausible alternative because the divergence model has problems. From the point of view of a woman who would like to avoid the difficulties entailed in being a living contradiction, the new gender tracking appears to provide a safe harbor inside the Promised Land.¹⁴⁹ From the standpoint of one who desires women's full integration into the world of work, politics, and the professions as it now exists, gender tracking results in the ghettoization of women. Just as immigrants to American cities crowded together in tenement neighborhoods,¹⁵⁰ women now congregate in devalued areas of study and work. Handlin depicted the ghettos as places in which the immigrants adjusted to their new environment:¹⁵¹ "[W]herever the immigrants went, there was one common experience they shared: nowhere could they transplant the European village The old conditions of living could not survive in the new conditions of space."¹⁵² The ghettoization of American women, which is in actuality the reghettoization of women since the old world of the private home was itself a kind of female ghetto, is similar to this immigrant experience. Women could not preserve their old world even if they wished to.¹⁵³ Nevertheless, the occupations into which

144. See Blau, *supra* note 35, at 265-89 (analyzing statistics regarding women in the work force, where they work, and prospects for future employment); U.S. BUREAU OF CENSUS, STATISTICAL ABSTRACT OF THE UNITED STATES, 1996, at 405-07 tbl.637 (116th ed. 1996) (showing females as percentages of total workers in the occupations of nurse (93.1%), social worker (67.9%), primary and secondary school teacher (74.7%), and lawyer (26.4%) for 1995) [hereinafter STATISTICAL ABSTRACT].

145. See Ortner, *supra* note 108, at 67-87 (discussing the contrary representations of women in culture, how that impacts the treatment of women, and how the process is circular in perpetuating cultural misconceptions and institutional practices).

146. See *supra* notes 128-37 and accompanying text.

147. See Ralph Beals, *Acculturation*, in ANTHROPOLOGY TODAY: AN ENCYCLOPEDIA INVENTORY 621, 628 (A. L. Kroeber ed., 1953).

148. See *id.* at 627-28

149. See *supra* notes 92-98 and accompanying text.

150. See HANDLIN, *supra* note 15, at 144-70 (discussing the process by which immigrants moved into unpopular areas in major cities and created immigrant ghettos).

151. See *id.* at 144.

152. *Id.*

153. The nuclear family in which the father goes out to work and the mother stays home to care for house and children now accounts for three percent of American families. See Carol Tavis, *Good-*

women have been crowding are ones over which their native land once had sole rights. Although men may have increased their presence in some of the "traditional" female occupations, in their present reincarnations, these roles are still filled primarily by women.¹⁵⁴ Thus, in contrast to those nineteenth century immigrants who lived in urban ghettos,¹⁵⁵ ghettoized women within the world of work, politics, and the professions are, in effect, reproducing aspects of their old world.¹⁵⁶

No doubt the new ghetto dwellers are learning to adjust, but for women, adjustment seems to involve second-class citizenship with, perhaps, the option of participating in the ongoing struggle to raise the status of one's chosen field. Perpetuation of the subordinate status of women is of particular import. First, processes and activities of women's old world of the private home, child care, nursing, tending to the elderly, etc., are replicated in the new one, albeit in somewhat different form. Second, although these processes and activities would not have been transported if the natives had not needed and wanted them, they are as devalued in their new location as they were when they belonged exclusively to the world of the private home itself.¹⁵⁷ Third, the new gender tracking system, by molding the educational choices of women, repeats the earlier ghettoization of women in the world of the private home.¹⁵⁸ Fourth, professionalization reproduces the problems that girls and women to a degree escape when they enter "soft" areas of work and study.¹⁵⁹ Finally, although those women who become members of the so-called male professions might appear to have survived unscathed an education directed toward becoming living contradictions, large numbers of them ultimately repeat their sisters' behavior of congregating in particular areas of their professions.¹⁶⁰ Of women lawyers, Harrington commented: "Women *can* break the cultural codes of big-firm law and adapt to them, but a great many decide at some point that they do not like the cultural system they find themselves in, and so they leave."¹⁶¹

Near the end of *The Uprooted*, Handlin asked: "No longer Europeans, could the immigrants then say that they belonged in America?"¹⁶² "The answer," he claimed, "depended upon the conceptions held by other citizens of the United

bye, *Ozzie and Harriet*, N.Y. TIMES BOOK REV., Sept. 22, 1996 at 22.

154. Between 1983 and 1995, men's participation increased in the occupations of registered nursing (2.7%), librarians (3.4%), health aides (10.8%), and welfare service aides (7.4%), even though all these fields are still dominated by women. See STATISTICAL ABSTRACT, *supra* note 144, at 405-407, tbl.637.

155. See *supra* notes 150-52 and accompanying text.

156. See *supra* notes 93-98 and accompanying text (discussing women in "soft" nurturing professions which more closely imitate the "traditional" cultural roles of women).

157. See Beals, *supra* note 147, at 627-28 (discussing the general process of acculturation and assimilation).

158. See *supra* notes 92-98 and accompanying text.

159. In making the patterns of thought and action in these fields more closely resemble those in the traditional male occupations, professionalization would require women to acquire the traits that turn them into living contradictions. See *supra* notes 128-39 and accompanying text.

160. Thus, for example, female philosophers tend to gravitate toward ethics and aesthetics rather than logic and the philosophy of science, and female physicians toward family medicine rather than heart or brain surgery. See Fox, *supra* note 1, at 222 (discussing preferences for areas of study broken down by gender).

161. HARRINGTON, *supra* note 21, at 122.

162. HANDLIN, *supra* note 15, at 263.

States of the character of the nation and of the role of the newcomers within it.”¹⁶³ Similarly, whether women can say that they belong in the world of work, politics, and the professions depends on the way those areas are conceptualized. This comes back full circle to the issue of assimilation. A positive reply to the question of whether women belong depends on the willingness of the majority of the Promised Land’s citizenry to substitute a policy of acculturation for the assimilationism they now espouse.¹⁶⁴

A policy of acculturation does not require that every immigrant possess, let alone display, all the dispositions of the natives or, conversely, that every native acquire all the qualities associated with the newcomers. On the contrary, acculturation is necessarily selective. For example, in the case of immigrants to the United States, if the inequality of the sexes is an accepted norm of an immigrant group or the sexual harassment of women an accepted practice, an acculturationist policy could justifiably exclude it on the grounds that it violates established conceptions of justice and equality. Thus, the two parties to the transaction are affected not simply by virtue of the fact that each takes on a new array of characteristics but also by the fact that each sheds some old ones. In the case of women, selectivity is both inevitable and desirable. For example, women are well-advised to leave behind the docility, timidity, and extreme self-sacrifice that have traditionally been associated with both women and the world of the private home.¹⁶⁵ Women would also do well, as would the natives, to eschew the violence and misogyny that now characterize the world we enter.¹⁶⁶

Another misconception is that a policy of acculturation would require every woman and man to be a chameleon: someone who, by exemplifying male and female genderized traits as the context demands, changes his or her coloration according to the environment. Quite apart from the psychic strain exacted by this sort of double existence, such an interpretation presupposes a match between gendered traits and societal contexts that simply does not exist. How many situations actually occur in which the “female” virtues of care, concern, and connection are inapplicable and only “male” reason should prevail? How many in which the three Cs¹⁶⁷ are germane but the “male” virtue of rationality fails to apply?

163. *Id.* at 263-64.

164. But can it not be said that the present gender-based division of labor represents a kind of acculturation? Has not the world of work, politics, and the professions been affected by women’s entrance into it in that it now accommodates attitudes and traits, knowledge and skills, values and world views that are culturally associated with females? Of course this can be said, but the separation of genders and the devaluation of one within the Promised Land—as with races, religions, etc.—makes a mockery of the concept.

165. Lindsay Van Gelder said about news reporting, “In the long run, however, it’s the stereotyped female traits that get the story.” However, she was referring to compassion, listening, and trying to understand someone else’s thought process, not timidity and docility. See Van Gelder, *supra* note 23, at 84; cf. HARRINGTON, *supra* note 21, at 122 (stating that “the maleness of the culture positions women as strangers.”); Adams, *supra* note 23, at 402 (“[T]he compassion trap . . . is one of the strongest forces in today’s world that subverts and distorts both the individual identities and the social roles of women.”).

166. See generally STATISTICAL ABSTRACT, *supra* note 144, at 204 tbl.314, 205 tbl.317, 217 tbl.347 (showing the number of reported cases for the United States in 1994 for child abuse and neglect (1,197,133), rape (102,100), and murder (22,084)).

167. See *supra* note 129 and accompanying text.

This is not to suggest that there is only one correct form that acculturation must take, but that acculturation qualifies as a case of culture change where the resultant culture is itself a blend.¹⁶⁸ In the immigrant analogy this means that natives, as well as newcomers, must learn new ways of thinking and acting, among these, "connected knowing"¹⁶⁹ and the "ethic of care."¹⁷⁰ Of course it is true that in cases of assimilation the natives' ways also will inevitably be modified, if only because in interacting with the immigrants they will be doing something new. For instance, a man who has a female colleague or boss or is the patient of a female physician or the client of a female lawyer may rethink his assumptions about women's capabilities, but by definition the culture's customs, values, and expectations will remain relatively unaffected. With acculturation, in contrast, these will be transformed, which is not to say that one can know in advance what shape the transformation will take.¹⁷¹

Great benefits will accrue to the Promised Land and its inhabitants if even some of the values and virtues traditionally associated with women in the private home¹⁷² are integrated into the culture. I only can marvel at the unwillingness of the natives, and also of many female immigrants, to countenance the prospect.

The implications for higher education of the shift from an assimilationist to an acculturationist stance are enormous. When education stops serving assimilationist ends, it will at long last be able to alleviate the shocks to women, men, and society itself that have been produced by the breakup of traditional sex roles and the gendered division of labor. For then the care, concern, and other virtues that the culture has associated with women will no longer be devalued but, on the contrary, will be deemed a necessary part of everyone's education. When education finally extends to boys and men the positive qualities once reserved for girls and women, it also will begin to serve the needs of the new millennium.

The transformation to a co-professoriate will not be achieved in an instant, and the coeducational classroom climate will not become girl- and woman-friendly overnight. But consider this: when women are seen as immigrants, the Promised Land's misogyny becomes a form of xenophobia. Much as those who made the crossing to the United States in the early 1900s had to reckon with the natives' fear and distrust of foreigners, women encounter a similar suspicion and hatred by the natives of the Promised Land.¹⁷³ Xenophobic attitudes and behaviors are quite compatible with a policy of assimilation.¹⁷⁴ Indeed, they are positively functional when the object is to keep the culture pure. In a system of acculturation, however,

168. Cf. Beals, *supra* note 147, at 628 (stating that acculturation is the phenomena resulting from the interaction of different cultures).

169. See MARY FIELD BELENKY ET AL., *WOMEN'S WAYS OF KNOWING: THE DEVELOPMENT OF SELF, VOICE, AND MIND* 101 (1986).

170. See GILLIGAN, *supra* note 72, at 132, 149. See generally NEL NODDINGS, *CARING: A FEMININE APPROACH TO ETHICS AND MORAL EDUCATION* (1984) (locating the wellspring of ethical behavior in human effective response).

171. See Beals, *supra* note 147, at 626-28.

172. For instance, the three Cs of care, concern, and connection to others. See *supra* note 127 and accompanying text.

173. See *supra* notes 12-36, 162-64 and accompanying text.

174. See HANDLIN, *supra* note 15, at 267-75.

limiting "contact with aliens"¹⁷⁵ is counterproductive in the extreme. To revert back to the case of women, when men are expected to make their own some of the attitudes, values, practices, and procedures that culturally are associated with women, their misogyny only can work against them. Once men adopt these traits, to scorn those who exhibit, for example, care or concern for others, is to scorn themselves.

If misogyny is acknowledged to be dysfunctional not just for women but also for men and for the Promised Land, it will be far easier than it now is to eradicate the outright hostility that women so often experience in the halls and classrooms of academe¹⁷⁶ and in the traditionally male professions.¹⁷⁷ Instead of being tolerated by male and female students and professors alike, as today is often the case, misogyny will be seen as self-defeating behavior. When acculturation rules, the more subtle forms of the devaluation of women that now contribute their own pernicious messages to higher education's hidden curriculum in misogyny also will be seen to be in need of correction; for instance, American literary criticism's silences about women's works¹⁷⁸ and its misrepresentations of women's writings,¹⁷⁹ and political theory's neglect of private home, family, and domesticity.¹⁸⁰

A policy of acculturation would affect not only the classroom climate and the curriculum of higher education. The reigning ideal of an educated person also would have to be reconstructed so as to incorporate qualities the culture now thinks of as women's exclusive property, not men's.¹⁸¹ In other words, if the Promised Land were to renounce its policy of assimilation, a thorough transformation of higher education, and of primary and secondary education as well, would have to follow.¹⁸²

Is it possible to blend qualities like care and connectedness that are now gendered in favor of women with ones like rationality that are culturally associated with men, given that they are culturally represented as polar opposites?¹⁸³ One challenge that an acculturationist policy poses to both old and new inhabitants is that of choosing from among the numerous qualities associated with women and men those that should be integrated into the new culture of the Promised Land. Another challenge is that of achieving genuine integration in the face of apparent

175. HANDLIN, *supra* note 15, at 275.

176. See generally SANDLER ET AL., *supra* note 2 (describing myriad inequalities women experience in the classroom which, when looked at together, create a chilly environment).

177. See, e.g., HARRINGTON, *supra* note 21, at 15-41.

178. See, e.g., Nina Baym, *Melodramas of Beset Manhood: How Theories of American Fiction Exclude Women Authors*, in THE NEW FEMINIST CRITICISM, *supra* note 70, at 63, 63.

179. See, e.g., Jane P. Thompkins, *Sentimental Power: Uncle Tom's Cabin and the Politics of Literary History*, in THE NEW FEMINIST CRITICISM, *supra* note 70, at 81, 81-83 (Elaine Showalter ed., 1985).

180. See Clark, *supra* note 121, at 52; PATEMAN, *supra* note 66, at 21.

181. See *supra* notes 129-28 and accompanying text.

182. Since higher education's main cultural function is to prepare people for membership in the world of work, politics, and the professions, when that world changes radically, as by hypothesis would, then so must higher education). See also Sturm, *supra* note 133, at 142-46.

183. See *supra* notes 101-11, 129-39 and accompanying text.

contradiction,¹⁸⁴ and a third is that of redefining both the aims and the subject matter of the liberal curriculum in accordance with an acculturationist stance.

In closing, recall Woolf's fear that upon joining the procession across the bridge, women would be in grave danger of becoming warlike, like the men.¹⁸⁵ In juxtaposition, note what a public interest lawyer said to Harrington:

A lot of things that are encouraged as personality traits in litigation are really not very attractive among human beings. I try to continue to be sensitive, but it's hard because I get tremendous pleasure out of being successful in this sort of thing, but it's just like the Socratic class. There's an undercurrent of really unpleasant things going on in that sort of exchange. Even intimidation stuff—I mean, that's not a very attractive way to be as a human being. And yet I love it!¹⁸⁶

While the question on Woolf's mind was whether women should join the procession, the doubt here is whether it is even possible for women to live safely and securely as full-fledged citizens of the Promised Land so long as successful immigration is defined as assimilation. By ensuring that the values and virtues that Western culture has placed in women's safekeeping survive the crossing, acculturation will make all the difference to women, generations of girls and women to follow, and the Promised Land itself.

184. The details of acculturationism are yet to be worked out. It is important, however, to distinguish this notion from what Iris Marion Young identified as a "transformational" ideal of assimilation and "democratic pluralism." See IRIS MARION YOUNG, *JUSTICE AND THE POLITICS OF DIFFERENCE* 163-68 (1990) (arguing that a transformed assimilation allows existing institutions to establish group specific policies such as affirmative action, but does not incorporate group or culture associated mores, practices, or traits into the dominant culture as acculturation requires).

185. See WOOLF, *supra* note 8, at 93.

186. HARRINGTON, *supra* note 21, at 134.