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A HISTORY OF THE 1970s OFFICE OF WOMEN'S PROGRAMS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE, KNOXVILLE: A FORERUNNER TO CHANGE

A Dissertation

Presented for The

Doctor of Education Degree

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Lin M. Stepp

December, 1999

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to

my husband and business partner

J.L. Stepp

who believed in my ability to attain this degree,

encouraged me, and shared richly

in the coursework and research throughout.

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who has seen me through every phase of this endeavor
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ABSTRACT

This study has documented the history of the Office of Women's Programs at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, and described the experiences of participants who helped to begin or worked with the University office. Records and information regarding the Office of Women's Programs had not been retained, and its history, contributions, and leaders were being forgotten.

Information for the descriptive history and participant themes, and the answers to the research questions, were found by (1) studying related literature, (2) interviewing participants, (3) analyzing written documents and archival records, and (4) looking for artifacts to provide visual evidence. The cumulative data were analyzed and synthesized into a whole to tell the chronicled narrative of the Office of Women's Programs. Interview data were additionally analyzed thematically to present an account of participant perspectives. The four-year methodological process was an ongoing one of investigating, recording, analyzing, and interpreting the events of the past to find the needed data for the final interpretative account.

The resulting study provided a rich, descriptive history of a new, transitional administrative office for women, started at the University of Tennessee in 1971 in an attempt to respond to the changing needs of University women students. The Office of Women's Programs was one of the early women's centers in the U.S. and one of the earliest at a southern university. In its five years at the University it helped to initiate and develop a subsequent network of women's offices, programs, and organizations that still continue on campus and in the community. Many University of Tennessee women's "firsts" are associated with the Office of Women's Programs years of operation from 1971 to 1976.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

Inequality of the sexes has always existed. Its issues have been probed and debated throughout the ages. Advocates challenging the position and role of women can be traced from fourth and fifth century B. C. writers, like Plato in The Republic and Euripides in Medea, to vocal proponents of women's rights in the United States starting in the 1800s and continuing to the present day (Gibney, 1979; Warren, 1975; Schneir, 1972). Although the status of women has seen only gradual change worldwide, the role of women in western Europe and the United States has seen more rapid advances (McCorduck and Ramsey, 1996; Stark, 1975; Chafetz, 1986).

European colonists brought their beliefs about women's place and role to the New World and soon established a culture and legal system to perpetuate them. The secondary or inferior status of women to men was viewed as a self-evident fact of nature, sustained and supported by most men and women and passed on culturally through succeeding generations (Robertson, 1981; Conway, 1974a; Bunkle, 1974; Deckard, 1979). Gradually, and often with direct pressure by early feminists of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, American women attained increased opportunities and rights, such as the right to vote, to own property, to enter denied professions and work roles, and to gain an education.

The image of the ideal role and place for women being in the home held on very tenaciously in American society. It was the nineteenth century before women were allowed entry into higher education and Lucy Stone became the first woman to receive a postsecondary degree from Oberlin College in 1841 (Warren, 1975; Conway, 1974a; Antler, 1982). It

was 1920 before women were given the legal right to vote (Fortier, 1995; Rappaport, 1990).

Context for the Problem

The twentieth century women's liberation movement began in a time of national political and social unrest in the 1960s, sparked in part by Betty Friedan's The Feminine Mystique and the corresponding revival of feminism (Friedan, 1963; Hymowitz and Weissman, 1978; O'Neill, 1969). Feminism is the position that women should have political, economic, and social rights equal to those of men. The doctrine emerged in the 1800s among British and American women and developed into the first women's movement, a collective effort working for women's suffrage and the achievement of sexual equity. Early feminism and its mass-based social movement waned by the mid 1900s following the ratification of the 19th amendment giving women the right to vote, but contradictions in the lives of women in the 1960s provided a stage for a reemergence of feminist thought (Stark, 1975; Hymowitz and Weissman, 1978; Deckard, 1979; Fortier, 1995).

The existing ideals for women and the sharply polarized roles between the sexes were inconsistent with the realities and demands of the times. A heightened social consciousness and opposition to women being denied opportunities and rights evolved. With the erosion of tolerance for gross discrimination, society began to entertain a new concept of women as a disadvantaged and deprived group (Banks, 1986; Warren, 1975; Bruijn et al., 1993). The federal government, under the Kennedy Administration in the 1960s, set a national precedent in investigating, exposing, and openly opposing discrimination against women (Sochen, 1973; Banks, 1986; U.S. President's Commission on the Status of Women, 1963; Rappaport, 1990). Congress followed with a spate

of legislation to begin reducing gender discrimination. The Equal Pay Act was signed into law in 1963, making sex discrimination in pay illegal. Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 followed, banning discrimination in programs receiving federal funds, and Title IX of the Higher Education Act of 1972 provided for sexual equity in educational programs and institutions (Kaplan, 1985; Hall, 1992; Berger, 1980; Gibney, 1979). Governmental councils and commissions, like the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, were set up to monitor and enforce legislation. Since the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission made little effort to enforce the sex provision of Title VII, private women's organizations, like the National Organization for Women, were formed to apply pressure on the government to enforce legislation and to promote continuing efforts to achieve sexual equity (Deckard, 1979; Levine and Lyons, 1980; Friedan, 1977).

Changes in American society emerged on college campuses in the 1960s and 1970s. A sweep of literature rolled off the national presses exposing discrimination and sexism in educational institutions, and women's activists began to pressure postsecondary institutions for reform (Arbonna et al., 1970; Bird, 1968; Epstein, 1970; Horner, 1969; Kraditor, 1968; Syfers, 1971; Gornick and Moran, 1972; Ravitch, 1983). The first postsecondary institutions to initiate changes in policy and practice in relation to sex discrimination were western, midwestern and northeastern women's colleges and public-supported coeducational institutions in large metropolitan areas where the powerful women's movement organizations were also situated, such as New York, San Francisco, Washington D.C., and Chicago. Southern colleges, more entrenched in patterns of racial and gender discrimination, were often the last to respond (Warren, 1975; Howe, 1971; Rosenfelt, 1973).

According to Tyack and Hansot (1995), American colleges and universities had become more conscious of gender as an area of

discrimination by the late 1960s. The early institutional responses to calls for reform that were tried by college administrators often mimicked institutional responses that had been tried earlier and utilized successfully with racial discrimination (Hymowitz and Weissman, 1978). Campus studies were initiated to examine the extent of minority group discrimination, minority studies or courses were added to academic curricula, and new administrative units, or student affairs' offices, were created to work with minority group concerns. The first campus women's administrative offices that developed in the early 1970s were at large, public state-supported institutions and women's colleges, often at the same schools where earlier changes in gender policy and practice had occurred in the 1960s (Howe, 1971). The new campus women's offices were called women's program offices, women's institutes or, more commonly, women's centers.

Few postsecondary institutions in the early 1970s provided on-campus space, full-time administrative staffing, or funding for early women's program offices, institutes, and women's centers that developed. These new campus women's offices and the issues they dealt with were still controversial within educational institutions and in major American social institutions as a whole (Stark, 1979; Robertson, 1981). The purposes and goals of these offices challenged traditional values and the accepted prevailing culture. The goals of these offices often included exposure of discriminatory conditions within the educational system, reversal of existing practices of sexism and campus discrimination, and increases in women's professional and educational opportunities (Garden, 1976; Bruijn et al., 1993; Howe, 1971).

Growth of women's program offices, or women's centers, and emerging women's studies programs was rapid. The early reports of these offices relayed the positive impacts of new programs on individual campuses while discussing problems in daily operations and the

challenges in fostering institutional changes. Shortages in staffing, funding, and the time to meet daily operational demands and maintain adequate records were reported as ongoing problems (Grahl, 1972; Rosenfelt, 1973; Tenelshof and Seale, 1974; Howe, 1971). As the years passed and the momentum of the women's movement began to diminish in the mid 1970s to early 1980s, these problems in funding, staffing, and time constraints did not improve for new campus women's offices. Widespread support for the women's movement was diminishing (Carden, 1977). Even college students started to resist association with feminism and its related organizations as the radical aspects and ideology of the women's movement gained prominence nationally and the opposing conservative backlash against the women's movement strengthened (Friedan, 1981). Negative connotations became attached to the very term feminist (McCorduck and Ramsey, 1996; Rush, 1987; Taylor, 1989).

In the early flush and success of the women's movement in the late 1960s and early 1970s, it was never anticipated that such a strong counter movement would arise. According to Taylor (1989), the growth and course of a social movement is inevitably affected by the ebb and flow of sentiments it arouses and by the extent to which its objectives and means are seen as compatible with or in opposition to the larger political activities, trends, and social norms. The women's movement started out with a more socially acceptable liberal platform asking for more equal rights for women within the existing societal structure. It grew to be more radical and extreme throughout the 1970s, asking for a transformation of societal structure (Carden, 1977; Jepsen, 1984).

The American society of the 1970s grew increasingly uncomfortable with the movement's growing nontraditional stance toward family, love, religion, and government, and for its open endorsement of such controversial issues as abortion, free-sex, and homosexuality (Jepsen, 1984; Friedan, 1981). Widespread social sentiment and support for the

women's movement slipped into decline (Cohen, 1988; Banks, 1986; Friedan, 1981; Taylor, 1989). Women's centers and programs began to correspondingly lose ground on many campuses. Funding for university women's programs was cut nationally. Many universities refused to establish new programs and many existing programs were dismantled (Liss, 1974; Miller, 1988; Wood, 1981; Girard, 1977; Cohen, 1988; Taylor, 1989; Mottl, 1980).

Between struggling to become established on American campuses in the early 1970s and, then, struggling to remain active and solvent on campuses after the mid 1970s and early 1980s, women's center staff members had little time to create or maintain extensive records and files or document their histories (Howe, 1977; Antler, 1982). There has been little documentation of the innovative role or significance these 1970s institutional women's program offices and women's centers played as campus change agents. No thorough history of the development and operation of an individual women's program office or women's center could be found in existing literature.

Statement of the Problem

The problem in this study is to record the historical development and operation of a specific university women's center that began in the early 1970s. The center at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, the Office of Women's Programs, officially opened in 1971 and closed five years later in 1976. To date, its history has not been documented, and few records remain regarding its role as a campus change agent in the 1970s.

The story of the Office of Women's Programs started in the late 1960s. The University of Tennessee in Knoxville, a public, state-

supported institution, had begun to examine issues of gender inequity and discrimination on its campus in the late 1960s. Prior to the increasing legal and social pressures of the 1970s, the University of Tennessee took some notable early actions to explore inequities and made a number of institutional modifications toward correcting campus discrimination. The University was one of the early southern postsecondary institutions to initiate institutional responses to gender inequity, particularly in initiating a campus-wide study on the status of women and in establishing a women's program office.

The Office of Women's Programs grew out of the remnants of the Dean of Women's Office, which had closed at the University of Tennessee in 1969. The office's Coordinator, Dr. Marty Begalla, had previously been an Assistant Dean of Women (Eagleton, 1970). The University of Tennessee was noted as one of the first coeducational institutions to fund a full-time coordinator for planning women's programs (Harrison, 1973; Eagleton, 1970). Dr. Marty Begalla served as Coordinator of the Office of Women's Programs for all five years of its operation. The women's office was considered a forerunner to many subsequent women's programs and offices on the University campus and in the community.

The Office of Women's Programs was closed in 1976 and its leadership scattered. A subsequent women's center evolved later on the University campus as a part of the Student Activities Office, but it had new leadership and goals and a different administrative structure (Akchin, 1976; Bean et al., 1996; Kessler-Harris and Swerdlow, 1996). According to Friedan (1981), by the late 1970s and early 1980s, fresh issues and concerns began to capture the national and student interest. The years of the Office of Women's Programs at the University of Tennessee were gradually forgotten.

Purpose of the Study

The primary purpose of this study is to document the history of the University of Tennessee Office of Women's Programs within its broader cultural and institutional context and to determine its impact on the University and community. Goals of the study are to examine the University's development of a new student services office for women, the Office of Women's Programs, describe that office's operational years on campus, record the experiences of participants, and explore the transitions that occurred in women's program offices on the campus in the ensuing years.

Specifically, the research is designed to:

(1) explain the origins of the Office of Women's Programs at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville;

(2) tell the story and document the years of operation of the Office of Women's Programs and to present the multiple perspectives on its development, operation, and closing; and

(3) review the impacts and contributions of the Office of Women's Programs and other campus women's programs in general.

A further aim of the study is to provide needed data to the University of Tennessee Hodges Library archives and to existing women's program offices and organizations on the University campus.

Research Questions

In order to tell the story of the Office of Women's Programs, several questions guided the study. These are as follows:

1. What were the origins and purposes of the Office of Women's Programs at the University of Tennessee?

2. How was the Office of Women's Programs at the University of

Tennessee reflective of the societal, political, and cultural events of the time?

3. What were the major impacts of the University of Tennessee Office of Women's Programs on the campus and community?

4. What challenges and difficulties, if any, were experienced by the Office of Women's Programs at the University of Tennessee?

5. What do the principal participants recall about their experiences with the Office of Women's Programs at the University of Tennessee?

6. How have the structure and purpose of campus women's programs, and the corresponding status of women, evolved or changed since the 1970s?

Significance

This study had two important implications for American higher education. Wiersma (1995) defined educational research as oriented toward the extension of knowledge and the solution of a problem. This study addresses both of these goals. It solves the immediate problem of documenting an initial history of a student services office, the Office of Women's Programs, for the University of Tennessee's use and records. The study also adds to the existing body of knowledge in the discipline, documenting the story of how a women's program office began and operated within one coeducational postsecondary institution in the early 1970s.

Records and files on the Office of Women's Programs at the University of Tennessee were not retained after its close. When this study began in the mid 1990s, very few administrators, faculty members, or students at the University of Tennessee were aware that this office ever existed or that it was a forerunner to campus and community offices still existing today. The University library system had no listing of

the Office of Women's Programs in its data base. No previous studies or research had been compiled on the University of Tennessee Office of Women's Programs or on the development of other women's program offices on the campus.

Thus, this study provides needed documentation on the history of this student services office for the University. Documents and findings from the study are being placed in the University of Tennessee archives, and information on the Office of Women's Program's history is being provided to current campus women's offices and organizations. It is important that academic institutions have a record of their own developmental history in all areas and, especially, in significant, innovative areas. Creating a record of the Office of Women's Programs at this time took advantage of the opportunity to still obtain interview data from principal figures and to locate related support documents.

Along with contributing to the knowledge base at the University of Tennessee, findings gained in this study have relational implications to the development of women's centers and women's program offices on other campuses in the 1970s (Wiersma, 1995). This study furnishes a detailed historical account of one campus office's development within its broader historical context, providing a base and a possible guide for further historical research on similar campus women's programs and issues.

According to Stewart (1988), educators will never know who they are or where they are going until they understand where they have come from. A knowledge of educational history can offer insight, information and inspiration, broaden perspectives and concepts, and aid in correcting or limiting uninformed prejudice (Merriam and Brockett, 1997; Allison, 1995). This study provides a record to promote a broadened understanding on one portion of educational history.

Delimitations

This historical qualitative study is delimited in that it looks only at the Office of Women's Programs at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, which operated from 1971 to 1976. It describes only the history of that office, the details of its years of operation, and the development of related women's centers and programs at the University of Tennessee and in the Knoxville, Tennessee, community. The study documents the experiences only of participants who helped to begin or worked with the 1970s Office of Women's Programs at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

Historical research methods were chosen to trace the past history of the Office of Women's Programs. Available literature and remaining primary and secondary written sources were searched out and studied and the resulting descriptive history of the Office of Women's Programs was ordered chronologically. Indepth interviews of twelve purposefully selected participants, who were primary sources, were obtained. These remembrances were then analyzed and presented thematically. It was determined that the final study would be a descriptive and partly analytical history, relating the story of the Office of Women's Programs in a primarily chronological narrative set within the social and cultural context of the times.

Limitations

The past destruction of University files and records, plus the absence of any other studies on the Office of Women's Program at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, put limitations on the scope of the study. Different interpretations among available documents were possible. With limited primary sources, exact information or complete

agreement on all descriptive facts regarding the Office of Women's Programs was not probable.

When this study was initiated in 1995, over 20 years had passed since the close of the Office of Women's Programs in 1976. Since oral participants might not accurately remember events that happened twenty years ago, the accuracy of these historical remembrances could not be completely certain. A further limitation of this study is that it was not possible to attain personal interviews from certain key participants.

Theoretical Framework

There is a need for researchers to acknowledge the theoretical framework guiding historical studies (Southgate, 1996). Rury (1993) stressed the importance of this in educational history because historians deal with matters that have relevance to educational policy and practice. According to Bogdan and Biklen (1992), "whether stated or not, all research is guided by some theoretical orientation" (p. 33).

Few historians now suggest or presume that their historical accounts present the only possible explanation that could be given or speak "for the identity and experience of all readers" (Gilderhaus, 1996, p. 134). According to Struna (1990), historical "descriptions and explanations will fall short of absolute truth no matter how well refined and valid the interpretive schemes and techniques may be" (p. 208). Burstyn (1987) pointed out that a historian either consciously or unconsciously selects, constructs, distributes, and transmits the available knowledge and data in the research process. Wiersma (1995) termed this the framework of departure for the pursuit of the research problem.

This study of the Office of Women's Programs at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, was built on an interpretist framework and paradigm (deMarrais, 1996). Researchers working with interpretist frameworks ask questions that lead to qualitative methods and work within "a range of differing theoretical positions including phenomenology, symbolic interactionism, constructivism, critical theory, poststructural theory, and most forms of feminism" (p. 7). According to Bogdan and Biklen (1992), a theoretical position or perspective refers to how a researcher looks at the world and makes assumptions about what is important and what makes the world work. In their viewpoint, "most qualitative researchers reflect some sort of phenomenological perspective" (p. 33). Phenomenology is the dominant perspective or theoretical position underlying this study. "Researchers in the phenomenological mode attempt to understand the meaning of events and interactions to ordinary people in particular situations" (Bogdan and Biklen, 1992, p. 34).

The role of theory in historical research is to account for, "both describing and explaining, particular events and processes" (Struna, 1990, p. 201). There are several characteristics of phenomenology that make it an appropriate theoretical position from which to pursue the descriptive and explanatory goals of this study. First, according to deMarrais (1996), is the "phenomenological assumption that knowledge is socially constructed", with individuals viewed as social beings strongly influenced by their setting and social relationships. "Theorists within this framework assume that people make sense of their worlds through constructing and modifying meanings in their social interactions with others" (pp. 6-7). A goal of phenomenology is to discover the meaning individuals make of their experiences. Behavior in any situation or time period cannot be clearly understood without understanding the feelings, thoughts, and actions that frame that behavior.

Second, according to Edson (1988), the phenomenological approach proposes to dismiss prior assumptions and convictions in order to lead to the examination of data in an open, less manipulative way. Nothing is pre-defined or taken for granted. Edson, as quoted in Kincheloe (1991), said this theoretical approach "causes us to acknowledge our assumptions so that we can suspend beliefs in these familiar convictions and examine evidence in a new and important manner" (p. 232). This encourages an open-mindedness in the historical process. The historian becomes a detective, according to both Struna (1990) and Winks (1979). The emphasis is on the story the written data and participants tell rather than on the researcher's perspective. As Edson (1988) explains, this challenges existing assumptions that might limit understanding.

Third, the phenomenological position acknowledges the importance of context in the shaping of events and human behavior. In this characteristic, it has a holistic perspective, according to deMarrais (1996), recognizing that the context in which research is conducted is critical to understanding the events in that era and the experiences of people within that setting. Events and experiences cannot be isolated from the full historical, geographical, sociocultural context. In looking at events of the past, the researcher relies on documentary evidence, on people's written and spoken words, and visual images. There is interaction between culture, historical context, and the meanings people attribute to events.

Finally, deMarrais (1996) explains that the phenomenological framework acts as a lens through which researchers can "explore aspects of the ways human experience is constructed in social interactions" (p. 8). This approach allows for conflicting accounts and multiple perspectives. According to Munslow (1996) there are many different stories that can be told about the same events and the same past. Histories can be diverse and can proceed from many angles or focuses

regarding the same subjects. Eyring (1998) expressed this well:

> A phenomenological approach is one characterized by multiple perspectives. Instead of the researcher choosing one angle of vision from which to view phenomenon, there is an attempt to understand experience through the lenses of those describing the experience - while recognizing one's own perspective and the influence of that perspective. Because experience is complex, the researcher must fluidly shift his or her focus from the experience itself, to the ground shaping the experience, and then back to the experience. As phenomena are viewed from these many different angles, a richer picture is seen (p. 141).

Burstyn (1987) compared the way in which historians construct history metaphorically to the process of photography. The photographer chooses what to investigate, how to capture it on film, and how to present it. This process, by its nature, is both scientific and artistic. The historical research process, like photography, has a dual process, demanding skill and adherence to accepted standards while also offering opportunities for creative interpretation. According to Windshuttle (1997), history can readily have a dual nature in studying and including both action and meaning perspectives, with the final product providing both knowledge and interpretations. In this study, the researcher proceeds with an eye toward both ends, adjusting the lens accordingly as the process continues. The resulting account attempts to present a balanced perspective, as Bailyn (1994) recommends, identifying the critical points of congruence and conflicts in the different perspectives. It further attempts, as Welton (1993) describes, to enter "into a conversation with the past in order to illuminate the multiple meanings and possibilities in dialogue with others who may be telling different stories" (p. 143).

Definitions

Definitions that might be helpful or needed in the understanding of this study include the following:

DISCRIMINATION - a pattern of behavior that deprives members of a group of legal rights and social opportunities solely because of their membership in that group, such as sex discrimination based solely on the character of being male or female.

FEMINISM - broadly, the theory that women should have political, economic, and social rights equal to those of men; feminists are those persons, collectively, who subscribe to this theory and desire autonomy for women or the right for women to be recognized in the economic, political and social realm as individuals in their own right.

INSTITUTION - societal organization with a specific public purpose or the set of stable relationships developed around a basic societal need or for a major societal function; major social institutions include religion, the family, science, sports, education, the political, legal, economic, medical, and military systems.

GENDER - the differentiation of male and female by sex; social conceptions about what personality traits and behavior are appropriate for members of each sex.

SEX - division of the human species into the biological categories of male and female; character of being male or female; a sex role is the range of behaviors or part a society determines is appropriate for that sex.

SEXISM - prejudice and discriminatory behavior toward other persons based solely on their gender; the ideology or belief system legitimizing sexual inequality by assuming the inequalities are based on inborn characteristics.

SOCIALIZATION - methods or processes through which people learn to behave in a manner appropriate to the values and roles of their culture, society or social group; an agency of socialization is any institution or other structured situation in which socialization takes place, such as the family, the school, the peer group, or the mass media; social control is the process and ways by which a society ensures that its members behave in sanctioned, approved, and expected ways.

WOMEN'S MOVEMENT - the social movement started in the 1960s dedicated to changing sex-based inequalities; its aims were to eliminate restrictive traditional sex roles and unreasonable discrimination based solely on gender and to achieve equal status for women with men; the 1960s women's movement was preceded by an earlier women's social movement begun in the 1800s for the emancipation of women, women's social justice, women's legal rights and, particularly women's right to vote; this previous movement was often called women's suffrage or women's emancipation; feminists today often term these movements First Wave Feminism and Second Wave Feminism, defining the 1990s ongoing movement as the Third Wave.

WOMEN'S PROGRAMS - campus student programs focusing on feminist issues which began to be initiated or endorsed by administrative departments of postsecondary institutions in the late 1960s-early 1970s in response to societal and political demands to address gender inequities; termed the administrative arm of the women's movement on campus; early women's programs were first managed under an office of student affairs on some campuses and then later moved under the jurisdiction of separate campus women's administrative offices, often called women's program offices or women's centers; examples of early 1970s women's educational program titles: *New Directions: Non-*

Traditional Careers for Women and *Focus on Change: Women and Men at the Crossroads*.

WOMEN'S STUDIES - academic courses focusing on feminist issues which began to appear on American college campuses in the late 1960s and early 1970s; termed the academic arm of the women's movement on campus; on some campuses, women's studies courses developed into women's studies programs, and eventually, into undergraduate and graduate majors and minors; example of early 1970s women's studies course title: *Psychology of Sex Role Development*.

Outline of the Study

This dissertation is comprised of six chapters. Chapter One has included an introduction, the context for the problem under study, a statement of the problem, the purpose of the study, and the research questions. Also included in this chapter were the significance of the study, delimitations, limitations, a theoretical framework, and definitions that might be helpful toward better understanding the study.

The research design and method utilized in the study and a discussion of the pilot studies are described in detail in Chapter Two. The chapter includes sections on the design of the study, the research procedure, participant interviews, the search for written documents and artifacts, and data analysis.

Chapter Three contains a chronological review of related literature to set the context of the study, beginning with historical developments prior to the 1960s and 1970s and the social, economic, and political changes preceding the opening of the Office of Women's Programs at the University of Tennessee. This chapter continues with a review of the literature on campus women's centers and women's programs

of the 1960s and 1970s, and then follows the development and history of campus women's centers and women's programs into the 1990s.

Chapter Four contains the primary body or narrative of the dissertation and the findings that describe the history of the Office of Women's Programs at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. This chapter begins by briefly tracing the early history of women at the University of Tennessee to ground the study, moving on to reveal the beginnings of changes on campus in the 1960s. The origins and opening of the Office of Women's Programs in 1971, its leadership, operation, types of programs, and related campus involvements are then documented. The chapter then details the closing of the Office of Women's Programs in 1976, the opening of the later Women's Center, and concludes with a discussion of the development of other campus and community women's programs and their growth from the 1970s into the 1990s.

Chapter Five reports the experiences of the interview participants. The data from the twelve participant interviews are analyzed thematically and discussed in this chapter. Each of the seven themes is defined, and data in the participants' own voices are given to support each theme, integrated into an analytical discussion of the data. The chapter concludes with a short summary and discussion.

The study closes with Chapter Six. This final chapter, or conclusion, includes a brief summary followed by a review of the major findings based on the research questions. Possible conclusions and discussions are offered, and recommendations for future research are presented. A few closing thoughts conclude the study, followed by the References and Appendices.

CHAPTER II

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHOD

The purpose of this study, as stated in Chapter One, is to document the history of the University of Tennessee's Office of Women's Programs within its broader cultural and institutional context. A historical research design was chosen as the most appropriate systematic research process for collecting and analyzing the data. In this chapter the plan and procedures for collecting and analyzing the data will be explained. The three main sections of the chapter are Design of the Study, Procedure, and Data Analysis. In the first section, an introduction to historical research will be followed by a discussion of the research design. Sections in the methodological procedure section will include the: (1) study of related literature, (2) preliminary studies, (3) participant interviews, (4) search for written documents and artifacts. The data analysis section will begin with a discussion of (1) historical criticism, and then describe (2) data organization, (3) analysis of the data, and (4) organizing and writing the results.

Design of the Study

The first section of this chapter provides an introduction to the process of historical research. It is followed by a general discussion of the overall research design. Although a hallmark of historic accounts is often the unbroken narrative, this academic study is organized by multiple headings and transitional sections. As Bogdan and Biklen (1992) explain, a dissertation work must adhere to academic conventions, be presented with an informed structure, and utilize less stylistic freedom than non-dissertation work. Dissertation methodology

is shaped by accepted academic standards (Bogdan and Biklen, 1992) as well as the aim of the research (Sherman and Webb, 1988) and the research questions to be answered (McMillan and Schumacher, 1996).

Engaging in the Historical Process

Historical research is often called the oldest form of qualitative inquiry (Rury, 1993). It involves no experiments or tests, and the hypotheses are questions the researcher hopes to discover answers to as the research is conducted. Its purpose is one of discovery, the design an emergent one, the focus as much on the process as the product (Creswell, 1994). According to Cohen and Manion (1994), historical research looks almost exclusively at the past, particularly at past individuals, groups, ideas, events, movements, or institutions. When educational historical research is done, it concerns itself with all of these topics simultaneously even if its focus is only on one. The elements of historical research are always interrelational (Cohen and Manion, 1994). Although this study focused on the development of a single university office, the history of that office was interrelated to many groups, ideas, social movements, and events of the 1960s-1970s era. According to Cohen and Manion (1994), history is intrinsically interlinked with its era, and any historical study is dependent upon context, or the setting and major events of the historical period, to be properly understood.

Historical research looks at what was, what happened, and how and why it happened (Shafer, 1980). The methodological process of historical research consists of collecting all possible evidence, evaluating the evidence, ordering the facts and data, and presenting the ordered knowledge in a clear order (Wise, Norberg and Reitz, 1967). According to Borg and Gall (1983), historical data can be organized

either chronologically, thematically, or in a combined chronological and thematic approach depending on the questions the researcher has chosen to ask. The data in this study were organized in a combined chronological and thematic approach. Data on the historical development of the Office of Women's Programs are organized in a chronological narrative, while data from participant interviews were organized thematically.

In historical research, according to Barzun and Graff (1992), the researcher proposes how the data will be gathered or collected, how they will be ordered and evaluated, and how the findings will be written up. The process of gathering data about the Office of Women's Programs started broadly, like a funnel, and grew more narrow and focused as it progressed (Bogdan and Biklen, 1992). From a broad-based view to a closer and closer view, the data were examined from every angle and perspective the researcher could think of. Burstyn (1987) compared the process of research to photography, each researcher choosing what to capture with the lens, how to capture it, and then how to represent it.

The historical perspective is filtered and limited, according to Polkinghorne (1988), always looking back from the present to the past. The Office of Women's Programs examined in this study existed at the University over 20 years ago. The past is elusive regardless of the research approach used to examine it. According to Struna (1990), the historian can not be certain if all the evidence of any past event has ever been completely uncovered, even at the end of a study. Despite how refined and valid the interpretive design or analysis techniques, final descriptions and explanations will be limited. In the end, the historian can only hope the uncovered story will be a relevant and meaningful story of the past (Best and Kahn, 1989).

Since the 1960s, according to Wiersma (1995), revisionist and reconstructionist researchers have questioned and criticized many past

historical accounts for their limited or biased interpretive approaches. A new consciousness has evolved concerning the interpretive nature of historical research. Because "history is interpretation", in Borg and Gall's words (1983), historians should try to be sensitive to the values, biases, and interpretive frameworks they impose on their research. According to Wiersma (1996), in all interpretations the historian should strive to remain as trustworthy as possible to the data. This was a major goal in this research, as explained in the theoretical framework in Chapter One.

Welton (1993) said that "the historian should tell the most likely story that can be sustained by the relevant existing evidence" (p. 133). Historians should look for what past individuals saw, experienced, and understood in the prevailing culture and conditions of their time. According to Edson (1988), it is not the historian's task to impose present-day understandings or answers on the past or to pass value judgments when documenting or interpreting the past. Historic events should not be distorted by deliberate bias. Borg and Gall (1983) suggested that studies that reviewed research on both sides of any issue were less likely to be biased and more likely to present a balanced viewpoint. According to deMarrais (1996), the point is to recapture an era, a particular moment in time, as accurately as possible.

Historical Research Design

The design of historical studies is distinctive in terminology and process from that of other research designs, but it is ordered, systematic, and disciplined (Borg and Gall, 1983). According to Wiersma (1995), "historical research follows a systematic process called historiography, from the identification of the research problem through the formulation of conclusions" (p. 246). The two broad design

categories in a historical study are the descriptive and the analytical (Shafer, 1980). Since little is known about the Office of Women's Programs at the University of Tennessee, a good descriptive history was first needed in order to answer the basic who, what, when, where questions. This basic history constructs a descriptive map or story of the past experiences and leads the way to the possibility of answering the more difficult analytical questions of how and why the experience or event occurred (Struna, 1990).

Where other researchers might gather their data from experiments, measurements, tests, surveys, questionnaires, observations, and participatory research, historians gather their data from primary and secondary sources of the past event under study. According to Best and Kahn (1989), primary sources are firsthand, eyewitness written accounts or personal remembrances. Secondary sources are secondhand oral or written accounts, not from firsthand witnesses or participants, and at least once removed from the historical period or event. Both primary and secondary sources have value, but primary sources provide the best data for historical research whenever they are available (McMillan and Schumacher, 1996). Secondary sources written near the time frame of the event offer a different perspective from sources further removed from the time frame of the event, according to Wiersma (1995). Sources written in the early 1970s were more likely to reflect the viewpoint and ideology of the 1970s era, while sources written in the 1980s-1990s tended to take on present-day understandings. The historian needs to look at both to give a study the broadest perspective (Wiersma, 1995).

Data were gathered for this study through examining related literature, interviewing participants, analyzing written documents and archival records, and looking for artifacts to provide visual evidence. According to Creswell (1994), the activities of collecting information, sorting it into categories, patterns, time periods or themes, analyzing

and interpreting it, formatting it into a story or picture, and writing it into ongoing outlines and drafts occur concurrently. Winks (1979) described the process of historical research as one of ongoing, overlapping methods of collecting, interpreting, and explaining the evidence similar to that of the detective.

Barzun and Graff (1992) called historiography "armchair detection par excellence". In a positive sense, as the investigation of the Office of Women's Programs proceeded, the subject grew clearer, a unity and completeness of ideas evolved, and a sense of surety and excitement developed. In a negative sense, the research process often consisted of what Winks (1979) termed "deadening routine" and endless "miles of intellectual shoe leather". In the end, a theory, or total view of the related events, took shape. The information and data were then synthesized into a meaningful whole, as Barzun and Graff (1992) suggested, and integrated into an account of the relationships between the persons, events, times, and places in the total drama. The findings were grouped and ordered, pieced and woven together, and presented in a structured story (Struna, 1990).

Procedure

This section will focus more specifically on the research procedure, examining how this study of the history of the Office of Women's Programs was conducted. It will describe each step followed in conducting the study in the chronological order in which those steps were conducted. A description will be given of preliminary studies, how interview participants were located and subsequently interviewed, how written data were collected and related artifacts found. As a part of the procedure, explanations will be offered as to how the data were utilized in the study.

Preliminary Studies

Over a one-year period several preliminary studies, or a pilot study, were done. In a pilot study, according to Borg and Gall (1983), the entire research project is carried out on a smaller scale, serving the purpose of a tryout. These preliminary studies of research measures and techniques are essential to the development of a sound research plan. Especially in a previously unresearched, exploratory historical field, like this account of the history of the Office of Women's Programs, a pilot aids in establishing the advisability of proceeding with the main study. According to Hayman (1968), preliminary studies demonstrate that there will be adequate literature to create a study context, needed documents and, if applicable, an adequate number of participants to interview (Hayman, 1968). Wiersma (1985) called the pilot a small-scale model conducted to gain information for improving the major study and refining the instruments and/or methodology.

Three stages were utilized in the pilot to determine the feasibility of the study and to develop the research plan for the major study. In the earliest part of the pilot, a literature review was conducted and research questions, a problem statement, and a bias statement were completed. Interview questions were designed and refined through discussion, informal testing, professorial aid, and formal trials with five participants. Hayman (1968) recommended pretesting interview questions in any study. Ineffective and unclear questions can be eliminated or altered through preliminary tests of the questions.

In the second stage of the pilot study, the availability of historical documents and further context literature was explored. In this trial, the research questions, problem statement, and study design were further refined and clarified, and historiography was studied in depth with professorial direction. Extensive time was spent in the

University of Tennessee libraries to determine if there would be enough written sources to support this historical study. A preliminary proposal was written for extended research in this pilot stage.

To complete the pilot effort, the researcher spent time working in the UTK Women's Center in a semester-long course practicum. In this pilot stage, current women's programs and related services were studied at the University and in the community. The final research study was built on the knowledge gained in the preliminary trail studies. According to Borg and Gall (1983), "the pilot study almost always provides enough data for the research worker to make a sound decision on the advisability of going ahead with the main study" (p. 101).

Study of Related Literature

In most research studies the literature review is a compressed critique of the status of knowledge on a research topic and provides the rationale for the research problem (McMillan and Schumacher, 1996). The literature review plays a different role in historical research. It actually becomes secondary source material and an essential part of the research data. According to Borg and Gall (1983), it becomes the study context, the complete setting and events that influence the focus of the research, the critical framework in which the study is placed.

Borg and Gall (1983) suggested that an in depth, rich literature review and context is essential to a good historical study and provides the foundation on which to build the study. Historical studies in education are based almost entirely on a thorough and careful study of existing printed knowledge in the field. According to Struna (1990), the literature helps place a historical study in a framework of rich, thick description. In this study, the full context and literature review became an essential part of the data in a triad of importance

with written archival documents and participant interviews. The literature review provided the context for conducting the research and for interpreting the results in the study (Wiersma, 1985).

According to Hayman (1968), the total literature review involves locating, reading, and evaluating as much as possible of the written material related to the area of study. In this study of a UTK administrative office, the literature search was primarily conducted at the University of Tennessee libraries and in the Knox County libraries. Books, professional journals and periodicals, educational reports and papers, dissertations, government documents, encyclopedias, and texts were examined. Social, economic, and political changes and events of the 1960s and 1970s needed to be clearly documented and understood. The status of women in education and in society before and after the UTK office's opening needed to be understood. Specific histories of the women's movement, changes in campus women's programs, and the development of campus women's centers and women's programs of the 1960s-1970s needed to be thoroughly examined.

Throughout the research process, it was often necessary to return to a study of related literature for additional information, clarification, and context as needed. Winks (1979) termed this essential to understanding and evaluating emerging historical evidence and a distinctive part of the historical process. Study participants and written sources often refer to events, people, or social phenomena unfamiliar to the researcher. Continuing literature searches help to clarify these data, thus contributing to the ongoing research.

Participant Interviews

Interviewing was chosen as a a method of obtaining primary source information from participants. Through the pilot study, it was

determined that a majority of the primary participants still resided in the Knoxville, Tennessee area and were willing to be personally interviewed. According to Selltiz, Wrightsman and Cook (1976), utilizing personal interviews allows opportunity for greater care in communicating questions and eliciting information, yields a higher response and completion rate than questionnaires, permits opportunity to obtain more data and greater clarity, and encourages greater freedom of expression and discussion. "Many people are willing and able to cooperate in a study when all they have to do is talk" (p. 296).

Potential interview participants were identified through existing records or found through a network sampling method. In the networking process, according to deMarrais (1996), one participant who fits into the research criteria is located and that person refers the researcher to others who also fit the criteria or who are believed to be able to provide insight into the events or phenomena under study. Networking was an ongoing part of this study in not only locating interview participants but in finding needed information and data for all aspects of the research.

With few remaining records of the Office of Women's Programs, many different individuals were instrumental in directing the research effort toward persons and places that could provide essential pieces to form the historical story. Besides the twelve interview participants, over 40 people gave their time and expertise to aid this research through telephone conversations and in brief personal meetings. The names of these different individuals are listed in a Communications Chart in Appendix E of this study, and their help to the success of this study is gratefully acknowledged. Many of these individuals provided access to or donated written documents to this research. Others shared their knowledge and memories about the Office of Women's Programs and the late 1960s-1970s historical era.

Selecting the Participants

The twelve participants purposefully selected for the in depth personal interviews in this study included individuals who worked as administrative or staff members in or in direct relation to the Office of Women's Programs at the University of Tennessee. In historical research, according to Creswell (1994), researchers purposefully select the population who can give eye-witness testimonies regarding the past events under study and best answer the research problem, purpose, and questions. Each individual's role and involvement with the Office of Women's Programs was clearly established in the initial contact. The original goal in the study was to interview ten to twelve participants with a diversity of involvements and roles to give full voice to various perspectives (deMarrais, 1996).

Institutional Review Board approval was obtained to conduct the research interviews and to ensure the rights, safety, and privacy of the subjects in accordance with federal and University regulations (see Appendix A, IRB Approval). The purpose of the research was explained to every participant, and they were asked for their consent to be interviewed and for the interview to be audiotaped. A convenient time and appropriate place for an audiotaped interview was arranged. The estimated length of the interview sessions was one hour to allow time to gain an understanding of each participants' perceptions and experiences and to answer the needed questions for the research purpose (deMarrais, 1996).

At each scheduled interview, the purpose and methods of the research were reviewed and informed written consent was obtained (see Appendix B, Consent Form). Participants were told that their participation was voluntary, that they could withdraw at any time from the study, and that they could call the researcher later to ask

questions or add relevant data to the research, to hear their taped interview, or to view a copy of the final research product. The participants were informed that their real identities would be used in the study unless they would prefer to participate with pseudonyms and have facts omitted that might make their identity obvious. Each participant was informed that no other person besides the researcher would have access to tapes or notes from the interview and that all the materials would be stored in the researcher's locked graduate office at the University and then destroyed after three years. There were no foreseeable risks involved for participants in this study.

The names of the twelve participants and their primary University positions at the University of Tennessee in the 1970s are listed below:

Marty Eagleton Begalla - Coordinator, Office of Women's Programs

Pat Ball - Assistant Coordinator, Office of Women's Programs

Becky Malone Hruz - Secretary, Office of Women's Programs (OWP)

Dick Nash - Director, Counseling Services

Jack Reese - UTK Chancellor (1973-1990)

Barbara Wickersham - Administrative member, UTK Task Force study

Susan Greene Nolan - First Chair, Women's Coordinating Council

Mary Mitchell McLoughlin - Asst. Director, Career Placement

Nan Scott - Graduate Student worker at OWP

Glenda Ross (later Baxter) - Graduate Student worker at OWP

Suzanne Kurth - Faculty member, Ombudswoman

Susan Connolly - First Director, Rape Crisis Center

A participant Chart in Appendix D of this study details the names, positions, or roles of each interview participant in the 1970s and their work roles at the time of the interviews in the late 1990s. Names and a description of each participant are also given prior to the reporting of participant interview findings in Chapter Five.

Interview Procedure

The interview guide used for this study was composed of a group of ten open-ended questions, listed below and in Appendix C:

(1) What are your first remembrances of the Office of Women's Programs and how it began at UTK?

(2) Tell me about the part or role you played in beginning or working in that office?

(3) Where was the Office of Women's Programs located at UTK then? What was the facility like? How was it staffed and budgeted? Through what years was it in operation? What visions or purposes do you remember that it had?

(4) What accomplishments can you look back and remember that this new office made in the 1970s?

(5) Tell me about any problems or frustrations that you remember in helping to begin or run the office?

(6) Tell me about some of the people you remember working with as related to the office. Do any staff members, associates or students especially stand out in your memory?

(7) How was the area of women's issues and programs, the idea of having a women's programs office received in the 1970s at the University and in the community at large?

(8) What part do you see, if any, that the Office of Women's Programs played in current women's programs at UTK or in the immediate area?

(9) Tell me how you might have grown or changed as a result of your involvement with the Office of Women's Programs?

(10) What other experiences do you recall, related to this 1970s time frame or the Office of Women's Programs, that might add to this research study? (Activities of the office, shaping events on

campus or nationally, unique memories, funny stories, etc.)

These questions were designed to permit a free response from each participant while asking all interviewees the same questions. The responses were then comparable, and patterns and themes among the responses were easier to determine (deMarrais, 1996). Earlier questions in the interview were more structured than latter questions for two reasons. First, some structured questions were needed to obtain needed descriptive data for the study and to answer the basic who, what, when, and where questions about the Office of Women's Programs (Struna, 1990). In the pilot study when these questions were omitted, interviewees simply assumed that the researcher already had this basic data and were unaware that University records or other studies did not exist to provide it. According to deMarrais (1996), the second reason for more structured early questions was to put the interviewee at immediate ease by asking questions he or she could readily respond to. Participants often felt self-conscious at first in the interview setting and apprehensive about whether they could remember events from more than twenty years past. By being asked general questions at first, participants became more relaxed and confident, allowing past memories to be freely accessed. It was then easier to move to more thoughtful, challenging, and less structured questions (deMarrais, 1996).

Participants frequently wanted to talk further and reminisce after the interview session was complete. The interview session had, in a sense, transported them back to a memorable time in their life. They enjoyed remembering many aspects of their personal experiences in the 1960s and 1970s. These additional remembrances enriched the broadened understanding of the entire historical era and the impact of the Office of Women's Programs in this era at the University of Tennessee.

There were some follow-up contacts with participants. These were to clarify information given in the taped interviews or to provide the

participants with information they had asked for. Several participants recontacted the researcher to add follow-up information, offer old documents or relevant materials they had discovered, or share information about articles they had seen in a newspaper or professional journal. Others provided names, phone numbers, or addresses of contacts they had recalled. Many simply called to talk and ask how the study was progressing. According to deMarrais (1996), interviewing often leads to the development of meaningful relationships and friendships.

Search for Written Documents and Artifacts

Along with the ongoing review of related literature and interviews of participants, historical inquiry is involved in the systematic search for and analysis of documents and other written sources (Borg and Gall, 1983). According to McMillan and Schumacher (1996), the historical researcher searches for data that is already in existence, for written documents, and related artifacts and visual evidence of the past. Generally, historians must each develop their own system of searching for past documents and artifacts. Winks (1979) called it an individual and singular effort. The historian has to be somewhat of a generalist in the search, according to Winks (1979), since history deals with the inexact and because any given source may contain related pieces of information or important leads to other information at every turn. The goal to keep uppermost in mind is to find the evidence needed, particularly primary sources (Best and Kahn, 1989).

Historians turn to all possible witnesses, documents, leads, and clues in order to seek out the necessary sources to answer the research questions and tell the story. According to Best and Kahn (1989), the process demands long hours of careful, patient examination of all types of documents, making it a difficult and demanding form of educational

research. The historian must piece together the scenery of the past from fragments that lie scattered in many places (Barzun and Graff, 1992). A conscious attempt should be made to locate a broad diversity of different kinds of written documents from many different places. Barzun and Graff (1992) suggested that when a diversity of documents are collected and weighed against the oral accounts and against each other, a clearer and more balanced report can be derived.

Staying focused and organized in the search for written documents and artifacts is important. In this study, the researcher utilized outlines, planned search lists, and priority agendas, as suggested by Wolcott (1990), to focus efforts in the research and to inform the search process. According to Winks (1979), a vast amount of documentation is gathered in historical research, and more data is collected than can ever be utilized in the final written account.

Written documents for this study were located primarily at the University of Tennessee Hoskins and Hodges libraries, the East Tennessee Historical Center, and the Knox County Library Historical Archives. UTK Historian Milton Klein and staff frequently directed the researcher to potential source materials and encouraged the search for written documents, as did archival librarian Nick Wyman. Documents that were located through the UTK libraries included University newspapers, catalogs, yearbooks, alumni journals, and other University of Tennessee publications, newsletters, bulletins, pamphlets, documents, letters, and records. As the study progressed, references would be made in one document or publication that led to another. Also, in participant interviews and networking discussions, individuals often made reference to pertinent documents. Via this circuitous method, many existing pieces of data were gradually located, like the 1970s Task Force Report, early Commission for Women annual reports, and a bound copy of guidelines for implementing Title IX legislation on university campuses.

Written documents were found in the files and collections of the UTK Women's Center with Director Karen Griffin's help, and in scrapbooks and records kept by the UTK Alumni Women's Council with the aid of Director of Alumni Programs, Becky Little. Dr. Robert Levy, Senior Vice President and Associate Vice President of the University of Tennessee, provided names, papers, and opened many doors for the researcher to gain access to important University employment and budget records related to the Office of Women's Programs.

In the greater Knoxville community, the Managing Editor of the Knoxville News-Sentinel, Frank Cagle, allowed the researcher access to the newspaper's archival library, where archival librarians James Gill and Anna Elkins aided in searching 1960s and 1970s news files and collections. The Director of the Knoxville Women's Center, then Shirley Nash-Pitts, gave access to study materials, files, and collections at the Knoxville center on Moses Street. A richly detailed scrapbook, starting in the 1970s, was located at the Center that proved to be an especially useful written document. Other related area women's organizations also proved to be good sources for written materials. A wide variety of brochures and literature from area organizations were collected through personal visits and telephone inquiries. These materials often contained histories about area organizations which documented their links to the UTK Office of Women's Programs and its staff.

Nationally, two women's organizations provided materials to aid the study. The Director of the National Association of Women's Centers, Eileen Coggins, sent brochures and a printed history of the development of the national center. The National Women's Studies Association's Executive Administrator, Loretta Younger, sent materials and a referral directory, listing many current national women's studies programs and centers. Staff members or directors at several campus women's centers

sent brochures or informational materials that provided helpful information on the operations, and sometimes the past histories, of other university women's centers and programs.

Some related photographs of individuals and buildings, campus maps, and visual artifacts were also located. Artifacts, often synonymously termed relics, are physical objects related to the time period and subject being studied that provide information about the past (McMillan and Schumacher, 1996). In educational research less use is made of artifacts than in other areas of historical research, but a variety of artifacts were examined and sometimes utilized in this study when they could be located. These included photographs, event posters, old student papers, textbooks and teaching materials, maps, and actual campus buildings still in existence. According to Borg and Gall (1983), artifacts and relics often help to substantiate other evidence. In this study, maps and campus catalogs clarified or corroborated the exact names and locations of administrative offices, academic colleges and departments, course titles, and the names of administrators and instructors in the 1970s. Photographs picturing the Office of Women's Programs' Coordinator, Assistant Coordinator and staff members at various events helped to verify their involvement in campus and community activities. Student papers revealed new directions of student thinking and highlighted significant research of the era.

When the research questions were answered and when continuing searching began to produce no new documents or needed information, the search for written documents and artifacts was brought to an end (Wolcott, 1990). Hayman (1968) wrote that the collecting of information in historical research stops when the research criteria is satisfied. Then it is time to seriously begin the work of data analysis.

Data Analysis

After following a systematic process of attaining research data, according to Wiersma (1995), a researcher must then evaluate and analyze that data. In this section, the process of data analysis is discussed. This begins with an explanation of historical criticism. Next the process of data organization is detailed, and the methods by which the data were analyzed are explained. Finally, the way in which the data were organized and written up concludes the section.

Historical Criticism

After following a unique methodology, the historian subjects all data to a constant critical analysis in order to establish their authenticity, trustworthiness, and accuracy (Best and Kahn, 1989). This ongoing evaluation of historical data and information is often called historical criticism (Cohen and Manion, 1994), and it is undertaken in external and internal stages and processes. External criticism is aimed at the outside validity of the source and internal at the accuracy and worth of the data within, including neutrality in an inward sense (Creswell, 1994). External criticism focuses on establishing whether written primary and secondary documents are genuine and authentic, whether the author was in a position to make a valid record of the event and whether the data is consistent with other basic facts known about the event. According to Creswell (1994), this same method of external examination must also test oral participants who give primary and secondary data for the study in communications or interviews.

In historical research, the change in emphasis or approach when subjecting primary and secondary sources to internal criticism is in evaluating the content of the information once the trustworthiness of

the source is established. The focus of internal criticism is on determining whether the document author or individual participant was predisposed to present a biased rather than a balanced account, whether personal interpretations played too heavily in the account, and whether the reporting is supportable by facts and consistent with other sources (Wiersma, 1995). All sources in this study were evaluated against each other with these factors in mind.

Cross-Validation

According to Wiersma (1995), a single document or oral report, even a primary source, can seldom stand on its own. Cross-referencing needs to be done to demonstrate that a written or oral source is consistent with at least one other data source. The technique of triangulation, a cross-validation process with stronger validity than cross-referencing, demonstrates agreement or convergence among three or more data sources (McMillan and Schumacher, 1996). Cross-referencing and triangulation were utilized in this study to increase validity. If data were inconsistent, they were considered insufficient to utilize in the study. For example, an opening date for the Office of Women's Programs, provided by an early primary source, was laid aside later when multiple data sources agreed on a different date. In the literature review or context of the study, decided effort was made to demonstrate that the data presented could be validated by one or more other sources whenever possible.

This study utilized cross-validation not only among data sources but also among collection methods. Wiersma (1996) defined triangulation as "qualitative cross-validation of data using multiple data sources or multiple data-collection procedures" (p. 470). In this second sense, according to Cohen and Manion (1994), methodological triangulation is

the use of two or more methods of data collection in the pursuit of a given objective. Methodological triangular techniques help to more fully explain the richness and complexity of a historical event by looking at it from more than one standpoint. The use of multiple methods reduces the chance that findings are attributable to a single methodological viewpoint or method-boundedness. Viewpoints in this study were gathered from oral participants, many types of written documents, and a broad array of related literature. Cohen and Manion (1994) suggested that methodological triangulation helps to not only increase validity in studies but to generate a fuller and more realistic look at complex phenomena and provide a broadened, holistic view.

Data Organization

An orderly method of data collection and organization was utilized throughout this study. Wolcott (1990) defined accuracy and organization as critical to historical research. Guidelines on data collection in historical research, in Wolcott (1990), Borg and Gall (1983), and Bogdan and Biklen (1982), emphasize the importance of careful extensive notetaking, detailed written outlines, ongoing rough drafts, and a clear organizational system for all data collected. According to Bogdan and Biklen (1982), a clearly delineated direction and careful systematic organization enables a historical research process to remain focused and manageable.

Although duplicates could be made of some written evidence and literature sources, this study involved extensive notetaking. According to Borg and Gall (1983), effective and accurate notetaking is of critical importance in historical research. Many archival documents that were examined could not be easily duplicated due to their accessability or type quality. Other documents were too extensive to

duplicate or just had minimal needed information within them. The sheer volume of written sources examined was extensive, and it was not always clear in early stages of the research which sources would be utilized and to what extent in the final integrated historical account.

All the notetaking in this study was done in a looseleaf system, with notes, xerox copies, and any written data carefully coded and filed in chronological and/or specific categorical file folders. Standard-sized 8 x 10 note paper and file folders were used. Hayman (1968) and Borg and Gall (1983) recommended paper note-taking for ease in organization, transportation, filing, and flexibility. A coding system was utilized to organize and mark all sources according to chronology, categories, subjects, themes, patterns, usage, or in other emergent ways as the research progressed (Barzun and Graff, 1992). At each stage, the study followed detailed written outlines, laid out in a clear sequential progression. A datebook coordinated the study efforts, kept track of scheduled interviews and appointments, planned and blocked off time for research, and kept a needed record of frequently needed names, places, addresses, phone numbers, office hours, and other information.

Each piece of written data, communication, participant interview and study source were recorded on a 4 x 6 index card along with brief identifying notations. Where each source was attained and could be found again was noted on each card, such as library call numbers for written sources or phone numbers/addresses for individuals. A uniform system of referencing was utilized throughout the study. All sources were referenced on the individual index cards, on all notes, xerox copies, study materials, and in the final written document in accordance with the American Psychological Association (APA) referencing style. Additional notes from written documents, communications, and other sources during the course of the study were recorded on 8 x 10 loose-leaf sheets.

All index cards, notes, attained data, and source material were coded in this study. According to Selltiz, Wrightsman and Cook (1976), coding is the technical process by which data are characterized. Coding or classifying historical data helps to order it into identifiable and relational units that are able to be utilized in analysis and in writing up the research, easily found and retrieved as needed by the coding system developed. There are no fixed rules for coding research or for creating coding categories, but codes should encompass topics for which there is substantiation. Methodological guides, in Patton (1980) and Bogdan and Biklen (1982), state that codes are suggested by the research questions, by chronological time periods, by evolving and recurring themes and patterns, by comparisons and contrasts, by significance, by topics or categories, and by expected placement within the proposal plan of the study. A system of symbols, letters, words, phrases, color-marking, or highlighting was used to mark and identify codes as this research developed and in the final analysis of data.

Coding techniques in this study identified literature, documents, and communications according to six themes. These are as follows:

1. Expected placement in the study

Letters were assigned to sources as to where they might expect to be initially used in the study - "P": proposal and preliminary first chapter, "L": literature review, "M": methodology, "I": interview participants, "F": findings, and "C": conclusion. Some sources were assigned multiple letters if they are broad-based and were to be used in more than one area.

2. Chronology

Linear time-periods that the study is concerned with were used in coding - pre-1960; 1960-1970; 1970-1975, the operational years of the Office of Women's Programs; mid 1970s-1980s; 1990s to present. Notes, finding, communications, brochures and materials were filed in

chronologically labeled file-folders according to these time periods.

3. Emerging categories, events and themes

As patterns, themes, recurring categories and events begin to emerge in the data collection, loose codes were created to group these linked data sources. Phrases were used to represent these codes, for example "women's movement", "student activism", or "women's studies". These categories were often changed, revised or combined as the research progressed (Cohen and Manion, 1994)

4. Comparisons and contrasts

"Pro" and "con" were written on documents when opposing, differing viewpoints began to be observed in sources, as in pro or con viewpoints regarding the women's movement or the place of women's programs in campus hierarchies.

5. The research questions

Sources were coded by number in relation to the interview questions and the corresponding research questions they addressed. Numbers 1-10 were used to relate to the numbers of the interview questions.

6. Significance

In gathering data and in reviewing it, color-highlighting was used to highlight, or mark sources or data, within source material that was perceived to be of particular significance to the study.

This planned system of organization was just one possible coding system that could have been utilized in this study (Tesch, 1990). Organizational systems for data must be flexible in historical research and open to changes throughout the data collection process. According to Tesch (1990), each analyst must find his or her own process. Although the organizational process for historical research is not fixed, it must be disciplined. Borg and Gall (1983) suggested that a sloppy, inefficient system of data collection and organization can

cripple the analysis process and weaken the final research product.

Process of Analysis

"Analysis involves working with data, organizing it, breaking it into manageable units, synthesizing it, searching for patterns, discovering what is important and what is to be learned, and deciding what you will tell others" (Bogdan and Biklen, 1982, p. 145). In this study, analyzing and evaluating the data was done by two approaches. The first was in ongoing, overlapping methods concurrent with the process of gathering the research and the second in an in depth, comprehensive method after the collection of all the data was complete (Creswell, 1994).

The ongoing process of analysis, done while collecting the data, entailed narrowing and focusing the study, eliminating unneeded data, posing analytical questions of the developing research, and occasionally summarizing what was emerging in the study (Tesch, 1990). This included clarifying intents, recording ideas and insights, making connections or analogies to enlarge thinking, and continuing to explore the literature to enhance or clarify the analysis process. The process involved a constant reviewing of the data, circling key words and phrases, making notes in the margins, looking for gaps in information, beginning to see patterns and categories emerging, and starting to develop coding categories (Bogdan and Biklen, 1982).

As the data were reviewed and coded in the analytical process, central ideas and concepts were pulled together and continuity between them developed. Marton (1988) suggested that meanings were also developed in the process of bringing data together and comparing it. These meanings, ideas, and concepts were organized categorically and chronologically. Information from multiple accounts were combined and

summarized. Inconsistencies of contradictory accounts were resolved as the research progressed, with some sources minimized or rejected as the final analysis of data was completed. Often the validity of doubtful sources is more easily resolved when all the data have been gathered, according to Wolcott (1990). Just as some material may become superfluous as the analysis takes shape, some sections may need to be fleshed out with more detail. The context or literature review often helped here. The overall goal in the analysis process, according to Wiersma (1995), is to pull together and organize the data into a continuity that will provide an accurate description and interpretation of the past events under study.

The purpose of the study had been to describe the experience of the participants who helped to begin or worked with the 1970s Office of Women's Programs at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, and to describe the historical development of that office within the broader sociocultural context. In the final stages of the data analysis process in the study, decisions were made to separate the descriptive history of the development of the program office from the detailed, ethnographic account of the participant experiences. A dual study had emerged with the data collection.

Participant interview transcripts were analyzed thematically (deMarrais, 1996). According to Marton (1988), categories or emerging themes had been located in the data, and then participant quotes taken out of the transcripts to demonstrate or support the categories or themes. As suggested by deMarrais (1996), an emphasis was placed on the observers' perspectives and voice, the emic focus, rather than the researcher's perspective and voice, or etic focus. The other data in the study, including evidence from participant interviews, had been reviewed and were synthesized into a chronological account (Wiersma, 1995).

Throughout the data analysis process, according to deMarrais (1996), the historian is constantly refocusing the analytical lens on the ongoing research, keeping in mind the individual experience and point of view, the particular social, economic, and political influences of the cultural time period, and the broader historical context that touches into the past, present, and future. As deMarrais (1996) explained, historical research methodology asks questions related to the interpretations of meaning people place on their experience. It works from an interpretist paradigm, a process characteristic of qualitative research. The researcher stays open to possibilities and to a variety of explanations for the findings.

Tesch (1990) described the data analysis process as following the processes of decontextualization and recontextualization. The information is first taken apart into smaller pieces and then reunited into a larger consolidated picture or synthesized. According to Rury (1993), at the end of the research process, all the parts must be ordered into a unified body or form, a coherent explanation and creative reconstruction of the past under study. This does not produce just an isolated story of a single institution, event, or a series of events but creates a synthesis of the contextual factors which seem to have affected them. A history emerges, not just of the Office of Women's Programs alone, but of the Office of Women's Programs within the broader sociocultural context. A singular story is set into a larger context.

Organizing and Writing the Results

Writing up the research is the last stage in the process of historical inquiry. According to Bailyn (1994), "there simply comes a time when the story begins to make sense, and one feels one can communicate it coherently" (p. 85). A first step then is to decide the

representational style or mode to use in communicating the story. The two modes of explaining historical evidence are the narrative and structural modes, according to Edson (1988), but historians frequently combine both these modes in explaining historical evidence.

This study used a primarily narrative mode to present the history of the Office of Women's Programs at the University of Tennessee. According to Struna (1990), the narrative is the most frequently used mode in historical research, and it is the most appropriate mode for use in a study when virtually nothing is known about the particular event, person, or program under inquiry. The narrative mode gives a comprehensive description of what happened in the past, offering the best and most likely account of the past that can be sustained by surviving records and participants, according to Edson (1988). It makes events intelligible, focusing on the particular and specific, not the analytical. According to Polkinghorne (1988), a good historical narrative produces a plot and story from a set of first-order of real events, gathering them all into a coherent and meaningful whole by a unified process.

Conversely, the structural mode focuses primarily on an analytical account, according to Edson (1988). It is thematic rather than chronological, focusing primarily on an analytical account and on circumstances and the collective rather than individuals or particulars. Marton (1988) suggested that the ways people experience or think about phenomena are best analyzed and presented thematically. Where participant interviews were thematically presented and explained in this study, a more structural mode of presenting the historical evidence was employed. Both methodologies seek to ask and answer important questions of the past, according to Edson (1988), they just ask different questions and consult different sources of evidence appropriate to the questions posed.

Historians basically take what they have heard and seen and put it down on paper so that it makes sense to their readers as it made sense to them, according to Bogdan and Biklen (1982). The goal of descriptive history is to identify as fully as possible a set of experiences in the past, to locate in time and place a person, event or organization, by first providing answers to who and what it was, when it happened, where it took place, and in what context. The final narrative makes sense of the experiences in terms of patterns within and over time and in terms of existing literature. It breaks apart and relates the constituents of those experiences and moves inward to focus on how and why those experiences or events may have occurred in the more analytic mode. According to Struna (1990), the story is finished when the historian has made sense of whatever piece of the past has been investigated and has answered the questions, "what happened?' and "what does it all mean?"

The process of organizing and writing up this study started with a process of rereading, resorting, refining, rechecking, and revising all the data that had been collected, organized, analyzed, and evaluated (Wolcott, 1990). The organizational process started with literally laying out all the written data and notes attained on the living room floor. Every piece of data was reexamined, reviewed, or reread in entirety over weeks of time. Notes and drafts on various sections of the research were studied, and eventually, a detailed, rough outline for the final document was conceived and then written. All the written and oral sources were organized chronologically and/or categorically to follow this outline, and then reviewed extensively again. Unnecessary data to the working outline of the story were removed. Priorities regarding data to be utilized in the final account were decided upon.

The gathered evidence of the historical study, which had been evaluated and taken apart into smaller pieces, themes, categories, and patterns throughout the research process, was brought back together into

a consolidated picture or synthesis at the end of the study (Tesch, 1990). A unity and continuity of all the ideas and concepts were developed. Because the bulk of the data had been organized chronologically in a time-ordered story sequence all along, it became easier to weave it into a primarily chronicled narrative with thematic findings from participant data placed in a separate chapter. In this way the data were organized and explained. All the information was synthesized into a whole and possible generalizations or interpretations formulated on the basis of sufficient evidence and on deductive-inductive reasoning. The deductive-inductive approach to reasoning, according to Best and Kahn (1989), moves both deductively from assumptions to applications and inductively from observations to generalizations, drawing from both patterns of inquiry.

In this way, the skeleton of the final story was constructed. This skeletal structure began in thought, as all the data were processed, ordered, and unified throughout the research process, and was finalized when the data collection was complete. A final outline was then created that the structure of the finished story would be built on. Gradually this outline became more fleshed out, more complete, and more detailed (Selltiz, Wrightsman and Cook, 1976). Finally, drafts of the final narrative were begun, and the writing began in earnest. The final written historical account was achieved through a long process of multiple drafts, editings, revisions, and rewritings (Wolcott, 1990).

The historian becomes, unavoidably, somewhat of an interpreter at this point since she or he determines what will be utilized to tell the descriptive and, possibly, the analytical story of the past as impartially as possible (Wolcott, 1990). According to Barzun and Graff (1992), the information that will be used in the final account must be selected, linked together, and given a voice. As the writing progresses, the overall work could be broken into different parts or

stages and the different sections worked on at different times to give diversity to the writing process (Wolcott, 1990). Finally, all the parts had to be sewn into a unit, like pieces or sections of a quilt, and unified into a whole at the last that presented a unified message (Polkinghorne, 1988). Wolcott (1990) recommended utilizing charts, diagrams, maps or displays to summarize data and to supplement and enhance the final story or printed text. Two charts were created for this study and are included in the appendices.

Because historical research is qualitative and emergent in design, a natural conclusion evolved with the study. No contrived effort was made to achieve a grand finale (Wolcott, 1990). Every historical study takes on a personality and direction of its own from beginning to end. At best there will be interest and artistry as well as trustworthiness in the resulting interpretive, historical narrative (Barzun and Graff, 1983). Struna (1990) claimed that the final descriptive account is the more important contribution in historical research, and that it is not necessary for a historical study to culminate with or to integrate an extensive analytic account.

According to Wolcott (1990), a summary of what has been learned, recommendations, along with brief reflections on the research are often more than adequate. "It is not necessary to push a canoe into the sunset at the end of every paper" (Wolcott, 1990, p. 56). A natural conclusion evolved and emerged with this study. This includes a brief summary, a review of the major findings, recommendations, and some closing reflections.

CHAPTER III

LITERATURE REVIEW AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Chapter Three establishes the context or background for the study. It sets a rich framework in which to place the individual history of the Office of Women's Programs. Looking first at U.S. women's history and related historical developments in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the chapter then turns to the societal change and unrest of the 1960s-1970s. Social, economic, and political events in the 1960s-1970s are examined, including emerging social movements and the women's movement. The focus next shifts to consider how institutions of higher education were impacted by events of the 1960s-early 1970s, particularly in areas of gender. The development of new campus women's centers and programs is described in some depth, with changes in those programs after the mid 1970s examined briefly.

Historical Developments Prior to the 1960s-1970s

The origin of the Office of Women's Programs at the University of Tennessee links back to the entrance of women into institutions of higher education in the United States just before the twentieth century. American universities had previously been all male institutions, like their European counterparts, and, now, women were being integrated into their ranks (Solomon, 1985). The societal culture and the institutions were a little uncertain about how far women should be allowed to go in this pursuit and just how to best accommodate and serve new women students in the institutional setting (Delamont, 1996).

As women students began to enter the arena of higher education in the late nineteenth century, educated women also began to attain

positions in American colleges and universities as faculty members and administrators (Conway, 1974a; Fortier, 1995; Delamont, 1996). The first women professors taught at women's colleges and, later, in the coeducational institutions in what were generally thought of as women's fields and women's courses, such as home economics and education. Early women's and men's classes were often separated within the postsecondary institution and were usually different in content (Solomon, 1985; Gordon, 1990; Welter, 1966; Tyack and Hansot, 1990). The earliest women's administrators were also at women's colleges and in women's program areas like home economics. Women's and men's lives and affairs were regulated by separate standards on American campuses (Brubacher and Rudy, 1968; Solomon, 1985; Delamont, 1996).

As women students began to live within the academic community, institutions decided a special women's administrator was needed to work with women and their particular needs on campuses. These early student services administrators were usually given the title of Dean of Women (Brooks, 1988; Adams, 1962; Tyack and Hansot, 1990). The first Dean of Women, according to Tuttle (1997), was Alice Palmer at the University of Chicago in 1892. Soon Deans of Women began to appear at colleges and universities all over the United States. Accounts of the activities of Deans of Women were preserved through only limited sources, letters and school records, but, recently, Tuttle (1997) reported that an increasing number of dissertations and journal articles are being written to document the roles of these early deans.

Concerns and issues of early twentieth century women in higher education were expressed by faculty and administrators in the newly founded American Association of University Women's professional journals of the early 1900s. These AAUW Journals reflected the problems women faced in postsecondary education such as discouragement and lack of respect, difficulties in attaining faculty and administrative positions,

lower pay and lower ranks among faculty and administrative women than their male counterparts, and lack of fair and just policies for women (Hughes, 1919; Wellington, 1926). They also reported female students' exclusion from many fields of study and impediments within the institution, limited options for women after graduation, and the continuing societal and institutional pressures hindering women's performance and contributing to a higher female drop-out rate (Hughes, 1919; Wellington, 1926). Many of the same concerns would again be voiced in the 1960s and 1970s. Several historians point to this 1920s period and the 1900-1920 Progressive Era as a pre-era or preview of what would evolve in the women's movement in the 1960s (Delamont, 1996; Gordon, 1990; O'Neill, 1989; Tyack and Hansot, 1990). Women broke out from the restrictive patterns of existing Victorian class ideals or expected roles for women, what Burstyn (1980) called "sentimental womanhood". There was a new emphasis in the 1920s among women in society and, especially, on campus to seek out intellectual stimulation and outlets for their knowledge and talents and to shed traditional gender roles with optimism and energy (Gordon, 1990; Fortier, 1995; Vertinsky, 1994; Bunkle, 1974; Welter, 1966; Burstyn, 1980). The seeds were sown for changes for women in this era that would become more manifest in later years.

After the War Years

The Great Depression and World Wars I and II then interrupted many of the societally progressive gender trends of the 1920s, particularly in terms of education and vocation (Conway, 1974a; Horowitz, 1987; Antler, 1982; O'Neill, 1969). Hardship in the nation and the cultural preference for men in awards for jobs and educational opportunities hindered women's progress in pursuing education, professional work

roles, and societal leadership (Solomon, 1985; Chafetz, 1986; Horowitz, 1987). After World War II, the nation settled into what historians like O'Neill (1969) called an era of domesticity. There was such a relief nationally that the war was over and that home and family could again become priorities. Women actually fell backward in educational and professional attainments in this period (Roby, 1973; Conway, 1974a; Tyack and Hansot, 1990; Antler, 1982). The dominant culture prescribed that the ideal woman married, raised a family, and stayed out of the work field unless financial necessity demanded it. It asked that she serve and utilize her gifts and talents within her home, family, and close community through service and volunteer works (Tyack and Hansot, 1990; Hymowitz and Weissman, 1978). Institutions of higher education aided society in gently lowering a young woman's ambitions (Conway, 1974a; Antler, 1982). Rapid expansions in communications and the growing media of radio, Hollywood movies, women's magazines, novels and, later, television helped perpetuate and reinforce this image of ideal womanhood (Conway, 1974a; Welter, 1966; Burstyn, 1980; Delamont, 1986; Antler, 1982; Vertinsky, 1994; Sadker and Sadker, 1994).

In 1900, only 2.8% of women had attended college in America (Solomon, 1985; Taeuber, 1996). By 1960 the number of women college graduates had tripled, but the proportion of women attending college as compared to men had declined (Hymowitz and Weissman, 1976). According to Deckard (1979), where 40% of Bachelor of Arts degrees had been awarded to women in 1930, only 35% of Bachelor of Arts degrees went to women in 1960. Women were kept from entering many fields of study by policy, quota systems, or institutional discouragement (Hymowitz and Weissman, 1978; Antler, 1982; Vertinsky, 1994; Tyack and Hansot, 1990). They majored primarily in education, nursing, home economics, social sciences, and the liberal arts, and there were few women entering fields of medicine, law, engineering, commerce, sports, and agriculture. There

was a lower percentage of women in professional and leadership positions in the late 1960s than there had been in the 1920s (Hymowitz & Weissman, 1978; Delamont, 1996; Roby, 1973; Chafetz, 1986). On the surface and in the media representations it might have just seemed that more women were simply electing homemaking as a role. In fact, two thirds of female graduates from college between the 1930s and 1960s did elect that option and 60% dropped out even in the mid 1950s, never completing their degrees (Antler, 1982; Taeuber, 1996).

In contrast, a growing percentage of women were working in the United States by the late 1960s. One in ten married women worked in 1940, but by the late 1960s half of all married women were in the work force at least part-time (Hymowitz and Weissman, 1978; Taeuber, 1996). They worked predominantly in low-pay, gender stereotyped jobs as typists, clerks, receptionists, secretaries, telephone operators, elementary school teachers, childcare workers, beauticians, domestics, bank tellers, and nurses (Hymowitz and Weissman, 1978; Sapiro, 1990; Taeuber, 1996; Tyack and Hansot, 1990; Davis, 1991). Most worked from economic necessity. Women's average earnings were 60% that of men's in equivalent positions, and women were less likely than men to receive raises or promotions to leadership or management positions even with more education and experience. In 1960, women college graduates averaged less in pay than male high school drop outs, and women high school graduates earned less than males who had not completed eighth grade (Deckard, 1979; Taeuber, 1996; Hymowitz and Weissman, 1978).

An Era of Change Begins

O'Neill (1989) described the societal situation of the 1960s as ripe and overdue for change. Betty Friedan, when asked to do a questionnaire for her Smith College class reunion of 1957, turned up

such inconsistencies and discontents among fellow women graduates that she was provoked to further study (Friedan, 1963; Cohen, 1988). This led to the writing and publication in 1963 of The Feminine Mystique. In this book Friedan gave a name to the restless discontent in the lives of American women, being one of the first writers to address the issues of the deteriorating position of women in American society, the culturally fixed and restrictive roles of women, the contrived but outdated ideal of womanhood, and the brainwashing of the Americana public to accept and perpetuate these beliefs (Rappaport, 1990; Friedan, 1963; Cohen, 1988; Deckard, 1979; Hymowitz and Weissman, 1978). Friedan is described by many as kicking off or instigating the subsequent women's movement that began in the 1960s (Rippa, 1984; Deckard, 1979; O'Neill, 1969; Hymowitz and Weissman, 1978, Ireland, 1996). Other sources say that it was an idea whose time had come and, that with or without Friedan's expose, dramatic social change would have still occurred (Banks, 1986; Stark, 1975; Robertson, 1981; Franck and Brownstone, 1995). Clark and Patella (1997) wrote that more equal inclusion of women had already begun and been supported by the adult education and equal opportunity movements of the early 1950s and 1960s and that the American Council for Education had established its Commission on Educational Opportunities for Women as early as 1953 with similar goals for societal change. If few had heard of these earlier efforts, most everyone in the United States had soon heard of Betty Friedan.

The floodgates of change seemed to have been opened, whatever the specific triggers, and the late 1960s to early 1970s saw dramatic changes in gender-thinking in American society. Sources in multiple disciplines began to address gender inequities and sex bias in American societal thought and belief, in the national media, the family and religion, in biology and psychology, in the government and its laws, and in the educational system at all levels (Foreit, 1980; Franzwa, 1978;

Gornick and Moran, 1971; Horner, 1969; Bird, 1968; Maccoby, 1966; Epstein, 1970; Ehrenreich and English, 1979; Goldberg, 1968; Lee, 1977; Kraditor, 1968; Leinhardt, 1979; Roby, 1973). Women's consciousness-raising groups began to spring up all over America, in communities and on the campus, spreading the women's movement and its ideology and uniting women all over the country (Davis, 1991; Ireland, 1996).

Friedan (1963) had addressed issues of women's education and pointed a condemning finger to postsecondary institutions for their part in limiting women's opportunities and perpetuating myths of the ideal woman. Other authors began to echo Friedan's accusations and explore new aspects of postsecondary education's failure to admit, encourage, support, and direct American women in higher educational studies (Banks, 1986; Dahrelup, 1986; O'Neill, 1989; Antler, 1995: Tyack and Hansot, 1990). The term sexist was coined and applied to the role of the educational institution and other social institutions for fostering and perpetuating limiting gender roles and gender inequities (Gornick and Moran, 1971; Stacey et al., 1974). An attack was unleashed on sex-directed education and for the part educational institutions were playing in perpetuating rigid sexual roles (Bird, 1970; Leinhardt, 1979). The term discrimination began to be applied to higher education's treatment of women students in many arenas, including admissions' policies, barriers to women in entering traditionally male fields and majors, limits in athletics, sexist teaching and terminology, differential policies, biased counseling and psychological hindrances to women's full development within the institution (Antler, 1982; Rossi, 1965; Horner, 1969; Vertinsky, 1994; Sapiro, 1990; Davis, 1991). Cherished beliefs that American educational institutions were providing equal access and opportunity for males and females began to be challenged by new educational research, legal decisions, and social action (Rippa, 1984; Finn et al., 1979; Tyack and Hansot, 1990).

Social, Economic and Political Changes of the 1960s and Early 1970s

Sociologists and historians define the era of the 1960s and early 1970s as a time of challenge and dramatic change to the existing societal culture (Persell, 1987; O'Neill, 1989; Braungart, 1980; Horowitz, 1987). The evolution of the early women's movement in the late 1960s and the societal and campus changes throughout the United States were interrelated with and, even partially, fueled by other societal unrest of the time period. As emancipation and other activist causes of the late 1800s had been linked with the women's suffrage cause and earlier women's movement of that time, so the civil rights movement, peace movements, and leftist activities of the late 1950s and 1960s would be linked with a reemergence of the 1960s women's movement (Horowitz, 1987; Sapiro, 1990; Persell, 1987; Deckard, 1979; Chafetz, 1986). Women learned from working with other emerging causes how to organize and promote their similar minority platforms and positions (Banks, 1986; Hymowitz and Weissman, 1978; Deckard, 1979; Davis, 1991).

It was, perhaps, inevitable that rapidly advancing industrialization, technology and accompanying changes in America would begin to affect the pattern of established society and its traditional social institutions. According to Robertson (1981) when rapid industrial and technological alterations occur, inconsistencies in the fabric of society often appear. A cultural lag, or a gap between social ideals and social reality forms, creating social unrest and often leading to social movements (O'Neill, 1989; Robertson, 1981; Schellenberg, 1993; Stark, 1975). This began happening in the United States in the late 1950s-1960s.

Societal perceptions were shifting and societal beliefs, ideologies, and actions that had once seemed natural or right now seemed

wrong (Stark, 1975). There was widespread social strain, and many groups began to become aware or conscious that they had a lesser share of societal opportunities and rewards than other groups (Persell, 1987; Mills, 1956; Robertson, 1981; Ravitch, 1983). Agitation and little pockets of discontent began as early leaders and groups began to call attention to needs for cultural change. They began to define the societal situations that were unjust, to identify the sources of the problems, and to propose solutions to them. Early agitators might never have initiated or mobilized the subsequently evolving social movements to follow if conditions had not genuinely needed improvement and if a large enough portion of society had not been willing and ready to consider change. Not all of society was ready for change (Persell, 1987; McCarthy and Zald, 1977; Robertson, 1981; Stark, 1975; Spector and Kitsuse, 1973).

One of the first inequities to be challenged after World War II was racism, a belief that differences in skin color represented real differences among people. A social movement against racial discrimination, the civil rights movement, was advancing by the 1960s. In the United States, racism had become institutionalized, supported, and perpetuated by American social institutions (Wood, 1974; Braungart, 1980; Ravitch, 1983; McCarthy and Zald, 1977). As society's awareness of racism as inequitable and inconsistent with the American Constitution grew, cultural awareness of other social inequities began to form. Inequitable political ideologies began to be stripped of any intellectual legitimacy by advances in social science. Equity and how to achieve it became central topics of inquiry and debate in the United States (Rippa, 1984; Persell, 1987; Dill and Dill, 1990; Ravitch, 1983; Tyack and Hansot, 1990; McCarthy and Zald, 1977; Braungart, 1980).

Social Movements

There was a shifting in the entire cultural fabric as the 1960s opened. Emerging protest and nonconformist groups began to question and reject different aspects of the social, economic, and political fabric of American society (Seymour and Schaflander, 1971; Braungart, 1980; Horowitz, 1987; Ravitch, 1983; Stark, 1975; Persell, 1987). Following the civil rights movement, a multitude of social movements evolved, each expressing some new societal discontent or protest. The peace movement advanced concerns over rapid military and technological advances that might escalate to highly destructive warfare and devastation. It was linked to both the antinuclear movement, opposing the arms race, and the antiwar movement, best known for its protests against the war in Vietnam and the draft (Stark, 1975; Robinson, 1981; Ravitch, 1983). Similar societal concerns about how new technological and industrial advances might harm the earth and environment spawned the ecology movement. Peace symbols and admonitions to "save the earth" were often manifest on signs or T-shirts in the same protest demonstrations (Ravitch, 1983; Seymour and Schflander, 1971; Braungart, 1980).

College youth played strong roles in the new social movements of the 1960s and 1970s, especially those rejecting established social traditions. Male and female students were highly involved in civil rights activities, peace and antiwar protests, sit-ins, and demonstrations regarding a multitude of societal and campus issues (Wood, 1974; Persell, 1987). They strengthened the ranks of youth countercultural groups like the beatniks or "beats", who had started in the late 1950s, and the flower children and hippies of the 1960s. These different groups belonged to what Ravitch (1983) defined as the "utopian movement", a social movement envisioning a radically changed future and a more blissful life ideal but with vague means of achieving it. These

utopian groups, predominantly made up of college age youth, spurned the middle class, mainstream ideals about family, work, authority, and religion. They were characterized by new forms of art, language, dress, and personal style and would experiment with drugs, new sexual mores, radical cultural lifestyles, and political views (Ravitch, 1983; Stark, 1975; Horowitz, 1987). Flowing throughout all these social movements and this era was the folk revival movement and its music, verbalizing the feelings and moods of the times. Many folk artists' songs spurred youth oriented social movements and their ideologies (Ravitch, 1983). For example, the folk song, "We Shall Overcome" became the theme song of the civil rights movement and was often utilized in other social movements involving inequities, like the women's movement. Youth oriented rock music also verbalized folk and popular protest themes in their lyrics (Seymour and Schaflander, 1971; Persell, 1987; Braungart, 1980; Ravitch, 1983; Robertson, 1981).

Specifically on university campuses, the student movement, sometimes called the campus protest or campus reform movement, started around 1960 and grew throughout the 1960s (Ravitch, 1983). The movement's primary national leadership was an unsanctioned college student government group, Students for a Democratic Society, or the SDS, which formed from an old social democratic group of college student affiliates, pledging to form a New Left among American students. The SDS's platform was radically socialist, holding that incremental reforms were basically pointless when the whole political and societal system was corrupt and needed to be replaced (Wood, 1974; Stark, 1975; Ravitch, 1983). From the start the SDS saw universities as the base and agency for its movement for social change. Universities, positioned all over the United States, with their swell of young baby boomers and often overcrowded conditions, provided a prime youth base likely to identify with SDS's broad-based aspirations of breaking free of oppressive

restraints and conditions. According to Ravitch's (1983) perspective, universities also had an existing leaning toward a liberal versus a conservative mind set and a built-in protection for the expression of controversial views that attracted leftist organizations like the SDS. Stark (1975) and Seymour and Schaflander (1971) claimed that American youth were already restless with outdated social customs and ideologies and had already been sympathetic to, if not involved with, early civil rights and peace movement activism. Students were highly receptive to concepts of social and institutional change (Ravitch, 1983; Robertson, 1981; Stark, 1975; Braungart, 1980; Seymour and Schaflander, 1971).

What Ravitch (1983) and Robertson (1981) called the emerging student movement pressed for participatory democracy in their growing campus branches throughout the latter 1960s, agitating for students to have a greater part in campus government, more involvement in formulating campus policies related to student life, and more input regarding curriculum and instruction. Ravitch (1983) wrote that students of the 1960s were less willing to simply accept existing paternalistic policies and that being in public protests seemed the best way to students to communicate the strength of their views to the public. Protest methods and any success they had in gaining attention or in winning support for their causes became highly visible through national media coverage. The sheer excitement of collective behavior drew many students into protest involvements who had only vague ideas of the full leadership platform of groups instigating those protests (Robertson, 1981; Stark, 1975; Davis, 1991; Schellenberg, 1993).

Students participated in sit-ins for changes in administrative policy, marches for civil rights, all night gatherings for changes in dormitory regulations and demonstrations against dress codes, grading policies, air pollution, and the A bomb. They picketed administrative offices and flaunted administrative authority, distributed pamphlets on

campus grounds, burned draft cards, violated campus behavioral regulations, and loaded into buses and vans to go to national demonstrations like the Peace March in Washington, D.C. Confrontation, not cooperation, seemed to be the new student agenda and by the end of the 1960s protest had become the norm on college campuses (Levine, 1990; Ravitch, 1983; Stark, 1975; Davis, 1991)

Actions escalated at Columbia University until an intense protest in 1968 led to students occupying five campus buildings for almost a week, ending with police intervention and resistance (Ravitch, 1983). At Berkeley in 1969, when the university tried to reclaim the three-acre "People's Park" from activists, extreme violence resulted, with the police and National Guard called in (Ravitch, 1983). Violent confrontations occurred at many other universities in 1969-70 including the University of Chicago, Harvard, Cornell, and Yale. College administrators became frustrated in trying to work cooperatively with many student groups, according to Ravitch (1983). If they gave in on one issue, leftist groups quickly made new demands. If they refused to yield, riots and violence often erupted. In 1970 campus protest action peaked and student deaths resulted from escalating Vietnam protest actions at Kent State in Ohio and Jackson State in Mississippi (Ravitch, 1983; Wood, 1974; Braungart, 1980). Ravitch (1983) and Banks (1986) wrote that what administrators failed to understand was that many leftist groups were only utilizing the issues to ultimately try to overthrow the university government and institution entirely. Many student radicals and leaders desired confrontations, not answers.

The protests and demonstrations occurring on most university campuses were, for the most part, relatively peaceful. Violent protests occurred at only about six percent, or approximately 150 U.S. institutions (Chafetz, 1986; Braungart, 1980; Solomon, 1985; Ravitch, 1983; Rowland, 1984). Some university professors also became involved

in student activism, where research studies found as many as half sympathetic to student causes. In student numbers, according to Ravitch (1983), it was always a minority that protested, about 3% of students, with seldom more than 20-30% of students in agreement with issues being protested. However, on large universities with enrollments of 20 to 30 thousand students even a minority group could produce an impressive crowd of nearly 1000 participants. As campus demonstrations escalated in aggression, the situation grew more alarming. By 1968 to 1970 when student protesters were clubbed, tear-gassed, shot, and even killed on American campuses, much of the public was shocked and many college administrators embarrassed and confused (Levine and Lyons, 1980; Horowitz, 1987; Rowland, 1984; Braungart, 1980; Weissman, 1978; Franck and Brownstone, 1995; Davis, 1991).

Many student protest groups, like the SDS, had grown increasingly more radical and had begun to operate outside the law by the late 1960s. Student leaders began to be arrested and jailed for unlawful activities (Ravitch, 1983; Wood, 1974). Student violence was getting out of hand on college and university campuses, according to Ravitch (1983). Facing public disfavor, possible student and institutional harm, and threatened with government intervention, American postsecondary institutions cracked down on student violence and activism, suspending and expelling students for protest activities in 1969 (Mottl, 1980; Wood, 1974; Bok, 1980; McCarthy and Zald, 1977; Rose, 1982). By late 1970, violent student activism had finally diminished on American campuses. Student interests were starting to shift and college administrators had begun to learn more effective ways of anticipating and responding to student demands (Bok, 1980; Levine, 1990; Botstein, 1990).

When the social movements of the 1960s began, scholars and editorial writers were complaining of student apathy (Robertson, 1981; Seymour and Schaflander, 1971; Stark, 1975; O'Neill, 1989). What was

startling in the 1960s to 1970s was the large number of different social movements that evolved, many agitating the public simultaneously and often interrelated in their platforms and issues. Actions in one arena of social change affected actions in another. The emerging social movements, leftist activities, and social protests strengthened each other. Leadership and involvements in emerging issues often overlapped (Braungart, 1980; Dill and Dill, 1990; Rose, 1982; Seymour and Schaflander, 1971). Little literature emphasized the diversity and simultaneous occurrence of the multiple social movements occurring in one time period or adequately explained the centering of leadership and supportive followings of these groups on the college campuses of the United States. Sources examining social movements and student activism each seem to portray a diverse, but often different, array of social movements and to seldom follow the interrelated aspects or participants in the movements. This is even more evident in historical accounts of the women's social movement (Carden, 1976; Stark, 1975; Banks, 1986; Chafetz, 1986; Davis, 1991; Ireland, 1996).

The Women's Movement

The women's movement began among all these social movements around 1963, enabled and fanned by the overall activism of the era and by the publication of Betty Friedan's The Feminine Mystique in 1963 (Hymowitz and Weissman, 1978; O'Neill, 1989). The movement was almost unnoticed at first in the midst of so many other social movements and such societal turmoil (Stark, 1975). The general public did not take the new women's movement seriously and thought it was just a passing fad, but it grew rapidly and soon gained broader support and recognition (Deckard, 1979; Hymowitz and Weissman, 1978; Banks, 1986; Davis, 1991). Sources are unclear as to whether the movement developed initially on college

campuses or in the broader community (Ruth, 1990; Ireland, 1996; Churgin, 1978; Carden, 1977; Davis, 1991; Howe, 1975; Persell, 1987). Women had learned protest techniques through personal involvement, as in civil rights causes, and by observation of other activists. Their national, as well as their campus, platform and ideology linked readily to that of broad-based movements like the civil rights movement and, in many ways, to other campus-oriented social movements of the era (Banks, 1986; Deckard, 1979). The United States had examined issues of gender inequity with the early feminist and women's suffrage movements of the late 1800s and early 1900s, but now there was a societal readiness to examine and, possibly, to consider expanding women's rights again (Hymowitz and Weissman, 1978; Banks, 1986; McCarthy and Zald, 1977).

Awareness of gender inequity was already increasing and being acted on in the political arena even before Friedan's publication of The Feminine Mystique in 1963 (Deckard, 1979). National unrest and a new focus on inequities, changing public sentiment, strong women's groups and leaders, labor shortages, economic trends, and the need to encourage women to enter the work force all helped to move the United States government to respond to issues of gender inequity (Banks, 1986; Rappaport, 1990; Deckard, 1979; Davis, 1991; Ireland, 1996). When President John Kennedy took office in 1960, one of his early acts was to establish the Commission of Women by Executive Order 10980 in 1961. Its stated purpose was to study how equitably women were being treated in all aspects of American society and to report areas of discriminatory treatment (U.S. President's Commission on the Status of Women, 1963). It was the first government-sponsored study of its kind, and by federal recommendation was followed by subsequent state-level studies and state commissions (O'Neill, 1969; Banks, 1986; Hymowitz and Weissman, 1978; Rappaport, 1990). These national and state commissions would also influence the development in higher education institutions of similar

status studies and women's commissions in a trickle down effect (U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, 1964; Interdepartmental Committee Report, 1965; Deckard, 1979; Tennessee Commission on the Status of Women, 1974; Report of the Statewide Meeting of the Governor's Commission, 1964). For example, even before the national study on the status of women had been completed, the state of Michigan had already followed its guidelines to become the first state to establish a state commission and initiate a state study on the status of women. This was later followed by the University of Michigan doing a campus study on the status of women and opening a center for the continuing education for women near its campus (Hollenshead, 1994; U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, 1964; Interdepartmental Committee Report, 1965).

Statistics in the U.S. President's Commission on the Status of Women (1963) report supported the need for attitudinal, societal, and institutional changes. Pay inequities were particularly spotlighted by the commission. Findings of the commission and pressure of its members on legislators influenced passage of the Equal Pay Act in 1963, making sex discrimination in pay illegal, even before the final publication of the commission's complete report later that year (U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, 1964; Deckard, 1979; Davis, 1991). Other legislative changes were quick to follow. The Civil Rights Act Title VII of 1964 prohibited unlawful employment practices in programs receiving federal funds effective March 24, 1972. President Johnson's Executive Order 11246, amended by Executive Order 11375, of 1968 also prohibited unlawful employment practices but with different provisions, including affirmative action plans and an immediate effective date (Sandler, 1973; Gibney, 1979; Kaplan, 1985; Hall, 1992). Lower courts and the Supreme Court began hearing sex discrimination cases, and existing differential legal practices based solely on gender began to be altered. Early landmark cases in the 1960s included *Rosenfeld v.*

Southern Pacific, removing restrictions on women in working overtime and in lifting weights over prescribed limits, and *Weeks v. Southern Bell Telephone Company*, upholding a female worker's discrimination lawsuit (Kaplan, 1985; Hall, 1992; Gibney, 1979).

The women's movement had begun and its advocacy groups furthered legislative action and judicial review. The National Organization for Women (NOW) was founded in 1966 to further equal rights legislation and promote gender equity (Deckard, 1979). Difficulties with interpretation and implementation of laws had already started, and in 1968, the Women's Equity Action League (WEAL) was formed to fight sex discrimination in education. Both NOW and WEAL filed many sexual discrimination charges and complaints challenging nonenforcement of laws (Berger, 1980; Cohen, 1988; Sandler, 1973; Davis, 1991; Ireland, 1996). It was women's rights groups, according to Hall (1992), that renewed the call for passage of an Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution. The Equal Rights Amendment was first proposed to legislators by American feminists in 1923 (Levine and Lyons, 1980).

On March 22nd, 1972, the Equal Rights Amendment passed the Congress and was sent to the states for ratification. The Amendment stated simply that: "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex" (Levine and Lyons, 1980; Ireland, 1996; Sapiro, 1990). In the same year Title IX of the Education Amendments passed, prohibiting sex discrimination in most federally assisted educational programs. This was the first comprehensive federal law to prohibit sex discrimination in the admission and treatment of students and an important gain for women in providing sexual equality in employment in educational institutions and in promoting sexual equality in educational programs (Hall, 1992; Aquila, 1981; Berger, 1980; Sapiro, 1990; Ireland, 1996). These legislative victories and other judicial actions heartened women's

rights activists (Deckard, 1979; Ireland, 1996).

The national government was making a strong effort to support gender equity in the United States. More legislation and more judicial rulings prohibiting discrimination were enacted in the late 1960s and early 1970s than in the entire history of the United States (Sandler, 1973; Berger, 1980; Deckard, 1979; Hall, 1992). This rash of legislation and rulings was only just the beginning in new legislative and judicial trends regarding women and other minority groups. Hall (1992) wrote that laws relating to women's issues were ahead of society's readiness to accept and enforce them. Nevertheless, the new laws went a long way to help advance the women's movement, women's causes for equality, and changes on American college and university campuses (Bruijn et al., 1993; Chafetz, 1986; Schmuck et al., 1985; Sandler, 1973; Murray, 1983; Tyack and Hansot, 1990).

Branches of the Women's Movement

The early proponents of women's legislation and the early women's movement members were primarily interested in seeing women gain equal opportunity with men in American society (Freeman, 1973; Deckard, 1979). Similar to the women of the 1800s, they wanted to see women have increased legal rights, greater access to education and professional opportunities, more participation, power and voice in the mainstream of society, and genuine opportunity for individual autonomy and equal respect (Schneir, 1972; Cohen, 1988; Friedan, 1981; Davis, 1991; Fortier, 1995). They were less interested in seeing revolutionary societal change and the establishment of a new governmental order as more radical women's leaders emerging in the 1970s would be (Freeman, 1973; Deckard, 1979). Kate Millet's voice in Sexual Politics was very different from Betty Friedan's in The Feminine Mystique. Millet's voice

was revolutionary where Friedan's voice had been reformational. Where Friedan (1981) had asked for women's full participation, power, and voice in the mainstream, Millet (1970) asked for radical change of the oppressive patriarchal, male-dominated societal culture. Many subsequent radical voices rose to express similar views to Millet's, not asking for a more equal place for women in what they termed "the existing man's world", according to French (1992), but wanting to remake that world from top to bottom.

The women's movement was actually not one social movement but two completely separate movements or major branches. These were the women's movement or moderate wing, and the later women's liberation movement or radical wing (Deckard, 1979; Freeman, 1973; Cohen, 1988; Carden, 1976; Banks, 1986; Davis, 1991; Winkler, 1996). The equal rights women's movement started primarily in the northeast United States among white, college-educated, middle-aged women, primarily professionals and homemakers. It was the strongest and most visible in the 1960s (Freeman, 1973; Deckard, 1979; Stimpson, 1973). The equal rights women's movement and its leaders started the consciousness-raising groups and organizations like the National Organization for Women (NOW) in 1966, the Women's Equity Action League (WEAL) in 1968, and the National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC) in 1971. Their political agenda was embodied in the original purpose laid out in NOW's 1966 statement of purpose, to bring women into the mainstream of society (Friedan, 1981; NOW Origins..., 1986). Their political ideology was moderate and their goals were to change women's inequality through mainstreaming (Deckard, 1979; Ireland, 1996; Carden 1977; Stimpson, 1973; Freeman, 1973; Mills, 1995).

The radical wing women's liberation movement was comprised of primarily younger white women. As Deckard (1979) explained, its roots evolved from student protest movements like the Student Democratic

Society (SDS), civil rights groups like the Student Non-Violent Coordination Committee (SNCC), Vietnam protest groups, and other leftist and socialist groups, many headquartered in California. In the mid to late 1960s, according to Deckard (1979), early leaders of the women's liberation movement broke away from these leftist groups because of inequitable treatment to form splinter radical women's groups that gradually united and developed into what became known as the women's liberation movement by the 1970s. More diverse and less united in purpose than the already ongoing equal rights women's movement, the new women's liberation movement combined a variety of leftist political ideologies with already existing women's movement ideologies (Carden, 1977; Davis, 1991). Their more aggressive, activist tactics and approaches were brought from leftist involvements. The women's liberation movement's protest of the Miss America contest in September 1968 was the first feminist activity to get front-page coverage (Deckard, 1979). By the 1970s, the press had coined the term Women Libbers or Women's Lib to describe them (Cohen, 1988; Carden, 1977; Freeman, 1973; Stimpson, 1973; Davis, 1991).

The media made no distinctions between the movements and their separate ideologies and leaders. The two movements were lumped all together under one banner as the media began to cover the phenomenon of "the women's movement" (Hymowitz and Weissman, 1978; Deckard, 1979; Antler, 1982; Delamont, 1996). However, in the early 1970s, the political agendas and different interests of these groups began to clash nationally as women from the two movements or branches began to overlap in the nation and on campus through women's activities, organizations and groups, regional events, and conferences (Friedan, 1981; Freeman, 1992; Bird, 1970; Rosenfelt, 1973). Internal conflict grew and open disputes evolved, some of the most violent at American colleges and universities. According to Rosenfelt (1973), at a campus conference at

Sacramento State College in 1973, radical wing feminists physically and verbally attacked equal rights feminists. Eight hundred women left the conference. Equally hostile confrontations occurred at a later campus conference on the east coast, according to Rosenfelt (1973) and Freeman (1992), as radicals challenged the moderate platform of women's rights groups.

The National Women's Organization (NOW), as the oldest and most powerful women's organizational group in the women's movements, wrestled with the movement divisions and continuing conflict within its own ranks. In 1972, according to Friedan (1981) and Ireland (1996), NOW sought to unite the political agendas and ideologies of the two movements into one at its national conference and rewrote its constitution accordingly. Friedan (1981) reported that the branches united, even without total agreement in many areas, in an attempt to preserve unity in the overall movement. She said the hoped for unity never really occurred in the 1970s. The radical wing of the movement began to dominate the National Organization for Women, and many moderate members and leaders resigned (Friedan, 1981; David, 1991; Cohen, 1988). The tide of public support toward the women's movement also began to shift dramatically in the mid 1970s to early 1980s and a strong national countermovement began to develop (Friedan, 1981; Boxer, 1982; Carden, 1977; Davis, 1991).

Sociologists describe countermovements as normal phenomena following strong social movements. The cycle of a social movement from a more liberal platform to an increasingly radical one follows clearly identifiable stages. The early liberal platform of a movement believes change within the existing societal system is possible and the secondary, more radical platform, believes change within the system is impossible. The first stage may be well-received or tolerated by the general public, but the secondary stages, demanding greater societal

change, are less well-received and often opposed by evolving counter movements (Stark, 1975; Robertson, 1981; Mottl, 1980; Spector and Kitsuse, 1973; McCarthy and Zald, 1977; Rose, 1982; Ravitch, 1983). The women's movements may just have been following the typical pattern of social movement development in growing increasingly more radical, but by the mid 1970s, a counter movement, which later came to be called the "backlash", had begun (Ireland, 1996; Faludi, 1991).

Many feminist sources attribute the increasing resistance to the women's movement in the 1980s to political changes related to the election of President Reagan in 1981 and to the beginning of a more conservative era (Ireland, 1996; Faludi, 1991; French, 1992). Faludi (1991), in one feminist perspective in her 1991 book Backlash, claimed that women became victims in a sweeping new undeclared war to set back the gains they had made and to keep them oppressed in the society. Other perspectives viewed societal attitudinal changes toward the women's movement as more likely to have been caused by a shift within the women's movement itself (Carden, 1977; Hubbard, 1992; Friedan, 1981). Dee Jepsen, who worked with national women's organizations in the Public Liaison Department in the Reagan administration in the 1980s, wrote that women's progress in the nation had been harmed by extreme radicalism, hostility, and aggression that had crept into and surfaced in the feminist movement in the mid to late 1970s (Jepsen, 1984).

According to Davis (1991), in a history of the women's movement, feminists lost support over moral and ethical stands but could not see this or back down. In her perspective, the women's movement's shifts from moderate, equal rights goals to radical, controversial goals lost the movement broad-based societal support and helped start the backlash against them. This also affected the women's movement's hoped for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, or ERA, which even after a Congressional extension from the original March 22, 1979 deadline until

June 30, 1982, still failed to become ratified by the necessary percentage of 38 states (Franck and Brownstone, 1995; Jepsen 1984). Davis (1991) and Friedan (1981) called it a strategic error of the women's movement to have begun associating the ERA with controversial issues such as abortion and lesbian rights. According to Davis (1991), studies found that one half of those who supported the ERA opposed issues like abortion and lesbian rights. Jepsen (1984), serving under President Reagan in the office of Public Liaison, wrote that proponents of the ERA defeated their own cause by their hostility to the family, their support of controversial issues, and their extremism. Most proponents in the countermovement of the late 1970s and 1980s, like attorney Phyllis Schlafly, attacked radical feminism and its particular ideologies more than any other aspect of the overall women's movement (Schlafly, 1977). Friedan (1981) said it had been an error in the 1970s for equal rights feminists to unite with radical feminists, and she warned that it might be dangerous to gains made for American women to continue to hold to these positions in the future.

Controversy still exists, even in the late 1990s, regarding when or if the women's movement ended. Many sources claim that the women's movement was dead by the mid 1970s, or at the latest by the early 1980s when the Reagan administration assumed national leadership in 1981 and the Equal Rights Amendment was finally defeated in 1982 (O'Neill, 1989; Carden, 1977; Friedan, 1981; Quinn, 1992; Ebeling, 1990; Iannone, 1995). Others define the women's movement as still alive and ongoing in the 1990s, continuing to work for the benefit of American women despite its resistance and setbacks (Howe, 1980; Ireland, 1996; Davis, 1991; Burgan, 1990; Dahlerup, 1986; Faludi, 1991).

In almost every arena regarding feminism and the women's movement there are conflicting voices. According to Patia (1995), critics and celebrants of the women's movement wrote about the very same phenomena

and events but viewed and reported them from different vantage points. She criticized feminist literature and current women's studies for being riddled with error, exaggeration, and narrow viewpoints. Ravitch (1983) observed that it was impossible to find a balanced, broad-based viewpoint among feminist literature since most sources were very biased to the author's personal stance. It is difficult to find literature that presents the history and issues of the women's movement from a balanced perspective, particularly any sources that give both pro-feminist and non-feminist perspectives. There is a gap in the literature for a history of the period that presents a balanced story of the diverse factors and viewpoints. According to Hubbard (1992), these widely divergent points of view are due to the emotionally and politically intense climate of that time and, that even in the 1990s, the ongoing ideological gender struggle makes clear thinking and good science extremely difficult to come by.

In this volatile and controversial milieu, women's campus programs and women's centers emerged and made their way at postsecondary institutions in the United States, inextricably linked to the women's social movement (Ireland, 1996; Davis, 1991; Friedan, 1981; Deckard, 1979). Tyack and Hansot (1990) stressed that feminism was not an isolated venture but part of a broad array of social movements and unrest that swept the nation in the 1960s and early 1970s. The historical framework in which these programs were set was a highly political one, and the available literature on these programs was sometimes colored by the zealous, personal perspectives of the writers and participants of the historical time period (Ravitch, 1983; Hubbard, 1992; Patia, 1995). New administrative women's centers and women's program offices began to emerge at American institutions of higher education after the gradual phasing out of traditional Deans of Women and Deans of Men offices.

Campus Women's Centers and Women's Programs of the 1960s-1970s

Administrative Dean of Women offices, which had served campus women's needs since before the twentieth century, began to disappear from most postsecondary institutions in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The closing of these offices, which had governed women students' affairs and acted as counsel and advocate for women students on college and university campuses, left a void in meeting current women students' needs (Adams, 1962; Brooks, 1988). This was particularly true with campus women's roles in a state of transition and change in the 1960s and early 1970s. Although some institutions handled women's concerns through Dean of Students' offices, many of which had incorporated both Deans of Men and Deans of Women into their ranks through reorganization, some universities and colleges began to create new administrative women's centers or women's program offices to meet the changing needs of campus women and to satisfy newly emerging demands for gender equity (Brooks, 1988; Chafe, 1974). Women students were beginning to be defined as a minority group with needs for greater equity in the educational arena in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The development of black centers and black studies programs had worked with charges of campus race discrimination to demonstrate institutional effort to recognize and respond to minority group special needs, so these same efforts were duplicated on many campuses to satisfy charges of gender discrimination. New Women's centers, under the campus administrative arm, and women's studies programs, under the academic arm, began to be initiated (Howe, 1971; Deckard, 1979; Hymowitz and Weissman, 1978; Cohen, 1988; Nall, 1977; Raymond, 1979-80).

The first administrative women's offices and women's centers began to appear on American college campuses in the late 1960s and early

1970s. They were given a variety of names on different campuses, Women's Resource Center, Everywoman's Center, Office of Women's Concerns, Center for Continuing Education of Women, and other titles. Most were called the Women's Center, and, gradually, this name came to represent all campus centers and program offices, regardless of specific name (Hollenshead, 1994; Musil, 1990; Howe, 1975).

In a wide review of literature on early women's centers, Spikes and Stillabower (1978) listed no centers with opening dates prior to 1972, but according to Howe (1975), there were earlier campus women's centers. San Diego State in California was identified as beginning the first full and permanent women's studies program in the United States in 1970, but it was not stated whether the college also had an early women's center (Arbonna et al., 1970; Howe, 1980; Antler, 1995; Musil, 1990).

An exhaustive search of literature, with the aid of the University of Tennessee library and through contacts with the University women's center and women's studies programs office, the National Association of Women's Centers and the National Women's Studies Association, was unable to provide the name of the first women's campus administrative center or program office in the United States (Griffin, personal communication, 1996; Goslee, personal communication, 1996; Younger, personal communication, 1998; Haxton, personal communication, 1998; Coggins, personal communication, 1998). A listing of names of even the earliest administrative offices and their starting dates was not available through national associations (Younger, personal communication, 1998; Haxton, personal communication, 1998). Marianne Haxton, past director of the National Association of Women's Centers, said that little documentation or formal networking existed among the early women's centers (Haxton, personal communication, 1998). She said that most campus women's centers, in keeping with feminist goals of the time,

resisted traditional, patriarchal hierarchies and the organized, structured leadership that might have contributed to assigning responsibilities for such tasks as record-keeping. A structureless, participatory democracy characterized early women's organizations and women's centers, and there was no formal networking among national women's centers until the National Association of Women's Centers began in 1988 (Haxton, personal communication, 1998; Wetzel, 1988; Clevenger, 1988; Freeman, 1972; Main, 1995).

The vast majority of campus administrative offices and women's centers did begin in or after 1972 in a direct response to 1972 Title IX legislation, which put pressure on many colleges and universities to remedy existing situations of gender inequity or risk losing federal funds (Sandler, 1973; Aquila, 1981). It was primarily through the imposition of external requirements by governmental agencies that changes regarding gender within the postsecondary institution began (Rumbarger, 1973; Elovson, 1980; Carden, 1977; Tyack and Hansot, 1990; Clevenger, 1988).

Women's rights activists had found one earlier and effective legal means for initiating campus gender changes with Executive Order 11246 amended by Executive Order 11375 (Sandler, 1973; Carden, 1977). These executive orders, signed by President Lyndon B. Johnson, and effective in the fall of 1968, prohibited discrimination by federal contractors on the basis of race, color, religion, national origin, and sex and did not exempt colleges (Epstein and Walker, 1995; Goldstein, 1979; Sandler, 1973). The Women's Equity Action League (WEAL) filed a class action complaint in 1969 against all universities and colleges in America based on Executive Orders 11246 and 11375, asking for an immediate class action and compliance review. WEAL then began initiating charges against specific institutions (Sandler, 1973; Levine and Lyons, 1980; Franck and Brownstone, 1995). The National Organization for Women (NOW)

soon filed charges against hundreds of other colleges and universities, followed by campus associations and individual women's associations pressing additional suits (Sandler, 1973; Levine and Lyons, 1980; Ireland, 1996; Davis, 1991).

By 1973, 200 universities and colleges had been investigated by the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare through its Office for Civil Rights, the agency designated for enforcement of executive orders for contracts with universities and colleges (Hall, 1992; Sandler, 1973; Ireland, 1996). The extensive investigative procedure involved and the subsequent enforcements imposed were not especially desired by any postsecondary institution, according to Sandler (1973), many of whom moved quickly to demonstrate efforts toward gender equity as early as 1969-1970 to avoid individual lawsuits and more intensive internal investigations. Passage of Title IX only placed more pressures on campuses to deal with gender discrimination and situations of inequity (Dunkle, 1975; Howard, 1978; Aquila, 1981).

Other factors, beyond political and legal ones, helped to prompt the establishment of new women's centers and women's program offices on campus. According to Spikes and Stillabower (1978), changing societal trends and new concepts regarding women's roles were influencing postsecondary institutions to make educational and attitudinal changes regarding women students. The nation had experienced cost of living increases and more women were entering the job market and institutions of higher education. These numbers included older women, or what came to be termed reentry women, who were returning to school to gain work skill training (Hymowitz and Weissman, 1978). Whether or not to work outside the home was becoming less of a choice for American women, and the needs and expectations of women were changing (Spikes and Stillabower, 1978; Hymowitz and Weissman, 1978; Banks, 1986). The impact of economic and social changes, coupled with the influence of the

women's movement and its ideology, encouraged postsecondary institutions to respond to new needs of women students. Female students, women faculty members and administrators also pressed their institutions for change (Deckard, 1979; Spikes and Stillabower, 1978; Delamont, 1996). The emerging women's centers represented a new kind of support for women on campus in an era of transition and acted as agents of social change (Miller, 1988; Clevenger, 1988; Carden, 1977). Campus women's centers and women's program offices began to provide assistance, counseling, and educational programs to women students, to act as a women's advocate, to foster and promote equal access and opportunity for women in the academic institution, to help women attain equal status on campus and in the wider community, to oppose sexism and demand change in the institution's and society's treatment of women, and to work cooperatively for the empowerment of women (Clevenger, 1988; Rettke, 1979; Gould, 1984; Capic, 1975; Carden, 1977).

The beginnings of the early women's administrative offices were sandwiched, historically, between the earlier development of a few women's research centers on select campuses in the 1960s and the broad development of women's studies programs on college and university campuses in the later 1970s. Most of the early campus research institutes were linked to national and state gender status studies of the 1960s with funding often provided by the same (Carden, 1977; Howe and Laeuter, 1980). Some research institutes later broadened their roles to include women's center goals, like the educational center at the University of Michigan (Hollenshead, 1994). Similarly, developing women's centers in the early 1970s often initiated women's courses, counseling services, help for reentry women, and other programs that were later diversified into separate administrative departments (Howe and Laeuter, 1980; Buckley and Hetherington, 1988; Gould, 1984; Carter and Maureen, 1990; Wetzel, 1988).

The Earliest Women's Centers

Carden (1977) described the majority of early women's administrative centers as being on campuses in major urban, cosmopolitan areas on the western and northeastern coast, like the Los Angeles and San Francisco Bay area and in and around New York. Washington, D.C., where the National Organization for Women (NOW) was organized, and Detroit and Chicago where NOW headquartered in the late 1960s and early 1970s probably initiated early centers and women's programs as did midwestern colleges where women were first admitted to colleges in the late 1800s (Rippa, 1984; Conway, 1974a; Carden, 1977; Solomon, 1985; Brubacher and Rudy, 1968; Fortier, 1995). Women's colleges also had early centers, just as they had had initial research institutes. Radcliffe started one of the earliest women's research institutes in the early 1960s (Carden, 1977; Solomon, 1985; Eisenmann, 1995).

The largest women's administrative centers and women's programs developed not on campuses of what Howe and Lauter (1980) termed top ten, prestigious universities, but on public college and state university campuses. The campuses most likely to start women's programs were large, public universities with a diverse clientele, broad mandate, and an administration and faculty supportive of innovation (Wood, 1981; Howe, 1980; Clevenger, 1988; Carden, 1976; Capic, 1975; Klinger, 1984). The South was the last section of America, historically, to develop women's research institutes, campus administrative women's centers and women's program offices, and academic women's studies programs (Spikes and Stillabower, 1978; Cantrell, 1976). Tyack and Hansot (1980) reported that the South was more traditional in gender values and slower to pass sex-equity laws and to initiate gender change. According to Spikes and Stillabower (1978), the largest number of women reporting discrimination were also on southern campuses.

It was a college professor, Florence Howe, who did some of the earliest and most comprehensive studies on women's centers and women's studies programs, many through the national Association of American Colleges Project on the Status and Education of Women. Howe reported on early administrative programs and women's centers in several studies (Howe, 1975; Howe, 1977; Howe and Lauter, 1980). An early 1973 study primarily stressed the need for educational institutions to institute women's programs and described how early campus centers were facilitating change (Howe, 1973). A later 1976 study broadly discussed aspects of fifteen women's programs across the United states (Howe, 1977), and a 1979 study attempted to report on the numbers and locations of existing women's centers (Howe and Lauter, 1980). According to Howe (1975) and Howe and Lauter (1980), data for studies on administrative women's centers and programs were limited, based on a low percentage survey response and scanty availability of other documentation or literature. Girard (1977), Sweeney (1978), and Wood (1981) reported that they had similar difficulties obtaining a strong survey research response rate in studying women's administrative offices or in obtaining fully completed, clear data on research surveys and questionnaires returned. Many researchers and historians of the 1970s and 1980s reported that they found limited literature sources available on women's campus administrative centers (Babbitt, 1975; Miller, 1988; Howe and Laeuter, 1980; Bose and Priest, 1980; Elovson, 1980; Spikes and Stillabower, 1978, Howe, 1979; Brooks, 1988; Wetzel, 1988; Farrant, 1988; Banks, 1986; Phillips, 1978; Rettke, 1979; Andersen, 1988). The literature on campus women's administrative offices has decreased rather than increased since the 1980s.

According to Howe (1975), few of the pioneers in campus women's administrative centers had even been in touch with other administrative offices prior to the 1970s, and even in the 1970s it was faculty women

in women's studies programs that began to network, organize, write, and publish. Three professional journals had begun by 1972, presenting the research and information being generated by faculty in the newly developing women's studies programs in American colleges (Howe, 1975). These were Feminist Studies, Women's Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal and Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society. In 1977, the National Women's Studies Association (NWSA) was founded, uniting and linking academic women's studies programs (Andersen, 1988; Clark and Patella, 1997). A larger body of literature exists today on women's studies curricula programs than on campus administrative offices.

By 1974, there were approximately 243 campus women's centers or women's program offices in the United States. There were also approximately 163 women's centers off college campuses and unaffiliated with postsecondary institutions (Howe, 1977; Spikes and Stillabower, 1978). Over one-third of the total women's centers were concentrated in California, New York, and Chicago, according to Capic (1975) and Spikes and Stillabower (1978). The fewest were in the South (Spikes and Stillabower, 1978; Cantrell, 1976; Rettke, 1979). How many centers were in the South or where these were located was not given.

Operations and Purposes of Women's Centers

A few "how-to" guides for establishing women's centers began to appear around the mid 1970s such as Tenelshof and Searl's (1974) and the Education Equity Act Program Guide (1978). None seem to have been published since. Administrative office goals defined by women's centers in the mid 1970s still echoed reasons given for first beginning women's administrative offices: to improve the status of women on campus, to provide support, counseling, services, and information for women, to be a network and referral center, to help female students gain access to

male-dominated career fields and majors, to foster equal access and opportunity for women students, to be an advocate for women's rights, to work cooperatively with community and society to reduce sexism and gender discrimination, and to further empower women (Capic, 1975; Spikes and Stillabower, 1978; Nall, 1977; Carden, 1977; Clevenger, 1988).

The few articles from individual women's centers around the country are brief and all from the 1970s and 1980s. They are written by women's center directors and relate broad-based accomplishments on the campuses with little specific detail (Liss, 1974; Mellow, 1988; Rechner, 1974; Eisenstein, 1978; Stone, 1975; Nall, 1977; Taines, 1973; Miller, 1988; Buford, 1988). Most voice long-term institutional struggles and a broad array of external and internal problems. Directors describe efforts to revitalize declining centers, to keep administrative offices from closing, or to reopen those that have failed. Women's administrative centers reported that they were so short staffed and short funded that they had no extra time for research, reporting, or adequate record keeping. Burnout of leadership, inability to retain staff and keep administrative consistency were frequently discussed (Liss, 1974; Mellow; 1988; Rechner, 1974; Eisenstein, 1978; Stone, 1975; Nall, 1977; Miller, 1988; Buford, 1988). Wetzel (1988) said that women's centers tried to be all things to all women, a formidable goal from the start.

The problem with all broad-based national research on women's centers and program offices, according to Howe and Lauter (1980), was that the reporting was left to the discretion of each campus. Howe and Lauter (1980) claimed that individual centers had seldom been visited and that past questionnaires and surveys used were limited and poorly designed. Prior research had not revealed when centers had opened, whether the centers were located within or outside the institutional campus, how offices were funded, or whether the centers had full or

part-time staffing salaried by the educational institutions (Howe and Lauter, 1980). Many early campus women's centers had rented quarters in old houses or buildings off or near campus facilities, received little or no university funding, and had part-time or no staffing salaried by the university (Buckley and Hetherington, 1988; Wetzel, 1988; Phillips, 1978; Clevenger, 1988; Capic, 1975; Nall, 1977). A women's center allowed affiliation with a university but without administrative funding, campus offices, staffing, or institutional support is not in the same category as other recognized and well-funded student service administrative arms of a postsecondary institution. Howe and Lauter (1980) voiced concern about the limited data on the history and operations of campus women's centers.

Available literature did cite good leadership, adequate funding, and institutional support as the most frequent reasons for the success of individual women's administrative campus women's centers and program offices (Women's Coordinating Committee, 1979; McCarthy and Zald, 1977; Carden, 1977; Davis, 1991). Women's centers have been credited with significantly altering the status of women on their college or university campuses, especially in the 1970s. They have been recognized for promoting awareness and attitudinal changes, for boosting women's confidence and respect, for breaking restrictions to traditional fields and activities, for creating innovative women's groups, women's libraries, programs and services, for offering needed women's counseling and advocacy, for starting telephone crisis lines and crisis centers, and for initiating campus networking and newsletters for women (Davis, 1981; Kincaid, 1975; Elovson, 1980; Carden, 1977; Churgin, 1978; Spike and Stillabower, 1978; Howe and Laeuter, 1980; Rettke, 1979; Phillips, 1978; Women's Coordinating Committee, 1979).

According to Conway (1974a) and Antler (1975), the establishment of administrative women's centers and women's study programs was a way

for institutions to demonstrate inclusion for women while keeping women separate on college and university campuses. It allowed women to function only in marginal, closely restricted areas. The establishment of these offices in institutions of higher education was a strategy to avoid or postpone confrontation and response to any real comprehensive university-wide examination and revision (Conway, 1974a; Antler, 1975; Howe, 1975; Howe and Lauter, 1980; Churgin, 1978; Mann, 1994; Davis, 1991; Ireland, 1996). In the 1970s, controversy existed as to whether women's centers and women's studies programs should remain separate in the university or be incorporated fully and equally into the overall administrative and academic body. Similar arguments concerning the role and place of women's centers and women's studies on postsecondary institutional campuses have continued into the late 1990s (Howe and Laeuter, 1980; Kessler-Harris and Swerdlow, 1996; Wekesser, 1995; Ireland, 1996; Sadker, 1994).

Women's Centers and Programs After the Mid 1970s

By the late 1970s and early 1980s, women's administrative centers were experiencing the same backlash, societal resistance, and loss of general public support and approval that the national women's movement was encountering (Cohen, 1988; Davis, 1991; Friedan, 1981). Centers were politically linked to the national women's movement. According to Banks (1986), a growing loss of support for feminism nationally and a general apathy about feminist goals caused the women's movement and many of its associated affiliations to languish. Many campus women students, by the late 1970s or early 1980s, began to pull away from increasingly radical campus women's organizations, women's centers, and women's studies programs, which they associated with current feminism and the now more radical women's movement (Burgan, 1990; Quinn, 1992; Boxer,

1982; Watkins, 1977; Miller, 1988; Taylor, 1989). According to Burgan (1990), Miller (1988), and Parlee (1979), women students even pulled away from association with the term feminist. They no longer wanted to be associated with this perspective and ideology.

These were hard times for women's centers. Those female students who continued to support women's centers tended to be those of a more radical bent, often intent upon promoting radical feminist agendas and special interests (Mellow, 1988; Friedan, 1981; Miller, 1988). The dominant, controlling presence of radical feminists further alienated even those female students still supportive of gender equality in a broader, more moderate sense (Mellow, 1988; Parlee, 1979; Banks, 1986; Rowland, 1984; Patai, 1995). Women's administrative centers soon found themselves appealing to a smaller minority of campus women. Friedan (1981) charged women's centers with failing to recognize and address the new issues and concerns that the majority of campus women became concerned with in the late 1970s.

The studies of campus-based women's administrative offices and centers in the late 1970s and 1980s found student support and effectiveness of centers greatly diminished. Feminists like Faludi (1991), French (1992), and Ireland (1996) faulted the backlash movement for weakening women's gains on campus and in the nation. Regardless of the reasons, women's centers had become less supported by students and the administration within the higher educational setting (Mellow, 1988). They reported reduced budgets, less outside funding, inadequate organizational set-ups, poor relations with administrators, and a host of internal problems (Sweeney, 1978; Wetzel, 1988; Bose and Priest, 1980).

Women's centers and program offices remained on the periphery of campuses in 1976. According to Leland (1976) and Kisson (1976), only limited changes or modifications to the structures of higher education

had occurred in response to them. A follow-up study examining institutional modifications as a result of Title IX showed only minimal compliance with regulations, according to Howard (1978). Furthermore, federal support and funding for women dried up in the 1980s (Boxer, 1982). During 1980-1984, when federal money rose 80% to all types of research, it disappeared or declined to only a small percentage in funding women's research (Wetzel, 1988). By 1985 only a small portion of funding came from outside sources. By the 1990s most programs received no outside money (Kessler-Harris and Swerdlow, 1996; Davis, 1991; Clark and Patella, 1997).

Funding and budget shortages had always been reported as the greatest problem of women's centers since they opened in the early 1970s, followed by staff shortages, rapid turnover of leadership, and lack of administrative support (Klinger, 1984; Liss, 1974; Davis, 1991; Boxer, 1982; Kessler-Harris and Swerdlow, 1996). As funding, staffing, administrative, and even student support diminished throughout the 1980s and into the 1990s, women's centers and offices had a struggle just to survive. According to Buford (1988), campus women's administrative offices, like the broader women's movement, also received increasing criticism in the 1970s and 1980s for their narrow focus on only the white, middle class women's viewpoints. A new emphasis on the needs of poor and underprivileged women and on black, Hispanic, and multicultural women was being voiced. Women's centers and administrative women's programs were criticized for hiring only white, middle class women as directors and for having programs and services that attracted and accommodated only white, middle class female students (hooks, 1989; Buford, 1988; Davis, 1991; Ireland, 1996). The specific sources of these criticisms were not given.

In 1988, a special double issue of Initiatives, the journal of the National Association for Women Deans, Administrators and Counselors was

dedicated to campus women centers. Literature devoted entirely to women's centers alone was very rare. The journal editor, Patricia Farrant (1988), expressed concern that so little literature documented women's centers or the women who pioneered them. She claimed the special issue of Initiatives was endeavoring to report and applaud what women's centers and women's administrative offices had been able to do and accomplish against sometimes insurmountable challenges (Farrant, 1988). The overall perspective was somewhat biased to this intent. Through a series of articles, a general history of the development, accomplishments, and problems of campus women's centers was recorded.

According to an article by Clevenger (1988) in the Initiatives journal, results of a 1987 national study showed that most women's centers were now located at large public research universities or community colleges, operated under the administrative control of a usually male dean or vice president, and had one full-time worker or less, usually a graduate student. Clevenger (1988) reported that if the centers had a salaried director, they were usually holding another teaching or administrative position as well as being grossly underpaid. The specific pay scale was not given. The study revealed that the space allowed to campus women's centers was small, usually located away from central traffic areas and not very accessible to students. All centers reported a loss of power within the institution from the 1970s to the 1980s with diminishing institutional commitment. Despite current limitations, the writers of the Initiatives articles applauded women's centers for having been legitimate agents of social change on campus and in the communities (Miller, 1988; Farrant, 1998; Clevenger, 1988; Wetzel, 1988). According to Wetzel (1988), it was difficult to develop a typology of women's centers due to lack of data, the diversity of the centers, and the absence of an early national organizing agency. The 1970s was termed the biggest growth period for campus women's centers.

Current Campus Women's Programs and Perspectives

By the 1990s, feminism as a whole had edged its way back into a modicum of public favor, particularly academic favor, through a broader, less restrictive look at gender issues. New studies, which Mann (1994) termed "difference feminism", began to emerge in the late 1970s and continued through the 1980s and into the 1990s. These studies ceased to deny differences in women and men, other than biological ones, and moved away from the sex-war analogy, always viewing man as the oppressor (Mann, 1994; Gilligan, 1982; Tanner, 1990; Belenky et al., 1986). In difference feminism both sexes ceased to define themselves negatively against the other, but strove to identify traits or gender differences, both of worth and value, that it would be good for both sexes to have. An androgynous position emerged that defined the traits that would be worthwhile for both sexes to emulate (Bem, 1974).

This position seemed to provide, according to Hubbard (1992), a new position between the old traditional mythology that argued that men and women were absolutely different, each requiring different rules, roles and functions, and the new high feminism mythology, emerging in the women's movement, that insisted men and women were absolutely the same and should have the same rules, roles, and functions. The concept of androgyny suggested that people were most healthy mentally when they could demonstrate characteristics associated with both the male and female roles (Bem, 1974; Hubbard, 1992). A new respect was created for the characteristics and voices of women, as well as men, with Bem's and other researchers' works recognizing the worth in both male and female strengths, traits, and points of view (Gilligan, 1982; Mann, 1994; Tanner, 1990; Belenky et al., 1986; Keeton, 1995). It should be added that radical feminists did not welcome the new theories wholeheartedly (Cohen, 1988; French, 1992; Faludi, 1991). Critics, like Heilbrun

(1979), called these emerging patterns of thought a form of backsliding in women's advancement, a retreat into "patriarchally condoned mainstream interpretations".

Most of society, however, seemed to welcome the new studies on gender differences and gender development from the late 1970s into the 1990s (Hubbard, 1992; Mann, 1994). Issues of family were no longer being ignored or diminished in importance in these new studies, and new gender-related problems facing men and women were being examined (Hubbard, 1992; Mann, 1994; Levinson, 1996; Scanzoni, 1981). Gender inequities continued to be acted on in many arenas. For example, sexist societal problems like sexual harassment and violence against women began to be looked at in a new light and explored, with the judicial and legislative systems of the nation and the campus responding with new awareness, programs, legal sanctions, and judicial action (National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs, 1981; Hazou, 1990; Ireland, 1996; Franck and Brownstone, 1995).

Educational, as well as other social institutions, had come to agree that women deserved more equitable treatment. According to Ireland (1996), educational institutions had come to agree in theory but not entirely in practice. Ireland (1996), like earlier feminists, claimed that postsecondary institutions supported only ameliorative objectives, bringing women into the institutional structure or mainstream to eliminate discrimination, but not reconstructive objectives, changing the existing structure, practices, or institution to eliminate discrimination (Carden, 1977; Howe, 1980; Ireland, 1996; Andersen, 1988). To what degree educational institutions were providing equal rights for women students, women faculty, and women administrators was highly debated in the literature.

According to Keeton (1985), the obstacles most limiting women were not rules but attitudes by the mid 1980s, and she saw attitudes about

women gradually changing in our society and its institutions. One perspective found a more egalitarian attitude existing in American society and in higher education regarding women (Hutchinson and Schechterman, 1990; Bee, 1992; Scanzoni and Scanzoni, 1981). Another perspective viewed the academic establishment as still restrictive and oppressive to women (Ireland, 1996; West, 1995; Aiken et al., 1988; Vladeck, 1981; French, 1992). An extensive body of literature claimed that sexism was still prevalent at every educational level, including the higher educational level (Sadker and Sadker, 1994; McCorduck and Ramsey, 1996; Mann, 1994; Rush, 1987; Hubbard, 1992). Sadker and Sadker (1994) reported that college texts and teaching were still gender-biased, that sexual harassment, rape, and unwanted sexual attention toward women students had not diminished for women, that women students still experienced a sense of being silenced in a predominantly male environment, and that female students were encouraged and mentored less than male students in a chilly higher educational climate. A significant body of evidence was given to support these claims, but individual studies were not always detailed.

Literature described campus sexism and discrimination of the 1980s and 1990s as existing in a more subtle, amorphous fashion than in the 1970s. It had become less overtly expressed (Ferguson, 1988; McCorduck and Ramsey, 1996; Ruth, 1990; Tyack and Hansot, 1990). The term "glass ceiling" was coined to describe the less visible, but still existent, barriers women must break through in academia and the world of work in order to achieve and advance (Kleiman, 1998; Morrison et al., 1987). According to West (1995), there is still continuing discrimination toward women entering, advancing, and receiving the same salaries as male counterparts in higher education. West (1995) and Taeuber (1996) provided statistical evidence demonstrating gender discrimination in employment in higher education and the general society. West (1995)

also claimed there was still a persistent historical preference of American employers for male workers over female in the 1990s. However, Tauber's (1996) statistics also revealed the considerable advances women have made in entering positions in higher education and the work world since the 1960s.

Progress in women's equity has been hard-won. Researchers suggested that the 1990s would be the crossroads period to determine whether society and academia would work to create a new gender culture or not (Mann, 1994; Sadker and Sadker, 1994; McCorduck and Ramsey, 1996; Ireland, 1996; Kessler-Harris and Swerdlow, 1996; West, 1995). Many perspectives in the published literature viewed institutions of higher education as a powerful lever for change in the larger society and held it responsible for change in the larger society and for the limited progress of gender issues (Stacey et al., 1974; Ruth, 1990; Ireland, 1996; Finn, 1990; Howe, 1973; Finn et al., 1979). Mann (1994) wrote that effective gender change would only occur by changing education. Other literature defined academia as more a reflection of societal norms and the culture with less responsibility and power as a single social institution to be a major change agent (Stark, 1975; Robertson, 1981; Boulding, 1976; Schellenberg, 1993; Rose, 1982). In one perspective, Tyack and Hansot (1990) said that it may not be wise to place too much of the burden for rectifying gender injustices in the larger society on schools alone, adding that despite conspicuous problems, females are probably treated in a more egalitarian way in educational institutions than in other social institutions, such as religious and familial ones.

Campus women's programs and women's centers are caught in the ongoing controversy about education's role in forming and perpetuating gender roles. The remaining women's centers and women's studies programs still on campus in the late 1990s reflect the history and struggle they have endured. The political character of women's centers

and women's programs on campus has always been a controversial element hindering their growth and professional legitimacy (Stern, 1979; Howe and Laeuter, 1980; Clark and Patella, 1997; Wetzel, 1988; Kessler-Harris, 1996). Women's centers live with the limitations still imposed on them by the higher educational institution, and the majority continue in the marginal position Clevenger reported in 1988. An early 1990s national survey of campus women's centers found only a handful with any "real presence", or credence and visibility, on their campuses (Musil, 1990). According to administrators in national associations for campus women's centers and women's studies, some of the data returned to their offices for national directories and reports was found to be inaccurate and inflated when followed up on, creating a picture of larger and more active centers than actually existed (Younger, personal communication, 1998; Haxton, personal communication, 1998; Coggins, personal communication, 1998).

Further curriculum and administrative changes appear critical to progress on campus for women (Anderson, 1988; Hall and Sandler, 1982; Sadker and Sadker, 1994; Gose, 1996). Women's centers and women's studies programs, especially in their limited and marginal status, cannot possibly reach the thousands of students who graduate each year from postsecondary institutions. These centers and programs were never meant to singly resolve the sexism and discrimination on American campuses but to only act as a temporary bridge as gender change began in the late 1960s and 1970s (Howe, 1975; Conway 1974b; Boulding, 1976).

Research has been leaning away from exclusively "women's only" focused gender studies since the late 1970s to explore broader gender issues involving both men and women. The community of scholars interested in the study of gender, according to Antler (1982), is continuing to grow. Fields of gender study, gender history, gender development, and gender sociology are receiving increasing attention in

academia and in American society (Mann, 1994; Parlee, 1979; Stewart, 1988; Hubbard, 1992; Sadker and Sadker, 1994; Davis, 1991). Changes in societal concepts and actions regarding gender, or "gender change", in a culture involves men as much as women. An understanding of the gender development and gender history of males and females is essential to a complete understanding of either gender (Sadker and Sadker, 1994; Bee, 1992; Gilligan, 1982; Friedan, 1981; Levinson, 1992; Scanzoni and Scanzoni, 1981).

As society and academia shift its focus to broader gender concerns, new voices question why there should be centers for women only and not for men, too, on college and university campuses. In some states there are now joint centers to address the gender issues of both men and women equally (Musil, 1990). Multipurpose gender centers for both women and men may be a part of the answer in the future for revitalizing campus women's centers. Friedan (1981) suggested that women's studies programs on campus may evolve into or be replaced by studies of both men and women. Administrative offices and programs focusing only on a single sex may be becoming obsolete. Boulding (1976) suggested in the mid 1970s that an entirely new science, which he termed "dimorphics", might be developing to explain the human gender system. Institutionalized women's only programs, according to Boulding (1976), would mix in with the broadening institution in future and be remembered as only a temporary step in the developmental process. Only the future holds the answers. People once assumed that there would always be Deans of Women and Deans of Men on campuses, too.

CHAPTER IV

THE UTK OFFICE OF WOMEN'S PROGRAMS

This chapter describes the historical development of the Office of Women's Programs at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, and related women's centers and programs in the Knoxville area. To set the study within its broader cultural and institutional context, the chapter begins with a brief account of the early history of women at UTK prior to the opening of the Office of Women's Programs in 1971. It then describes the operational years of the Office of Women's Programs, followed by an account of related developments that have occurred since the closing of that office in 1976. Chapter sections include: Early History of Women at UT; The 1960s, Beginning of Changes; The Office of Women's Programs Opens; New Types of Educational Programs; The Task Force and Other Involvements; Closing of the Office of Women's Programs; The UTK Women's Center Opens; and Campus and Community Women's Programs Today. The study findings in the chapter are told in a chronological narrative.

Early History of Women at UT

The University of Tennessee's heritage goes back to a frontier environment two years before Tennessee became a state and just eight years after the first permanent settlement at Knoxville came into existence (Levy, 1997). Blount College was incorporated on September 10, 1794, at the territorial capital in Knoxville, by the assembly of the Territory of the United States South of the River Ohio (Klein, 1996). It was unique from the first in several ways. Raw frontier environments were not usually conducive to educational development, and

Tennessee's Blount College was set up to be non-sectarian and coeducational as well, both unprecedented for that period in history (Creekmore, 1988; Levy, 1997; Folmsbee, 1946). The University of Tennessee was the first institution of higher learning in the New World to admit women, as well as the first, non-denominational college in the United States (Morse, 1920a; "Early Tennessee Chronology", 1998).

The first women in Tennessee's Blount College were the daughters of the middle and upper class families of the small community: Barbara Blount, Polly McClung, Jennie Armstrong, and Kittie and Mattie Kain (Klein, 1996). The small college offered a four-year classical education, resembling the curriculum of early Harvard or William and Mary, and all subjects were required for all students (Montgomery, Folmsbee and Greene, 1984; Levy, 1997). Old records testified that the women students were attentive, diligent, and ingenious and studied the same curriculum as the men students with great success ("It Happened This Way", 1947; Greve, 1922).

In 1807 the trustees of Blount College successfully prevailed in becoming the recipient of a land grant, the Compact of 1806, providing funds and property for a greatly enlarged academy of higher education in east Tennessee. A requirement of that grant was that the school also be a military academy. The new name chosen for the enlarged campus was East Tennessee College (Folmsbee, 1946). The new rigid military regime, with cadet uniforms and drills, naturally necessitated the removal of females from the college. While the new campus was under construction, the remnants of Blount College continued until 1809 when East Tennessee College officially opened (Folmsbee, 1946). After that date no female students appeared again on the college's register until 1892-93 ("A Celebration of UT History", 1994; Creekmore, 1988).

After 1809, females in east Tennessee shifted their chances for any higher education to the developing female academies. Folmsbee

(1946) wrote that it was because there were no female academies nearby in 1794 that Blount College was even opened to girls. Now change began to occur. The earliest female academies began in homes as Blount College had, some growing to attain lands and buildings, but there are few records remaining of this development (Rothrock, 1946). One of the largest and longest lived was The Ross Institute, which Morse (1920a) termed an addition to the East Tennessee College campus and in close proximity for interactive events. It experienced several reorganizations and name changes, being called Knoxville Female Seminary, Knoxville Female Academy, East Tennessee Female Academy and East Tennessee Female Institute (Deaderick, 1976; Rothrock, 1946; Greve, 1922; Folmsbee, 1946). Records are scarce by any of these names.

According to Deadrick (1976), Joseph Strong, who had come to Knoxville to practice medicine and surgery in 1804, gave land for Knoxville Female Academy and was chair of its board of trustees for many years (Deaderick, 1976). He also chaired the board for Hampden-Sydney Academy, a Knoxville school for boys which, like Blount College, had received funds and lands from the Compact of 1806 (Deaderick, 1976). Future University of Tennessee President Charles Dabney was a Hampden-Sydney graduate (Folmsbee, 1946). In the 1900s, East Tennessee Female Institute would be leased to the University of Tennessee after women were readmitted and sold philanthropically to the University in 1919 for only one cent (Greve, 1922).

Both academies were well needed in the Knoxville area in the 1800s when East Tennessee College, later named East Tennessee University, struggled financially and was often closed ("A Celebration of UT History", 1994; Rothrock, 1946). Hampden-Sydney taught boys for almost a century, and the female academy served girls until 1900 (Deaderick, 1976). Hampden-Sydney funneled graduating students into East Tennessee College or other institutions of higher education, but the female

academy continued into a collegiate curriculum. Morse (1920a) wrote that courses of study at the girls' institution of higher learning corresponded to the advanced preparatory and collegiate courses offered for boys at East Tennessee College or East Tennessee University. An 1829 Knoxville newspaper documented the names of 34 female students in the upper four classes of the female academy who were satisfactorily examined in a classical curriculum and in subjects like Chemistry and Geography (Creekmore, 1994). Later the academy also conferred its own degrees (Rothrock, 1946). Available literature did not detail more information about those degrees or the women attaining them. However, the percentage of females who continued on in any higher education in east Tennessee or nationally in this era was very small. In 1880 in Knox County, 35% of white children and 70% of black children were still unable to read and write; yet in national averages this was far better than most states for the time (Rothrock, 1946).

Women Return to the University

Coeducational opportunities in higher education finally started to open for women in parts of the United States in the mid 1800s and at Knoxville in the late 1800s. East Tennessee College, having become East Tennessee University in 1840, became the state institution, the University of Tennessee (UT) in 1879, with a new state wide representative Board of Trustees (Klein, 1996; Morse, 1920b). The new state institution was reorganized, the Trustees selected Charles Dabney as its eleventh president, and authorized him to begin sweeping revisions in curriculum, faculty, and staff (Montgomery, 1966). Dabney shifted the University away from being a strict military school, with regulations similar to West Point's, and abolished the school's old military government and discipline (Montgomery et al., 1984). This move

in itself helped crack the door for women's readmittance, making admission of women seem more appropriate.

Several other factors contributed to UT becoming coeducational again in 1892-93. By 1890, 65% of all colleges in the United States were coed to some degree. Nearby Maryville College had been successfully admitting females since 1867 and Peabody Normal in Nashville since 1875. Women teachers were in demand in the area and UT itself was seeking increased enrollments (Montgomery et al., 1984; Montgomery, 1966). Also, several strong women involved in the UT campus were championing the admittance of women students. The best known was Angie Perkins, wife of professor Charles Perkins. Perkins knew the problems involved with women's admittance firsthand, having been one of the first four females admitted to Wesleyan University in Connecticut when it adopted a coeducational policy. She persistently and persuasively argued for women's admittance at UT (Montgomery, 1966). According to Klein (1996), it was also fortunate that President Dabney was favorable to women's admittance from the beginning of his term at the University (Klein, 1996). In the spring of 1893, the Board of Trustees unanimously passed a resolution to admit female students, writing that "no distinction will hereafter be made by the University on account of sex except that girls must be over seventeen years of age" (Montgomery, 1966, p. 35). The University had experimentally allowed four women to enroll in the teacher's department in 1892; by the next fall, 45 women enrolled (Greve, 1922; Montgomery, 1966; Klein, 1996).

Campus Life

The new female students at UT had to board off campus, follow strict rules of behavior, deal with the awkwardness of long skirts walking in campus mud and dirt, be exempt from many activities and

clubs, and often be called "floosies" or other names by unwelcoming individuals. Still, they prevailed on an equal footing with the men academically, winning the freshman, sophomore, and junior award for highest class standing their first year (Henegar and Horner, 1920; "It Happened This Way", 1947; Clement, 1920; Montgomery, 1966; Gibbs, 1920; Painter, 1920). In 1895 the first two women, Elma Ellis and Elise Ogden received their degrees, but women students were still only grudgingly welcomed by many on campus (Montgomery et al., 1984).

Dabney still hesitated to add women to the staff, since the Trustees would not add female professors or a women dean, and faculty and male students voiced complaints of having women students in class and on campus (Montgomery, 1966). In the public mind, higher education was still properly the realm of sons rather than daughters, and female coeds received a cool reception from male students and faculty at UT (Rothrock, 1946; Klein, 1996). An 1895 poem by a senior male student seemed to capsulize the thoughts and feelings of the day:

> Not long ago, upon the Hill
> The board, in consultation,
> Decided, after much delay
> To have co-education.
>
> Next day 'twas published far and wide
> In every town and city,
> And every man who heard it said:
> 'Alas, and what a pity'.
>
> So now the men all stay at home
> And nurse and sweep the floor;
> No longer are there lady cooks,
> As in the days of yore.
>
> Thus all these honors, all these crimes,
> All this male degradation,
> Are due in part - in fact, they're all -
> To this co-education (Montgomery, 1966, p. 38).

Despite the opposition, women students continued on at UT, their numbers growing. Sixteen percent of the 193 students in 1899 were women

(The Volunteer, 1899). By 1900 there were even a few women on staff, and the Trustees had turned over the upper floors of the Mess Hall to serve as the first female dormitory. Groundbreaking had also started on a new women's dormitory building (Greve, 1922; Clement, 1920). Angie Perkins had agreed to become the first acting Dean of Women, with no pay, until a permanent women's dean could be found. The yearbook of 1900 shows that she became a professor of French and History as well (The Volunteer, 1900). Perkins said her duties were to regulate the "girls'" affairs and travel around the state to convince people it was not wicked for a "girl" to go to a co-educational school (Clement, 1920). These early documents called female students "girls" (Greve, 1922; Clement, 1920; The Volunteer, 1899). With Angie Perkins' help the women, or girls, also formed their own women's student government association which continued at UT until nearly 1970 (Greve, 1922). A second woman, with a Bachelor of Arts, joined the UT staff as librarian, and a few women began to attain staff positions like Registrar (The Volunteer, 1990; Greve, 1922; "Women's Firsts", 1922).

In 1889-90, Florence Skeffington was recruited by UT as permanent Dean of Women and as a professor of English (Klein, 1996; The Yearbook, 1900). Minnie Stoner had also been brought to UT as an instructor to teach the first home economics courses in 1896-97, and Anne Gibson arrived to instruct physical education for women in 1900 and start the first competitive women's team sports (Greve, 1922; Gibbs, 1920; Klein, 1996). Early women's athletics lacked needed materials and proper facilities, and the girls were hampered in their participation by societal attitudes about sports for women, dress codes, and sports costumes of the day (Gibbs, 1920; Klein, 1996). There was no over-emphasis on sports for women or men at UT around 1900. Students were as avidly involved and interested in literary societies, debates, musical organizations, drama presentations, and religious activities as in

sporting events. The new coeds formed the Barbara Blount Literary Society and often debated the male student debate teams, Chi Delta and Philomathesian (Gibbs, 1920; The Volunteer, 1899; "Extracurricular Activities ...", 1994).

A religious attitude was manifest on campus, and faculty and administration stressed religious living and thought (Montgomery, 1966). Chapel and Bible study classes were a regular part of campus life, and a strong Young Christian Women's Association (YWCA) soon developed on campus to complement the active Young Christian Men's Association (YMCA), which had a large organization and building on the campus (Montgomery et al., 1984; The Volunteer, 1899). Students took their moral character and education very seriously (Greve, 1922; Klein, 1996). By 1899 three female students were awarded the first women's scholarships, proving that they could not only compete at UT but excel (Greve, 1922; "Women's Firsts", 1922; The Volunteer, 1900).

The Progressive Era to come in the early 1900s would continue to help women to advance their status at the University of Tennessee, but their gains afterwards would be slower (Chafe, 1974). Not until the late 1960s and early 1970s would a period of rapid advances occur again for women on the UT campus.

The 1960s, Beginning of Changes

The national unrest of the 1950s and 1960s did not begin to seep to the surface of day to day life at the University of Tennessee Knoxville (UTK) until the late 1960s. Sources from even the early years of the University's history document that the fundamental policy of the University had always been safe and conservative (The Volunteer, 1899). The University had not traditionally taken a hard and fast stance on meeting and addressing social problems and issues in advance, and this

time period was no exception in that pattern (Hood, personal communication, 1997). The administration was reluctant to acknowledge that issues and unrest that were dramatically affecting other universities and colleges in the United States would come to affect their campus as well.

Editorial commentary in the 1969 yearbook, no specific names cited, said that the University, in general, regarded campus unrest and student issues at other universities such as open speaker policies, women's rights, and student power as "out in left field". The editorial defined these activities as "meaningless", promoted by "misguided hippies", "probably Communist led", and only occurring at undoubtedly "radical universities" unlike the University of Tennessee (The Volunteer, 1969). This was, perhaps, a short-sighted view. An editor with the student newspaper in the late 1960s said the University of Tennessee administration was "behaving like the ostrich with its head in the sand", refusing to see or acknowledge student changes and the agitation for more changes that were already highly evident on the Knoxville campus then (Matthews, personal communication, 1998). According to this editor's perspective, the administration were trying to convince themselves and outside Trustees and alumni supporters, who were concerned about growing campus unrest nationally, that everything was just the same as always at the University of Tennessee (Matthews, personal communication, 1998). Actually, at that point in the 1960s, any student dissent at the University of Tennessee had not escalated into real difficulties in that the campus had only experienced a few pickets, rallies, and demonstrations to date (Creekmore, 1994).

The University of Tennessee had been consumed instead with other demanding problems in the 1950s and 1960s, primarily explosive enrollment and growth (Montgomery, 1984; Klein, 1996). Postwar veterans from World War II had flooded UTK in the late 1940s and 1950s, followed

by the post World War II generation of Baby Boomers beginning to hit the campus in the early 1960s. Construction of housing and facilities to accommodate students, continuing additions of staff, faculty, and administration plus constant reorganizations to handle the growing student numbers were always ongoing (O'Steen, 1985; Creekmore, 1994; Klein, 1996). The University was receiving increased government and student funding, instituting new colleges and departments, increasing its overall number of graduate programs, and developing into a major research institution ("A Celebration of UT History", 1994; Creekmore, 1994; O'Steen, 1985).

The yearbooks of the late 1960s are filled with pictures of campus construction and frequent comments about increasing enrollment. There were 15,000 students on campus by 1966-67, where student enrollment had only been in the hundreds at the turn of the twentieth century (The Volunteer, 1967; The Volunteer, 1900). In 1961 Andy Holt had become the institution's 16th president, and in 1968 a restructured administrative system was formed to govern the expanded campuses at Chattanooga, Martin, and Memphis with chancellors at each branch and the central administrative office on the Knoxville campus ("Early Tennessee Chronology", 1998; "A Celebration of UT History", 1994; Creekmore, 1994). Since the early 1950s, the University had also begun to respond to legislature and civil rights demands to begin integrating the campus and had avoided the serious disruptions that had occurred at other southern campuses (O'Steen, 1986; Creekmore, 1994).

In issues relating to gender, traditional sex roles were still the norm at the University of Tennessee and very much in evidence on the Knoxville campus in the 1960s. In campus scenes in the yearbooks from 1965 to 1967, women students appear with carefully teased and coiffed hairdos, wearing neat dresses, or skirts and blouses. The hem lengths are uniformly at the knee or just below, and jeans or slacks are never

worn. In the photos, socks are seldom seen either, even on the coldest days, as the dress code of the 1960s demanded hosiery with flats or loafers for almost all occasions. Men, too, were conservatively, if less restrictively, attired, and their pictured roles throughout the yearbooks greatly differed from women's (The Volunteer, 1965; The Volunteer, 1966; The Volunteer, 1967).

In the 1965-1967 yearbooks, men are shown in professional positions, active career-related poses, classroom or laboratory scenes, and sports shots. They are pictured reading the newspaper, studying, engaged in public speaking, walking, shaking hands, or relaxing informally with other men. Women students are shown sitting on boys' laps, arranging flowers, serving punch, washing dishes in the kitchen, or plunging out a toilet. They are watering plants, on the telephone, playing piano, looking in the mirror, smiling in prom dresses as beauty queens, Miss UT, Cotton Bowl Princess, Homecoming Queen, or Best Dressed Coed. Occasionally, they are shown in a women's sports team pose. Male students hold most of the major offices and campus positions. Athletics is dominated by men. All officers and members of the Board of Trustees are men. Scenes depicting classroom faculty or administrators show predominantly males. The only women in ROTC and Air Force are a few sponsors or auxiliary in skirted uniforms. Presidents of the Freshmen, Sophomore, Junior and Senior class are all male students. Women's place is clearly shown throughout each yearbook to be decorative and assisting to male roles of action and leadership (Scott, personal communication; 1998; The Volunteer, 1965; The Volunteer, 1966; The Volunteer, 1967).

Situation in the Sixties

Repercussions from the 1963 publication of President Kennedy's Commission on the Status of Women, recent legislation such as The Equal

Pay Act of 1963, Executive Order 11246, and the 1964 Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, Betty Friedan's best-selling The Feminine Mystique and the beginning of the national women's movement seemed to be having little or no effect on the campus during this time (Task Force on Women, 1972; The Volunteer, 1965; The Volunteer, 1966; The Volunteer, 1967; McIntyre, 1970). The University still had more rules and restrictions for women students than men students, a separate women's dean, separate women's student association, and a separate women's judicial governing board (Eagleton, 1970). The Associated Women's Students organization (AWS), the AWS Judicial Board and the Dean of Women's role of the 1960s dated back to the separate women's government administrative system begun in 1889 when women students were readmitted to the University; in principle it had changed very little (Eagleton, 1970; Tennessee Girl Handbook, 1968; Task Force on Women, 1972; Wickersham, personal communication, 1995).

Until recent years women students had had separate admissions examinations from men's, and the results from vocational counseling measurement instruments, such as the Strong Interest Inventory and the Kuder Occupational Interest Survey, were still reported on different occupational scales for men and women in the late 1960s (Wickersham, personal communication, 1994; Task Force on Women, 1972; Donahue and Costar, 1997). Majors and occupations suggested for men would be different than those suggested for women, even when they had the same aptitude and scores. Women were geared toward traditional female majors and occupations that were considered more suited to their expected societal roles (McLoughlin, personal communication, 1998; Task Force on Women, 1972; Aolmquist and Angrist, 1971). Counseling for women at the high school and college level discouraged females from preparing for traditionally male professions or from seeking ambitious, leadership roles usually reserved for men (McLoughlin, personal communication,

1998; Donahue and Costar, 1997; Nan Scott, personal communication, 1998; Task Force on Women, 1972). Women were further discouraged from non-traditional pursuits at UTK by being dissuaded from or denied admittance into many predominantly male majors, colleges, departments, and programs; this was especially true for some graduate and doctoral programs (Task Force on Women, 1972; McLoughlin, personal communication, 1998; Scott, personal communication, 1998; McIntyre, 1970).

There was still an expectation that women, even women graduates from the University, would pursue traditional female roles. Those expectations and associated attitudes regarding gender roles influenced every arena for women students at UTK in the 1960s - admissions, major counseling and student advising, scholarship, assistantships and financial aid opportunities, campus activities and involvements, the classroom environment, expectations, mentoring, and after-graduation prospects for employment (Task Force on Women, 1972; McIntyre, 1970; Begalla, personal communication, 1995; McLoughlin, personal communication, 1998; Lord, personal communication, 1998). There were also limited numbers of women faculty, women deans, or women administrators on the UTK campus in the 1960s. Those who were in place had to deal with inequities in pay, limited voices within their work areas, problems with professional regard among colleagues, and limited opportunities for advancement (Task Force on Women, 1972; McIntyre, 1970; Lord, personal communication, 1998; Carini, personal communication, 1998; Wickersham, personal communication, 1995).

Despite these discouragements and oppositions, the number of women students continued to grow at the University of Tennessee. In the past, women's enrollment at UTK had risen in the 1920s, dipped with the Depression in the 1930s, and risen dramatically during World War II when females were freely and unrestrictedly admitted to compensate for the loss of male applicants to the military (Creekmore, 1994; Montgomery et

al., 1984). By 1956 males were still 2:1 to females on the University campus, but despite limited societal perspectives regarding higher education and achievement for women and in spite of female enrollment caps or ceilings on admittance in many areas, women's enrollment continued to climb in the 1960s (Lopez, 1990; Task Force on Women, 1972; "Women at UT History", 1956). By 1982, women's overall enrollment at UTK would almost equal men's at 45.9% (Braxton, 1982). Yet, despite increasing enrollments, the University's views regarding women students in the 1960s were still centered on traditional female roles and expectations (Eagleton, 1970; Vest, 1975). Even the Dean of Women, women students' top female administrative role model, gave a clear message in the mid 1960s as to what the ideal University of Tennessee women should be like (Aolmquist and Angrist, 1971).

The year 1966 had brought a new Dean of Women to the University of Tennessee. The Knoxville News-Sentinel gave Dean Jane McCormick a front page feature in the women's section (Silvey, 1966). The article told all about her apartment, interests, wardrobe, family life, favorite color, and author, with a focus on her collection of demitasse spoons. The new Dean was quoted as saying she looked forward to helping UT women prepare for their lives after graduation, not just career-wise, but as fine wives, mothers, and contributing members of their communities (Silvey, 1966). The past Dean's welcome to all women students coming into UTK for the 1965-66 year, and published in The Tennessee Girl (1965) handbook, had advised incoming women students to enjoy being girls, to act like ladies, to behave and dress appropriately, to continue to seek the admiration of boys, and, in addition, almost as an afterthought, to remember to study and keep good grades (The Tennessee Girl, 1965). In the official guidelines for women students, emphasis on appearance and dress, correct ladylike behavior, and preparing to be wives and mothers was given equal to greater importance to any emphasis

on academics and career preparation (The Tennessee Girl, 1965; The Tennessee Girl, 1966; Tennessee Girl Handbook, 1969; Eagleton, 1970).

The Tennessee Girl handbook, the official yearly guidebook published for all women students, was prepared each year by the Associated Women Students (AWS) and the Dean of Women's office (The Tennessee Girl, 1966). All women students were automatically members of the AWS by becoming students at the University. The handbook outlined the responsibilities and rules governing the actions of all women students (Eagleton, 1970; The Tennessee Girl, 1965). It defined the activities in which women could participate, explained the system of women's government on campus, and delineated what women students were to wear to every event and occasion from classes, football games, parties and concerts, to movies, socials, and church (Vest, 1975; The Tennessee Girl, 1965). It was quite specific in detail, even to whether to wear a hat or to what particular type of shoes to be chosen (The Tennessee Girl, 1965). Boys had no similar guideline at the University, nor did any listing tell them what to wear to different campus or off-campus occasions or in their dormitories (Vest, 1975; Eagleton, 1970). No official University document told them how males were to act or behave, encouraged them in ways to seek attention and admiration on campus, or suggested how they should enjoy being boys at UT (Vest, 1975; Scott, personal communication, 1998). The University adhered to a double-standard regarding male and female students (Task Force on Women, 1972; Eagleton, 1970; McIntyre, 1970; Lord, personal communication, 1998; Ball, personal communication, 1998; Begalla, personal communication, 1995; Vest, 1975).

All undergraduate female students, who did not live at home with their parents and commute to UTK, were required to live in college dormitories on campus in the 1960s and had a completely different system of residence regulations from the male students (Task Force on Women,

1972; Begalla, personal communication, 1995; Vest, 1975; Ball, personal communication, 1998). Women students had an elaborate system of rules, including detailed sign-in and sign-out procedures in their dormitories (Eagleton, 1970; Task Force on Women, 1972). Women could not leave the dormitory even to utilize the library after the regular closing hours of the residence halls (Eagleton, 1970).

The office of the Dean of Women sent out a Social Permission Blank for every woman student, which had to be filled out, signed, and returned by her parents (Wickersham, personal communication, 1995). This permission sheet determined whether women students could go home on weekends or holidays, go off the campus to town during the day or evening before dormitory closing hours, attend University field trips, academic conferences or events outside the campus grounds, be allowed to participate in recreational activities like swimming or fishing, or ride on a bus or in an automobile while a student ("Social Permission Blank", 1965-66). Male students had no similar limitations. Their parents did not have to fill out and return permission sheets regarding their campus behavior (Vest, 1975; Task Force on Women, 1972). The regulations for women and men students had experienced only minimal alterations over the past years despite increasing societal changes (Vest, 1975). An annual report from the Dean of Women's office for the year 1969-70 observed that the University lacked perception on society's current expectations regarding women and had done little to challenge or develop the status or self-image of UTK's women students (Eagleton, 1970).

Student Unrest and Campus Change

The existing double-system of regulations and expectations for women and men students at the University of Tennessee had become archaic by the late 1960s, and the student body, particularly women students,

began to agitate for change (Vest, 1975; Kurth, personal communication, 1995; Begalla, personal communication, 1995). General student unrest, coupled with a new boldness of students to begin to question and challenge existing authority, spurred UTK students to begin to ask for more student rights and greater student involvement in the affairs of the University (Reese, personal communication, 1998; Connolly, personal communication, 1998; Nash, personal communication, 1998).

The University's willingness to respond to demands for changes, in relation to gender discrimination beginning in the late 1960s, was due to a number of factors. First, other campuses were making changes all over the United States, and students, as well as some administrative and faculty personnel at UTK were encouraging consideration of changes. In addition, new federal legislation had also begun forcing changes, and other campuses were experiencing student unrest and lawsuits for resisting legal compliance and gender equity change, which UTK hoped to avoid. Finally, the national and state governments were encouraging changes, because (1) the economy needed more individuals in the workforce, (2) women were an available market, and (3) the simple discrepancies about what roles women were playing in society compared to old ideologies were becoming glaringly incongruent (Montgomery et al., 1984; Eagleton, 1970; Task Force on Women, 1972; Lord, personal communication, 1998; Ross, personal communication, 1995; Nolan, personal communication, 1998).

Organized protest was becoming more frequent and almost fashionable on college campuses by the mid 1960s, and a growing restlessness among students at the Knoxville campus began to find outlets in protest causes (O'Steen, 1986; Bird, 1970). Women were involved in some of the early student rights disruptions that began to occur at UTK before they made some of their own personal stands about women's rights. They were involved in the 1967-68 controversies over

the University's restrictive speaker policies and participated in the 1967 protest, initiated by UTK art students, over the design of a campus statue. Women students also demonstrated and rallied over integration issues and picketed and voiced opposition related to the Vietnam War (Creekmore, 1994; O'Steen, 1986; Klein, 1996; "Negro Students Picket U-T Building", 1969; The Speaker Ban Controversy, 1968). Women students also made up part of the traveling corps of students in the UT Today Program traveling across the state and to other areas to explain campus issues students were concerned about to alumni groups and to improve understanding between students and alumni (O'Steen, 1986).

The first women's rights issue that female students openly protested was women's dormitory hours. In the fall of 1968, coeds worked through campus organizations like the AWS for a relaxation in housing privileges and hours for women students, but they gained only a postponed administrative response ("Facilities Cited in Delay of No Hours for Coeds", 1968). An Assistant Dean of Women was quoted as saying the women's students' mood was one of total frustration ("Facilities Cited in Delay of No Hours for Coeds", 1968). By winter of 1969 UTK women erupted for the first time in controversy over the hours issue and staged a walkout from dormitories after hours (Ash, 1991; Creekmore, 1994). The administration began to work with the women afterwards on more relaxed hours policies, but strict limitations and restrictions in those policies continued to create conflict between women and the University into the 1970s (Ash, 1991; Eagleton, 1970; O'Steen, 1986; Maxwell and Hight, 1970).

As issues of women's equity came to the fore at UTK in the 1969-70 school year, the University began to examine many of its policies and procedures at different levels. A season of change ensued. Several gender specific organizations for women students were closed and were merged into non-gender specific organizations (Eagleton, 1970). The

Associated Women Students organization voted to abolish itself in early 1970, the Town Woman's Board disbanded, and the AWS Judicial Board began to be restructured into a new Judicial Advisory Board as a part of a revised University Judicial System (Eagleton, 1970). All behavior and dress policies specific to female students were deleted as being inappropriate University policy (Eagleton, 1970; McLoughlin, personal communication, 1998; Begalla, personal communication, 1998). Changes were in the works for decisions pertaining to residence life for female students to be made through the residence hall staff like male student residence decisions (Eagleton, 1970; Ball, personal communication, 1998). The Tennessee Girl ceased publication, and student rights and responsibilities, without reference to gender, were published in a new publication for all students called Hilltopics (Eagleton, 1970; Begalla, personal communication, 1995).

The Dean of Women's Office was closed in 1970 and its staff merged into the Dean of Students Office and the Student Activities Office (Eagleton, 1970; UT Dean of Women May Be Abolished, 1970; Shift Planned ..., 1970; UT Won't Replace Dean of Women, 1970). Dean Jane McCormick left UTK to take a position at Penn State (UT Won't Replace Dean of Women, 1970). The Assistant Dean of Women Marguerite (Maggie) Carini became the Coordinator of Sorority Affairs under Phil Scheurer, director of UTK Student Activities, and Assistant Dean of Women Martha Eagleton (Marty) Begalla became the Assistant Dean of Students reporting to UTK Dean of Students Thomas Scott ("Shift Planned...", 1970; "UT Won't Replace Dean of Women", 1970; Eagleton, 1970).

A new shift toward recognizing and beginning to address female students changing needs evolved on the UTK campus. Providing new and relevant student programming to address women's issues was a major part of the UTK administration's plan (Eagleton, 1970; O'Steen, 1986). Programming for women students was given special emphasis in Assistant

Dean of Women Marty Eagleton's job responsibilities during the last year of the Dean of Women's Office in 1969-70 (Eagleton, 1970; Begalla, personal communication, 1995; Carini, personal communication, 1998). The Dean of Women's staff developed a topical outline entitled "The Woman in the '70s" (1970) defining some of its programming goals. These included programs dealing with the history of women's rights, new societal trends, a profile of UT women, and "the personification of women in the South", the latter of which was not explained in the outline ("The Woman in the '70s", 1970). Development of programs for women became an increased priority in the job description for Marty Eagleton, who married to become Eagleton - Begalla, in her 1970-71 position as Assistant Dean of Students ("Shift Planned...", 1970). A primary goal was in educating the female student on the UTK campus to changes in society's expectations of women (Eagleton, 1970).

This student affairs venture under the banner of the Dean of Students Office was successful, and a proposal was made in 1970-71 for a separate student affairs office to handle women's programming and to work with the changing needs of women at UT (Begalla, personal communication, 1995; Carini, personal communication, 1998). Marty Begalla said she was the natural person to evolve into directing the new office because of her past responsibilities (Begalla, personal communication, 1995; Nash, personal communication, 1998).

Plans for the new administrative student affairs office were completed in the spring of 1971, and the Office of Women's Programs opened officially in the fiscal year beginning July 1st, 1971 ("Employment Records", 1998; Begalla, personal communication, 1995). According to Nash (1998), it was decided that the new women's office would work well with the new Minority Affairs Office that was also being opened that year. The two offices would have their own individual titles, descriptions, and directors but would also be joined under a

newly created administrative office, entitled the Office of Special Services (Nash, personal communication, 1998; Begalla, personal communication, 1995; The Volunteer, 1971). Both offices were involved with educational programs and purposes concerning minority students at the University. Marty Begalla, completing her doctoral degree during this time, became the new Coordinator for the Office of Women's Programs; Ralph Boston became the Coordinator of Minority Affairs (The Volunteer, 1971; "Employment Records", 1998). The entire Office of Special Services was placed under the administrative direction of Dick Nash, head of Student Counseling Services (Nash, personal communication, 1998; The Volunteer, 1971; Begalla, personal communication, 1995).

Office of Women's Programs Opens

The Office of Women's Programs at the University of Tennessee opened with the new fiscal year on July 1, 1971 during a continuing period of great student unrest (Begalla, personal communication, 1995; O'Steen, 1986). Dick Nash, then Director of Student Counseling Services, called it a time period involving radical change at the University and an era including tremendous upheavals in student affairs (Nash, personal communications, 1998).

Mention of the official opening of the Office of Women's Programs could not be found in campus or community newspapers in 1971. Other more news-demanding campus issues like student anti-war and pro-peace protests, demonstrations relating to United States military involvement in Indo-China, and marches to commemorate 1970 Kent State tragedies made the 1971 June and July news' pages (Hobbs, 1971; Matthews, personal communication, 1998). Students at UTK had picketed the local draft board, passed out peace leaflets, marched downtown to rally at Market Square Mall, signed up for liberation classes, and caused a cancellation

of the opening performance of "Othello" by protesting a white student playing the lead role in black-face (Hobbs, 1971; Creekmore, 1994).

Media focus was also newly directed to changes in student behavior and dress (Matthews, personal communication, 1998). Accepted traditional student dress was being replaced by gradually increasing numbers of students with bell bottoms pants, blue jeans, T-shirts, Earth shoes, sandals, wire-rimmed glasses, and love beads. Long, straight hair styles for both sexes, plus beards and sideburns for men, were becoming fashionable. The first Friday night Happy Hours, psychedelic strobe lights and black lights, drugs, and raucous rock-pop-folk-blues music were all creeping into the Knoxville campus scene (O'Steen, 1986; The Volunteer, 1969; The Volunteer, 1970; The Volunteer, 1971; Matthews, personal communication, 1998). Women students' involvement in dress and behavioral changes, unlike men's in most areas, defied specifically stated campus rules and regulations for them, as in wearing shorts or baring their midriffs on campus, and often resulted in sanctions (Ash, 1991; Matthews, personal communication, 1998; McLoughlin, personal communication, 1998; Scott, personal communication, 1998).

On a broader scale, University of Tennessee women were also becoming more affected by the national women's movement, and consciousness-raising groups began forming on and off campus, increasing awareness about gender inequities (McIntyre, 1970; Ross, personal communication, 1995; Nolan, personal communication, 1998). Change in one area at UTK affected change in other areas, just as many similar changes were happening in campuses all over the country. "When one set of changes occurs it ripples through things" explained Dr. Suzanne Kurth, a professor in the UTK Sociology department (Kurth, personal communication, 1998).

The Office of Women's Programs (program office), established within the larger Office of Special Services, started in the midst of

this shifting campus environment. Its offices were always attached to the Student Counseling Center, and the Office of Special Services was located first in the basement and then on several other floors between two campus houses at 804 and 812 Volunteer Boulevard (Begalla, personal communication, 1995; Hruz, personal communication, 1995). "We were in two old houses next door to each other on Volunteer Boulevard" said secretary Becky Hruz (personal communication, 1995). Both campus houses, Temple Court (804) and the Student Affairs Building (812), stood directly behind Alumni Hall, which housed the Career Placement and Planning Center on Cumberland Avenue in the 1970s (McLoughlin, personal communication, 1998; Graduate School Catalog, 1972).

The Office of Special Services, including the Office of Women's Programs, spent the bulk of their 1970s operational years on the first floor of the red brick building at 812 Volunteer Boulevard, the Student Affairs Building, across from Henson, Greve, and Dunford halls (Ball, personal communication, 1998; Begalla, personal communication, 1995). The walk-in level offices had a reception area, several offices, a media collection area, and space for group meetings. A secretary-receptionist served the Office of Special Services, and there was a joint cooperative effort and sharing of supplies between the new Special Services office and the Counseling Center (Hruz, personal communication, 1995; Ball, personal communication, 1998; Nash, personal communication, 1998).

Marty Eagleton Begalla was Coordinator of the program office from the office's start in 1971 to its close in 1976 ("Employment Records", 1998). Brenda Miller was her assistant the first year, half time at first and later full time (Begalla, personal communication, 1995; Nash, personal communication, 1998). When Brenda moved out-of-state, Pat Ball, a graduate student who had completed two internships in the program office, was hired as Assistant Coordinator for the Office of Special Services. She served in this position for four years from 1972

to 1976 (Ball, personal communication, 1998; "Employment Records", 1998). "I knew that, if given an opportunity to work with Marty, that I definitely wanted to do that; I reported to Marty on Women's Programs and to Ralph Boston on Minority Affairs and Special Services (Ball, personal communication, 1998). The special services, besides women's and minority student affairs, that the Office of Special Services handled were administrative processes like student withdrawals or other special circumstances which Ralph Boston and Becky Malone primarily handled (Nash, personal communication, 1998).

Becky Malone (later Malone - Hruz) came on board as secretary to the Office of Special Services after the first year. She worked in this position until both offices later closed and continued afterwards with the counseling office under Dick Nash until 1983 (Hruz, personal communication, 1995; Nash, personal communication, 1998). Hruz said: "I was working with two firsts simultaneously. In a way it was two firsts toddling around together, trying to get their feet wet, trying to figure out which way to go; they did what they could with what they had and tried to do more. It seems to me the office was involved with many aspects at UT, sort of helping people feel their way through all that. They really cleared a path" (Hruz, personal communication, 1995).

Operation and Goals of the Office

The office, with its small staff and heavy work load from the outset, never had enough hands and depended heavily on graduate students and volunteers, according to Nash (personal communication, 1998). There were always one or two graduate assistants, several practicum students, and an assortment of student and community volunteers (Ball, personal communication, 1998; Hruz, personal communication, 1995). "We didn't have much staff so we had volunteers to come in, even from the

community" (Begalla, personal communication, 1995). Some of the graduate and undergraduate students who worked with the Office of Women's Programs included Monique Anderson, Ruth Darling, Mary Ellen McLoughlin, Nan Scott, Glenda Ross, Barbara Asbury, Susan Connolly, Elaine Spurlock, Helen McCauley, Betsy Jevon, Nancy Min, and Susan Nolan (Begalla, personal communication, 1995; Ball, personal communication, 1998; Anderson, personal communication, 1995; Nash, personal communication, 1998). "A lot of students came over and did practicums" said Dick Nash (personal communication, 1998), "that's where we got a lot of cheap labor".

Pat Ball and Marty Begalla recalled that they had wonderful student and volunteer help in the program office in the 1970s. The office made a conscious effort to utilize a diverse group of student and volunteer help, including women with different backgrounds, interests, and of different age groups (Begalla, personal communication, 1995; Ball, personal communication, 1998). "There were outstanding women who worked in that office and many went on to hold key positions within and outside the University" (Begalla, personal communication, 1995; Volunteer Leaders ..., 1994). Graduate staff remembered that they were eager to have involvement or work with the Office of Women's Programs, which they recalled as offering a positive, strong, encouraging, and professional environment, not readily available for women students at the time (Ross, personal communication, 1995; Anderson, personal communication, 1995).

The purpose in opening the Office of Women's Programs was, as its name implies, to provide programming for women on the University campus (Nash, personal communication, 1998). It was also to fill an empty niche left by the closing of the Dean of Women's Office and to handle women students' special needs that were surfacing on the campus in the 1970s (Begalla, personal communication, 1995; Wickersham, personal

communication, 1995). Women's roles were in a transitional stage at the University, and an administrative unit seemed to be needed to address the transition. Dick Nash (personal communication, 1998) remembered that it was very much a changing time for women on campus in this period and that not all women were interested in trying the new changes being voiced and introduced at the time. "We were trying new things we thought would unshelter women then. We don't think of it very much now but women, back in the 1960s, were sheltered people in many areas" (Nash, personal communication, 1998).

The times were beginning to demand a shift in societal and institutional thinking regarding women, and a growing number of women and men were open to that transition. "All things changed then. It became more and more necessary for women to take some responsibility and to become knowledgeable about certain things. It just wasn't cool anymore to be stupid in many areas women had been sheltered in or not knowledgeable in before" (Nash, personal communication, 1998). "There was an effort to change the philosophy, to change to a more modernized, liberated view of looking at women" (Ball, personal communication, 1998).

Nash defined the main goal of the Office of Women's Programs as enlightenment, of developing awareness, and providing resources for women on campus (Nash, personal communication, 1998). Objectives of the Office of Special Services Women's Programs office were recorded in a 1972 University publication as:

> " (a) Development of curricular programs by Special Services staff to broaden the educational opportunities for women.
>
> (b) Assist the faculty, staff, students, and members of the community to develop programs to educate men and women to society's changing expectations of women. Provide role models for women students.
>
> (c) Give guidance to individual women on academic, personal and social concerns.
>
> (d) Serve as a resource on campus matters pertinent

to women students.

(e) Advise assigned women's student organizations.

(f) Conduct research and make literature and resources on women in higher education available to the academic community" (Task Force On Women, 1972, pp. 59-60).

The Office of Women's Programs had a small administrative budget allotment, and its Coordinator, Assistant Coordinator, and secretary were salaried employees of the University of Tennessee (Begalla, personal communication, 1995; Nash, personal communication, 1998; "Employment Records", 1998). The yearly budget records for the Office of Women's Programs or the Office of Special Services could not be located in a search by the UTK budget and finance office. In a study of monthly payroll records and budget expenditures of early 1970s administrative accounts, the UTK Director of Finance, Denise Barlow, was unable to find the yearly budget or monthly payroll allotted to the program office during its years of operation (Barlow, personal communication, 1998). According to Barlow, (personal communication, 1998), the office's expenses and payroll were probably included under the administrative account number of another student services office.

Marty Begalla (personal communication, 1998) recalled that the Office of Women's Programs was the only office for women on campus in the early 1970s except for the new women's council in Alumni Affairs. The women's council was made up of women graduates of the University of Tennessee, and its first director was Peggy Addicks (Begalla, personal communication, 1995: Little, personal communication, 1998; O'Steen, 1986). According to available literature and to administrators in the National Association of Women's Centers and the National Women's Studies Association, both of these early programs were innovative firsts in their field nationally and especially in the South, having been created by a campus administrative unit and having fulltime salaried administrative directors and office space within the central University

campus (Harrison, 1973; Haxton, personal communication, 1998; Coggins, personal communication, 1998; Little, personal communication, 1998; O'Steen, 1986).

These two early offices often worked together on women's programs of interest to both students and alumni (Little, personal communication, 1998). The women's council's overall goal in the 1970s was to increase participation of women in the General Alumni Association, to encourage continuing education for women, and to promote the changing societal role of American women (Harrison, 1973; O'Steen, 1986). These groups held many joint goals years before there were other administrative or academic units to foster them at UTK such as a Commission for Women, a women's center, women's studies courses or programs, a Women's Coordinating Council, or other University offices or organizations (Little, personal communication, 1998; Begalla, personal communication, 1995).

Additional Roles

As the only office specifically for women students on campus in an era of change, the Office of Women's Programs found itself fulfilling multiple purposes. Begalla (personal communication, 1995) said the Office of Women's Programs started out doing educational programs for women but soon moved into a diversity of roles, such as helping women students to explore women's issues and to receive services with career placement and planning, helping bring women back to school, working as a referral group, trying to get women's health systems on campus and a women's athletic department, improving women's participation on campus, doing fairs and conferences to have a broader impact on University and regional women, and serving as a link with campus, community and national women's concerns and groups. The range of responsibilities and

roles were broad-based. "Everything that was outside the academic curriculum were the things that we offered" (Begalla, personal communication, 1995).

Even in the academic area, Marty Begalla taught the first women's studies course which later became a part of the academic curriculum (Nash, personal communication, 1998; Begalla, personal communication, 1995). Assistant Coordinator Pat Ball developed a women's course on assertiveness training and taught it through the Office of Women's Programs for several years ("Women's Class Offered", 1975; Ball, personal communication, 1998). The program office offered resume writing workshops, mock interview training sessions, and help in employment networking and recruiting skills (Ball, personal communication, 1998; Ross, personal communication, 1995). "We were like a little network and referral center" (Begalla, personal communication, 1995). The office had a jobs bulletin board, a resource table and area. It kept fliers and information on developing women's groups on campus and in the community, served as a gathering place for some campus women's groups, and built a collection of women's journals, periodicals, books, and films (Hruz, personal communication, 1995; Ball, personal communication, 1998; McLoughlin, personal communication, 1998). "Many groups used the program office as a place to center and gather. It was a place where all different types of women congregated; they came in and were comfortable there. Girls would sit and talk about all the things that mattered to women... so many different people came in and out of there... the women's office helped them focus on what they needed then" (Hruz, personal communication, 1995).

A monthly publication was a part of the Office of Women's Program's communication network and outreach. A newsletter called Everywoman was created and published by the Office of Women's Programs through most of its five operational years, although no copies of the

newsletter could be located. The publication was later picked up in name and concept and continued by the Knoxville Women's Center (Ball, personal communication, 1998; Hruz, personal communication, 1998). The Office of Women's Programs aided campus women in gaining entrance to nontraditional programs and in getting into graduate programs, in finding parttime jobs and financial aid, in locating childcare, in becoming aware of new laws and women's rights on campus (Ball, personal communication, 1998; Begalla, personal communication, 1998).

Marty Begalla also found herself increasingly involved in campus administrative committees, speaking as a representative for the Office of Women's Programs and the University of Tennessee on campus and at outside conferences, meetings, and events. She sat on administrative task forces and participated in University study groups. Dick Nash said about one third of Marty Begalla's time was spent on committees (Nash, personal communication, 1996). Pat Ball said they all called Marty "the [steel] hand in the velvet glove" because she could present the program office's strong feminist issues and programs in a smooth, feminine, diplomatic way that could be received by a conservative and mostly male southern administrative audience (Ball, personal communication, 1998).

The names of Marty Begalla or Pat Ball are found on listings of most campus associations, organizations, or studies involving women's issues or concerns in the early 1970s, and on initial boards or membership rosters of many related women's organizations of the period. Dr. Begalla was involved with The Student Government Association in preparing a report on the status of women at the Knoxville campus and was one of three administrators appointed by Chancellor Archie Dykes to UTK's extensive Task Force on Women study (Commission of the Student Government Association, 1971; Task Force on Women, 1972). Begalla (personal communication, 1995) added, "I chaired the Title IX Task Force, which got the women's athletic department started, and I hired

the first women's director". Begalla chaired the UT Task Force on Intercollegiate Athletics, persistently negotiating with the University and the Tennessee Higher Education Commission for needed funds for a women's athletic department (Silva, 1975; Woods, 1975b; Lyle, 1975). Begalla (personal communication, 1995) said, "We worked on getting the first female appointed to the Board of Trustees and I sat on the first Commission for Women.... We had a statewide impact in what we were doing". The program office was also active in working with regional and national events, according to Begalla. "I was selected as one of 50 people in the United States to go to the University of Pittsburgh for an Office of Education program to see what the federal government could do to change the status of women in higher education. Four of us were asked to have regional programs the next year.... We got a huge government grant to do this and were able to bring in nationally known speakers" to the University of Tennessee (Begalla, personal communication, 1995).

The Office of Women's Programs had a hand in the start-up of subsequent women's programs at UTK and in the community, including the Knoxville Women's Center, the Rape Crisis Center, women's studies courses at UTK in the Educational Psychology Department of the College of Education, and the later Women's Studies Program in the College of Liberal Arts (Nash, personal communication, 1998; Ball, personal communication, 1998; Nash-Pitts, personal communication, 1998; Connolly, personal communication, 1998; Nolan, personal communication, 1998). "We helped get those started" said Dr. Begalla (personal communication, 1995). Begalla is pictured in a news coverage photo in the Knoxville Women's Center Scrapbook (1975-1996) at the opening of the Knoxville Women's Center. She was also on the Center's original board (Connolly, personal communication, 1998; Nash-Pitts, personal communication, 1996). "Marty (Begalla) helped the Knoxville Women's Center get started and supported it throughout" said Shirley Nash-Pitts, Director of the

Knoxville Women's Center, 1996, and active with the center since its opening in June 1975 (Nash-Pitts, personal communication, 1996).

Pat Ball was on the Task Force on Women's Intercollegiate Athletics for Women and very interactive in work and advising with the Women's Coordinating Council, formed by the Office of Women's Programs, and in community roles representing the University (Connolly, personal communication, 1998; Nolan, personal communication; "Open Hearings", 1972). She was on the College of Engineering's recruitment committee to help them begin to recruit more women students. She said at the first meeting she attended in the college there were no women's bathrooms except in the basement for the secretaries (Ball, personal communication, 1998). "Obviously, if the college was serious about recruiting women, one of the first things they needed to do was to create a female friendly environment.... All these things were very new issues to look at then.... What was happening at UT at that time was just a matter of questioning - why have we always done it this way, is there a better way, is there a way where we don't systematically exclude women on the front end without them having a chance to compete" (Ball, personal communication, 1998).

Like Marty Begalla, Pat Ball also attended educational conferences and was frequently asked to sit on panels and give speeches outside the University. Pat particularly remembered attending the American Council on Education Conference, "Women in Higher Education", in Miami, Florida, with UTK Chancellor Jack Reese and Dr. Sharon Lord, an early professor of women's studies courses (Ball, personal communication, 1998; Lord, personal communication, 1998; Reese, personal communication, 1998). "It was such an exciting time; it seemed like every week or every month there was the first woman to do this, the first woman to do that" (Ball, personal communication, 1998). Pat Ball completed her doctoral degree while working at The Office of Women's Programs. She also took on

additional part-time work roles to become the first woman to work as an Assistant Ombudswoman in the Ombuds' office, one of the first co-directors of the Appalachian Center for Educational Equity which developed at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, and one of the first women faculty members to teach credited women's studies courses in the Educational Psychology Department at UTK ("Ball Assists Ombudsman", 1975; Nolan, personal communication, 1998; McLoughlin, personal communication, 1998; Ball, personal communication, 1998). "Things were changing rapidly at UT for women and we were a constant catalyst in that change" (Ball, personal communication, 1998).

New Types of Educational Programs

The types of educational programs developed by the Office of Women's Programs were geared to developing the potential of women students' to the fullest, broadening educational opportunities for women students, and introducing women to new roles and possibilities (Begalla, personal communication, 1995; Lord, personal communication, 1998; Carini, personal communication, 1998). "We tried to develop programs that would help women be successful in whatever careers they wanted to work in" (Ball, personal communication, 1998). Programs were geared to helping women individually and toward exposing institutional sexism that limited women at UTK (Begalla, personal communication, 1995; McLoughlin, personal communication, 1998). "The status of women at UT was far below what it needed to be, so sexism that was institutional was addressed and looked at" (Begalla, personal communication, 1995).

Programs introduced in this period were often the first of their kind at the University. As such they often nontraditional and occasionally controversial. "Some of the programs we had were innovative, some of them were very unusual; some were flops and some

were quite successful" (Nash, personal communication, 1998). It was a place to start and try things and introduce new ideas (Scott, personal communication, 1998). Becky Hruz, secretary in the Office of Women's Programs, prepared the fliers and announcements for most of the programs and could remember unusual ideas that were tried. "We did something on auto mechanics with women so they could learn different things about their cars, issues that were new to us then but are sort of old hat to us now. Because women then didn't know how to even fill their own gas tanks or change a tire" (Hruz, personal communication, 1995). A mini-term program was established to introduce undergraduate women to non-traditional careers (Hruz, personal communication, 1995; Littlefield, 1973). "The purpose of the program, which consisted of work experience with a profession, was as Martha Begalla, Coordinator of women's programs explained, 'to broaden the career horizons of college women'"(Littlefield, 1973). Hundreds of women students had opportunities to work with professional sponsors each term in formerly male-dominated fields like accounting, business management, engineering, law, medicine, stockbrokerage, veterinary medicine, and urban planning (Littlefield, 1973).

The office did programs on women's health issues, women's bodies, sexual and psychological development (Hruz, personal communication, 1995; Nolan, personal communication, 1998; New Images..., 1973). Career-development and career-planning for women, non-traditional careers for women, recruitment, and assertiveness training were program themes (New Directions..., 1973; McLoughlin, personal communication, 1998; Women's Career Program..., 1973; Littlefield, 1973). Women's legal rights, women in politics, equal access and equal pay issues, existing inequities and discrimination in academia were highlighted (Gazze, 1973; Women: New Resource ..., 1974; Begalla, personal communication, 1995; Lord, personal communication, 1998). Program

topics also explored new social issues such as sexual assault, sexism in education, and the changing roles of women and men in society (No Pedestals..., 1973; McLoughlin, personal communication, 1998; Ball, personal communication, 1998). Many programs were done jointly with other campus groups such as the Career Planning and Placement Office, the Women's Activities Committee of the Alumni Association, Residence Halls, Panhellenic, or Continuing Education (Begalla, personal communication, 1995; Little, personal communication, 1998; Carini, personal communication, 1998). Some programs and events were linked with off-campus women's groups like the Rape Crisis Center and the Knoxville Women's Center (Connolly, personal communication, 1998). Graduate students remembered helping to develop and work with a large international conference and a campus program designed for re-entry women (Anderson, personal communication, 1995; Ross, personal communication, 1995). Most programs, conferences and workshops were held in the UTK Student Center, which could accommodate large groups. "There were big crowds then.... We often had a packed house with both women and men attending" (Nolan, personal communication, 1998).

Conferences and Events

"I can't remember any time since when we've had that kind of focus on women's issues at the University" said Suzanne Kurth (personal communication, 1995). The Office of Women's Programs brought in well-known national feminist speakers and authors to the University of Tennessee, such as Shelia Tobias, Betty Friedan, and Shirley Chisholm. These national speakers were most often a part of the larger conference events held at UTK on women's issues. The University of Tennessee does not keep records of its conferences, but information on several of these major conferences was attained over the course of the study (Neely,

1996; Wyman, personal communication, 1998). Often these conferences were multi-day or week-long events, and UTK students, faculty, and conference attendants had the opportunity to sit in on speeches, workshops, and meetings with prominent national leaders who were on the forefront of equal rights and feminist issues. "It was an opportunity to hear and work with people who really made history in our country" (Begalla, personal communication, 1995).

One of the earliest gatherings was in February, 1971, just before the Office of Women's Programs officially opened. Marty Begalla was working in women's programs as Assistant Dean of Students at that time and actively involved in working with the event ("Shift Planned ...", 1970; Begalla, personal communication, 1995). The campus event was entitled "Women: Motherhood to Militancy" and featured speakers Betty Friedan, author of The Feminine Mystique, Marlene Sanders, correspondent for the American Broadcasting Company (ABC), attorney Florynce Kennedy, co-author of Abortion Rap, Harold Hayes, editor of Esquire, and Bill Baird, director of New York Parent Aid Society (Hobbs, 1971; The Volunteer, 1971). The following year, after the Office of Women's Programs opened, Shirley Chisholm, the nation's first black Congresswoman, spoke to a crowd of 1400 in February, 1972, on "Women in Politics" (Newton, 1972; The Volunteer, 1972). Chisholm said, "I have met more discrimination as a woman than as a black....The preoccupation needs to be with putting the brain power of men and women together.... This American pie is big enough for everyone to have a slice" (Newton, 1972, p. 12).

In the spring of 1972, Shelia Tobias, Associate Provost of Wesleyan University, addressed problems of women in higher education and posed possible remedies to discriminatory attitudes and practices (Cantor, 1972b; Ball, personal communication, 1998). In June of 1972, the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, hosted one of three regional

training institutes in the country for college and university women, its purpose to promote equal employment opportunity and to implement affirmative action and needed institutional changes for women in higher education (Chesnut, 1972; Wash, 1972). The three regional institutes were federally funded and sponsored by the U.S. Office of Education, with the University of Tennessee selected as the first national site for an institute and later training institutes held at the universities of Florida and California (Chesnut, 1972).

Marty Begalla was regional director of the conference, and the title of the institute was "Challenge: Women in Higher Education" (Wash, 1972; Chesnut, 1972). Begalla (personal communication, 1995) remembered administrators, faculty, and students coming to the conference from all over the country to stay for weeks, with national speakers including feminist authors and activists Catherine Stimpson and Betty Friedan, plus national women's organization leaders like the national president of the Women's Political Caucus. It was well-attended, and participants from the University termed it as a highly successful conference (Kurth, personal communication, 1995; Begalla, personal communication, 1995).

In January, 1973, a Conference on Humanism was held at UTK. Catherine Stimpson, writer and director of the Women's Resource Center at Barnard College, returned as the primary speaker, pushing for changes for academic women and for women's studies in the University curricula (Gazze, 1973). Stimpson complimented UTK in one of her addresses, applauding the University's strong women leaders and its Chancellor for supporting women's equity on campus (Gazze, 1973). Supportive relationships developed between the Office of Women's Programs and visiting speakers like Catherine Stimpson and Shelia Tobias, who worked in other university women's programs in addition to writing and speaking. Marty Begalla and Pat Ball talked of how they stayed in touch with these leaders over many years (Begalla, personal communication,

1995; Ball, personal communication, 1998). Dr. Sharon Lord also became actively involved in these links, then teaching the first UTK official women's courses, and later helping other institutions nationally and abroad to develop course programs and materials. She spoke at this Conference on Humanism on "Growing Up Male and Female" (Lord, 1979).

Campus Leadership Involvement Grows

UTK Sociology professor Suzanne Kurth (personal communication, 1995) said that many campus women who emerged as leaders, like Sharon Lord, were not initially involved as strongly in feminism and gender issues. "Like when Sharon Lord came here, her background was more in children's literature and then she became interested in the psychology of women and that became a very serious and important kind of thing to her" (Kurth, personal communication, 1995). Exposure to campus events, the women's movement and response to student needs on campus developed women's interests and involvements. "People became involved; it wasn't necessarily that they started out with a feminist banner but because they were women in a time of change" (Kurth, personal communication, 1995). Kurth spoke of many women as experiencing a transition into women's issues, their campus involvements often being the catalyst of those transitions.

Lord's name soon became intricately linked with the names of Marty Begalla, Pat Ball, and those of other women leaders' on the University of Tennessee's campus. She was a speaker at the "Psychology of Sex Role Development" and at the "Focus on Change: Men and Women at the Crossroads" conferences later in 1973 (Lord, 1979; "No Pedestals" ..., 1973). In the latter three day conference, Dr. Judith Long Laws of Cornell University challenged traditional concepts of marriage in a keynote address (Wash, 1973). She encouraged women to establish their

own identities and not to spend their lives as a satellite, basking in the reflected glory of a husband and his position (Wash, 1973). These conferences, and ones to follow, began to examine and challenge the narrow and rigid traditional roles imposed on both males and females through socialization, introducing ideas of a male mystique and a men's liberation movement also on the horizon (Wash, 1973).

Marty Begalla and Pat Ball, representing the Office of Women's Programs, were soon traveling to speak at conferences at other University of Tennessee branches. Both were keynote speakers at a May, 1973, conference at the University of Tennessee at Martin, "New Images: Women and Men in the '70s". This conference was designed to explore new roles of women and men in the present society (New Images..., 1973). Dick Nash spoke here, too, on a man's view of the women's movement. He became interested in women's issues through the program office. "I was a women's libber before my time in some ways.... I changed as a result of being involved in that office", he said (Nash, personal communication, 1998). Sharon Lord spoke at a UT Martin program, "Women Setting the Pace" (Women Setting ..., 1972). The program office staff developed, worked with, and were speakers for other related conferences and programs at the Chattanooga and Memphis campuses (Begalla, personal communication, 1995; Ball, personal communication, 1998).

In the winter of 1973, Marty Begalla was the opening speaker at a full-day program "New Career Directions for Women" on campus ("Women's Career Program"..., 1973). That fall, the Office of Women's Programs, in conjunction with the UT Women's Activities Committee and the UT Evening School, began a statewide program of conferences relating to women's opportunities and careers. The first, "New Directions for Today's Woman", was held at the West Town Mall in Knoxville, as well as in banquet and conference rooms within the mall and across the street at The Ramada Inn (New Directions..., 1973). The conference was designed

"to acquaint women with the opportunities available to them in the areas of education, employment and community service within the Knoxville Community" (New Directions ..., 1973). It provided occupational and educational information from University and community organizations in booths throughout West Town Mall. Additionally, there were related speakers in the conference rooms, special exhibits, testing centers, workshops, doorprizes, and even free babysitting at a nearby church. The conference was exciting and highly successful (Begalla, personal communication, 1995; McLoughlin, personal communication, 1998). Similar programs were repeated at Martin, Morristown, Memphis, and Tullahoma, Tennessee (Little, personal communication, 1998; New Directions ..., 1973).

This was just the beginning of conferences and programs with a career focus. The spring conference, April 23-25, 1974, "Women: New Resource for Business and Industry" was sponsored in part by the Office of Women's Programs and the Career Planning and Placement Office (Lumsden, 1974). Its purpose was to encourage greater utilization of women in all aspects of the labor force through a series of lectures, workshops, and discussion groups (Lumsden, 1974; McLoughlin, personal communication, 1998). Noted national speakers included Eliza Paschall of the EEOC, U.S. Department of Labor, Robert Burgin, the Vice President of TRW-Industry, and Dr. Cynthia Epstein from Queens College (Women: New Resource ..., 1974).

Mary Ellen McLoughlin, UTK Associate Director of Career Planning and Placement, said these career-related conferences, plus many other workshops, programs, seminars and sessions, were two-fold in purpose. First, they were created to help women make an informed career choice and to provide them with more information. Second, they were designed to help recruiters and employers broaden their attitudes and concepts about recruiting and hiring women (McLoughlin, personal communication,

1998). Invitations were sent out from the UTK Placement Center to recruiters and employers, hoping they would attend and be provided with new information and skills on recruiting, hiring, and training college women for the labor force (Lumsden, 1974). Many conferences had a large attendance of employers and students alike, the two able to interact in many situations (McLoughlin, personal communication, 1998). Exact numbers or names of those in attendance could not be found. Regarding the interactive efforts between the Placement Center and the Office of Women Programs, McLoughlin (personal communication, 1998) said:

> "From 1973 to 1975 all of these programs just naturally led to the Office of Women's Programs; we were constantly doing programs together....In the early 1970s recruiters were white male, the placement office at UTK was very male focused.... The recruiters came in and wanted to see all the guys who were graduating, and their vision of recruitment didn't include females very much.... Our programs were to raise awareness, to give women support.... There was a lot of punishment for women trying new roles.... It was an overwhelming process for women just to gain entry and to be taken seriously in the interview setting".

In 1975, Caroline Bird, noted feminist and author of Born Female and Everything A Woman Needs To Know To Get Paid What She's Worth came to UTK. She was the primary speaker at a two day conference sponsored in part by the Office of Woman's Programs entitled "Changing Images: Personal and Professional Lifestyle" (Changing Images..., 1975; Nolan, personal communication, 1998). The Women's Coordinating Council had been formed that year as a direct outgrowth of the Office of Women's Programs and Susan Nolan, its first chairperson, remembered this conference as one of the first the Council helped plan and coordinate. "We had a packed house at that conference....It was a good period of time to be at UT as a woman" (Nolan, personal communication, 1998).

Some men became excited about this changing time at UTK as well. Warren Farrell, author of the books The Liberated Male, Why Men Are The Way They Are and The Myth of Male Power, claimed that the Men's Movement of the 1990s actually started in Knoxville in 1975, shaped by one of the 1970s women's conferences centered around the subject of masculinity (Neely, 1996). It spawned the first National Conference on Men and Masculinity in 1975, held at the University Center at UTK, at which Warren Farrell was the keynote speaker and Sharon Lord the conference Co-Director (Neely, 1996; Lord, 1975; Lord, 1979; Lord, personal communication, 1998). Farrell was quoted as saying: "There was a wonderful spirit to the whole conference. In one way, it was the beginning of the men's movement. It was the first really national conference on men" (Neely, 1996). According to Farrell, the Knoxville conference also started a group now known as the National Organization of Men against Sexism and was the source for the magazine Changing Men (Neely, 1996). He alleged that both genders are oppressed by sex-role designations and that both men and women need liberating (Neely, 1996). This was a persistent theme in Lord's campus speeches, publications, and University classes, and she was a popular speaker with both males and females (Lord, 1979; Connolly, personal communication, 1998: Lord, personal communication, 1998; Scott, personal communication, 1998).

The Task Force and Other Involvements

The Office of Women's Programs was involved in a number of significant historical efforts and events during its years of operation. One of the earliest of these was the campus-wide task force study on the status of women at the University of Tennessee (Task Force on Women, 1972). This was initiated by Chancellor Archie Dykes in 1971, as a result of several factors. First, a group of "students went to see

Chancellor Dykes and requested that he do something to improve the status of women students at UTK, and his response was that there would be a task force on women" (Kurth, personal communication, 1995). Dykes told UTK students that he wanted to be "sensitive and responsive to the interests and concerns of students" of the 1970s, that he knew they were "more aware of and sensitive to the social, cultural and economic issues of the larger society" and "more committed to doing something about them" (Thomas, 1970; "New UT Chancellor Speaks...", 1971).

Second, individual faculty members and administrators had also approached the Chancellor about discrimination regarding women on the campus and suggested a task force study (Lord, personal communication, 1998). In addition, two University publications had been publicizing incidences of sex discrimination since 1970 and putting pressure on the UTK administration for responsive action. These publications were the UTK student newspaper, The Daily Beacon, and a quarterly newsletter, "Frankly Female" generated out of the Dean of Student's office (McIntyre, 1970; Matthews, personal communication, 1998). Finally, the University had been investigated by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare two weeks before Chancellor Archie Dykes initiated the task force study in November, 1971. Formal charges of sex discrimination were subsequently filed against the University of Tennessee in May, 1971 (Van de Vate, 1972). Dr. Dwight Van de Vate, a Yale graduate and UTK professor in Philosophy, called UTK's Task Force study a direct "result of having the U.S. government breath down their necks for blatant discrimination" (Van de Vate, 1972).

Task Force Is Formed

Chancellor Dykes appointed nine individuals to the Task Force on Women, including three administrators, three faculty members, and three

students (Kurth, 1995; Wickersham, 1995). It was not noted whether the students were in graduate or undergraduate school. "It was a mix of men and women and a mix of levels" said administrative task force member, Barbara Wickersham (personal communication, 1995), and "chaired by Dr. Lida Barrett, the first woman head of the math department at UT". Wickersham (personal communication, 1995) said the purpose of the Task Force on Women study was "to figure out what the problems were and to make recommendations about what could be done". Barrett said the task force was initiated to deal with sex discrimination problems before they came to a crisis state, to study the status of women at UT, and to recommend action to assure equality of treatment (Van de Vate, 1972; "Dr. Barrett Given ..." 1973; Barrett, personal communication, 1998).

Marty Begalla was one of the three administrators appointed to the Task Force on Women, said the year-long study consumed a large portion of her time and the time of other staff members in the Office of Women's Programs (Begalla, personal communication, 1995; Task Force on Women, 1972). The task force collected and utilized statistics, questionnaires, interviews, and open hearings in their year-long investigation and found widespread discrimination at the University of Tennessee (Cantor, 1972a; Task Force on Women, 1972). Members of the task force said that working with the study educated them to the facts and extent of discrimination at UTK and influenced their future teaching and involvements (Lord, personal communication, 1998; Wickersham, personal communication, 1995; Begalla, personal communication, 1995; Reese, personal communication, 1998).

The published task force study (Task Force on Women, 1972) documented inequities and discriminatory practices in admissions, financial aid, advising, University-wide programs and services, salaries and promotion. It asked for revisions of discriminatory policies and practices and called for a comprehfnsive plan of affirmative action at

UTK. Recommendations of the Task Force on Women asked for an expansion of the programs and services of the Office of Women's Programs and for an increase in the office's funding. It commended the Office of Women's Programs for leadership and guidance concerning women in both academic and co-curricula areas. The task force study, completed in 1972, asked for the initiation of a women's studies program at UTK and for the creation of a permanent Commission for Women on campus to continue to investigate inequities, to reeducate students, staff and faculty on issues of sex discrimination, and to recommend and enforce redress (Task Force on Women, 1972; Cantor, 1972a).

The task force study and subsequent faculty, departmental, athletic, Title IX, and gender-issued studies uncovered specific data and sexist practices that made many departmental and administrative units within the University uncomfortable and defensive (Lord, personal communication, 1998; McLoughlin, personal communication, 1998; Scott, personal communication, 1998). Attorney and feminist author Bernice Sandler, in a speech on the UTK campus, called sex discrimination "the last socially acceptable prejudice" (Task Force on Women, 1972).

Many traditions and practices long entrenched and societally accepted at the University were challenged by the task force and other studies. Requested action involved policy changes, alterations in long-established methods, restructuring of programs, retraining of staff, and changes in funding practices. Jack Reese (personal communication, 1998), who had assumed the role of Chancellor in 1973 after Archie Dykes left, said these were complicated issues and not easy to resolve. For example, Reese said, "it was an enormous step for the University to deal with salaries ... there were huge disparities in salaries in various places on campus". Barbara Wickersham (personal communication, 1995) said most of the reports from the Task Force on Women "were just kind of shelved with few recommendations ever coming into effect despite all the

data that were gathered.... Everything cost money and maybe that was part of it, plus attitudes stood in the way of many areas and traditional ideas about women". Most recommendations were never fully implemented.

Controversial Issues

The Task Force on Women and other efforts that the Office of Women's Programs were heavily involved with created areas of conflict. "In the schools, who wouldn't say they wanted all their students to achieve as much as they can", said Nan Scott, a codirector of the Appalachian Center for Educational Equity at UTK (personal communication, 1998); "but then when they realized all the change and work it would mean, the attitudes changed". Through the Appalachian Center, Scott (personal communication, 1998) developed and field-tested affirmative action materials in diverse educational settings in east Tennessee and in the UTK College of Education's Educational Psychology and Guidance Department in the early 1970s. "In some ways people were not as threatened in the beginning as they were later", according to Scott (personal communication, 1998). Referring to the administrators, teachers and faculty with whom she interacted, Scott explained, "it was at the forefront of change, and people thought 'well, sure everybody should have equal rights', but later on came the realization that if some people that hadn't been empowered before got power, where was it going to come from. ... Someone either had to lose it or share it and there was suddenly not as much willingness to do that" (Scott, personal communication, 1998)

Some areas were so controversial that the Office of Women's Programs could not directly be involved in them or take a side in them as an administrative unit (Begalla, personal communication, 1995; Nash,

personal communication, 1998). Abortion was one such area since it dealt with legalities until *Roe vs. Wade* and *Doe vs. Bolton* in 1973 and was involved with continuing public controversy after that (Goldstein, 1979; Nolan, personal communication, 1998). Lesbianism was another sensitive issue, although gay women's groups were forming on campus and often gathered at the Office of Women's Programs and placed literature on their organizations and activities there (Hruz, personal communication, 1995). Many campus women activists belonged to and supported the Knoxville chapter for the National Organization for Women (NOW), but the Office of Women's Programs could not promote that organization administratively, partly because of its controversial local involvements (Connolly, personal communication, 1998). Many grassroots organizations had conflicts with professional organizations in the beginning, particularly with receiving support and funding, explained Connolly (personal communication, 1998), and the Office of Women's Programs had to "walk the line carefully in all that".

Gender issues were very new, and any new issue opening up, like sexual harassment, that was resisted at first, because people were uncomfortable in discussing it and had trouble accepting that it was so prevalent, might later become acceptable for involvement within the University when it became more socially acceptable and had policy built around it (Connolly, personal communication, 1998; Griffin, personal communication, 1996). Women's program administrators often experienced the shift of public and then institutional support firsthand in issues and efforts. For example, open discussion about subjects like breast cancer and breast examinations, subjects thought private and inappropriate for explicit public discussion in the early 1970s, soon received societal sanction and were openly encouraged in the University community (Nolan, personal communication, 1996; Hruz, personal communication, 1996). Sometimes these attitudinal shifts went in the

opposite direction, from being accepted to resisted. This was somewhat true with support of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA).

The Equal Rights Amendment was passed by the U.S. House of Representatives and then by the U.S. Senate in March, 1972, and was sent to the states for ratification. The ERA, in section one, and quoted by Asbury (1982) in a Knoxville-News Sentinel article, stated: "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex". Majority public sentiment in Tennessee was initially in favor of the Constitutional Amendment. It passed the Tennessee legislature and there were rallies in support of the ERA at UTK (Cantor, 1972; Nolan, personal communication, 1998). Mayor Kyle Testerman even officially proclaimed November 9, 1972 as "Knoxville Day for Women" (Eakes, 1972). The Office of Women's Programs openly supported the ERA and brought in speakers to advance its platform. The office was a central supportive hub for information on the ERA, as well as for active women's lib groups supporting the ERA like the Feminist Coalition and Women Involved Today (Eakes, 1972; Bolton, 1972; The Volunteer, 1973; Nolan, personal communication, 1998; Begalla, personal communication, 1995). Twenty-six of the 38 needed states had approved ratification by early 1973 (Pines, 1973). But things began to change when a backlash started against the ERA, and the public mood began to shift (Asbury, 1982). This left the University and the Office of Women's Programs in a difficult position.

Many prominent and wealthy community women began to speak out and organize openly against the ERA after 1973 ("Two Coordinate for Stop-ERA", 1975; "Rep. Smith Wants ...", 1973). The local newspapers began to carry the pros and cons of the issues (Pines, 1973; Ayres, 1973; "Two Lawmakers Give ...", 1973; "Rep. Smith Wants ...", 1973). Things began to look particularly testy when Phyllis Schlafly, national chairperson of the STOP ERA movement, came to Knoxville to speak in December of

1974. She was met at the airport by Mayor Kyle Testerman and given the key to the city (McFeatters, 1975; "ERA Would Hurt ...", 1974).

Demonstrations continued on at UTK in support of the ERA (Woods, 1975a; Goans, 1974). However, Tennessee, as a state, began to consider rescinding its former vote for the ERA and to lean back toward the opposing side (McFeatters, 1975; "Two Lawmakers Give ...", 1973). The University and the Office of Women's Programs soon found themselves on the declining side of public support on this issue, which in turn affected their support and favor on campus and in the community. Participants echoed again and again how linked or connected efforts and involvements of the Office of Women's Programs were to the politics of the times (Begalla, personal communication, 1995; Kurth, personal communication, 1995; Ball, personal communication, 1998; Connolly, personal communication, 1998; Scott, personal communication, 1998).

The Office of Women's Programs, as an administrative unit of the University, was linked to the controversial political areas of the 1970s, to aims of fundamental social change, and to personal views and perspectives regarding gender. As Marty Begalla (personal communication, 1995) explained, "it's not like we were making widgets; everything we did had some kind of a personal bent to it". A Ford Foundation study of women's program offices on college campuses noted: "Women's programs touched economic, political and social issues that challenged many accepted public policies and traditional life styles" (Women's Coordinating Committee..., 1979). By its very nature, the Office of Women's Programs at UTK stayed enmeshed in social and institutional controversy, conflict, and transition. "Things were changing at UT, but it was not all roses, I can tell you that", said Assistant Coordinator Pat Ball (personal communication, 1998). She added: "It was very interesting some of the messages we got from male colleagues.... Some of them were very supportive but some of them wished

we had just a little less energy and would just be quiet a little more.... They wondered why we simply couldn't be average and get along.... However, once University women got a taste of the fact that change could occur and that they could be equal, there was no stopping them".

By 1975 controversial aspects related to the women's movement, the Equal Rights Amendment, and women's issues nationally and locally were being more readily voiced. Tennessee had rescinded its support of the Equal Rights Amendment, and a growing conservative element was beginning to put pressure on social institutions to tread carefully in regard to continuing institutional gender changes (Asbury, 1982; Tennessee Commission on the Status of Women, 1976). Passage of sex-equity legislation began to slow down in the nation and in the state of Tennessee. A Knoxville News-Sentinel article claimed that although there had been mandates for change since 1969, the status of women in Tennessee society as a whole had changed only minimally and was now stalled (Siegelbaum, 1974). Reports of the Tennessee State Commissions for Women detailed opposition that progressive women's groups and leaders were beginning to face across the state (Tennessee Commission on the Status of Women, 1976; Tennessee Commission on the Status of Women, 1977). According to the Fourth Annual Report of the Tennessee Commission on the Status of Women (1977), roadblocks were being placed before the Commission's efforts on almost every front. This included the Commission's ongoing efforts toward eliminating sex discrimination practices and furthering affirmative action plans in state institutions of higher learning.

As the public view swayed away from whole-hearted support of continuing advancement of women's rights, the cause of new programs on the University of Tennessee campus were hurt. According to Wickersham (personal communication, 1995) and Carini (personal communication,

1998), many projects designed for implementing change were stalled or shelved by the administration. Universities also began to see that penalties for not not complying fully to Title IX legislation deadlines were not being enforced (Aquila, 1981; Friedan, 1977). According to Berger (1980), this took pressure off postsecondary institutions to move rapidly to complete already stalled compliance measures. University leaders began to feel less compelled to continue the campus institutional changes begun from the recommendations of the Task Force on Women or in compliance with Title IX legislation regarding women students (McLoughlin, personal communication, 1998).

Administrators at the University were also concerned about public support and needed public endowments. Following the national and political example, they began to back off or hold place regarding areas of gender change. Kurth (personal communication, 1995) had said the Office of Women's Programs was a "try and see venture" by the University administration from the start. Nash (personal communication, 1998) said that the Office of Women's Programs had been set up begrudgingly from the beginning by social and political pressure. As 1976 arrived, the new women's office began to face a greater lack of support from the University administration than at its initiation, despite its record of success and accomplishment on the University campus. Hruz (personal communication, 1995) claimed the administration had always just been waiting for the chance to close the Office of Women's Programs. In 1976, it finally happened.

Closing of the Office of Women's Programs

The Office of Women's Programs closed in the summer of 1976 before Fall Quarter began. The Office of Special Services, of which the Office of Women's Programs had been a part, was also disbanded, and only the

Office of Minority Affairs continued in operation at the University of Tennessee in the fall. There was a lot of controversy surrounding the closing of the program office (Lord, personal communication, 1998; Begalla, personal communication, 1998; Carini, personal communication, 1998). The sudden way in which it was closed was particularly remembered and criticized (Ball, personal communication, 1998; Hruz, personal communication, 1998). Dick Nash (personal communication, 1998) recalled being angry about the way the closing was handled; "I really think if it had been done in a more orderly, gradual way it would have been better, but one week there it was, and one week later you've heard the rumor it's not going to be there, and the next week you aren't there".

Employment records (1998) from UTK's Office of Human Resources Management show that Dr. Martha Eagleton Begalla and Dr. Patricia Ball changed employment titles July 1, 1976 with the start of a new fiscal year. This was evidently when the exact closing took place. Dick Nash (personal communication, 1998) said he was able to keep both Marty Begalla and Pat Ball on at the Counseling Center for awhile; "Marty was transferred to our budget and our office in the counseling center when we moved to the old health center building (or Student Clinic) in the summer of 1976". Marty Begalla's title changed from Coordinator, Women's Programs to Psychologist, Special Student Services in the Counseling Center; Pat Ball's title changed from Assistant Coordinator, Women's Programs to Counselor, Special Student Services in the Counseling Center (Employment Records, 1998).

Marty continued doing program development for a short time at UTK and then left to work at the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) in Career Planning, Management and Organizational Development (Begalla, personal communication, 1995; Nash, personal communication, 1998). Pat continued working a little longer at UTK through the Appalachian Center and the

Ombuds office. She taught women's studies courses in the College of Education's Educational Psychology and Guidance department while Sharon Lord was on sabbatical (Ball, personal communication, 1998; Scott, personal communication, 1998). Then she left the University to become Director of Public Affairs for the Mayor and City of Knoxville (Hoffman, 1981; Ball, personal communication, 1998). Many talented women leaders left the University in the time period shortly after the Office of Women's Programs was closed (McLoughlin, personal communication, 1998; Carini, personal communication, 1998).

Why It Happened

No records document the Office of Women's Program's closing, or tell why the office was closed or who made the decision to close it. According to an article in the UTK Daily Beacon, the Office of Women's Programs began to be limited in scope in 1975. Some of its autonomy was reduced, and it was incorporated more directly into the Student Counseling Center in the fall of 1975 (Poh, 1975). Poh did not report which administrative office made these decisions. A report released by Chancellor Reese fall quarter 1975 included proposals for drastically reduced services, programs, and general resources for women on campus; it also included funding and staff cutbacks for the Office of Women's Programs (Poh, 1975). Protest immediately erupted from women faculty and students, women's offices, and organizations over this report (Kurth, personal communication, 1995; Lord, personal communication, 1998).

Suzanne Kurth, a professor of sociology at UTK and a member of the UTK Commission for Women, was reported in the Daily Beacon as saying that tentative proposals for cutbacks had already been rejected by the Commission for Women earlier in the summer of 1975, followed by a mass

resignation of all the Commission members (Poh, 1975; Kurth, personal communication, 1995). McLoughlin (personal communication, 1998) remembered heated protest meetings of women leaders with administrative leaders in 1975 and 1976. Sharon Lord had a confrontational meeting with Chancellor Reese over the proposed administrative cutbacks which she termed unsuccessful; she followed up with a series of written protests published in the student newspaper (Lord, 1975; Lord, personal communication, 1998). Lord blasted the UTK administration for planning to phase out programs and services being provided by the Office of Women's Programs rather than expanding them; she encouraged a campus protest response to pending cutbacks, broken commitments, and administrative inaction regarding women's issues and problems (Lord, 1975). Reese responded to these and other charges with his own Beacon column "From the Tower" in which he reported the progress that had been made for women at UTK (Reese, 1975). He listed steps he intended for continuing improvement for women on campus, including strong encouragement for special programming for women.

Despite the debate and intents, cutbacks did occur before the next fiscal year. The counselor for women at the Career Planning and Placement Office was phased out and the Office of Women's Programs, rather than being cut back, was simply closed (McLoughlin, personal communication, 1998). Individuals directly involved in the closing of the Office of Women's Programs called its shut-down politically motivated (Nash, personal communication, 1998; Ball, personal communication, 1998; Begalla, personal communication, 1995). According to Nash (personal communication, 1998) and Begalla (personal communication, 1995), the Office of Women's Programs had been operating actively and successfully, even on a shoestring budget. It had become more visible on campus and in the community, and its leaders had attained admiration and acclaim regionally and nationally (Begalla,

personal communication, 1995: Lord, personal communication, 1998; Ball, personal communication, 1998).

"Officially it was Vice Chancellor of Student Affairs Howard Aldmon's decision to close the Office of Women's Programs; unofficially it was primarily Phil Scheurer's", said Dick Nash (personal communication, 1998). Phil Scheurer was the Director of Student Affairs at UTK. According to Administrator Barbara Wickersham (personal communication, 1995), there were two main issues involved in the move on Phil Scheurer's part to get the Office of Women's Programs closed and moved under his jurisdiction and control with a new name. The first was that Scheurer "wasn't supportive of women's issues and changes; he didn't see things as they did" (Wickersham, personal communication, 1995). The second, according to Wickersham (personal communication, 1995) was that Scheurer was "gaining and seeking power; it was a power play to get another administrative unit under his command".

Chancellor Reese (personal communication, 1998) said his memory was imperfect about the closing of the Office of Women's Programs. "I'm sure what I was doing was trying to respond to suggestions from student affairs", Reese said. Scheurer declined to be interviewed for this study, but his Assistant Director of Student Activities, Maggie Carini, talked with me about that time. Maggie Carini (personal communication, 1998) affirmed that it was primarily Phil Scheurer's move to close the women's program office, to move it under Student Activities. Carini claimed there was not really a budget problem and a forced cutback as projected. She said the funding cuts were meant to effectively eliminate the Office of Women's Programs and to make it look like the University administration was "noble" later on, recreating a women's office under Student Activities as the Women's Center, "saving women's programs, doing the best for women". The new women's center was already being planned before the Office of Women's Programs closed.

In the written proposal for the Women's Center submitted by the Student Activities office, regrets were expressed for the then proposed reduction of the Special Services staff in Women's Programs and for the loss of an office and staff identified specifically as a resource area for UTK women (A Women's Center ..., 1976). It proposed the development of a Women's Center under Student Activities as a resolution to a loss of women's services on campus. Carini (personal communication, 1998) said that proposal was part of a clever and strategic plan on Scheurer's part. She said Scheurer told two other women employees and herself to issue the proposal so that it would appear as though the idea of the Women's Center under Student Activities was instigated by campus women and not by Scheurer himself (A Women's Center..., 1976; Women's Center ..., 1987). Carini (personal communication, 1998) emphasized that the idea and intent to move the Office of Women's Programs under the Student Activities department came ahead of any proposals to cut their staff and budget. "All of this was done to make the proposal of a Women's Center look like a solution" (Carini, personal communication, 1998). In Carini's perspective (personal communication, 1998) Scheurer wanted power and was ambitious. "He wanted to jockey things in student affairs around until he could have authority over them, so that their gains could be his gains; he'd make it sound like it was for another unit or organization's good when it was for his" (Carini, personal communication, 1998).

Multiple voices attributed the closing of the Office of Women's Programs to a power play on the part of Phil Scheurer in Student Activities (Carini, personal communication, 1998; McLoughlin, personal communication, 1998; Wickersham, personal communication, 1995; Nash, personal communication, 1998). These negative attitudes persisted into the 1980s. Campus women leaders opposed Scheurer's nomination to Vice Chancellor of Student Affairs in 1985, and Dr. Mary Jo Hoover, a

professor in the College of Law, resigned in protest as Chair of the Commission for Women when Phil Scheurer was selected (Gibson, 1985). Former Chancellor Reese (personal communication, 1998) said: "Phil has never been popular with women in general on campus".

I could find no one to support Scheurer's actions, and it is unfortunate that his viewpoint could not be presented. Sharon Lord (personal communication, 1998) said administrators above Student Activities were well aware of what was happening, and that the closing of the Office of Women's Programs could not be attributed to any one person alone. According to Lord (personal communication, 1998), Scheurer did not perceive he was doing anything wrong, just restructuring as he'd been told; the concept was not that the office was being closed but that it was being restructured. According to Assistant Director Carini (personal communication, 1998), Scheurer often assumed the role of "whipping boy for the upper administration"; he took the heat and attack for them in decision-making, especially in unpopular things, deflecting anything controversial they didn't want credited to them in areas of student affairs. Carini (personal communication, 1998) said: "that's why they can say if you ask them, 'Phil Scheurer was responsible for that'. Chancellor at the time, Jack Reese (personal communication, 1998) maintained that he could not remember specific details of the issue now, but that it was a student affairs matter and that he did not interfere in it. He said there was probably a little truth in all the stories, with the actual truth more than likely somewhere in the middle (Reese, personal communication, 1998).

Aftermath of the Closure

Press articles in the Beacon and the Knoxville News-Sentinel tended to present the subsequent Women's Center in the Student Center as

an innovative, first office for UTK women (Norris, 1976; UT To Have Women's Center, 1976; Gardner, 1976; Akchin, 1976; Hoffman, 1981). They cited its functions and purposes as through they were being initiated and performed for the first time, not mentioning that the Office of Women's Programs had existed previously at the University or that it had been doing the same activities and fulfilling the same role for five years. This information was consistent with information in the written proposal for the Women's Center generated by the Student Activities office, and with information purposely provided to and reported by the press (Carini, personal communication, 1998; A Women's Center..., 1976). According to Carini (1998), the past history, vision and accomplishments of the Office of Women's Programs were purposely downplayed. Because of the controversy surrounding the closing of the Office of Women's Programs, a special effort was made to positively introduce the new women's office, the Women's Center, that would be its campus replacement.

Knoxville News-Sentinel writer Sherri Gardner (1976) wrote that with the organization of the UTK Women's Center, women of the University community would finally have "a place to call their own". In fact they already had a place. The larger "place of their own" that UTK women actually wanted was not an adjoining room and office next to and under the authority of Student Activities, located remotely up on the third floor of the new Student Center (Wickersham, 1995). They had more space and visibility than that in their existing facility on Volunteer Boulevard. What they wanted was an actual house on campus to accommodate the Office of Women's Programs - already called by many the Women's Center at UTK - plus the fledgling, but growing women's studies program, the Commission for Women, and the library resource center and information center which had been created by the Office of Women's Programs (Begalla, personal communication, 1995; Ball, personal

communication, 1998; Carini, personal communication, 1998; Scott, personal communication, 1998; Connolly, personal communication, 1998).

It is interesting to note who gained the house that the Office of Special Services and the Counseling Center once shared. The 1978 Volunteer yearbook has a two page spread on the Black Cultural Center which resides in the little brick house at 812 Volunteer Boulevard. Its new director told its history for the yearbook, without mention of its prior link with the Office of Special Services and its partner program within that office, the Office of Women's Programs (Volunteer, 1978). The yearbook coverage did not tell that the Office of Minority Affairs ever shared space or worked closely with women's programs or that its directors were linked for years in their activities. The account also did not mention Ralph Boston, the first director of the Office of Minority Affairs. According to Dick Nash (personal communication, 1998), Ralph Boston, never got the credit and recommendation he deserved for all he did in getting the minority affairs office established.

The new, united Office of Minority Affairs and black studies, established an information center, workshops, developmental and educational programs, a resource library, and a place for campus groups, in the house at 812 Volunteer Boulevard, strengthening their efforts and works to continue to advance equal opportunities for black students at the University (The Volunteer, 1978; The Graduate Catalog, 1997-98). The Office of Minority Affairs and the Office of Women's Programs started with similar goals, and both wanted a campus house of their own in which all their growing administrative and curricular programs could be united (Hruz, personal communication, 1995; Ball, personal communication, 1998). By 1978, the Office of Minority Affairs had succeeded. By 1978, the Office of Women's Programs had been disbanded, the various women's programs and efforts scattered around campus and no longer united. Over twenty years later in 1999, this is still true.

The UTK Women's Center

The Women's Center opened at the University of Tennessee in the fall of 1976 in Room 301 of the new University Center (Akchin, 1976). It is still there at the close of this study in 1999. As Dr. Sharon Lord predicted, the University administration brought in an advisor for the new center who knew nothing of the previous history of women's issues at UTK (Lord, 1975). Cynthia Straud, a recent masters graduate from Ohio State University, was appointed to the position of Program Advisor for the activities of the Women's Center ("UT To Have Women's Center", 1976; The Women's Center Newsletter, 1976). The Women's Coordinating Council was also reorganized and a screening for its membership held (Norris, 1976). Details about how Women's Coordinating Council members were chosen was not given. The listed goals of the new Women's Center were the same as those of the former Office of Women's Programs: to plan programs for women, to house a media resource collection, and to provide an information exchange service for all types of women's activities on campus (A Women's Center..., 1976; Carini, personal communication, 1998). Phil Scheurer, director of the Student Activities Office and the Women's Center, was quoted as saying: "If it does nothing else, we hope the Women's Center will provide a place for women to become aware of the opportunities open to them" (Norris, 1976).

A plus for the Women's Center was that it would now be financed by student activity fees and supposedly have fewer financial constraints with a $6000 budget (Akchin, 1976). According to Akchin (1976), being moved under the jurisdiction and direction of Student Activities also meant that it would have more hierarchical restrictions and less autonomy. "The programming office lost much of its autonomy when it was moved" said Dick Nash (personal communication, 1998), "and the office became more tightly scrutinized and dictated to". He said a tighter

rein was put on what the women's office could and could not do. "A much more limited women's center came into being" said Dr. Suzanne Kurth (personal communication, 1995), "much less than people originally envisioned ... the women's center vision was compromised".

However, the Women's Center endured at UTK. It changed advisors about every two years from 1976 through the 1980s, and has had a succession of advisors, coordinators, and directors in the years to date (Hodson, 1997; Ferrar, 1978; Reilly, 1981; Hoffman, 1981; Carini, personal communication, 1998; Wickersham, personal communication, 1995). The Student Activities office continued its practice of choosing each new advisor for the Women's Center from applicants outside UTK and outside the state of Tennessee (Lord, personal communication, 1998; Griffin, personal communication, 1996). Gradually, over the next ten years, the staff of the UTK Women's Center staff was reduced from a full-time salaried staff to part-time graduate assistantship staffing, according to Women's Center director, Karen Griffin (personal communication, 1996). Graduate student staffing has kept a constant turn-over of leadership going in the UTK Women's Center. Sometimes there have been stretches of a year or more without any Women's Center leadership. The same old problems of limited staff and funding have persisted since the 1970s (Griffin, personal communication, 1996).

Women's Center Today

The Women's Center today still has the same goals initiated in 1976 and transferred over from its predecessor, the Office of Women's Programs. These are listed in the UTK Women's Center brochure (1996) and were confirmed by center director Karen Griffin (personal communication, 1996). As of 1999, the Women's Coordinating Council still exists and is advised by the Women's Center in providing women's

programming on campus; this is the same council in concept that Marty Begalla created and advised through the Office of Women's Programs in the 1970s (Nash, personal communication, 1998; Griffin, personal communication, 1996). The Women's Center and the Women's Coordinating Council still do many of the same programs and activities yearly that were begun by the Office of Women's Programs in the 1970s, such as providing women's films, women's topic speakers, the Her Cafe series, Women's History Month, Brown Bag seminars, Women in the Arts, and career events (Women's Calendar, 1996; Ball, personal communication, 1998; Griffin, personal communication, 1996).

Some liason with the Rape Crisis Center of Knoxville continues. The Rape Crisis Center, renamed the Sexual Assault Crisis Center in 1986, is well-established in Knoxville today and is a United Way member agency (McCaster and Kogen, 1993). "Take Back the Night" and Rape Awareness Week are annual events of the two offices, dating back to days when these and other related events were initiated by the Office of Women's Programs and the Rape Crisis Center working together (Nolan, personal communication, 1998; Newsletter of the Knoxville Rape Crisis Center, 1979). The Sexual Assault Crisis Center in Knoxville is the only one of its kind in east Tennessee, committed to providing support and advocacy to those who have been sexually abused or assaulted (McCaster and Kogen, 1993; Connolly, personal communication, 1998).

According to Women's Center Director Karen Griffin (personal communication, 1996) and Director of Student Affairs Mark Constantine (personal communication, 1996) many ties that were once strong between the UTK Women's Center and other women's groups and organizations on campus and in the community have gradually faded. Griffin (personal communication, 1996) explained that by the time a new Women's Center Director comes in, gets established in the Knoxville area, and begins to learn about University and community women's programs and leaders, it is

time to graduate and move on. Time constraints are a problem, too, with a half-time student director having to handle every aspect of the Women's Center, advise the Women's Coordinating Council, work with campus organizations, and assist with Student Affairs events (Griffin, personal communication, 1996; Constantine, personal communication, 1996). Griffin (personal communication, 1996) carried a twenty-hour assistantship at the Women's Center, tuition and fees paid with a stipend of about $120 a week for twelve months. She often put in many additional day and evening hours a week without compensation in her director's role attending meetings and events, giving talks, meeting with the Coordinating Council, filling a seat on the Commission for Women, picking up and entertaining speakers, and counseling students.

Student Activities Director Mark Constantine (personal communication, 1996) applauded the job Karen Griffin had done as the Women Center's director, adding that the position needed to be a full-time salaried one as it had been earlier in the Women's Center's history. When Griffin came as Director of the center in 1990, the Women's Center had been without an advisor or director for several years and had declined in all areas (Griffin, personal communication, 1996). She worked diligently to get the Women's Center going again and was proud of the progress made, possibly staying with the Women's Center longer than any other past director (Griffin, personal communication, 1996; Constantine, personal communication, 1996). However, when Griffin left the position in August of 1996, no advisor was hired to replace her for over a year (Hodson, 1997; Griffin, personal communication, 1996). Again, the new Director chosen was an entering masters student, coming in on a 20 hour per week student assistantship, and able to give only limited hours to directing the Women's Center. Like other past directors, she was from out of state and unfamiliar with women's programs and the history of women's issues at the University of

Tennessee (Hodson, 1997; Griffin, personal communication, 1996: Lord, personal communication, 1998).

Other Limitations and Strengths

Neither the Director of Student Affairs, the Director of the Women's Center, the chairperson of the Women's Coordinating Council, or any of its members had ever heard of the Office of Women's Programs when first spoken with at the beginning of this study (Constantine, personal communication, 1996; Griffin, personal communication, 1996; Ward, personal communication, 1996). All of them were unaware that any women's office had predated the opening of the Women's Center in 1976. Files, a scrapbook, and information available in the Women's Center's records do not give any history of a previous organization (Griffin, personal communication, 1996). The Women's Coordinating Council was unaware that it had predated the opening of the Women's Center and been created by Martha Begalla and the program office earlier in the 1970s (Ward, personal communication, 1996). The only remains of the prior Office of Women's Programs was the resource library, stored after the program office closed, and moved over to the Women's Center when it opened later in 1976 (Carini, personal communication, 1998; Nash, personal communication, 1998). Other files and records of the Office of Women's Programs had been destroyed, however, Griffin gave me one old box of assorted materials, predating the Women's Center and designated to be discarded. Within it were many interesting documents, old fliers, and reports from the 1970s, which often mentioned the Office of Women's Programs within them.

The Women's Center of the 1990s is far less than what it was when initiated in the 1970s, diminished in staffing, budget, operations, and student involvement (Wickersham, personal communication, 1995;

McLoughlin, personal communication, 1998; Carini, personal communication, 1998). It is open Monday through Friday from 8:00 am to 5:00 pm, but on a typical day no more than two or three students enter the Women's Center except for occasional Women's Coordinating Council members (Griffin, personal communication, 1996). The latter are required in their bylaws to give volunteer hours to the Women's Center each week (Ward, personal communication, 1996; Griffin, personal communication, 1996). The Women's Center Director may sometimes be in her office adjoining the Women's Center when not participating in outside events, but the reception desk in the Women's Center is usually unstaffed. When students walk into the double doors of the Women's Center, they cannot see into the director's office. Students who might come in to the center often may not see anyone on hand to assist them or talk with them. Books, journals, and expensive media are also being stolen regularly from the center resource library since no one is available to protect them from theft (Griffin, personal communication, 1996; Constantine, personal communication, 1996).

On the positive side, the UTK Women's Center continues to work to advance the needs of women and to provide meaningful educational programming for women on campus despite limited resources and staffing. It continues to add to its resource library, to provide referral help to University women, to bring in speakers on topics of interest to women, and to create conferences, workshops, and interest fairs (Griffin, personal communication, 1996; Constantine, personal communication, 1996). The Women's Coordinating Council, although small and all volunteer, puts in extensive hours in program and event planning, trying to create educational and interesting events and presentations for women (Griffin, personal communication, 1996). Many council members give additional hours of their time to work at the Women's Center as needed, in the Women's Studies office and in other women's programs and events

on campus (Griffin, personal communication, 1996; Ward, personal communication, 1996; Goslee, personal communication, 1996).

Campus and Community Programs Today

Many campus and community women's programs begun in the 1970s have diminished through the years and struggle with staffing and funding today. Other programs, like the Rape Crisis Center (now the Sexual Assault Center) and the Women's Athletic Department, have strengthened and grown (Clark, 1995; McCaster and Kogen, 1993; Begalla, personal communication, 1995). By the mid 1970s progress in women's issues and programs at the University of Tennessee and throughout the state of Tennessee began to be influenced by an increasing backlash (Associated Press, 1984; Commission on the Status of Women, 1976). The University of Tennessee, like other institutions of higher learning, was linked to and influenced by the changes and pressures exerted by other social institutions nationally and locally and by the predominant and prevailing public view (Associated Press, 1984; Antler, 1995; Matthews, personal communication, 1998; Murray, 1983). UTK was and is a southern institution nestled in what many term the Bible belt, an area of the country more heavily influenced in its views and politics by what is perceived as Biblical correctness in actions and ideologies (Ball, personal communication, 1998; Matthews, personal communication, 1998). Entrenched societal concepts of the image of the southern lady also have swayed attitudes in Tennessee (Siegelbaum, 1974; Associated Press, 1984). Finally, as the women's social movement nationally began to become more dominated by the radical branch of the movement rather than the equal rights branch, conservative groups, and institutions began to find themselves embroiled in conflicting viewpoints (Connolly, personal communication, 1998; Matthews, personal communication, 1998).

Women's programs and women's centers, nationally and at the University of Tennessee, tended to retain allegiance to and to support the tenets embraced by the overall national women's movement even as it shifted to a more radical stance nationally (Ball, personal communication, 1998; Griffin, personal communication, 1998; Coggins, personal communication). Their joint belief that women should be allowed personal choice about their own lives and bodies demanded that knowledge and awareness of all women's choices be available and accepted, including options often unpopular with conservative groups and with the backlash movement (Younger, personal communication, 1998; Connolly, personal communication, 1998). As mentioned previously, political alignments greatly affected the Office of Women's Programs, and they continued to affect the Women's Center and other women's programs on the University of Tennessee campus and in the Knoxville community (Morris, 1976; Lord, 1979; Griffin, personal communication, 1998; Scott, personal communication, 1998). Women's centers, by nature, have dealt with, and still deal with, the personal lives and personal concerns of women students on campus, and yet, these same issues are also highly political (Begalla, personal communication, 1998; Lord, personal communication, 1998; Carini, personal communication, 1998).

Politically, by the mid 1970s the sweep of public favor toward the women's movement and women's programs began to shift (Wickersham, personal communication, 1995; McLoughlin, personal communication, 1998). Where the early 1970s had brought questions of 'why have we been doing things as we have regarding gender?', the mid seventies brought new questions asking 'should we go this far in societal changes regarding women?' (Ball, personal communication, 1998). According to McLoughlin (personal communication, 1998) and Scott (personal communication, 1998), people tended to be very supportive of the concept and ideals of equal rights for girls and for women until they realized the extensive

societal changes that would be needed to accomplish the changes, how much time, work, money, and power rearrangements would be involved. When these issues also began to move toward highly controversial areas, the public in Tennessee, as in other states, began to balk and withdraw earlier support they had given to women's centers and the women's movement (Connolly, personal communication, 1998; Haxton, personal communication, 1998; Carden, 1977; Jepsen, 1984; Mottl, 1980).

An example of this was the issue of abortion at the University of Tennessee and in the Knoxville community. Abortion was not a part of the early 1970s women's agenda at the Office of Women's Programs, and even open discussion and advocacy of birth control was a new issue of that era (Ross, personal communication, 1998; Nolan, personal communication, 1998). However, after the Supreme Court legalized abortion in 1973, abortion became an increasingly used method of birth control. Matthews (personal communication, 1998) said it was a highly contentious issue in the UTK community in the 1970s even though it had been going on illegally in the area for years. The Volunteer illustrated the heated division of opinions in 1976 with its two page coverage in the yearbook entitled "The Abortion Controversy".

Conservative groups were shocked over the University's even partial support of abortion, despite the legalities that demanded that support, and there was alarm and disapproval over the opening of the East Tennessee Women's Clinic, the first area clinic built primarily to perform abortions, near the boundaries of the University campus on 15th and Clinch (McCormack, 1981; Matthews, personal communication, 1998; The Volunteer, 1976). According to a ten year employee of the Knoxville Center for Reproductive Health on Clinch Avenue, who wished to remain known only as "Alice" (personal communication, 1998), the East Tennessee Women's Clinic was later shut down by the state of Tennessee for grossly unethical and illegal medical practices, and that clinic has no ties to

the current women's health center on Clinch. As of 1999, there are several agencies in existence around the campus and Knoxville area offering pregnancy testing, counseling, and pregnancy termination, but the controversy over abortion is ongoing ("Alice", personal communication, 1998; Women's Center Referral Directory, 1996). Because the Women's Center has and does support abortion legislation and abortion as a choice for women, it has received and still receives disapproval from many conservative groups and from individuals within the University for doing so (Griffin, personal communication, 1998; "Alice", personal communication, 1998).

In the 1980s the Women's Center, many women's organizations, and campus programs became dominated by women students with views leaning to a more radical or liberal, nontraditional ideology (Milam, 1985; Wickersham, personal communication, 1995). This factor, plus campus programs' inclination at that time toward a more radical platform of beliefs in allegiance with the national women's movement and the National Organization for Women, discouraged participation of more traditional, conservative women students (Matthews, personal communication, 1998; Ross, personal communication, 1995; Griffin, personal communication, 1995). According to Constantine (personal communication, 1996), the center seemed to lose touch with the majority concerns of University women. This was unfortunate since the goal of the Women's Center and women's organizations on campus was to be an arena in which all women students could be welcome, active, and equally served (Report of the 1979-80 Commission for Women, 1980; Constantine, personal communication, 1996; Griffin, personal communication, 1998).

As diversity diminished, a loss of broad-based student support and interest in the Women's Center and women's programs occurred (The Volunteer, 1976; Reilly, 1981; Connolly, personal communication, 1998; Griffin, personal communication, 1996). Interest groups began to

dominate. The Women's Center and other campus women's programs developed an image-problem that is still unresolved (Constantine, personal communication, 1996). Women's Center directors since the mid 1970s have struggled to draw a broader diversity of women students back into Women's Center activities at UTK (Akchin, 1976; Reilly, 1981; Hoffman, 1981; Griffin, personal communication, 1996; Constantine, personal communication, 1996). These are the same problems other campus Women's Centers, women's programs and organizations have struggled with nationally (Haxton, personal communication, 1998; Coggins, personal communication, 1998; Younger, personal communication, 1998).

Besides a loss of public support, women's programs in general also began to suffer a loss of funding. Funding for women's programs, which rose dramatically in the early 1970s, began to decline after the mid 1970s (Women's Coordinating Committee ..., 1979). Monies from private foundations and from state and federal agencies, which had collectively given millions in grants to help eliminate sex discrimination and advance opportunities for women, began to withdraw their funding in the late 1970s and early 1980s (Scott, personal communication, 1998; Avent, 1981; Women's Coordinating Committee ..., 1979; Nash-Pitts, personal communication, 1996). At the University of Tennessee, many women's programs began to feel this pinch. For example, the federal funding for the Appalachian Center for Educational Equity at UTK was completely withdrawn in 1978 and the funding given to another project not related to women's equity (Lord, personal communication, 1998; Scott, personal communication, 1998). The center, which had operated successfully for several years with a generous budget and salaried staff, in spacious offices in Alumni Hall, was forced to close (McLoughlin, personal communication, 1998).

National and state legislation favoring women's equity began to slow down, support for the Equal Rights Amendment began to pale, the

backlash movement gained momentum, and public support for women's issues waned (Women's Coordinating Committee ..., 1979; Haxton, personal communication, 1998; McFeatters, 1979). A study by the Southern Regional Council in 1978 concluded that, with the current slowdowns and setbacks, it might take fifty years or more for women to advance to any nearly equal status regarding opportunities, status, and pay ("Blacks, Women Way Behind ...", 1978). According to Suzanne Kurth (personal communication, 1995), a less optimistic spirit and social view had begun to prevail nationally; people were just less enthusiastic that change could be made than they had been in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

The Knoxville Women's Center

The Knoxville Women's Center had organized and opened as women's causes and issues were still popular and on the rise early in 1975. Marty Begalla, Coordinator of the Office of Women's Programs, was on the organizing board of the Knoxville Women's Center (KWC) and continued actively on their board for several years (Begalla, personal communication, 1995; "Knox Women's Center Opens ...", 1975; Knoxville Women's Center Scrapbook, 1975-1996). The center attained local and federal funding and moved to ample and well-appointed quarters in the Ely Building on the corner of Church Street downtown (Weeks, 1995; Knoxville Women's Center Scrapbook, 1975-1996; Connolly, personal communication, 1998). The center's W.O.R.K. (Women's Opportunities and Referrals of Knoxville) program, a state-funded project, became particularly well-known and successful. It cooperated with the Tennessee Department of Employment Security and offered employment counseling, training, and job placement for women (Nash-Pitts, personal communication, 1996; Weeks, 1995). Many UTK students did practicum and volunteer work through the KWC at the Ely Building, through the Office

of Women's Programs, women's studies courses, and other University women's programs (Begalla, personal communication, 1995; Connolly, personal communication, 1998; McLoughlin, personal communication, 1998).

In 1981, the Knoxville Women's Center's federal and state funding were simultaneously lost leaving the KWC in desperate straits (Carter, 1989; Avent, 1981; Weeks, 1995). Their funded budget went from over ninety-seven thousand dollars to zero in one year (Avent, 1981). The center was unable to obtain any equivalent funding and never recovered from the financial losses of the early 1980s (Nash-Pitts, personal communication, 1996; Connolly, personal communication, 1998). The center's downtown building and central location were lost, their operations and staffing drastically curtailed (Knoxville Women's Center Scrapbook, 1975-1996; Nash-Pitts, personal communication, 1996). Today the KWC is located in two old classrooms upstairs at the Moses School building in a less accessible and somewhat rundown area of town. In 1996 as I was working on this study, the director and administrative assistant were resigning because of hours and funding cutbacks (Nash-Pitts, personal communications, 1996).

The center is greatly diminished in operations, support, and visitation since the 1970s. Yet, the Knoxville Women's Center does continue (Weeks, 1995; Carter, 1989). New administrative staff was subsequently hired at the center, the W.O.R.K. training and employment project continues on a limited scale, and the KWC can claim to be one of the few remaining community women's centers still open in the United States (Connolly, personal communication, 1998; Scott, personal communication, 1998). It still serves women in the Knoxville area, and many women formerly involved in the Office of Women's Programs are still active supporters of the center, having served on its boards and participated in its events in the ensuing years since the 1970s (Walldvogel, personal communication, 1995; Connolly, personal

communication, 1998). President Clinton's working group on welfare reform named the Knoxville Women's Center a model program in helping women for over twenty years (Robinson, 1996). Jane Weeks, one of the founders of the KWC, has continued, throughout the 1980s-1990s, to express optimism about the Women's Center and the future for women's continuing gains in Knoxville (Weeks, 1995; Ferrar, 1985).

UTK Women's Studies Program

There is definitely more awareness today regarding women's studies on the University of Tennessee Knoxville campus than there was in the 1970s (Collins, 1985). As mentioned earlier, the first women's courses were offered through the Office of Women's Programs and then under Dr. Sharon Lord in the College of Education's Educational Psychology and Guidance Department. An unofficial minor in Women's Affairs was available through that department in the early 1970s until an official interdisciplinary minor in women's studies became approved in 1974 (Philpo, 1982; Lord, personal communication, 1998; Connolly, personal communication, 1998)). The UTK women's studies minor, developed in the College of Liberal Arts (now the College of Arts and Sciences), consisted of twenty-four quarter hours, or six courses, from various academic programs ("Women's Studies ...", 1974; Kurth, personal communication, 1998; Collins, 1985).

Feminist theory was not new but its initiation into academic disciplines in the 1970s was (Clark and Patella, 1997). The curricular concept presented in early women's studies, emphasizing that gender roles and social relations are not natural but contingent on history and culture, was innovative in the 1970s (Connolly, personal communication, 1998; Lord, personal communication, 1998; Clark and Patella, 1997). Women's studies in the 1990s, as an undergraduate and graduate

discipline, is one of the youngest in academia, and its full acceptance in the academic field is still not complete (Goslee, personal communication, 1998; Clark and Patella, 1997).

The women's studies program at UTK today (1998-1999) offers a fifteen-hour women's studies minor and a thirty semester hour major for a Bachelor of Arts in Women's Studies. The women's studies program is an interdisciplinary program in several departments, listed under the College of Arts and Sciences (Goslee, personal communication, 1998; Women's Studies, 1996). Twenty-seven courses are included in a broad arena of curriculum areas including literature, history, psychology, rhetoric, law, music, religion, education, development and cross-cultural studies. There are 29 UTK faculty members listed as instructors in women's studies (Women's Studies, 1996; Goslee, personal communication, 1998). In explaining the program, The UTK Undergraduate Catalog (1998-99) states on page 91:

> "Women's Studies encourages inquiry into the full range of the human experience by raising new questions and opening new areas of research concerning women. The discipline enriches the traditional Arts and Sciences curriculum by adding new perspectives on women's lives and accomplishments. Women's Studies can broaden the education of both male and female students by helping them to understand the limitations placed on both sexes by narrowly defined sex roles. Wherever there is a need to understand women and an interest in the new role they are playing in society, Women's Studies can enhance a student's career preparation and opportunities".

Women's studies classes at UTK are made up predominately of female students, the majority with a feminist perspective (Goslee, personal communication, 1996; Philpo, 1982; Griffin, personal communication, 1996). Anne Austin, a 1982 graduate assistant in UTK women's studies was quoted as saying that "most people take a women's studies course to fulfill their own interests" (Philpo, 1982). Few male students take women's studies courses (Philpo, 1982). In 1982, Bob Cooper, a UTK law

school graduate who minored in women's studies, was quoted as saying: "It was a different kind of experience ... some of the women were anti-male and so were some of the texts we used" (Philpo, 1982). New issues of debate nationally and at UTK center around whether women's studies should broaden its foundational theories and curriculum approaches, perhaps considering gender in totality, including studying men (Clark and Patella, 1997; Philpo, 1982).

Overall nationally, women's studies has fared somewhat better than women's administrative programs and centers, and this is true at the University of Tennessee (Griffin, personal communication, 1998; Haxton, personal communication, 1998; Younger, personal communication, 1998). The National Women's Studies Association, founded in 1977, related academic professional organizations, and the well-established journals relating to women's studies have helped bring unity and professionalism to the new academic discipline (Younger, personal communication, 1998; Goslee, personal communication, 1998; Clark and Patella, 1997).

Dr. Nancy Goslee, professor of English at UTK, was chair of the women's studies program in 1996 (Goslee, personal communication, 1996; Women's Studies, 1996). She was not active in women's issues in the 1970s and had never heard of the UTK Office of Women's Programs before we met (Goslee, personal communication, 1996). Her involvement began later. She recalled that the women's studies program had been granted a small house on Lake Avenue for its academic offices in the 1980s, and in 1996 was moved to the main floor level of another house on Terrace Avenue (Goslee, personal communication, 1996; Collins, 1985). Goslee said the old house had leaked and had fallen into disrepair. The new ground floor quarters are spacious, having a large reception area, a conference room, a library, two offices, a work room, a bathroom, and a kitchen with an eat-in area (Goslee, personal communication, 1996). A tour of the new facility in 1996 showed that after six months, boxes

were still being unpacked, pictures were unhung, files were not set up, and the offices were empty of staff or visitors and largely unutilized.

Accessibility to the women's studies house and offices was limited; it had a marginal location, was not well-known, and was open only a few hours per week (Constantine, personal communication, 1996; Goslee, personal communication, 1996; Ross, personal communication, 1998). The office was open two hours a week on Wednesday mornings in the summer of 1996, and Dr. Goslee opened the office those hours and staffed it herself (Goslee, personal communication, 1998). There was no receptionist or administrative assistant help, even part-time. An answering machine handled the telephone and took any messages. Funding for even graduate assistantship help had been lost in 1996, and Dr. Goslee did not expect funding for even a ten-hour assistantship the coming fall. A lack of administrative support and funding for the women's studies program had existed for several years, limiting its opportunities to develop, to grow, or to serve students in any of the ways it might envision (Goslee, personal communication, 1996; Cook, personal communication, 1996; Griffin, personal communication, 1996).

Commission for Women at UTK

In addition to hours in the women's studies program and the English department, Nancy Goslee sat on the Commission for Women at UTK, as did Women's Center director, Karen Griffin (Goslee, personal communication, 1996; Griffin, personal communication, 1996). The creation of a Commission for Women was recommended by the Task Force on Women in its 1972 report (Task Force on Women, 1972; Wickersham, personal communication, 1995). The first commission began on January 8, 1973, and the Commission for Women was still serving the University in 1998 (Commission for Women Annual Report II, 1974; Reese, personal

communication, 1998). Early commission member, Barbara Wickersham, (personal communication, 1995) said the commission was first called the Commission on Women, but she suggested a name change to Commission for Women so their initials wouldn't spell "Cow". "Women were having enough trouble as it was being taken seriously then; we didn't need to give anyone ammunition to make fun of us with" (Wickersham, personal communication, 1995).

The Task Force on Women in 1972 had recommended that the Commission for Women's duties include compiling and presenting annual reports to the UTK Chancellor regarding the status of women on campus and on the continuing progress made in eliminating discrimination at UTK (Task Force on Women, 1972). Members of the first Commission for Women included both men and women administrators and professors plus a graduate student representative (Commission for Women Annual Report I, 1973; Begalla, personal communication, 1995). Active women leaders Dr. Lida Barrett, Dr. Sharon Lord and Dr. Martha Begalla, the Coordinator of the Office of Women's Programs, served on the first commission. Begalla continued on subsequent commissions until she left the University in the mid 1970s (Begalla, personal communication, 1995; Commission for Women Annual Report I, 1973; Commission for Women Annual Report II, 1974).

The 1996 Commission for Women newsletter stated that the commission was "appointed annually by the chancellor to advise on planning, implementation and evaluation of university programs, policies, and services designed to improve the status of women" (Networker, 1996). Norma Cox Cook, professor in Speech Communications, was chairperson for the Commission for Women for 1995-96. Cook (personal communication, 1995) had never been informed about the existence of the Office of Women's Programs since she had been on the UTK campus; she was appalled that she taught women's courses, was heavily involved in women's issues and the Commission for Women but had

not been acquainted with this office's history or contribution to women.

The Commission for Women, still an active organization on campus in 1998, was continuing its work to improve the status of women on campus and to increase the representation of women within all areas of the University (Commission for Women, 1998). The commission, made up of faculty, administrators and students, met monthly and had five standing committees; it published a semester newsletter and worked to encourage women's research, to develop women's leadership and to support campus women's services (Griffin, personal communication, 1996; Commission for Women, 1998). The Commission for Women was continuing to forward their recommendations to the chancellor regarding policies as they concerned women on the UTK campus, but commission members said that few of their recommendations had been acted on (Kurth, personal communication, 1995; Griffin, personal communication, Report of the 1979-80 Commission for Women, 1980; Networker, 1996).

Other Related Offices and Organizations

Many services, once handled in full or in part by the Office of Women's Programs in the 1970s are now handled by other campus offices and organizations. Many of these did not exist in the 1970s. The office of Re-Entry and Non-Traditional Students works with adults transisting to University life through a variety of services including advising, seminars, and workshops (Thompson, personal communication, 1996; Networker, 1996). The office of Diversity Resources and Educational Services offers aid and educational programs for women or men regarding sexual harassment and other issues of discrimination (Mee, personal communication, 1998; Networker, 1996). Student Counseling Services does broad-based student counseling and advising for all students. Where it once struggled to even have a female counselor, it

now has several and offers many counseling groups, non gender-specific, which help women students (Watson, personal communication, 1998; Nash, personal communication, 1998). According to Griffin (personal communication, 1995), mentoring programs on campus also benefit women students in the 1990s, and many campus departments and groups continue in gender research efforts.

Women's programs at the University of Tennessee overall in the late 1990s are a mix of forward advances and setbacks, the "half-full, half-empty glass" (National Advisory Council ..., 1981). The changes and gains for UTK and community women can not be diminished or overlooked, but the needs for further advances and changes can not be ignored, either. Twenty years after the Task Force on Women study of 1972, the UTK Commission for Women did a follow-up study (Kurth, personal communication, 1995). The overall results were somewhat disheartening in light of the limited accomplishments made on task force recommendations to correct inequities and improve the status of women at the University of Tennessee (Kurth, personal communication, 199; Griffin, personal communication, 1996).

Martha Begalla (personal communication, 1995), having recently read results of a UTK study showing existing salary inequities between male and female professors, was appalled to learn that such large inequities still existed after more than twenty years. In 1998 at the University of Tennessee, the overall average salary for female professors was $48,254 versus $61,470 for male professors. By gender distribution, where 68.5% total faculty at the University were male, only 31.5% faculty were female (Fact Book..., 1998). In addition, many aspects of Title IX have never been implemented at the University of Tennessee, despite the deadline for those implementations having passed long ago (Matthews and McCune, 1977; National Advisory Council ..., 1981; Wickersham, personal communication, 1998). On the other side,

many advances for women can be pointed to. There are increased percentages of women faculty and women administrators at the University. A greater number of academic avenues are open to UTK women students today, and female students have more equity with male students in campus student life (Reese, personal communication, 1998; Fact Book ..., 1998). Many strides forward have been made to advance the status of women at the University of Tennessee, but as Wickersham (personal communication, 1995) said, "the change is still inch by inch, row by row".

CHAPTER V

PARTICIPANT EXPERIENCES AND THEMES

Chapter Four outlined the historical development of the 1970s Office of Women's Programs at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. In this chapter, the experiences of the individual study participants who worked in or with that office are described. As explained in Chapter Two, the data from participant interviews were utilized as oral sources within the narrative history of the Office of Women's Programs, and then they were studied separately from the written data and analyzed thematically. An inductive process was used to organize the data from the participant interviews into seven themes or categories (Patton, 1980). In Chapter Five, each theme is described, participant data are presented to support each theme, and an analysis or discussion of each theme is offered. Emphasis was placed, as Shimahara (1988) and Marton (1981) suggest, on the unique, singular perspectives of each individual. Shimahara (1988) stressed letting the interview data itself tell how people defined their reality. The inclusion of extensive raw data in this study captures individual voices or perspectives and, also, records and preserves these voices historically. It provides what deMarrais (1996) terms a thick, rich, descriptive voice.

Chapter Five begins with a brief introduction of the twelve study participants, followed by a description of the seven themes that emerged from the data. Each theme is presented and discussed, incorporating supportive data from participant transcripts. The raw data from participant interviews have been taken apart and then reunited into a schema or planned arrangement (Tesch, 1990). After all seven themes are presented, a short summary closes the chapter.

Study Participants

As discussed in Chapter Two, primary oral participants in this study were located through existing records and network sampling. Participants were purposefully selected who, according to Creswell (1994), could best answer the research questions. They were each individuals who had worked as administrators or staff members in or in direct relation to the Office of Women's Programs or who had first-hand knowledge about the focus of the study. An attempt was made to interview participants with a broad range of involvements and roles to give full voice to various perspectives.

A listing of the twelve participants was previously given in Chapter Two and is also provided in the Participant Chart in the Appendices of this study (see Appendix D, Participant Chart). Among the twelve men and women interviewed for this study were all of the primary staff members of the Office of Women's Programs. These included: Coordinator of the Office of Women's Programs, **Dr. Martha (Marty) Eagleton Begalla**; Assistant Coordinator **Dr. Patricia (Pat) Ball**; Secretary for the Office of Women's Programs and the combined Office of Special Services, **Becky Malone Hruz**; and the supervisor of the Office of Special Services and Director of the Student Counseling Center, **Richard (Dick) Nash.**

Four University administrative and faculty members who worked closely with the Office of Women's Programs were also interviewed. These included **Dr. Jack Reese**, UTK Chancellor from 1973 to 1990, and **Barbara Wickersham**, Administrative Task Force member and later Commission for Women Chairperson. Wickersham was also editor of the Learning Research Institute at the University. Also interviewed were **Dr. Suzanne Kurth**, professor in the University's Sociology Department, and **Mary Ellen McLoughlin**, Assistant Director of Career

Planning and Placement. Kurth was on the first Commission for Women at the University of Tennessee and sat on the ad hoc committee that started the Women's Studies program in Liberal Arts. McLoughlin worked extensively with the Office of Women's Programs in her administrative capacity with Career Planning and Placement, which is now known as Career Services. She was later a Co-Director of the Appalachian Center for Educational Equity. This Center was the first sex-fair model training program in counseling, educational psychology, and career education set up by the federal government in the United States. Through the UTK Department of Educational Psychology and Guidance, the Center was funded by the Office of Education, under the Women's Educational Equity Act. Several women leaders who worked in or with the Office of Women's Programs became salaried employees of the Appalachian Center, including interview participants in this study, Mary Ellen McLoughlin, Pat Ball, and Nan Scott.

Interview participants **Nan Scott, Susan Greene Nolan, Glenda Ross** (now Ross Baxter), and **Susan Connolly** all worked in or with the Office of Women's Programs in student or volunteer roles. Susan Green Nolan was an undergraduate student in the 1970s and one of the first nursing school graduates at UTK. She was an early campus volunteer in the Rape Crisis Center which began at UTK, and the first Chairperson of the UTK Women's Coordinating Council formed by the Office of Women's Programs. Nan Scott, a 1970s doctoral student in an interdisciplinary major in Home Economics (now Human Ecology), worked as a graduate student with the Office of Women's Programs and later as a Co-Director in the Appalachian Center. She also was on the Commission for Women and the board of the community-based Knoxville Women's Center, which opened in 1976. Glenda Ross, a masters student in the College of Education's College Student Personnel program, did two graduate student practicums in the Office of Women's Programs and was an early member of the

Knoxville chapter of the National Organization for Women. Susan Connolly, a masters student in Social Work with a minor in Women's Affairs in the Educational Psychology Department of the College of Education at UTK, worked as a volunteer in the Office of Women's Programs. Connolly was involved with the program office and its staff in consciousness-raising groups, became the first Director of the Rape Crisis Center, and a later director of the Knoxville Women's Center.

Major Themes

Seven themes emerged from the data derived from the participant interviews. These were the:

(1) Influence of the historic era - the changes in the social, economic and political arena, the influence of the women's movement and campus activism;

(2) Aspect of consciousness-raising - a newly developing consciousness about women, their rights and roles, the influence of consciousness-raising groups, leaders, events and books;

(3) Unified spirit of the women involved - the zealous and positive attitudes, the unique cooperative and supportive spirit among the campus and community women and their efforts;

(4) Strong women's leadership - at the University and the distinctive leadership style and example exhibited by leaders in the Office of Women's Programs;

(5) Frustrations and problems - of working with women's issues on campus in this era, the financial struggles, the attitudes and opposition, and the lack of administrative support;

(6) Positive accomplishments - remembered during the Office of Women's Programs years on campus, the specific accomplishments and changes the Office of Women's Programs brought to UTK and to women

students; and

(7) Influence on the personal development - of participant lives, how the Office of Women's Programs and its leaders supported, aided and mentored individual women students, how involvement in the program office changed the lives of woman and continues to influence participants today.

Some of the participant themes relate directly to questions in the interview guide (see Appendix C, Interview Questions). However, lively discussions on the theme topics often occurred throughout the interview session as well as in response to a particular question. Some themes emerged independent of any specific question or probe. There seemed to be issues that many individuals wanted to address, discuss, and talk out prompted simply by revisiting the era of the early 1970s and remembering their work and involvement with the Office of Women's Programs. Participants were always eager to talk about the women's movement, student activism, and the social climate at the University of Tennessee in the early 1970s. Frequently they commented and elaborated on the extent of dramatic change that had occurred at the University of Tennessee in a very short period of time. They often became energized and excited in remembering what they termed a zealous, unique, and unforgettable era in UTK's history and in their own personal lives. With enthusiasm and candor, each one taught me about the program office, its leaders, related programs, and the impact of the times through our interview sessions together.

Influence of the Historic Era

When participants were asked the initial interview question, "What are your first remembrances of the Office of Women's Programs and how it began at U.T.?" (see Appendix C, Interview Questions), the influence of

the historic era on the development of the office was voiced repeatedly. Every participant except for one discussed the social, psychological, economic and political arena that was going on nationally and at the University in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The women's movement and campus activism were described as being particularly influential in causing the program office to begin at UTK when it did.

As many of the participants noted, the late 1960s and early 1970s were a historical time period in the United States in which much societal change occurred. As Kurth and Nolan both expressed, people thought they could change things, that they could accomplish social change in the 1970s. There was an optimism then that this could occur in many arenas. Kurth, a UTK faculty member and ombudswoman in the 1970s, voiced these ideas in this way:

> I had involvement with a feminist group before I came to campus and was involved in women's issues because I had an interest in them.... There was a focus on women's issues.... There was an optimism in the 1970s that people believed that they could accomplish social change. That was the tenor of the time. We were changing some fundamental things.... People became involved.

Nolan, an undergraduate UTK student in the 1970s, remembered different aspects of social change that were occurring. She said:

> It was a testing period, a trying out of our values in that period.... The movement was going on ... we were all learning how to be feminist then ... the book <u>Our Bodies, Ourselves</u> had come out and we were all really into our bodies, wearing no bras, being real free.... There was a plethora of enlightenment going on then, people saying "Hey, I've got rights, I don't have to do this anymore' ... even in our relationships, male-female relationships, we were beginning to be more equal - conscious of that.... The 'name change' then was a big issue with women, whether to change

> your name when you got married or not ... equal pay for equal work, all that.

According to Nolan and Ball, a plethora of enlightenment was going on and people were questioning many traditional beliefs and roles in the society on many fronts. Ball remembered:

> A whole lot was going on in that period in history.... Kent State had been a few years before but UT had also been a site of unrest. ... We were bursting at the seams at UT.... The women's movement was kicking in ... and women had picketed the health services.... There were just a lot of challenges, a lot of people who were saying 'why?'.

Gender was just one of these issues being challenged, explored, and looked at in new ways. Nolan and Wickersham, in particular, described how they had observed and experienced gender concepts and roles changing. Wickersham, a student at UTK in the 1950s-1960s and a University administrator in the 1970s-1990s, had a broad span of memories of changing roles at UTK. She said:

> I grew up in a male-dominated society.... When I grew up women were subordinate to men ... women had regulations men didn't have. When I first started in UT they had two achievement tests as you entered, one was for men and one was for women and they were quite different. Girls' questions were related to home economics and men's mathematics and science, and that kind of thing; women were not considered smart enough to have the same test.... Even later when I worked at UT, it was a male-dominated society as much in higher ed as anywhere else ... women were still not considered as smart as men.... Women had sexual problems, too, especially students from faculty, in demands that were put on them ... and women just weren't taken seriously in this or other problems ... like women not moving up who had the education and the experience

but were held back because they were women that was everyday then. The women were always assistant to or associate to.

> Female salaries were not equivalent ... women didn't get the credit they deserved then.... All of this, that's what women wanted to change then.... Many men then just didn't realize they were sexist, but they were; they were nice to women but condescending.... It's not that they didn't value women, its just that they didn't want them to get too far ahead.... It wasn't right, but it was the way it was.... Students then, not just women, began to think they could change things. They thought they could just turn the world around, and it was their enthusiasm and excitement that engendered a lot of positive things on campus.

Participants recognized that issues of gender were only one aspect of this era, even though this was the aspect they were most personally involved in. They expressed this in comments like: "A whole lot was going on in that period in history" (Ball), "that was a time of great student unrest" (Begalla), "there were huge changes in this period" (Reese), "it was a time of radical change" (Nash). All interviewees commented on the multiple societal changes that were going on in the time period. Begalla said:

> The women's movement was in full steam.... That was at a time of great student unrest.... All of the things you read about, campus demonstrations and all the politics that go along with that ... so we were developing something new in the face of all this political environment.

Reese affirmed this, also recalling the confrontational aspects of the times:

> There were huge changes in this period ... there were a fairly strident amount of confrontations.... I was often in uncomfortable situations with some from outside and some from inside.

As mentioned in the literature review, this understanding of multiple interacting events was not always as readily expressed in many written sources describing this era. Written accounts often failed to acknowledge the boost an activist time period gave to issues of women's equity or to describe how interactive and interrelated all the activist issues, social movements, and campus unrest of the period were. Participants, however, readily remembered being caught in the midst of multiple changes and issues all at once. As Kurth explained, "the tenor of the time" spurred the changes for women that occurred.

Although there had been a previous women's movement in the United States in the late 1800s to early 1900s, the interviewees made no reference to it. Issues concerning greater equality for women had been relatively silent in the nation for almost forty years since, so participants defined everything that happened in this 1970s activist era as "new". "Everything was new" said Connolly, "the women's movement was so young, and it was a real energizing time". McLoughlin echoed these same thoughts: "The women's movement was starting ... new ideas were being generated about women's roles ... people were either for it or thought we were crazy". Scott also made reference to all the changes occurring in the early 1970s. She said:

> There were so many changes then.... There was a lot of shifting around in roles then.... Androgyny was an issue ... people were looking at new issues then, like what effect media advertisement had on societal views regarding sex roles.... I later wrote my dissertation on that.... People were beginning to look at things in a new way.

Nash stressed that gender type issues had simply been unheard of before at the University of Tennessee and noted that the Office of Women's Programs was right in the midst of all these new gender issues and changes. He explained:

> I think women were becoming more and more interested in doing new things then.... It was very much a changing time for women on campus in this period ... gender type issues were unheard of before.... The office was in the stew of things.... It was really a time of radical change, the opening up of the feminist movement.

It is interesting in studying women's history, and the earlier women's movement, to note the similarities in the two social movements. Although most people think of the earlier women's movement just in terms of women's suffrage, male and female leaders in the 1800s-1900s addressed many of the same issues and advocated many of the same societal changes regarding gender inequity. Their focus was on reform and wider opportunities for women, not just women's suffrage (Schneir, 1972). According to several women's historians, like Banks (1986) and Deckard (1979), the early movement never totally died out. It just failed to make further notable gains or progress. Few historians had documented any ongoing feminist efforts after 1920, so it seemed to most in the 1960s as though a totally new movement with no direct links to a feminist past had evolved (Banks, 1986). Nolan said of the 1960s-1970s, "we were all learning how to be feminist then". It was the "opening up of the feminist movement" said Nash.

Women seemed to have a forgotten history and an unrecorded past of women's leadership roles (Bruijn et al., 1993; Fortier, 1995). Ross remembered her amazement in the 1970s to even begin considering that women might attain positions of leadership and power. She said:

> There was activism on the campus before there was a place for it. ... Many political groups were being formed then.... There were women activists in student government and among the faculty.... A woman professor I had in sociology at UT then said 'when the women of this world realize that they are half of this population,

> there's going to be a revolution that can't even be imagined'. This was a thunderbolt to me, it was loosed in my head. That was my first inkling ever that there was any kind of power available for women. I always knew there was another way after that.... Changing ideas like that were going on then for women.

Schneir (1972) claimed that the vast majority of women, and men, were unacquainted with struggles and achievements of the widespread women's movements in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, unaware of past women or men who had worked for women's rights or produced feminist writings, and uninformed about significant accomplishments American women had made. Ross said she "had never been taught anything about a past women's movement or women ever having power or struggling for rights or leadership". Schneir (1972) charged women had been deprived of their history and of their group identity. According to Franck and Brownstone (1995), "women have been ignored by history - and historians - for so long that many thought women had no history" (p. viii). To recapture women's history and their lost voice became a central theme in the women's movement later and became a part of the base for the development of women's studies (Ruth, 1990; Banks, 1986; Howe, 1971).

For whatever reasons, interview participants saw gender issues, the women's movement, and the changes happening in regard to women as totally new, fresh, and untried. They saw clearly the relation of these events and ideas to the historic era but not to the historic past. Connolly said:

> The women's movement was so young and it was a real energizing time ... we were just all in this force that had a common goal back then.... It was the beginning of women entering areas and positions they had not been in before.... Women were making their first entrances into positions of power.... These were struggling times over issues.... Everything was new.

Participants viewed the entire late 1960s-early 1970s period as truly innovative and certainly, exciting. They described it as like a force, a shifting, changing, challenging time, sometimes strident and confrontational, a period of new developments, issues, politics, roles, and realizations. Nolan called it "a testing period", a time for women to try out new values, come to new realizations, explore new rights.

Aspect of Consciousness-Raising

Threaded throughout responses to assorted interview questions was a continuing reference to the concept of a new consciousness existing at UTK in the time period prior to and during the years in which the Office of Women's Programs operated. This was explained as being directly related to national consciousness-raising efforts of the women's movement (Ball; Connolly). Every participant expressed thoughts on this theme. Terms like "new consciousness", "awakening", "awareness", and "enlightenment" were often used. Participants made reference to consciousness-raising groups, books, influential persons, and events that contributed to their new outlook regarding gender issues. They often inserted comments about the era being a time of questioning, of trying new things, of looking at old issues with different eyes. Dr. Tom Hood, a UTK sociology professor (personal communication, 1997), said a new consciousness occurs only when people are ready to see reality in a new way; "there is a whole school of thought that says that things don't become a problem until we think it's a problem". Participants' responses reveal that UTK was involved in examining institutional traditions and social reality in a new light. Nash said: "We were trying new things ... the main goal was enlightenment.... It started to develop more awareness on campus ... people changed as a result of being involved.... I got interested ... that area made me more aware".

Participants were keenly aware that a decided effort of consciousness-raising was going on at the University of Tennessee campus in the 1970s as well as in the nation. They knew they were linked to a national effort of women's consciousness-raising, enlightenment, education, and effort toward affecting change in the roles and status of women as a part of the women's movement. Begalla said: "Women's awareness was never at such a high peak ...we were looking at things that hadn't been looked at before ...we were doing something that was so different". Interviewees called the era: "a time of incredible consciousness-raising" (Nolan), "a time of new awareness" (Reese), and a "time to educate people to those things" (Scott).

Every participant had different memories of consciousness-raising efforts on campus. Scott specifically recalled the Office of Women's Program's role in raising general awareness and in developing consciousness-raising educational programs. She said:

> The program office raised general awareness ... there was a lot of shifting around in roles then.... People began to look at inequities they hadn't seen and been aware of before ... it was a time to educate people to those things.... I did a 'Widening Options' program with Pat Ball at other schools, like Tennessee Tech, thorough the program office.... At the Appalachian Center with Pat we developed sex-fair career-development class materials for colleges and universities across the United States ... and field-tested the materials at UT in the department of Ed Psych.... It was all about awareness, educating for change.

Wickersham echoed Scott's words that people began to look at inequities they had not been aware of before. She remembered:

> There was a new consciousness then.... I found out a lot of things I wasn't aware of.... People started looking at new issues ... why male should make such a difference.... On the Task Force

> we were to figure out what the problems were for women on campus ... one very important one was opening the doors for re-entry women.... Many professors said they didn't want re-entry people, and re-entry people came to the Ombuds office and complained they were being treated like high school kids; the Ombuds office itself was an outgrowth of student rights then.... I worked there and on a handbook regarding re-entry students.... All that was new then".

New enlightenment that was exciting for one group was often threatening for another group. On campus and at home women students faced problems in being taken seriously with new gender concepts emerging in the 1970s. McLoughlin said:

> I remember Sharon Lord did a presentation on campus and it generated new ideas about women's roles.... Later, I remember sponsoring a wide variety of programs to raise awareness.... I'd use that word awareness over and over again about the contemporary role of women then ... that was a brand new area of information to all these students coming in.... What we were doing was to raise awareness for women to make informed choices and try new roles ... to bring role models in.... Women needed a lot of support ... because they didn't have it at home.

Although participants in the study seemed to accept consciousness-raising as a significant aspect of the era, few described it as an intentional organizing tool and analytic technique of the women's social movement. Deckard (1979) has called consciousness-raising groups the intentional and effective means by which the feminist movement gained new members, perpetuated their ideas, and generated support for national issues and efforts. Interview participants were aware that consciousness-raising was occurring and that it was effective, even though they did not offer details about national consciousness-raising purposes or strategies. Ross expressed this well:

> In the early 1970s, the Women's Program Office did things to make people aware of women's issues.... There was a lot going on in that time in just consciousness-raising ... my awakening had happened with a consciousness-raising.... They did a lot of awareness kinds of things, but not just 'fluff' awareness, it was practical; the push then was to say: 'Let's make this reality; here are your tools and here are your skills; now, we're not going to do it on paper; let's practice this, and let's do that; it was very application-oriented; there wasn't a lot of theory-fluff going around, not a lot of discussion of things that were out there in the clouds; it was let's get down to the nitty-gritty; we've got a job to do; let's get women enlightened; let's get women educated and out into the professions; let's open doors".

Consciousness-raising, however, did have a specific strategy. The ideal course for a consciousness-raising group (CR group) led from discussion of feelings and experiences to analysis and then to actions (Deckard, 1979). Feminists believed that theory and analysis, if it was to be a valuable guide to action for women, had to stem from personal feelings and experiences. By that route, a woman would be led to start seeing the commonality of her experiences, how she and other women had been molded or socialized into assumptions and beliefs regarding gender (Deckard, 1979).

Socialization is a powerful tool in influencing and forming attitudes, in perpetuating social culture, roles, beliefs, and philosophies. What people know and do seems right to them with little genuine analysis (Dorfman, 1983; Stark, 1975). Gender roles had been based on specific social and physical conditions that had begun to change by the 1960s. These changes made male dominance seem increasingly more inappropriate and objectionable and, thus, sexual equality more possible and desirable (Stark, 1975; O'Neill, 1989).

Ball described this, in regard to practices at the University of Tennessee by saying:

> What was happening at UT at that time was just a matter of questioning, 'Why have we always done it this way; is there a better way?'.... There were so many things we just accepted, we didn't challenge, about how we treated men and women differently. ... It was such a machine at UT; we didn't know we, as women, could have equal treatment; we didn't even know what equal treatment was.
>
> The first time we met with Governor Winfield Dunn (Governor 1971-1975) he didn't think there were inequities in salaries or in other areas at UT; there were a lot of people that when they looked at facts just couldn't believe that UT was operating that way, that anyone at UT was still making decisions in the 1970s in an inequitable manner, and, yet, in case after case that was just the way they'd always done it ... but things began to change as people began to see.... It was exciting to see a young woman start to question for herself - maybe my future has a lot possibilities I didn't consider before ... and once women got a taste of the fact that change could occur, and they could be equal, it was 'Katie bar the door'.

As Begalla and Reese affirmed, the University started looking at things relating to gender inequity that they had never looked at before. Reese said:

> It was a time of new awareness and change.... There was an issue about gender language.... Many campus publications and newsletters changed ... the Beacon went to genderless pronouns for awhile.... Nepotism became an issue, women getting positions at UT because their husbands were there ... things we just hadn't looked at or thought about before.... Like in my own department, a good

> argument could be made that there was a grand conspiracy to exclude women authors in English over the years, and that argument has some justification; these concerns began to be examined then; it's the same across the curriculum ... that originated then.

It was not that the inequities had not existed previously, it was simply that for a complex set of reasons, linked to the social, political, and economic era of the 1960s-1970s, society became ready to look at these inequities and to examine them in a new light, to develop new theory about gender and to create societal change (Churgin, 1978; Stark, 1975).

Several participants talked of participating in consciousness-raising groups (Connolly; Ross; Scott; McLoughlin). Connolly described this experience vividly. She said:

> Women would bring a brown bag lunch and we would all get together - the old consciousness-raising groups ... and each others' support was solicited there for things going on at UT and in other women's programs and efforts.... All these programs were grassroots ... women were taking on new identities and expressing old identities and really having a forum to do that and sometimes suffering some consequences for doing that and sometimes fearful of consequences in doing that....
>
> It was such an exciting time to go to women's gatherings, to be in the company of women ... so rewarding and enriching.... It was so important then that women had their voice ... that was very empowering.... I remember feminist speakers coming to campus brought by the Office of Women's Programs ... being in the auditorium in a massive sea of not only women but men; it was so exciting.... Women were not afraid to speak out about issues in those days.... Sexual harassment was a big issue then, a new issue, and the idea of switching roles.... Rape awareness was a new issue; and we had a Take Back the Night march on campus ...

> There was a program to help older women return to school, that just wasn't done much then.... Another issue then was women always being second in consideration, 'People First and Women Second' - that was the slogan.... It was fun to learn that there were new possibilities and ideas for women.

Individuals who worked directly in or through the Office of Women's Programs were aware that they were involved in active consciousness-raising on campus through the presence and efforts of the program office (Ball; Ross; Nash). Many issues were examined within that effort. Individuals mentioned salary inequities, discriminatory language and policies, sexist curriculum that excluded women's voice and contribution, nepotism, inequities in campus programs like athletics, admissions and career center practices, sexual harassment and preferential treatment received by male students over females in many areas (McLoughlin; Connolly; Ball; Nolan; Reese). Kurth noted that the administration at UTK was looking at broad issues like affirmative action and trying to determine whether different programs were needed for men and women at UTK. She said:

> One of the things in the 1970s was whether you wanted to have different programs for males and females.... The Office of Women's Programs was a transitional office ... a try and see venture in that time.... They worked with all kinds of new issues then ... affirmative action was a huge issue; at one point the entire Commission for Women resigned over that issue.... Women's athletics was a big issue because people were trying to decide what direction it should go.... We were changing some fundamental things.

Traditional attitudes toward women - imposed limitations on what they could major in and aspire to, wear or do, how they learned and developed, and how they should be dealt with by administration and

faculty - were all being considered in a new light. Women were described by the interview participants as taking on new roles and identities, seeking new options, becoming aware of limiting traditional gender barriers, finding their own voice, realizing they could do things they had not thought they could do before, moving from passive, dependent roles to more active, independent roles on campus (Hruz; Nolan; Connolly; Ball). Nolan described her experience this way:

> My feminist journey evolved from the Office of Women's Programs. ... It was a time of incredible consciousness-raising; it was a testing period, a trying out of values in that period.... There was a plethora of enlightenment going on then ... women were sort of ripe for the picking then.... When I first went to college you could not wear pants as a woman student; by 1971, it was very different ... the dress code changed - bell bottoms, blue jeans. ... There was a metamorphosis in my boyfriend's and my relationship - 'I live here, you live here; we both make a mess; we both clean it up'; in my work I changed; I stopped doing those traditional, female-waiting-on-the-male behaviors.... I was never aware of those before.

The new consciousness led to many women at UTK becoming more aggressive to bring about gender change in their own lives, on campus and in their community. As Begalla expressed, "women's awareness was never at such a high peak". "What we were doing was to raise awareness for women to make informed choices and try new roles" (McLoughlin). "I found out a lot of things I wasn't aware of", said Wickersham. Hruz explained: "Things changed quickly.... Women just realized they could do a lot of things they didn't realize before that they could do, and it didn't take a lot of years to realize it ... you know, 'We can handle all this'.... Women just didn't know ... they just needed to be shown that they could do it".

Women became united and bonded through campus and community consciousness-raising efforts. Deckard (1979) claimed the nature of consciousness-raising groups and efforts developed an intimacy among women through the process of shared enlightenment and changing perceptions. They took a journey into a new self-awareness and social consciousness together. The women leaders who had common involvements with the Office of Women's Programs, and other gender-related programs and efforts at UTK, remembered a shared intimacy and bond that developed in the campus environment of the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Unified Spirit of the Women Involved

A theme that began to gradually unfold from the participant interviews was one of a unique and unified spirit among the women who worked together in the early 1970s with and through the Office of Women's Programs at UTK. In early interviews, women participants frequently answered questions with a "we" response rather than within an "I" framework. When clarification was sought as to who "we" included, women referred to the broadened, interlinked group of campus, as well as community, women involved in the efforts to improve the status of women at UTK and in the Knoxville area. Participants saw the individual works that each of them were involved in as only a part of a larger whole.

There was a reluctance to assume individual credit for accomplishments. Praise and applause for others, along with a collective voice acknowledging the contributions of others, echoed an intentionally unified, supportive spirit and ideology that existed among these women. It was also a part of the sisterhood ideology of the women's movement (Connolly). The antithesis, women who achieved leadership and power but would not lend continuing encouragement, support and effort to advancing other women, were termed "queen bees'

(Staines, et al., 1974; Nolan; Connolly; Ball). Participants said this "heart and spirit" were to be purposely avoided. "Just because you were a feminist doesn't mean you were immune from the 'queen bee'", said Nolan, "it's a similar thing that men do with women - keep you down, keep you subservient - I'm gonna be up here and you're going to be down there, and I'm going to be sure it stays that way".

Many participants identified this collaborative ideology and supportive work environment as one of the best parts of this 1970s era. "One of the best things I remember was our joint effort, this tremendous support ... that was part of the movement that women were isolated so the linkage or networking among women was a natural outgrowth in that time ... it was an intent then" (Nolan). This collaborative work created a support network among the women that still exists. Many participants mentioned still having deep ties and continuing involvement with other women from that era; they continue to support and encourage each other in leadership positions and they continue to help lift other women up (Ball; Connolly; McLoughlin; Begalla).

According to Schneir (1972), true feminism involves a sense of sisterhood between all women. Sisterhood was an important part of the development of the women's movement of the 1960s-1970s (Cohen, 1988). Friedan (1977) said the concept of sisterhood encouraged the unity of women to the common cause for equal rights despite their great diversity. Connolly, one of the interview participants, said, "we were just all in this force that had a common goal back then". We "were philosophically aligned", said Nolan.

Women participants explained that they were banded together in a cause in the 1960s-1970s, and that they were banded together against opposition and misunderstanding. In this more liberated era of the late 1990s, it is easy to forget the hostile resistance with which many early proponents of the women's movement were met. According to Cohen (1986)

they were described in such terms as aggressive, vicious, phony, neurotic, hysterical, selfish, and unnatural. They were sanctioned with words, attitudes and actions, either openly or subtlety. Against emotional and often irrational opposition, women instinctively banded together for support. McLoughlin said:

> Early women's programs were all interlinked.... Women needed a lot of support in being pioneers ... taking new ground, trying new roles ... you also had all these faculty women struggling.... The impact of the program office was not just in that office but in all the interworking pieces and all the people involved.... Many people were responsible all over campus in different areas; they had difficult responsibilities day to day not only doing their job but fighting the system.... The groups all held hands and worked together; 'no one could be successful if we weren't all successful' was the thought.... Even today these women who worked together then have stayed tied, stayed in relationship, still support each other ... there are a lot of women here in the community that are still bonded from that".

"Women gravitated to one another for support", said Connolly, "used each other to get over the humps, to support each other when it didn't come from outside". Wickersham candidly described the opposition women working for gender equity faced with the UTK system. She said:

> Women had to work together to get things accomplished then; it wasn't easy breaking through the patriarchal system that kept women in a subordinate place; it took unified effort to do that even a little.... The University, so many of its administrators and professors, had entrenched traditional ideas about women; I think they still do.... A lot of women who worked hard together then to bring about change were considered troublemakers, but they didn't back off and they were effective.... It's the people who

> raise a stink that get things to happen sometime.... Women had so much opposition to getting ahead that they had to support each other then - even now, but they don't as much.

Schneir (1972) wrote that social movements develop bonds for a common cause, particularly in their peak. However, these bonds still do not always endure as the ties among women at UTK have. Women participants were aware of their feminist sisterhood and common goals through the movement, but they also described a personal and unique bonding that developed among women involved with the program office. Many of those friendships and ties have endured for over twenty years. "There are still bonds from then", Ross told me. Begalla said: "I have so many ties from then. I still keep in touch with so many of those women". McLoughlin said "we have stayed tied, stayed in relationship, still support each other ... there are a lot of women here in the community that are still bonded from that" time. "It was a very special group back then", said Ball, "interlinked and supportive".

The Office of Women's Programs was defined as the heart and center of the ties that developed among the participants, and the campus and community women leaders. Connolly called the program office the "nucleus" of the linking and networking on campus and in the community. She said:

> The women's movement was so young then.... Women gravitated to one another for support and to share ideas and to get motivation and encouragement; what I remember was that we were all linked and bonded in that way and so really the titles of things, who you were, who you were connected with, was only useful when you did something politically or were keenly aware of who helped some office with power or who did not.... I can remember that we all just worked together; we were just all in this force that had a common goal back then ... and everything was interlinked through

> and with the program office. It was like the nucleus, and the linkage or networking among women was a natural outgrowth in that time. It was an intent then.... We used each other to get over the humps, to support each other when it didn't come from outside.

Hruz said the Office of Women's Programs was the hub for a network of women all over campus and in the community. A supporting, sharing, cooperative, encouraging effort and attitude was intentionally created. She elaborated:

> Groups used the program office as a place to center and gather; it was a place where all different types of women congregated. They literally developed a network all over campus.... The whole era was about respecting whatever women did, whatever choices they made; there was a unity ... there was no place for others who were critical of other people; there wasn't animosity there; even the combination of women's programs and minority affairs, it was all so supportive of each other - a real sharing of ideas and everybody helped each other out.... Everyone was respected for their abilities and their skills ... it was just that kind of atmosphere.... I loved being in the supportive role I was in, and I was supported.

Nolan said it was an "intent" of the Office of Women's Programs to be unified and to pull together with other women leaders and women's groups. She said:

> There were interrelationships between all the women's things then.... When I was with the Women's Coordinating Council the Office of Women's Programs helped us with programs and supported us.... Everything pulled together then ... it was real unified. We were all learning about how to be feminist at the time.... Those of us involved in it were intently involved ... we were philosophically aligned.

"The program office wasn't just isolated on campus" Ball said. It was intentionally linked externally to other campus and community offices and organizations. Ross described a "lot of back and forth" between campus offices and outside efforts, even international ones.

> There was a very congenial atmosphere between the Office of Women's Programs and other offices and efforts on campus.... There was a lot of interaction with black studies, those two groups; we sort of felt like we were all on the same boat, all in the same house; there was a lot of back and forth between those offices.... There was a lot of interaction with other areas, too, like international; I worked a lot with that; I headed up a program that was about women in South America.... We felt unified with other women, even internationally.... There was a lot of feeling of 'hey, us women are finally finding each other and we're working toward something and we're going to get something done and we're gonna be better people and we're going to be accepted as women, a lot of hope, a lot of positive ideas ... women working together. There are still bonds from then.

"Everything was interlinked through and with the program office" said Connolly. Internally, the program office was also unique in cooperative intent. According to Hruz, the Office of Women's Programs purposefully created an atmosphere in which sharing, helping, and supporting was encouraged, and animosity, criticism, and disunity discouraged. "Groups all held hands and worked together", said McLoughlin. Ball described an atmosphere that encouraged women to believe in themselves, have dreams, and seek to excel. She said:

> There was such a cooperative effort among women then on campus and there was an atmosphere that the Office of Women's Programs created that let us all believe we could do it ... to dare to dream.... When one succeeded we all felt like we succeeded.... We

> all felt like we were on a mission then.... There was a sense of community about it.... The program office wasn't just isolated on campus; there were lot of things going on in Knoxville and Maryville.... It was a very special group back then, interlinked and supportive.

Accounts demonstrate that a supportive network of campus and community unity and bond can be created by a single university office with effort and a right attitude. Participants' accounts were often nostalgic in tone remembering the camaraderie among campus and community women, organizations, and offices. "There was a very congenial atmosphere between the Office of Women's Programs and other offices and efforts on campus", said Ross. She later added with regret, "there is nothing like this now on campus or in the community that I know of". Scott said: "There is a lot of myth that women can't work well together, but I saw that women could work well together.... It made us a lot stronger.... We had impact on the total University for awhile.... We were unified in an important effort". The leadership of the Office of Women's Programs at the University of Tennessee purposefully created and encouraged unity and a positive environment.

Strong Leadership

A majority of participants attributed any successes and accomplishments of the Office of Women's Programs to the strong leadership of its director, Marty Begalla, and its co-director, Pat Ball. Particular emphasis was given to the leadership style of these women and to the type of role modeling they exhibited for women students in the early 1970s. Begalla and Ball commented on the kind of leadership they tried to provide through the Office of Women's Programs and on the intentional type of role modeling they attempted to exhibit.

Not one individual or participant I communicated with throughout this study had any critical or negative remarks to say about the leadership in the women's program office. Marty Begalla and Pat Ball are still held in the highest regard today and remembered with warmth and affection by all who knew and worked with them. Nash remembered being fortunate in having Begalla and Ball as co-leaders in the Office of Women's Programs:

> We had a strong staff for the Office of Women's Programs.... Marty managed the program; Pat Ball came on board later; Becky was secretary in that area.... Every once in a while I had a designated meeting.... Marty was primarily the responsible person ... We were lucky in that we had people like Marty Begalla; she had good ideas; she was good in program development and she was good at putting them on - some people are good at development but then they don't know what to do with it.... Marty was very competent, very involved on campus.... She and Pat were good resource people for the college.

Montgomery (1961) wrote that good leaders are those who have "the capacity and the will to rally men and women to a common purpose and the character which will inspire confidence" (p.10). According to Tead (1935) an effective leader can make a group loyal to a purpose and to one another within that purpose. These capacities were particular strengths of leaders of the Office of Women's Programs according to the participants. Director and co-director, Marty Begalla and Pat Ball, became respected on campus and in the community for their leadership vision, their ability to inspire others, and for their energy and determination. "They were important and respected on campus", said Wickersham. They were "strong leaders" said Nolan.

Many of the leadership attributes, ascribed to Pat Ball and Marty Begalla by interview participants, are the same as leadership traits

detailed in studies of effective leaders (Schuster, 1991; Montgomery, 1961; Tead, 1935; Bothwell, 1983; Polluck, 1994; Wills, 1994). Participants described Begalla and Ball as knowledgeable, competent, strong, energetic, enthusiastic, committed, and effective. They were termed positive and optimistic, caring, sincere, encouraging, involved and good with people. McLoughlin termed them "serious, dedicated" and "excellent role models". They worked hard and were "optimistic in the face of lots of things to do" said Kurth. "I remember how active Marty and Pat were", said Reese, "how committed they were and generally how effective they were ...on the whole, those women leaders I worked with were very sincere, very passionate and good people; what they really wanted was what was good for women students". According to Hruz:

> Marty and Pat were respected for their abilities and their skills in the women's program office.... It was recognized that they were not just people to be trifled with; they meant what they were doing, they knew what they were doing, and it was received that way; they knew their rights and even in difficulties, they knew they could only be pushed so far.
>
> I believe that the way Marty and Pat behaved themselves, conducted themselves, their professionalism, influenced the way they were taken; they were taken seriously.... It wasn't like a chip on their shoulder like you see today - 'you owe us this or you owe us that' - they went about their business, not complaining about how they'd been treated in the past as women, it wasn't even a focus; what they focused on was doing something for women now, things that meant something.... Marty and Pat worked maturely and professionally; they did what they could with what they had and tried to do more; there wasn't a lot of whining and crying; I think their professionalism moved things along more rapidly.... They were involved with so many different aspects at UT,

> helped so many people, did so much ... developed a network all over campus to send a student or to get information; there was no place they wouldn't go or they'd pick up the phone to find out.... They helped women get into programs where they had been under represented.... They worked so hard.... They were supportive and accepting of whatever women wanted to be or do, none of that militant 'you have to go a certain way or be a certain thing' that today seems to be attributed to that period of the 1970s; it just wasn't there, it wasn't like that at the women's program office. ... Women were truly supported in whatever choices they wanted.... There was nothing wrong with any of the options women wanted, to be married and have children, to have a career and children and a family, to just have a career.... They didn't push you to be what you weren't, but they helped you to see all you could be.

Begalla and Ball were said to exhibit a skillful blend of warmth and cordial congeniality coupled with mature, competent professionalism, which seemed to be especially admired. Hruz, above, described them as working "maturely and professionally" but also being "supportive and accepting", helping women to see all they could be. Ross, below, notes that Begalla and Ball were "congenial" but also "very professional":

> I remember mainly Marty Begalla and Pat Ball at the Office of Women's Programs; both of them were real interested not only in getting out of me what they needed from me but in helping me as a person; they helped me have a professional growth experience in every situation ... like they set up a mock interview session for me to help me in that area and they did that not only for me but for any woman, to help me or to help any woman.... They gave a lot of good feedback to help you so you'd be on some better footing. ... They helped you to try to overcome some of the things we'd had ingrained in us as women; I remember feeling really good by that

> kind of help they were giving.... Marty and Pat were very cordial and congenial, and it was a very warm place but very, very professional - they were very good at combining those two kinds of things....
>
> They were wonderful models in how a professional woman ought to be.... If there were any bitchy kinds of things going on, it was not known. They were not the kind of people to air that. Women weren't used to that and to being treated with respect like that - it was different.... Our baby steps were taken there in professionalism.... I think it was the first place I was taken seriously as a professional.

Participants commented that Begalla and Ball were genuine and "real", had a sense of humor, and were fun to work with. Wickersham called them "real people", not "holier-than-thou". Nolan said:

> Marty was gregarious and funny and had such a good smile.... Pat was a friend and a mentor as well as my superior in work through the program office and the Women's Coordinating Council. She is a great person; we are still close.... She and Marty taught and encouraged me so much.... They were wonderful role models when we needed that as women so much, such strong leaders; they worked so hard for women at UT to be all they could be.

Along with being "good at what they did", McLoughlin explained, "they could laugh, too". "Lots of times Marty and I would laugh with each other" remembered Ball. A sense of fun and ease were a part of Begalla and Ball's leadership strengths. McLoughlin called this one of their survival techniques in an often difficult leadership role. She said:

> I was privileged to work with Marty and Pat and the Office of Women's Programs.... Marty was in that role of being the front person; Marty had to negotiate with people all over campus. Pat got to implement.... They were both very good at what they did

> ...serious, dedicated but they could laugh, too.... Laughter was our survival technique.... Marty and Pat set a good example of valuing yourself as a woman, and they valued other women. They believed in them, encouraged their potential, cared about students individually.... They were excellent role models.

The two women were admirably credited for who they were, for what they did in their job and how they did it, plus what they did beyond their jobs on the campus, in the community and with individual women. They were leaders who extended their energy and caring beyond their prescribed job descriptions. Kurth, especially, noted their commitment and involvement to other works and programs on campus. She said:

> I knew Marty quite well.... Marty worked very hard during this time at UT; she was working on her degree and she was working on all these kinds of things, to find a niche for women's programs. ... I remember Marty as being very supportive, always willing to support other programs.... Marty and Pat were both involved with the Commission for Women and other works on campus ... optimistic in the face of lots of things to do.

As Hruz said, they did what they could and "tried to do more". She added, "they were involved with so many different aspects at UT" and "there was no place they wouldn't go" to help women get ahead, or "they'd pick up the phone to find out" the information they needed to help women and to be more effective in their jobs. They "did so much more than they had to" remembered Connolly. She said:

> I remember the personalities of the women more than the program office.... Marty Begalla, I can remember working with her on campus and through the Rape Crisis Center and the Knoxville Women's Center - so confident and capable, a good leader.... Pat Ball, I remember she got involved in the city of Knoxville; she was the first person to start the Office of Information and the

first director of that - that came directly out of her work at the University; she did a lot....

They were both so visible in everything; they helped encourage other programs and voices of women that were developing.... They were strong, supportive, good role models for women. They had respect for other women, worked together well as a team, did so much more than they had to.... They both helped form the voices of women who sensed something but didn't know what; they gave us words and a vocabulary; they helped women grow into their identity.... They made women visible on campus.

Ball, herself, said, "we felt like we were there to do whatever we needed to do"; "it was all about cheering women on to be successful". She described her experiences in this way:

Marty was the director of women's programs; we called her 'the hand in the velvet glove' - she was so good, so skillful in handling things with the administration in an effective way.... People felt comfortable around Marty.... She was bright, assertive, respected, and articulate but also very feminine and didn't come across as a woman who hated men.... I think a lot of us felt comfortable with Marty and with the Office of Women's Programs because some of the current stereotypes nationally were of women's libbers and feminists who came across as very anti-men, anti a lot of things.... Marty wasn't like that.... I liked and respected Marty and we worked well together....

Most of our vision was focused on what were the skills that women needed to be successful. If somebody had a goal the Office of Women's Programs was there to help them get to that goal.... Lots of times Marty and I would laugh with each other; we felt like we were coaches, we felt like we were cheerleaders, we felt like we were mothers, we felt like we were there to do whatever we

> needed to do.... The kind of women leader we were exhibiting as role models and that we espoused as students was the kind of woman who didn't feel like she had to make a choice between having a career and having a family, but it truly was the woman who wanted it all.... And it was not the woman who came across as being man-hating but came across as a woman who was in touch with her femininity as well as her feminist goals and her ambitions... the kind of role models that women in the South were comfortable with. Role models help, and we provided that, and we had to come up with a way of working within the system that let us be successful, too. .... It was all about cheering women on to be successful.

Both women were intentionally involved in "modeling a new role for women", as Begalla expressed it, and with purposefully working to help women become competent, knowledgeable, capable, and successful. Women, in general, lacked self-confidence and a belief in their potential for success outside the home and in the workplace in the 1960s, according to Friedan (1963). Polluck (1994) and Bothwell (1983) described self-confidence as a needed trait for achieving success and leadership. According to Weaver (1991) the development of self-esteem and a deep feeling of inner worth and potential fostered leadership ability. Friedan (1963) claimed that self-confidence and self-esteem were underdeveloped in the majority of women of the pre-1970s era. Ross, in an earlier quote, explained that women needed help to try to overcome some of the concepts and limitations they'd had culturally ingrained in them as women. According to Ross, this had been a particular difficulty in her own life. Begalla said:

> Women were looking for a new role ... and we became role models, all of us in the Office of Women's Programs.... I was fortunate to have Pat Ball and other outstanding women leaders to work with.... We helped a lot of individual women, how being a female was

> impacting their lives in many ways, in many issues ... and we worked on an institutional level because the status of women at the University was far below what it needed to be....
>
> This is a conservative area and so people wanted to make sure that what we were doing wasn't viewed as too radical; we had to work with that.... It taught me some things; I grew in conflict management. I'm a lot more able to handle controversy now.... It was a new thing we were doing. In looking back, I've always been a person who started new things. I have kind of that 1960s mentality, always on the side of the underdog. I'm somebody who always wants to make things better, have always fought against injustice.... Today, I do organizational development which is essentially making peace; I'm still at it.

A strength and intent of Begalla and Ball's leadership style was to help women find new personal and professional roles and to model those roles as well. Put simply, in Hruz' words, "they helped women". Begalla and Ball wanted to provide leadership opportunities for campus women and to encourage the development of self-confidence and self-esteem in women. Connolly said, "they had respect for other women", "they helped women grow into their identity", and "they were strong, supportive, good role models". According to McLoughlin, they "valued other women" and "believed in them", encouraging their potential. As Ross recalled, both women "were real interested not only in getting out of me what they needed from me but in helping me as a person; they helped me have a professional growth experience".

Ball and Begalla's genuine concern for women was, perhaps, a key to their leadership success. As Reese said, "they really wanted what was good for women students". They "wanted women at UT to be all they could be", according to Nolan. Begalla said, "we became role models,

all of us in the Office of Women's Programs" and "we helped a lot of individual women". This was affirmed by Scott:

> I looked up to Marty a lot. She was a good example for women, she had so much respect around the campus ... and Pat Ball was so much fun to work with because she was so energetic. She had so many visions for the future, a good networker.... They had to be strong in that time and they were ... and they were both so concerned about individual women.... They changed a lot of people's lives.

The leaders of the Office of Women's Programs were demonstrating years ahead of time the empowering leadership style that would become positively endorsed in the 1990s. Carr (1994) would call it a new trend toward organizational empowerment and a more open, spontaneous leadership style. Different from what Hossack (1993) termed the usual, contrived and cultivated, authoritarian leadership style, empowering leadership requires that leaders more readily express and share their feelings, emotions and experience. Shared authority and collaboration are encouraged as is a self-revelation and a more intimate, natural involvement not always comfortable for more authoritarian leaders, according to Hossack (1993) and Carr (1994). Begalla and Ball were both empowering leaders in the 1970s, as were some other administrators cited by the participants.

Although participants most often mentioned the distinct leadership of Marty Begalla and Pat Ball in relation to the Office of Women's Programs, other key individuals were also frequently discussed with admiration. These were all leaders remembered as being very supportive of women's growth and advancement at UTK. Interview participants especially talked about other leaders on campus in response to interview question six, asking them to tell about people they remembered that they might have worked with as related to the Office of Women's Programs (see Appendix C, Interview Questions). However, accounts of individuals who

worked for women's equity in the 1970s were also detailed by individuals the researcher communicated with throughout the research process. Interview participants and individuals communicated with in this research requested that the names of other leaders, including faculty and administrators, and the contributions each made to women's equity at UTK be acknowledged in this study.

Frequent reference was given to the Educational Psychology and Guidance Department in the College of Education (Graduate Catalog, 1972). It was remembered that this department was the first on campus to offer official women's courses to students (Begalla; Nash). College of Education Dean James D. McComas, was complimented for allowing this, and the Educational Psychology department praised for being the pioneering unit in setting up a series of women's courses (Lord, personal communication, 1998; Ball; Connolly). Sharon Lord created and taught the new classes in what later became known as 'women's studies'. She soon became a leader in emerging women's studies on campus, nationally and internationally, and a strong presence at UTK in advancing the status of women (Dykes, personal communication, 1998; Carini, personal communication, 1998; Connolly; Wickersham). Former Chancellor Reese said: "Sharon Lord could be very confrontational but she was effective".

Participants also recall Dr. Eugene Schoch, professor and head of the College Student Personnel program as being an advocate for the advancement of women and for their movement out of traditionally restrictive roles. He advised and counseled many women students who remembered him as being influential in their personal and career development (Anderson, personal communication, 1995; Ross; McLoughlin). Sharon Lord (personal communication, 1998) remembered that Gene Schoch "encouraged students, males and females, to take the women's courses". "He was very supportive to students and to women's efforts", recalled

Mary Ellen McLoughlin, Assistant Director of the Career Placement Center. Marty Begalla, Pat Ball, and Dick Nash said Gene Schoch encouraged many students to work in the Office of Women's Programs in practicums, graduate assistantships, and as volunteers in its years of operation.

The Educational Psychology and Guidance department developed an unofficial minor in Women's Affairs which many students who worked with the Office of Women's Programs were involved in (Anderson, personal communication, 1995; Ross; Scott). Some of these students were education majors but others came from colleges such as Home Economics (now Human Ecology), Social Work and Nursing (Lord, personal communication, 1998; Scott; Begalla). It was also through the Educational Psychology department that the two consecutive government grants were attained for the creation and operation of the Appalachian Center for Educational Equity on the University of Tennessee campus (Lord, personal communication, 1998; Scott; Ball).

Participants and others often gave credit to Chancellors Archie Dykes and Jack Reese for their leadership roles in allowing and supporting the Office of Women's Programs and for helping to advance the status of women at the University (Begalla; McLoughlin; Scott; Barrett, personal communication, 1998). Sharon Lord (personal communication, 1998) called Archie Dykes "a brilliant leader" and "sensitive to the need for leadership of women". Of Chancellor Jack Reese, Susan Nolan said: "Jack was such a strong supporter for women; he worked hard with them for things they were doing". Pat Ball paid both men strong tribute: "We were fortunate to have two men in Archie Dykes and Jack Reese who thought that women's rights and women's achievement was an important issue and who, just basicly, would not tolerate anything that was less than equality for women at that age. I will always be eternally grateful to Archie Dykes and Jack Reese because they showed me

that it could happen, that there were men in the world who thought this was important".

Other male administrators on campus were also remembered favorably as supportive in advancing women's rights including Ralph Boston, the Coordinator of Minority Affairs, Howard Lumsden, the Director of the Placement Center, John Prados, a professor in engineering and member of the Task Force on Women, and Dick Nash, the Director of Counseling Services (Anderson, personal communication, 1995; Wickersham; Begalla; McLoughlin; Lord, personal communication, 1998). The female administrators who were repeatedly mentioned by participants and others included: (1) Susan Gordon, assistant Director in the Evening School who worked with re-entry women, (2) Karen Swander, the first woman counselor in the Counseling Center, founder of the Rape Crisis Center, and an individual who worked with many women in and through the Office of Women's Program, (3) Maggie Carini, former assistant Dean of Women with Marty Begalla, Panhellenic Advisor, and later Assistant Director of Student Activities, and (4) Peggy Addicks, the first Director of the Women's Alumni Programs (Begalla; Little, personal communication, 1998; Walldvogel, personal communication, 1995; McLoughlin; Ball; Wickersham). Lida Barrett, faculty member and first head of the math department at UTK, was fondly remembered by many participants as giving much of her time and energy to furthering women's advancement at the University (Lord, personal communication, 1998; Begalla; Kurth). Wickersham called Barrett a woman who really knew how to get things done, a "real bulldozer" and very effective on campus; "she didn't back off from anybody".

Nolan and Begalla, among others, recalled how much Ann Baker Furrow did for women at UTK as the first woman on the Board of Trustees. Wickersham recalled that "the write-up on Furrow being appointed to the Board was accompanied by a picture of her pushing a great big baby

carriage, as if to assure everybody that she was a nice, respectable sort of woman, too". "Administrators were always worried about what would seem appropriate to most people then, people with still very traditional views about women and women's place; they didn't want to offend anyone" said Nolan.

Gloria Ray, first director of the women's athletic department and Pat Head Summitt, first women's basketball coach, were often applauded for all they accomplished for the advancement of women's athletics in the 1970s and since (Ball; Begalla; Walldvogel, personal communication, 1995; Reese). Sharon Lord (personal communication, 1998) remembered one male administrator, in early 1970s meetings discussing establishment of a women's athletic department, as saying, "Surely you don't think folks would even pay to see girls play ball". Often comments of this sort served as reminders of the obstacles women leaders and students had to overcome in making changes and advancements at UTK in the 1970s.

Women and men who were trying new, nontraditional gender roles in the 1970s often met with opposition. Office of Women's Program leaders, Begalla and Ball, remember their administrative years with satisfaction, but being initiators and pioneers in a new office, in new roles and new styles of leadership, and in multiple innovative endeavors was not without its problems.

Frustrations and Problems

Negative attitudes and disparaging comments were only a few of the frustrations and problems that participants talked about. Although in the interviews participants were specifically asked if they could recall any problems or frustrations in helping to begin or run the Office of Women's Programs (see Appendix C, Interview Questions), references to opposition and difficulties were woven throughout every interview.

According to Maggie Carini, (personal communication, 1998), Assistant Director of Student Activities in the early 1970s:

> It was always a struggle; everything to get done was an issue. Women were woefully without political and maneuvering skills then; we didn't know how to build force and to counter force. Women's areas never had any real power then. They were allowed, marginal, changed, moved around at will. Today with the knowledge, maturity and skill developed in business that I have, I would know how to fight. Many of us would now. But we just didn't then. That made it harder. We just didn't know the game.

The University of Tennessee administration had a very entrenched paternalistic system, according to Wickersham's perspective which limited women in many ways; "they had no intention for a long time of letting any woman get ahead in any way". Sharon Lord (personal communication, 1998) said she was advised not "to raise educational aspirations of women at UTK" when she came to the University as a professor; "Tennessee women are different", she was told, "they will fail". She said it was incredible the attitudes and oppositions she faced in encouraging women toward higher and more broadened pursuits and goals in the early 1970s (Lord, personal communication, 1998).

Participants cited difficulties faced as: (1) the low status of women at UTK, (2) institutional sexism, (3) an existing patriarchal bureaucracy, (4) the University's lack of perception that there were genuine existing problems regarding women on campus, (5) a reluctance of the administration and faculty to deal with problems or support women's issues, and (6) related internal strife, political problems, and the political environment that existed.

Other frustrations directly related to the Office of Women's Programs day to day operations included: the program office not being

taken seriously, it being a token office, set up begrudgingly and purposely kept marginal, the office having a low budget, small staff and limited facilities, and those in the office receiving negative sanctions and opposition for their work. One administrator gave me this explanation anonymously to try to explain the overall situation more clearly:

> One immediate problem when the Office of Women's Programs began was the University's very real lack of perception of changing societal expectations regarding women; almost nothing had been done to challenge or examine gender inequities on campus. It wasn't as though we were dealing with a problem everyone agreed on here; many people didn't see that there were any problems at all.
>
> Since most administrators and professors were male, they weren't personally experiencing gender difficulties that were unique to women. It's just a natural fact that people are quicker to want to change things that affect them personally and that they understand from personal experience. We were always bumping up against the same response with just about every area - 'I don't see the problem'. I can't tell you how many times I heard that not only then but today - "I don't see the problem'. Men, and really nice men, really didn't see the problem because it wasn't their problem. In many ways they still don't.

People do not always welcome new knowledge. For example, in an educational situation in the past in which this researcher taught students to test and analyze their home water for impurities, parents lodged complaints. As one parent said, "we were all happier not knowing what was in our water". There is an odd quirk in society, according to Dorfman (1983), that causes people not to always welcome new, enlightening knowledge that might unsettle long-established traditional thought or ways and, thus, demand behavioral and attitudinal change.

Pointing out existing educational sexism in the late 1960s and early 1970s society was not always well received (Stacey et al., 1974). "The status of women at UT was so far below what it needed to be," said Begalla, "we were working against that from the start".

Leaders in the Office of Women's Programs, and in other UTK administrative and academic areas in the early 1970s, found themselves frequently in the position of exposing 'the gender inequity that was in the University waters'. Reactions to this were not always positive. Sadker and Sadker (1994) wrote that since gender bias is not a "noisy problem", most people are unaware of its existence or of the problems it engenders. In discussing problems they faced in their work roles, participants echoed this concept of the University and society's genuine lack of awareness of sexism. Ball explained that many people, working for or associated with the University of Tennessee, just never saw ways in which women were excluded or unequally treated. She said:

> There were a lot of challenges ... this was the first time the University had said 'yes, this is an important enough issue' to do anything about ... it was such a machine at UT.... Things were changing at UT but it was not all roses.... We saw a lot of women being passed over for promotion.... It appeared that men had career paths but women didn't seem to. It wasn't easy.
>
> We had a small budget and staff.... Sometimes it was hard to get work done, there were so many women coming in ... and so many kids who came to UT had settled, never thought about all their possibilities before they had narrowed their choices; most of the time others had ruled out their choices for them.... There wasn't a very liberated view of looking at women; often women were excluded on the front end or shut out. Most people never saw ways women were excluded or unequally treated.... We were learning, too; we didn't even know what equal treatment was; we'd never had

> it ... and we had to come up with a way of working within the system, too, be nice so people weren't offended - you weren't militant, angry or negative.... You had to pick your battles.

"There was so much discrimination", said McLoughlin. "It was head in the sand or threat" for many, according to Nolan, "we dealt with those kinds of hurdles all the time ... it was frustrating". As Ball said above, "there wasn't a very liberated view of looking at women".

In the earliest days, the Office of Women's Programs, its staff, its goals and efforts, and even its presence on campus just wasn't taken seriously. "The whole idea of having a women's program office in the 1970s was not received too well", said Nash. "It was perceived as a necessary evil", "a token office", and it "did not get good administrative support from hierarchy" at UTK. People did not want "to face those issues as an institution", according to Begalla. Connolly explained it this way:

> I perceived reception of women's programs as first placating us, probably a few things sounded pretty minimal and mild, and then when funding started happening, when we started asking for money, there was resistance ... there was a struggle.... The institution, the system did not take these things seriously so there was a struggle to get something established ... when money did come it brought struggles, too, on how it was going to be spent, who's going to control it ... all sorts of strings attached on how you could spend your money or use it....
>
> People were afraid of being radical or of being perceived in that way.... There were a lot of issues like lesbianism, abortion; they created problems.... Newsletters had to be carefully read to be sure they didn't get too controversial ... that was a problem, how to walk that line.... Another issue was about when or if men should be included in things; wouldn't we be

> doing what they'd done to us by excluding them, or didn't they need to feel, to know what it was like to be excluded or barred just because of sex.... We had disagreements about that; there were struggling times like those over issues.

Participants did not discuss all the myriad details of the local and national social, political, economic, legal, or activist changes that had brought pressure on the University to respond to gender equity concerns and to create a new women's office in the early 1970s. However, most were well aware that it wasn't an altruistic concern for women's rights that had initiated the Office of Women's Programs. As Hruz said:

> Sanction for the Office of Women's Programs was sort of begrudgingly given - we were there and it had to be there; but there wasn't any joy or pride in having it there.... It was there and tolerated because it had to be there then.... Money and getting administrative support were always a problem. Sometimes all of that was hard for us ... I guess as soon as they could get rid of it they did ... then we were slowly eroded away.

"I think they probably kind of thought, just let them do their thing; this will pass, you know", said Nolan. Scott also expressed the view that overall the Office of Women's Programs and its purposes were perceived as a "fad", never wholeheartedly supported or taken seriously by the University.

Several participants (Hruz, Nash, and Kurth) spoke of the office as set up "transitionally", as a temporary response to outside pressure, created to fill a need, and intended to be dismantled as soon as it could be, as soon as the heat was off. As Kurth said it was "a try and see venture". She explained:

> Marty's work and women's programs then was difficult because it was a transitional office, a try and see venture in that time.

> The University was such a bureaucracy and it was created to fill a need.... I don't think I can laugh a whole lot about things then. People experienced frustrations in the seventies.... There was so much to do. People worked hard to get something done that was important ... but there was much indecision about the direction of women's programs ... and opposition.... For various goals you may have had to compromise; for some things back off and come back again another day.... We learned about when to be adversarial and when to be more conciliatory ... some of the changes didn't produce the kind of consequences people wanted.

Never established with an eye to permanency or with serious support, it was established marginally, as Nash said, to look good and avoid dissent. According to Nash, Kurth, and Begalla, it started in a scanty basement room with limited space, with a small primarily administrative budget under direction of graduate students also pursuing degrees. The Office of Women's Programs was sandwiched in and under the student counseling services banner and director Dick Nash's supervision. Nash said, in remembering those early days of the program office:

> It was a new office ... money was very scarce.... I remember, not including our salaries, budget was about twenty thousand, not much. I tried to find money for the program office; it was a real scratch with money and funds.... Facilities and staff were small and not what was needed at the beginning.... First they were down in the basement; it was ungodly hot in winter because they couldn't control the heat. When we moved later we had more space....
>
> Programs had to be pretty inexpensive, a little for some fliers, a little to pay someone for doing it, but pretty much the speakers were freebies. I remember how Becky (Hruz) would try to make an attractive flier on such a little; some of the paper was

> really thin.... The whole idea of having a women's program office in the 1970s was not received too well; it was perceived as a necessary evil.... Some thought, 'well, we did away with the Dean of Women's office - let's find something for them to do' - it was a token office; it looks good, it avoids dissent.... The office did not get good administrative support from hierarchy or interest.

The office struggled with space problems, limited staff, an inadequate budget, and a lack of administrative support and interest throughout its years of operation according to Begalla, Nash, Ball, Hruz, and Nolan.

In addition, the office and staff battled opposition to their ideas and programs. Begalla said, "we ran into almost every roadblock from personal ridicule to political battles". She elaborated:

> The status of women at UT was so far below what it needed to be, so we were working against that from the start.... We were doing something that was so different and because there was a lot of sexism that was institutional; we ran into almost every roadblock from personal ridicule to political battles over where money was going to come from.... The budget was just purely an administrative budget and not much, and so we were always limited; we didn't have any type of student activities money.... We were always running around campus trying to find money; we would find out who had money and see if we could combine our budgets to have a program ... about every other week we thought we would shut down, every time it was budget time; we sort of went from pillar to post....
>
> We were developing something new in the face of all this political, the political problems of just having things be accepted and the political environment in which we found ourselves .... I also think there were some internal strifes at UT as well,

> between those people who were very conservative and those who were not.... I think because I was a female dealing with women's issues it was hard not to take things personally; it's not like I was making widgets; everything I did had some kind of personal bent to it.... This is a conservative area and so people wanted to make sure that what we were doing wasn't viewed as too radical, so you had to push for a real need, and on the political issues with people not wanting to face those issues as an institution.

As Ball, Begalla, and others expressed, the University of Tennessee and the South were very conservative in this era of the early 1970s. It took skill and diplomacy then to address gender inequity and sexism at the institutional and individual level. According to Ball, "we had to come up with a way of working within the system", a way to be nice, to not appear too militant, radical, angry, negative, or unfeminine. "People were afraid of being radical or of being perceived in that way", said Connolly. Nolan discussed some of the problems women's programs faced in this way:

> I think they probably kind of thought, 'well, just let them do their thing; this will pass, you know'.... Those of us involved in it were intently involved but probably there were those who never acknowledged we were even there. There were those still in their traditional ways that it never even affected in any way....
>
> On campus women's issues were supported by those people who were open to it and were philosophically aligned with that way of thinking ... it was 'head in the sand' or threat or hate for others.... Gender things are more dismissed here in the South.... Rape crisis literature wasn't allowed to be put in Ft. Sanders Hospital then.... The administrator didn't think it would be appropriate ... it might offend someone.... We dealt with those kinds of hurdles all the time ... it was frustrating.... The

traditional community (in Knoxville) didn't have any idea of what was going on".

According to McLoughlin, "there was a lot of punishment for women trying new roles and for those of us creating and having these whole new programs there for women" in the 1970s. She and Wickersham stressed how the constant pressures, discriminatory practices, lack of administrative action and support led to discouragement of women leaders. Wickersham expressed it this way:

> It was such a male dominated society at UT.... The women at the Office of Women's Programs were so enthusiastic and they did a lot of things but it was just like ripples on the water with the system; they didn't seem to go anywhere with it.... It was slow progress, a hard road to hoe. Few recommendations of theirs, of the Task Force, of the Commission for Women were put into effect. Administrators and faculty weren't supportive of women's issues, of those changes. Many people that worked with those things got discouraged and moved on; many got burned out.
>
> I became disillusioned later in the effectiveness women were able to make, that the administration would allow. I believe that what you see shows you what the administration really thinks, not what they say.... It was really hard sometimes, doing all these studies, documenting genuine problems, working out solutions, and answers and then seeing nothing done with them.... Women's progress at UT was always inch by inch, row by row.

The women experienced physical and mental burnout, pressuring many women out of leadership positions at UTK. Many sought jobs outside the academic environment where their leadership skills would be better utilized and received.

"The whole area (of institutional change regarding gender equity) wasn't valued", said Scott, and "opposition got worse in a lot of ways

and not better with time". As Wickersham stressed above, it was slow progress and many women leaders became discouraged, often leaving the University. None of the women participants interviewed, and few women leaders that were additionally talked with, still worked in the University of Tennessee system. McLoughlin remembered her time at UTK in this way:

> I started at UTK with a 20 hour a week job next door to the Office of Women's Programs at the Career Planning and Placement Office. My job was Assistant Director of Women's Programs at first. We both worked together and so my problems were their problems, women students' problems.... The placement office, like other areas, was very male focused.... All recruiters were white males; the recruiters came in and wanted to see all the guys who were graduating and their vision of recruitment didn't include females very much.... All the recruitment brochures had white men on the cover and white men throughout ... and oftentimes, the recruiter would say to female applicants 'well, gee we were looking for a man'.... That's where we were then ... and my job was to work with female students getting ready for job interviews. ... It was an overwhelming process.... There was so much discrimination ... getting money was a problem, too....
>
> There was a lot of punishment for women trying new roles and for those of us creating and having these whole new programs there for women.... The pressure and the discriminatory practices - complete physical and mental burnout - forced people out; in each person's job there was punishment... not only in doing their job but fighting the system.... You had all these faculty women struggling, too ... many went to more accepting college or work environments.... I remember us discussing that we might all be scattered and lost if all the areas didn't become more unified and

> strengthened, like the Commission of Women was over here and another piece over there....
>
> We really wanted a house to centralize everything ... it was always intentional, them not being linked - if you leave it over here like a satellite it will just blow up and go into outer space - I always remember that. That will always happen to an organization if you keep it on the fringe, keep it marginal.... I remember a big confrontation meeting with the administration, there were about ten women; it was about the direction of all these issues, it was about cutting the pie.... People were either for us or thought we were crazy then, out of hand, or destroying the family; it was often hard.

It was stressful and difficult in the early 1970s to be a proponent for women's equity or an advocate for institutional change to improve the status of women at UTK. "I don't think I can laugh a whole lot about things then", commented Kurth. She said: "There was much indecision about the direction of women's programs ... and opposition". As McLoughlin and Wickersham confirmed, it was hard. Scott remembered:

> There were supporters, but overall there was a lot of skepticism, that it was a fad and it would pass. It was not taken seriously. ... It was like two different worlds when you went home; at the University you could be really assertive, really articulate, and outspoken but you had to slip out of that if you wanted to fit in anywhere else.... My family didn't understand.... Some of my earlier professors, male professors, thought it was something negative toward them, my taking women's courses or being involved in those things.... The whole area wasn't valued, it wasn't viewed that positively. It wasn't thought of as academically secure; funding was also a problem.... At the beginning in some ways people were not as threatened as they became later.... Opposition

> got worse in a lot of ways and not better with time.... People embraced the idea and ... when they realized all the change and work it would mean, the attitudes changed.

Despite these ongoing discouragements and sometimes overwhelming difficulties, the office's leaders also experienced a high degree of success and many satisfactions in the progress they were able to make.

Positive Accomplishments

The Office of Women's Programs had its positive as well as its negative aspects. Listening to participants' animated accounts of the program office's successes set against the trying difficulties and oppositions was a continuing contrast of highs and lows. Interview question four (see Appendix C, Interview Questions) asked participants about accomplishments the program office might have made in the 1970s, but the office's accomplishments were related readily and enthusiastically, without prompting, in discussions throughout each interview session.

The program office was considered successful in its accomplishments on three levels: individually, institutionally, and in the community. Begalla explained this well:

> We were the only office for women students on campus... We worked on an individual level with women and at an institutional level to help improve the status of women and serve women students.... We, unlike other programs at the University, also worked in the community at large ... we were real viable in working with the community and other groups and women's organizations across the state.... We had a statewide impact in what we were doing ... and a strong campus impact.... We were developing something new....

> We had a hand in starting all of those women's programs on campus and in the community, the Knoxville Women's Center, the women's studies program, the UTK Women's Center, the Rape Crisis Program, the Commission for Women through the Task Force ... helping to get a woman on the Board of Trustees ... working with Title IX and helping to get the women's athletic department started ... to get women's health services on campus ... to get a woman's counselor in the Counseling Center ... we did a lot of firsts....
>
> I taught the first women's studies class ... brought in nationally known speakers that had never been at UT.... Betty Friedan was here, Gloria Steinem was here, Cate Stimpson was here. ... We got a huge government grant to host a regional program at UT ... did many educational programs, events, workshops and fairs on campus and in the community ... opened many new opportunities for women.... There are more women on the faculty as a result of what we did....
>
> We were like a women's resource center ... a little network and referral center ... had a little newsletter called Everywoman ... had a jobs and help bulletin board.... All the new women's groups, political groups, got involved with us; we helped them.... We impacted so many women and so many areas.... I think we did improve the status of women at UT then.... Many strong women leaders on campus and around the country evolved from work with our office.

Participants cited institutional accomplishments that included developing or encouraging the initiation of other programs on campus, providing educational programs for women and an office with practical helps, promoting institutional changes to advance women on the campus, and participating in campus studies, committees, task forces, and groups

for the betterment of women at the University. On an individual level, participants praised the Office of Women's Programs for encouraging and working with individual women students to advance them educationally and personally, providing good role models, respecting the choices and options of women rather than restricting them, and promoting the development of leadership skills and professionalism in women. Hruz described it this way:

> There were all kinds of services ... there were a lot of different types of programs.... We gathered different professionals.... We did have a big convention and many large events ... brought in famous people, women leaders.... A lot of time was spent on things for women on campus and outside it.... The Office of Women's Programs focused on doing something for women, things that meant something, helping women.... The office was very educationally oriented ... working for women's advancement, like into new fields and programs, into professions where they had been under represented ... helping to open closed doors to women, teaching the skills they'd need....
>
> The women's office helped women students focus on what was needed, broadened their options, encouraged them.... They were so effective and supportive.... It drew women like a magnet to have that kind of environment ... role models ... classes, help, guidance, films, books, materials, information ... a place to center and gather ... a place focused on advancing women.

The program office's accomplishments in the community arena were often mentioned as unusual for an administrative office at the University. The Office of Women's Programs and its leaders were applauded for their involvements with community, state, and regional activities. They were admired for fostering the development of community based women's programs like the Knoxville Women's Center and

for working with government and civic programs to promote the advancement of women. Participants often commented on how the program office included community men and women in their activities and programs. Connolly, particularly, talked about this aspect of the Office of Women's Programs:

> The biggest thing I remember were joint efforts - the Rape Crisis Center and the Office of Women's Programs, or the Knoxville Center and the Office of Women's Programs.... The office was interlinked with everything.... That cooperative effort was an intent, it made a difference; it enabled so much to happen.... The office worked directly with women ... when women were taking on new identities ... like helping older women get reincorporated into the University or working with women in get into new fields....
>
> They encouraged other programs ... they did a lot of educational programs.... A lot of these efforts then were for women to learn how to do things by themselves - resume writing, assertiveness training, interview workshops, auto mechanics workshops, self-defense, home repairs, leadership training, how to network and get jobs.... They held events with women role models, women speakers, women doing things we hadn't seen women doing before ... that created new possibilities or ideas for women.... They helped encourage voices of women that were developing.... They made room for everybody, and everybody could do something. Any woman could have a part in what they were doing, was encouraged to get involved, given leadership and responsibility ... helped to grow, to become empowered, they taught women to be assertive.... They were successful on many fronts.

Success was more service than accomplishment oriented. According to Covey (1989), success should not always be defined in a superficial

sense or only by socially impressive, outward accomplishments. Covey stressed nurturing full identity and individual uniqueness as a part of fostering genuine success in an organizational setting, seeing past the surface to the layers and layers of potential hidden within individuals and encouraging that potential to emerge. Leaders in the Office of Women's Programs took the greatest pride in these types of successes. They truly wanted to draw out and nurture the best potential in women, to move them past limitations that had been imposed on them by societal training and, as Hruz said "helping to open closed doors". "The women's office helped women students focus on what was needed, broadened their options, encouraged them", Hruz explained, "it drew women like a magnet to have that kind of environment". Ball remembered:

> We developed programs to help women be successful in whatever careers they wanted to work in.... We tried to help women and the University ... change to a more modernized, liberated view of looking at women. We focused on and provided skills to help women be more successful - resume-writing workshops, assertiveness training classes, educational programs. We helped to facilitate many firsts on campus for women ... worked with many studies, committees to look at inequities, to plan and to help facilitate change....
>
> In terms of accomplishments in that time, you saw women in positions they'd never been in ... like Margaret Perry, the first women to be named Dean of the Graduate School, Pam Reeves, who went on to be the first woman president of the Tennessee Bar Association.... If you look back on that period it doesn't take long to name fifteen or twenty women who went on to become outstanding in their fields because there was an atmosphere that the Office of Women's Programs created that let us all believe we could do it.... I remember Nancy Ann Min sitting in my office and

> trying to figure out what she needed to do to get elected to student body president, the kind of skills she would need to have. ... She was the first woman to ever be elected President of the student body at UT.... Now she's chairing one of the most important agencies in the federal government....
>
> We encouraged and supported women into new fields and leadership, working with them and encouraging them even after they left the University.... We presented important first programs and conferences for women; we had a number of prominent national women's speakers.... The biggest part the Office of Women's Programs served was it provided real role models women could identify with. It had the Everywoman newsletter, it helped start the Knoxville Women's Center, it helped start the Rape Crisis Center. It wasn't just a campus-based activity; it was a community-based activity.... We helped women at UT broaden goals. We had a mission.... We challenged young women ... and the Office of Women's Programs provided a haven where you could dream and nobody would tell you that you were crazy, where you could succeed and fail and people were still supportive of you, where nothing seemed unimportant. If it was important to you, it was important for someone to listen to.

The leaders of the Office of Women's Programs were truly proactive, the trait Covey (1989) most advocated in his bestseller on personal leadership. A part of being proactive is in making conscious, responsible choices rather than just responding unconsciously to social environment and conditioning. In the early 1970s, leaders in the Office of Women's Programs encouraged women to be responsible for their own lives, to break out of conditioned limitations. They helped women develop the personal freedom to make broader choices and to strive for excellence. They lifted and inspired women students. "A real

accomplishment" of the Office of Women's Programs' "was just caring, supporting, working for women to get ahead", said Wickersham. She said:

> Whatever progress was made for women on the campus in the 1970s, the Office of Women's Programs was behind it or had a part in it. ... They did a lot with awareness, getting and presenting facts, whether everybody liked it or not.... At that time they were very important on the campus and in the community, and that last part, especially, wasn't common.... They really helped young women on campus to get ahead.... They brought changes to UT....
>
> I think the Office of Women's Programs got programs and courses into different colleges, helped women find scholarships and funding, locate jobs, day care centers.... They did a lot of counseling.... They did resume work with students that placement picked up on, worked with re-entry women, with any woman. They helped faculty and staff women, too. A real accomplishment was just caring, supporting, working for women to get ahead, to begin to make decisions for their own lives.... They served a really good purpose.

The program office helped women "to grow, to become empowered", said Connolly. "We were being lifted up there" remembered Ross. A caring about individual lives was a hallmark accomplishment of the Office of Women's Programs.

Participants placed different emphases on what they considered the positive accomplishments of the Office of Women's Programs, but all agreed that the office had been successful on many fronts. Most participants expressed a perspective that the Office of Women's Programs' impact had probably been far greater on the University, individuals, and the community than was even realized at the time. That this little office could have initiated and accomplished so much in such a short period of time was looked back on with particular amazement and

respect by participants. Scott said:

> The Office of Women's Programs was a place that started and tried new things.... It raised general awareness.... It was a place where new ideas were born and tried and those ideas that were successful went on to be absorbed into other areas.... The office's impact was probably far greater than people realized at the time; people may not have realized all that impact was coming from that office .... They were behind nearly everything you see for women on campus and in the community today. They were behind many of the initiatives I later got involved in.... They also changed individual lives.... Their accomplishments were individual as well as institutional and beyond.

Jack Reese, UTK Chancellor in the 1970s, gave credit to the Office of Women's Programs for leading to a "thorough examination of University programs", to "many changes across campus and in curriculum". He said:

> Most of the changes for women at UT were in response to demands of women on our campus.... At the Office of Women's Programs the women leaders I worked with were very sincere ... really wanted what was good for women students. I remember how active they were, how committed and generally how effective.... Marty worked in many issues and on many committees ... and these special programs led to a thorough examination of University programs.... It led to many changes across campus and in curriculum ... gave us a kind of blueprint.... We became more responsive to the needs of minorities and women.

Begalla said the office had had an individual and institutional impact, a community and a statewide impact in what they were doing. "We were real viable in working with the community and other groups and women's organizations across the state", she said, "we had a hand in starting all of those women's programs on campus and in the community,

the Knoxville Women's Center, the Rape Crisis program, the Commission for Women through the Task Force". Many other participants verified this. McLoughlin remembered:

> The Office of Women's Programs worked with us through the Career Planning and Placement Center to advance women professionally - in recruitment, interviewing skills, assertiveness training, networking, counseling and encouragement, options - we were constantly doing programs together to help women be taken seriously in the workplace, to gain entry.... We had non-credit and credit courses.... There are newspaper articles showing job fairs Pat Ball and I did.... We sponsored a wide variety of programs to raise awareness ... brought role models in.... You have to start adding the numbers to see what accomplishments it made and study the interrelationships all throughout the campus and those impacts.... The impact of the program was in all the interworking pieces and all the people.... The impact meant that they were able to have a firm base while they were on campus ... they were the nucleus.... What was left behind was a great legacy.

Connolly said the Office of Women's Programs "was interlinked with everything".

Nash recalled that "Marty taught the first women's courses ... which were unheard of before". The Office of Women's Programs, according to Nash, "laid the groundwork" for the later women's studies program and was a forerunner to other campus women's programs. He said:

> Overall, I always felt that with the money we had and the limited University support that we accomplished a lot with the Office of Women's Programs.... Overall, the Office of Women's Programs was successful.... They didn't affect all the women at UT individually at the time but they did affect a goodly number.... They did a lot of presentations to classes ... put out a newsletter ... did many

> educational programs ... started to develop more awareness on campus....
>
> Marty taught the first women's courses like women's psychology, gender types issues, which were unheard of before.... The office laid the groundwork and support for the whole women's study area.... The program office had involvement with the Rape Crisis Center ... the Commission for Women ... a lot of involvement with the Knoxville Women's Center ... direct involvements with other issues to the foreground like women's athletics.... A lot students came over and did practicums.... A surprising number of students came in and out ... a lot of undergraduate students just coming to talk ... a surprising number of phone calls.... It was a supportive environment.... I think to the greatest extent that little office was a forerunner to the whole area of women's studies and other women's programs on campus and in the community.

Wickersham and Kurth affirmed that the office brought change to UTK, with Wickersham adding, "whatever progress was made for women on campus in the 1970s, the Office of Women's Programs was behind it or had a part in it". Ross said:

> The Office of Women's Programs fostered leadership in women.... It gave women opportunities for professional growth experiences and leadership.... They helped women in practical, hands-on-ways; they gave a lot of good feedback to help you. We were being lifted up there; it wasn't "hey, girls, let's have a slumber party" kind of thing.... They were wonderful role models of how a professional woman ought to be. It was a good place to just sort of sit in the corner and take notes to let it sort of ooze into your skin because that wasn't always available to women at that time at the University. Most all the leaders then were men,

which sent a message of its own about where your place was.

> Where we are at UT today is a direct result of the foundation they laid then - women's programs, women's studies, the Rape Crisis Center, the Women's Center, women being taken seriously in Career Services and a lot of areas, a re-entry program being here, older women being back in school, women being able to even get in some programs they couldn't get in before, political and professional women's groups being on campus, there being more women in administrative and faculty areas now - the Office of Women's Programs had a part in all that.... They laid the groundwork with the progress we've made, for everything that is here now for women at UT.

Nolan and Ross also stated that women's progress and programs today at the University of Tennessee are a direct result of the foundation and groundwork laid by the Office of Women's Programs in the 1970s. Nolan further termed the program office the "genesis" of the women's movement on the UTK campus. She explained:

> They helped advance women on campus. If you could know what it was like before and then after, if you could have watched it, you would know.... They worked with and started so many things.... They started the Women's Coordinating Council - I chaired that; they started the Rape Crisis Center - I worked with that.... They helped start the Knoxville Women's Center - I was on the board of that later ... and Pat and Marty taught the first classes for women and encouraged the development of women's studies....
>
> The program office was a formal way to promote women's issues, women's causes, it was a formal way to identity and address inequities, it was a formal way to do programming for women students and for the women's community.... They fostered enlightenment.... The Office of Women's Programs was the birth of

> the whole movement on campus.... Were those people not there, we wouldn't have what we have on campus today, we wouldn't have made the strides we did. Somebody has to do the hurdle work, somebody had to get it started. Every movement has some kind of genesis.

The Office of Women's Programs was the only office for women students on campus in the early 1970s, according to Begalla and Ball. With a small staff, limited space and funds, and grudging support, the office could have done a minimal, adequate, even mediocre job. But like a wild rose in the crevice of a rock, they blossomed and spread. "Bless where you are planted" is a good analogy in some respects to this office. The impact a few people can have in a short period with vision, enthusiasm, hard work, and altruism is exemplified here. Kurth said:

> The Office of Women's Programs was an administrative unit to get things done more than a gathering place for students.... If you were working with women students you would go over there.... They were involved in gathering data.... Marty was involved with the Task Force; Marty was always willing to support other programs, involved in chairing commissions.... They helped facilitate a lot of changes at UT ... some fundamental things.... You can accomplish things if you work hard enough ... Marty worked hard.

Not only did the Office of Women's Programs work well in the time they had, but, as McLoughlin said, "they left behind a legacy". Their impact can be seen at the institution and in the lives of individuals.

Influence on Personal Development

Participants were asked how they might have changed personally as a result of involvement with the Office of Women's Programs in the 1970s (see Appendix C, Interview Questions). An unusually profound and long-

lasting impact from experiences with the Office of Women's Programs was recounted. Participants insisted that the program office and their involvements with it had been influential in shaping their future attitudes and directions and in contributing to who they have become today. Many thought that involvements in the office, and in other efforts linked with it, had enabled specific successes in their personal and professional lives. This latter response was stronger from women participants, but men participants, too, talked of involvements with the program office altering their attitudes toward and their relationships with women at work and in their family relationships. Jack Reese said:

> Women's issues were very much to the fore in the 1970s.... I became Chancellor in 1973, before that I was Associate Vice Chancellor; I've been here forever and so I was in a position to see the changes.... It was hard not to be changed in that period.... We were in a dilemma then at UT ... we tried to correct inequities.... I remember when Title IX was passed we obviously had some work to do at the University ... it was an enormous step for the University to deal with....
>
> There were huge changes in this period. I was affected in working with them at the University, of course, and at home with my wife Barbara and my daughter, how I directed her. She's in a very strong administrative position today; I like to think I had something to do with that.... That wouldn't have been possible before; I've changed in my viewpoints and in my teaching in many ways because of my exposures and involvements in that time. Even now I see women's issues differently. Issues today are still there but more subtle; like the glass ceiling, they're more amorphous.

In a time when traditional roles about women were changing, many women participants said the Office of Women's Programs gave them the

encouragement and confidence to pursue new roles their families were not supportive of in the early 1970s. Ball recalled:

> A whole lot was going on in that period if you remember ... in a lot of things we began to accept the fact that there were going to be a lot of firsts, that women were going to chart new territory, that we would affect that, that we would do that.... I learned that there's nothing that can hold you back, if you have a dream; you can go after it; if you're willing to work hard, you can do it. I was challenged as I challenged women at UT....
>
> I don't have any doubt that I would not be in this position today, a Vice President with Columbia HCA, if I had not gone through the graduate program I did at UT ... worked in the ways I did and with the people I did through the Office of Women's Programs.... It was a very special group back then.... I learned there that I could succeed and be my own person.... I drew from what I learned then at each step up the ladder, at each opportunity presented to me.

Other individuals spoken with in the process of this research, who had worked with the Office of Women's Programs even in limited capacities, also commented on how the office had influenced their personal development or the development of other women. Maggie Carini (personal communication, 1998) said her experiences then "shaped me for the person I've become". Dr. Archie Dykes (personal communication, 1998) and Dr. Sharon Lord (personal communication, 1998) called the program office formative in the lives of many women students who not only became leaders on the campus in the 1970s but moved on to attain prominent positions of leadership after graduation.

Individuals recalled that many women associated with the Office of Women's Programs went on to enter nontraditional professions for women in that time, start new businesses, attain leadership and administrative

positions women had not held before, and receive appointments of national prominence (Barrett, personal communication, 1998; Shirley Nash-Pitts, personal communication, 1998; Little, personal communication, 1998; Volunteer Leaders ..., 1994). "Women gained such confidence and direction through that office that if doors wouldn't open to them, they just kept trying until they succeeded or simply created something new" said Pitts (personal communication, 1996). Pat Ball said, "I hope there is a group there today that is challenging young women as we did".

An interesting phenomenon in this study was the definite and decided impact participants claimed involvement with the Office of Women's Programs had had on their individual lives. This was particularly true among women, since the Office of Women's Programs primarily served women students. However, it was also true with men who became involved with the program office. Nash recalled:

> It was very much a changing time for women on campus in this period in the seventies.... I changed as a result of being involved in that office.... I had never been involved in women's programming before that ... and many women's issues ... and I got interested in that through them.... I always thought I was a women's libber before my time in some ways; my attitude was quite different and probably still is.... That area made me more aware. It carried over into my work and into my home.... Institutions should become more active in this area.

The interview participants in this study were of different sexes, assorted age groups and backgrounds, had different majors if UTK students, and held assorted work roles. Yet, there was a striking similarity in each identifying a significant life development change as occurring during their involvement with the Office of Women's Programs in the 1970s. Nolan said, "it changed my thinking". She explained:

My feminist journey evolved from that time and that office.... My role at first was peripheral.... I was working on a BA in nursing then, was involved in student politics and women's issues and then became more involved with the women's program office ... and with the first Women's Coordinating Council which I chaired.... It all led me into other areas, and I worked on issues like getting funding for women's athletics, trying to get people to listen to that, writing letters to the Beacon.... I remember shaping instances related to all that, like I had gone to the bank to borrow money and had a job - I was a nurse - but I couldn't get the loan because I was a woman.... all those things like that.

My involvement with Marty and Pat and the women's office, got me more involved in feminist things and changed my thinking.... My family didn't value any of these changes, didn't quite understand it, thought of it as 'Susan doing her thing'. Traditionally, they couldn't understand how I could get off on this track. They didn't get it. My mother wanted me to go into some kind of clerical work that was a good job for a woman. It was assumed that I'd get married, have kids, and not work. I was not raised to be career-oriented; my path was not valued by my parents. You stayed within your ranks, and you did exactly the way they'd done it....

My interfacing with the people there in the Office of Women's Programs colored my whole life.... That period of time is still very much with me, that thinking, my beliefs, relationships from that time. Back then it was more idealism; now I'm in real life. I try to live it; I transfer it to my daughter.... I am still conscious of the issues, of what I learned, notice things related to women's matters, still care about those things. I still remember slogans I learned then 'Another day, another 68

> cents'; women worked for 68 cents to a man's dollar nationally in the 1970s. I've watched the statistics to see how it would change; it's still only up to 75 cents after all this time; so now it's 'Another day another 75 cents.... You see, so much of who I am, what I look at, what I think was formed then.

Hruz recalled, "I learned there that I could succeed and be my own person". In talking about her life, her business and leadership development, Connolly said emphatically, "everything came from that time". Ross said, "From that time period I was changed ... I was never the same again".

This occurrence seemed in accord with Paul Baltes' "life-span perspective", which proposed that developmental changes could occur at any time in a lifetime triggered by factors like culture, historical effects, or experiences, as much as by predictable stages or ages (Baltes, 1987). Many cumulative processes are at work in a life. According to Baltes (1987), historical-cultural conditions can be a trigger to life change, and there is a considerable capacity for change within every individual that can occur at any given time. Scott said about her experiences there:

> That was such a defining time for me, for all of us.... The impact of that office was far greater than people realized.... They were behind so many of the initiatives I later became involved in.... It was my support group for what I wanted to become, what I became. I still have a support group from then.
>
> My family then didn't understand. It was like two different worlds when you went home.... Women's aspirations were not taken seriously.... I became one who changed, who moved out, and I became one who helped to train others for change... especially with the Appalachian Center, where I worked with Pat, and with the research, writings and the work I did there. What we did there

was used all over the United States - the research and modules we created, eight teaching guide books. The University was selected as the only school to do that work and produce those texts that are probably still incorporated in women studies programs around the country....

My own involvements, starting with the women's office and moving into these other areas, have developed what I have become - the roles I've been able to play and the positions I've held in my life.... I was one of the early women in administration with TVA; I came here when I left UT in 1978.... I am still active in women's issues, especially as related to education and women in business.... The influences from that office and that staff have touched so many lives, and the influences continue to be perpetuated through those lives.

In Jane Loevinger's defined stages of ego development, the transitional stage termed the "self-aware level" seemed to aptly describe what participants experienced at this particular life stage (Loevevinger, 1976). Participants moved from a more conformist, stereotyped, outwardly defined identity to an awakened, newly heightened awareness of the limitations of that previous thinking. McLoughlin said, "I became very much a person of having my own life ... without having someone else's beliefs". She explained:

I grew and changed as a result of my work with the Office of Women's Programs, with Career Planning and Placement, and later with the Appalachian Center.... It formed who I am today.... The impact of that program was so broad.... It supported me in believing I was doing admirable work on the campus ... and I became my own person then; I figured out more who I am and went out and did it.... I became very much a person of having my own life ... without having someone else's beliefs.... It was the

> developing of a whole new way of valuing myself as a woman.... I am still bonded with a lot of women in the community from that time.... It prepared me for what I've later become, for the positions in management I've had with Levi Struass, just affected my whole life.

As Nolan remembered, "I was not raised to be career-oriented ... you stayed within your ranks and you did exactly the way they'd done". Nolan acknowledged her own changes, telling how she tried to "live" now all she had learned, and how she tried to "transfer it" to her daughter. She said, "I am still conscious of the issues".

The early 1970s "was very much a changing time for women on campus" at the University of Tennessee, according to Nash. Kurth agreed and talked of how involvements in the 1970s time period led her into shaping leadership involvements and subsequent growth experiences. She said:

> I'll never forget that time period and its impact.... I can't remember any time since when we've had that kind of focus on women's issues ... or when that much change has been accomplished. ... In 1974 we had the women's studies program created in arts and sciences.... I'm still involved in women's studies now; that time began that ... also Omsbuds began then and I am the Ombudswoman now.... I learned about practical politics then, that you need to accomplish what you can and that may have influenced me since ... for various goals you may have to compromise.... It was an energetic time then.... I had involvement and have stayed involved in women's issues and programs here.

Nash was aware that his involvement with the Office of Women's Programs changed him personally in terms of attitudes and awareness: "It carried over into my work and into my home". Reese, too, was affected at the University and at home: "I've changed in my viewpoints and in my

teaching in many ways because of my exposures and involvements in that time". Nash suggested that institutions today should again become active in fostering a awareness in regard to gender issues to promote a similar change as in the 1970s.

Begalla, Ball, and Hruz who worked daily in the program office were especially aware of how the office changed individual lives, created new awareness, fostered initiative and leadership, freed women from limitations, and opened new doors. Begalla said:

> The Office of Women's Programs helped a lot individual women ... changed many individual lives.... I see a real number of women in key positions all over town that came out of that program ... and nationally.... I keep up with a lot of women from then.... It was a time for growth.... I grew as a part of my involvement in that office.... It was shaping for me ... it affects my work today and has colored who I am.

Hruz remembered that the Office of Women's Programs "helped so many women find their way". She added, "including me".

It was interesting that participants were more eager to share about how the program office had changed them personally than any other issue. As Begalla said above, "it was shaping for me ... it affects my work today ... it has colored who I am". Ball commented, "I learned that there was nothing that can hold you back if you have a dream; you can go after it". She said she would not be in a high corporate professional role today were it not for her experiences with the Office of Women's Programs. "I learned there that I could succeed and be my own person", she recalled. Hruz learned the same lesson but in a different way. She realized she "didn't want a professional career", that she "wanted to marry and work within a marriage and a family", and she has done this successfully. "That's what it was all about then" she explained, "knowing that women had choice", helping every woman find who

she was and what she wanted, and then respecting, supporting and encouraging that. She said:

> A lot of my formative years were spent working in the Office of Women's Programs. It was a wonderful experience with great people people. They helped so many women find their way, including me. They were so respectful of every women's choices, of my choices.... I came to know I didn't want a professional career, that I wanted to marry and work within a marriage and a family, and that that was my choice, my option. I came to understand that was alright ... and I was supported in that even in a time period and in a place like women's programs where you might have thought it would have been different, with and among highly motivated women ... but they rejoiced with me in my choice....
>
> My husband and I have three children, twelve, eight, and six, a sixty-five acre farm with cattle. I'm still a homemaker; I'm not a professional but this is what I wanted to do ... I always remember that everybody at the program office was so supportive of my choice. That's what it was all about then, knowing that women had that, had choice. I came to know who I was and what I wanted; that time helped me know that.

Participants expressed that through their involvement with the Office of Women's Programs they became enlightened. They were taught in skills, helped to advance into leadership roles, or energized in the 1970s era because of their involvement with the Office of Women's Programs. "There has never been a time since like that for women", Connolly said, "it had such an impact ... that period formed who I am today more than anything else". She described this transition with enthusiasm:

> There has never been a time since like that time for women.... People that were in those things then are still involved... it

had such an impact.... There are still women from that era that are still incorporating those ideals learned there, formed there, into mainstream and into research.... We all had a respect, without even thinking about it, of women working their lives within the movement....

It took me from a person who just never spoke out ... yet, because I believed so much in what I was doing, I was able to leave my fears behind, to learn to speak before groups, be a person who would go before city officials, before funding agencies, before student bodies and really reach out and talk to people, share the knowledge I had and gain knowledge; the more you were out there giving you were also receiving.... It helped me to grow, certainly with my identity as a woman - that's something I never had in my family ... my father had decided in advance in my family that sons would go to college and daughters would not; so that's the background I came from ... so in the women's program office I gained support, support to see that anything I chose to be or do I could do it, and do it well....

I don't even have the words to describe it.... It was the beginning of women entering areas and positions they had not been in before, just like I was hired as the Executive Director of the Rape Crisis Center.... I was now in a position only men had had before.... Women were making their first entrances into positions of power.... That period formed who I am today more than anything else. I had the idea of having my own business then and began that. My first advertisement was in the Everywoman ... my first clients were women.... Everything came from that time and from out of that support and those contacts.

Participants discussed having been treated with respect as a professional for the first time through the program office and

encouraged into leadership roles there. Many described taking their earliest management, planning and speaking roles through the program office, or in beginning to break out of restrictive, passive, dependent positions usually assigned to women. Connolly said she moved from being a person "who just never spoke out" to being a spokesperson and leader in the community, to being hired in a "position only men had had before", and eventually starting her own business. Ross said the office gave her "leadership responsibility", planning and management opportunities. "I began thinking of myself as a woman professional there for the first time", she recalled. She told about this:

> I did two practicums at the Office of Women's Programs.... They helped me have a professional growth experience in every situation helped me as a person ... gave me leadership responsibility; one was heading up an entire program, planning, bringing in speakers, advertising, it was on international issues.... The women's program office and the people there were positive and encouraging; I was lifted up....
>
> Where UT is today, what it has for women, is a direct result of the foundation they laid then.... I think it was the first place I was taken seriously as a professional person.... I was treated then as a graduate student as a professional person, with respect, not as a lowly graduate student.... That was the first time that had ever happened to me.... All of this contributed to my personal growth and professional development.... I began thinking of myself as a woman professional there for the first time ... from that time period I was changed.... I was never the same again.

Ross talked of being given leadership responsibility, professional experiences, and in gaining respect. Connolly shared about growing in self confidence, beginning to engage in public speaking, starting the

idea of having her own business. It was common in many participant interviews for individuals to detail at great length stories of how involvement with the program office changed their confidence levels and life directions.

The Office of Women's Programs seemed to have helped participants find their personal identity. In Erik Erikson's stages of psychosocial development, he defines "identity versus role confusion" as the fifth stage in individual, lifespan development (Erikson, 1990). The emergence of a sense of identity shapes later tasks and relationships. A sense of identity must be achieved in several areas, including occupational goals and sex roles. It is usually achieved, at least in part, between the ages of 13 to 18 years old, according to Erikson's theory (Erikson, 1990). McLoughlin, who worked with older, re-entry women in career services, said that many of these older women in the 1970s returned to college in mid-life with still unformed, unclear self-identities. Younger women also entered college with unclear identities.

Yet, within the environment of the Office of Women's Programs, self-identity was fostered. Confusion was diminished, and women who participated in the work of this office came away with a clearer sense of self. McLoughlin said, "I became my own person then; I figured out more who I am ... I became very much a person of having my own life". Scott called it "a defining time" for her. Nolan termed it an experience that formed who she was, what she thought, coloring her whole life. Connolly said, "it helped me grow ... with my identity as a woman ... something I never had". "I learned there that I could succeed and be my own person" there, remembered Ball. Wickersham said thoughtfully:

> I was really educated to the situation for women at the University, to the facts, through my work with the program office, the Task Force and, later, the Commission for Women.... I was real enthusiastic at first, real involved.... I changed and I wanted to

see more change than I saw happen, so in time I grew discouraged. I didn't feel we were getting anywhere after awhile ... I don't mean that nothing has been accomplished; overall, over the years a lot has and was, but it was a hard road. People got discouraged and moved on ... women got so far and then just no further....

I stayed on at UT until I retired. I watched these enthusiastic leaders become discouraged and move on. They couldn't get anything more done or be taken seriously.... They wanted a house but they didn't get it, so many reasonable things; Minority Affairs got a house later but they didn't.... so many women leaders just took their gifts on somewhere else in time.... I stayed on but I saw things decline.... I became disillusioned later in the effectiveness women were able to make, that the administration would allow ... but I can never forget what we did, what I learned and how I changed as a part of that....

I could never buy into things the administration later said about not finishing out needed changes for women on campus, in not following out recommendations worked up, because I knew the truth. They buried and shelved all the facts, all the reports ... but I always knew.... They've not kept all this to the fore because they don't want it known all the things that are needed, that information out there, and for people to know how long these inequities have been known and been going on without anything being done about them.... A lot of women from then were enlightened, had their eyes opened to things, and you can never really go back once you have seen truth, you know; you are changed.

So many interview participants used the term "enlightenment" in describing how personal changes occurred. Involvements with the Office of Women's Programs were keys in providing new knowledge and insight

regarding existing sexism in education and society. These understandings had never been brought to the awareness of participants before, and the knowledge itself was freeing. Fostering individual and institutional enlightenment or change were distinct administrative goals of the Office of Women's Programs in the 1970s.

Summary of Themes

Seven distinctive themes emerged from the participant data in this study. Participants repeatedly linked the influence and impact of the historic era of the late 1960s-early 1970s to the development of the Office of Women's Programs on campus in 1971. They recalled the influence of the women's movement, the changing social and political climate, student unrest nationally, and activism on the University of Tennessee campus. The impact of the women's movement nationally, institutionally, and individually was emphasized repeatedly. The idea of gender type issues being completely new for the University of Tennessee to deal with was frequently commented on, as were the changes in women's roles that were going on societally and on campus. Participants described the era of the early 1970s as a time of questioning, of challenging old traditions, and of changing ideas and new student demands. According to Nolan, people were saying, "Hey, I've got rights, I don't have to do this anymore". It was an era when, as Wickersham and Kurth expressed, people believed they could change things and they joined together and tried to do so.

A new consciousness regarding gender issues was a dominant theme referred to by the participants. This is a part of what Kurth termed "the tenor of the time". A new awareness concerning inequality of the sexes had emerged nationally, and more awareness on campus developed. Reese termed it a "time of new awareness and change", and as Scott and

others verified, the Office of Women's Programs became a major player in raising general awareness and advancing that new consciousness.

In working together to raise awareness and advance women's equality, women leaders who worked in or with the Office of Women's Programs became interlinked and bonded in a unique way. A support network developed among the women leaders who were, as Nolan expressed it "philosophically aligned". Participants described the Office of Women's Programs as at the hub and nucleus of this support network.

The Office of Women's Programs staff members were applauded for fostering this supportive network and for being strong leaders on campus and in the community. They were praised for their energy, work and professionalism, and they were spoken of with admiration for the positive role modeling they exhibited for women students. Marty Begalla and Pat Ball were warmly remembered for supporting and encouraging women to find their own unique identity, to reach for higher goals and to excel. They exemplified an empowering leadership style, and their leadership promoted the development of women leaders on campus and affected leadership excellence after graduation.

The Office of Women's Programs had a mix of frustrations and problems along with successes and positive accomplishments. Most frequently mentioned difficulties were lack of administrative support, scarcity of funds, limited facilities, and staffing. Participants talked about a lack of awareness of existing institutional inequities and of the real need for institutional change regarding gender. Internal and external problems within the University were also cited. As Begalla explained, there was so much institutional sexism and "we were developing something new in the face of all this political, the political problems of just having things be accepted and the political environment in which we found ourselves".

The positive accomplishments of the Office of Women's Programs were multiple, according to participant remembrances. This was especially true for a University administrative office with only a five-year operational span. The various accomplishments credited to the Office of Women's Programs and its staff by the participants would have been extensive for an administrative office that had operated on campus for 25 or 30 years, much less only five. Participants all agreed that the efforts of the Office of Women's Programs improved the overall status of women at the University of Tennessee. According to Ball, efforts of the Office of Women's Programs also facilitated many "firsts" on campus for University women. Interview participants credited the Office of Women's Programs with teaching the first women's courses and with helping to lay the groundwork and support for the women's studies program that developed at UTK. To use Nash's words, the Office of Women's Programs was "a forerunner to the whole area of women's studies and other women's programs on campus and in the community".

Resulting programs and organizations the Office of Women's Programs had a hand in starting, according to participant memories, included the Knoxville Women's Center, the Rape Crisis Center, the Women's Coordinating Council, the Commission for Women through the Task Force, and the Women's Athletic Program through work with Title IX. Participants credited the Office of Women's Programs with helping to get a first woman on the University of Tennessee Board of Trustees, a first woman in the counseling center, a first woman elected to student body president, and the first big name feminist speakers to campus. The Office of Women's Programs is remembered by participants as the genesis or nucleus for all women's programs and efforts that exist today on the University campus, and for many programs and organizations that exist in the Knoxville community.

An interesting theme that emerged in this study was how dramatically participants perceived that the Office of Women's Programs had influenced their own personal development. It was not expected that study participants would attribute their work and involvement with a small short-lived student affairs office as so influential on their personal lives. However, participants claimed that involvements with the Office of Women's Programs had positively impacted their individual and career development, and, in many instances, continued to do so. As Scott said reflectively, "the influence from that office and that staff have touched so many lives, and the influences continue to be perpetuated through those lives".

The participant accounts and the written data that could be obtained seemed to confirm that the Office of Women's Programs was a vital, effective, energetic office making important contributions to the University of Tennessee and the community. No data were located showing a diminishment or negative alteration in the office's service, work, accomplishments, or methods that would explain why the Office of Women's Programs was suddenly closed in 1976. Jack Reese (personal communication, 1998), UTK Chancellor at the time of the Office of Women's Programs' closing, could not recall any problems initiated by or associated with the Office of Women's Programs or its staff that precipitated its close. He described the Office of Women's Programs only as an "active", "effective" office that led to "many changes across campus and in curriculum". He remembered its leaders only positively. Nolan said, "if you could know what it was like before and then after" the Office of Women's Programs opened, and "if you could have watched it, you would know" just how much that office accomplished. She added, "they worked with and started so many things".

The Office of Women's Programs' "impact was probably far greater than people realized at the time", said Scott, and "people may not have

realized all that impact was coming from that office". Participants described a three-fold contribution the Office of Women's Programs made to the University of Tennessee - institutionally, individually, and in the community. The program office (1) "laid the groundwork with the progress we've made, for everything that is here now for women at UT" (Ross), (2) "helped advance women on campus" (Nolan), and (3) "were behind nearly everything you see for women on campus and in the community today" (Scott). Participants claimed that the Office of Women's Programs left behind, as McLoughlin said, "a great legacy". Until now, this legacy was unrecorded and being all but forgotten. Now, the shared experiences and memories of the participants in this study have helped to make the impact and the contributions of the Office of Women's Programs more fully known.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this final chapter is to bring closure to this study of the Office of Women's Programs at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. The chapter begins with a summary of the study, including a review of the purpose and methodological procedure of the research. Second, it contains a discussion of the major study findings relating to each of the research questions presented in Chapter One. Each of the six research questions is discussed under a separate subheading. In the third section, several conclusions are drawn from the study findings. These are brief and relate to the primarily descriptive history that has been presented (Struna, 1990). Suggested recommendations for future research or future action follow. Here some "next-step studies designed to investigate another dimension of the problem investigated" are posed (Gay, 1981, p. 385). The chapter ends with a few brief closing thoughts on the overall study.

Summary of the Study

This study has documented the history of the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Office of Women's Programs within its broader cultural and institutional context. As Chapter One has detailed, the specific purposes of the research were:

(1) to explain the origins of the Office of Women's Programs at the University of Tennessee;

(2) to tell the story and document the years of operation of the Office of Women's Programs and to present the multiple perspectives on its development, operation, and closing; and

(3) to review the impacts and contributions of the Office of Women's Programs and other campus women's programs in general.

The methodological process that has been pursued to accomplish the purposes of the research has consisted of collecting or gathering data, evaluating that data, and, then, ordering and writing up the data in a clear and responsible account. Procedures in this process have included the: (1) study of related literature; (2) preliminary studies; (3) participant interviews; and the (4) search for written documents and artifacts.

Since little was known about the UTK Office of Women's Programs, it was determined that a descriptive history was first needed in order to answer the basic who, what, when, where questions. As this basic history and descriptive story was obtained, it laid a foundation for answering the more analytical questions of how and why the events or experiences of the past might have occurred. Preliminary studies, or a pilot study, helped to establish the advisability of proceeding with the main study. The pilot demonstrated that there would be adequate literature to create a study context, needed written documents, and an adequate number of participants to interview. A tentative research plan was developed at this stage, and interview questions were designed and refined through formal trials with a small group of participants. This process was detailed in Chapter Two.

The main study then began in earnest with an extensive, in-depth literature review. The literature review also became context in the historical study. In this role of providing a background of the setting and major events that influenced the focus of the study, the literature review became secondary source material in the study and an essential part of the data. Furthermore, literature was often consulted throughout the rest of the study to clarify and help evaluate other emerging evidence or to broaden the context as required.

Historical studies gather data from the literature and from primary and secondary sources of the past event under study. Primary sources provide the best data whenever possible, and in searching archival libraries at the University of Tennessee and in the Knoxville area, many firsthand written documents were located. Other written data were found in University and community offices and organizations. The story of the Office of Women's Programs began to emerge through the combined pieces of cumulative data from many sources over time.

Participant accounts added richly to the evolving story. Twelve individuals, who had worked as administrative or staff members in or in direct relation to the Office of Women's Programs, were interviewed in depth. The questions they were asked are included in Appendix C. Data from these interviews were utilized in telling the historical story of the Office of Women's Programs. Data were also analyzed thematically to present the collective perspectives and individual voices of the oral participants regarding the program office and the interesting era of the late 1960s and early 1970s.

A further aim of the study, as presented in Chapter One, was to provide needed data to the UTK Hodges Library archives and to existing women's program offices and organizations on the University campus. This was accomplished through meetings with library staff in both Hodges and Hoskins libraries and in follow-up conferences with individuals who were associated with the Women's Center, the women's studies program office, and the Commission for Women. An archival box specifically on the Office of Women's Programs has been created in the Hoskins library, and materials and data obtained in this research will be donated to and kept permanently in this box or in Special Collections. Library development staff at Hodges are discussing topic additions to the library data base, not currently included, such as the Office of Women's Programs, the Office of Special Services, and the Appalachian Center.

Also being considered are additions to the data base of the names of women leaders in the 1970s, such as Dr. Martha Eagleton Begalla, Dr. Patricia Ball, and Dr. Sharon Lord. Former UTK historian, Dr. Milton Klein, has encouraged submission of related articles to the University publication Context, and two national women's organizations have asked to receive information on obtaining copies of the final study. These requests will be complied with. Attempts will also be made to respond to women's programs and organizations which have requested talks and information on findings of this study.

Major Findings

The major findings or history of the development of the UTK Office of Women's Programs and the experience of participants emerged through the methodological procedures of the research process. The research questions, presented in Chapter One, were each answered. A summary of the findings regarding each research question are provided in this section. Data were located to describe the origins and purposes of the Office of Women's Programs and to explain how the Office of Women's Programs was reflective of societal, political, and cultural events of the time. An understanding was gained of the accomplishments and difficulties that the Office of Women's Programs experienced during its years of operation. Memories of principal participants were obtained, along with evidence of how the structure and purpose of campus women's programs and the status of women have changed since the 1970s.

Origins and Purposes

1. What were the origins and purposes of the Office of Women's Programs at the University of Tennessee?

It was learned that the origins of the Office of Women's Programs were intricately linked with societal and campus unrest of the late 1960s and early 1970s. Students on the University of Tennessee campus, as on other university campuses in the United States in this era, had begun to ask for more student rights and a greater student involvement in the University. Questions of social inequities had become topics of inquiry and debate in the nation. Students and faculty members, especially women students and faculty members, had begun to challenge the University of Tennessee's existing double-system of regulations and expectations for women and men students. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the University began to respond to demands for change regarding gender discriminations. These were detailed in Chapter Four.

One of these administrative responses was to close the Dean of Women's office in 1969 in an effort to begin abolishing gender separate practices and policies. The Dean of Women's and Dean of Men's offices were merged into the non-gender specific Dean of Students' office. However, within the next year, a need was seen by the University for a separate student affairs office to work with the rapidly changing needs of women at UTK and to handle new women's educational programming. Women's roles were in a transitional stage at the University, and an administrative unit seemed to be needed to address the transition. A proposal was officially made for this new office in 1970-1971, and was approved. The subsequent student affairs office, the Office of Women's Programs, opened officially in the fiscal year beginning July 1st, 1971. Marty Eagleton Begalla, who had been Assistant Dean of Women and then Assistant Dean of Students, was appointed as Coordinator of the new women's program office.

It was decided by the administrative organizational committee and the Dean of Students office that the new women's office would work well with the newly organized Minority Affairs office. The two offices, both

involved with educational programs and purposes involving minority student groups, were joined under a newly created administrative office entitled the Office of Special Services. The entire Office of Special Services was placed under the overall administrative direction of Dick Nash, head of Student Counseling Services.

Specific purposes of the Office of Women's Programs and the full history of its opening and operation were presented in Chapter Four. The office's main goals were to: (1) develop educational and curricular programs in accordance with changing expectations and opportunities for women; (2) provide guidance to individual women and to assist faculty, staff, students and members of the community with women's transitional issues and concerns; (3) serve as a resource center on campus in campus matters pertinent to women students and make related literature and resources available; and (4) advise women's student organizations and conduct research.

Reflection of the Times

2. How was the Office of Women's Programs at the University of Tennessee reflective of the societal, political, and cultural events of the time?

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, was not the only campus nationally to be experimenting with new roles, curricula and new offices for women. Other women's centers and women's program offices, as well as women's studies programs, were being initiated on other campuses. The first academic women's studies program was started at San Diego College in California in 1970. Documentation for the first administrative women's center or program office could not be located. However, evidence revealed that there were only a limited number of administrative centers before 1972, when Title IX legislation put new

pressure on universities receiving federal funding to respond to gender discrimination charges. Data suggested that the earliest women's administrative centers and academic women's studies programs began in major urban, cosmopolitan areas on the western and northeastern coast and in larger midwestern cities. Detailed documentation of the development of these centers and programs was in Chapter Three. Few early administrative women's centers or program offices were initiated in the South. The Office of Women's Programs at UTK was one of the earliest, if not the earliest, women's center at a Southern university to be set up, fully funded, and fully staffed by university administrative action. It was also one of the earlier administrative women's centers nationally, and was chosen by the federal Office of Education as the first national site to host a regional training institute for gender equity issues.

Data in this study revealed that the development of both administrative and academic programs at the University of Tennessee and at other institutions of higher education were influenced by such factors as societal unrest, legislative actions, and, particularly, the women's movement of the 1960s-1970s. The women's movement had begun in 1963 with the publication of Betty Friedan's bestseller, The Feminine Mystique, the completion of the Kennedy administration's Commission on the Status of Women report, and the passage of the Equal Pay Act. Federal legislation and actions, coupled with the women's movement, were spurs to the development of the Office of Women's Programs at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. The Office of Women's Programs was politically linked to the women's movement and to its goals. Educational programs introduced at UTK through the Office of Women's Programs were geared to helping women individually and toward exposing institutional sexism that limited women at the University. The programs and works of the Office of Women's Programs were often nontraditional

and controversial. Chapter Four of this study highlighted the details of many of these programs.

Major Impacts

3. What were the major impacts of the University of Tennessee Office of Women's Programs on the campus and community?

The contributions of the Office of Women's Programs were considerable for its brief window of operation. The data imply that this was due in part to the tenor of the times, enlightenment of the era, and the willingness of society and the University to consider change. Evidence also indicates that impacts and contributions the Office of Women's Programs made were due to the office's excellent leadership and the strengthening network of support that was built among women leaders on campus and in the Knoxville area in the early 1970s. The program office was considered successful in its accomplishments on three levels, individually, institutionally, and in the community. Chapters Four and Five provided detailed accounts of the multiple contributions of the Office of Women's Programs at the University and in the Knoxville area.

Marty Begalla and Pat Ball, Coordinator and Assistant Coordinator of the Office of Women's Programs, were credited for the successes and accomplishments the office attained. They were admired for their energy, hard work, competence and professionalism, and for the role modeling and support they provided for University women. The Office of Women's Programs, with its strong leadership, became a hub and nucleus for women leaders, students, faculty, and administration on campus and in the community. This unity and networking, among campus and community women with common goals, was credited with strengthening and encouraging

the women individually, as well as corporately, in their efforts and goals. This was documented in Chapter Five.

Contributions of the Office of Women's Programs, according to the research, reveal that the office initiated multiple programs, events and practices that had never been done previously in UTK history. Many UTK "firsts" for women are associated with the Office of Women's Programs' years of operation from 1971 to 1976. This study showed that the office and staff were intricately involved in and instrumental in many notable advances for women that occurred at UTK in the early 1970s, and that they influenced the development of campus women's confidence, abilities, and leadership in their years of operation. Evidence indicates that the Office of Women's Programs influenced the development and growth of subsequent women's organizations, programs, and offices for women on and off campus. These impacts were explored fully in both Chapters Four and Five.

Challenges and Difficulties

4. What challenges and difficulties, if any, were experienced by the Office of Women's Programs at the University of Tennessee?

The data in this study suggest that UTK was responding to internal and external pressures and demands for change in inequitable gender policies and practices when it proposed both opening the Office of Women's Programs and initiating a Task Force study on the status of women at the University. As American society and its multiple social institutions began to shift their views regarding women's traditional roles, the educational institution began to follow suit, albeit reluctantly. In the early 1970s the University of Tennessee was not yet certain what to do with regard to women's equity since changing concepts regarding gender were oppositional to many firmly established practices

and traditions regarding women. Evidence seemed to suggest that the Office of Women's Programs was set up marginally and experimentally because of these controversial and unclear aspects. Data further indicates that UTK was responding specifically to legal pressures, including new federal legislation and specific changes of discrimination which had been filed against the University by the federal department of Health, Education and Welfare Department earlier in the same year. This was detailed in Chapter Four.

The new Office of Women's Programs was called a "transitional office" and a "try and see venture in that time". Participants described the office as a "token office", a "necessary evil", "there and tolerated because it had to be there", and "not taken seriously". Data revealed that difficulties faced by the Office of Women's Programs included: the low status of women at UTK, institutional sexism, the existing patriarchal bureaucracy, the University's lack of perception that there were genuine existing problems regarding women on campus, the reluctance of the administration and faculty to deal with problems or support women's issues, and the related internal strife, political problems, and the political environment that existed. A complete discussion of these difficulties was provided in Chapters Four and Five.

In an interesting contrast to difficulties described, there were also data expressing gratitude and admiration to the University of Tennessee for initiating the Office of Women's Programs and for supporting its educational programs and goals. Praise was given to UTK for initiating studies on the status of campus women in several arenas, for allowing the start of innovative women's courses and programs, and for considering new ideas and roles regarding women far ahead of many other universities, particularly southern ones. Data described the support and encouragement women received from many male administrators and faculty members, especially Chancellors Archie Dykes and Jack Reese.

Despite difficulties, support given to the Office of Women's Programs by the University enabled its growth and successes.

Participant Experiences

5. What do the principal participants recall about their experiences with the Office of Women's Programs at the University of Tennessee?

The twelve participants interviewed in this study freely shared their experiences with the Office of Women's Programs at the University of Tennessee. They not only answered the interview questions (see Appendix C, Interview Questions), but were eager to offer other memories and experiences about the 1970s era and their roles at UTK and in the community, as related to the Office of Women's Programs.

An unexpected wealth of data gained in this process led to the inclusion of an entire chapter of participant data, analyzed and presented by themes. Participants shared their memories concerning the historic era of the late 1960s, campus activism, the women's movement, and the influence of consciousness-raising groups, leaders, events, and books. They described a unique and cooperative spirit that evolved among campus and community women, with the leaders of the Office of Women's Programs at its center.

Colorful detail of the accomplishments, as well as the struggles and problems of the Office of Women's Programs, were shared by participants, along with stories of individual accomplishments and personal frustrations. With sincerity, the interviewees shared how their involvement with the Office of Women's Programs at the University of Tennessee in the 1970s had influenced their personal lives and development, along with the lives of other women they remembered. Participants were eager to share the successes of women they still kept

in touch with from that time period. Many talked of the value of personal friendships and ties that had begun in the 1970s and still continued over the years. The vivid, personal perspectives of participants provided an interesting contrast to the accounts in written sources, documents, news articles, and archival records.

Later Campus Women's Programs

6. How have the structure and purpose of campus women's programs, and the corresponding status of women, evolved or changed since the 1970s?

Evidence revealed that many campus women's programs that exist today evolved during the years of operation of the Office of Women's Programs. Examples include the Commission for Women and the women's studies program. Many campus women's programs not only had links to the Office of Women's Programs in their initiation, but evolved directly out of the program office, like the Women's Coordinating Council. Marty Begalla and Pat Ball were listed on the organizing committees, original boards, or first membership rosters of many of these organizations. For example, Begalla was one of the three administrative members appointed to the Task Force study on the status of women at UTK, taught the first women's course at the University, sat on the first UTK Commission for Women, and was an organizing member and on the first board of the Knoxville Women's Center. She and Pat Ball were involved in initiating many "firsts" on campus, such as helping to get a woman on the Board of Trustees, working to get the women's athletic department started, bringing women's health services to campus, and getting the first woman's counselor in the Student Counseling center. A discussion of these accomplishments and involvements can be found in Chapter Four.

The Office of Women's Programs aided in getting women's programs and organizations started in the community as well, including the Rape Crisis Center, now the Sexual Assault Center. This center originally started on the UTK campus and later moved out into the community. The Office of Women's Programs was heavily involved with the Knoxville Women's Center from its formation and was a base for many community women's organizations, like the National Organization for Women and the League of Women Voters. Particulars of these involvements were included in Chapters Four and Five.

The closing of the Office of Women's Programs in 1976 was surrounded in controversy. No evidence clearly documents why the office was closed or whose decision closed it. There is some indication that the office's closing was a product of an earlier administrative proposal to reduce funding services and programs for women. Data shows that the counselor for women at Career Planning and Placement was phased out near the same time that the Office of Women's Programs was closed. However, participants called the shutting down of the Office of Women's Programs politically motivated. They criticized the sudden way in which the office was closed, and they questioned the administrative decision to end an office that had been operating successfully and contributing positively to women on campus and in the community. Perspectives were strong in this area, although somewhat limited, and were provided in Chapter Four within the account of the office's closing.

Within a year, a Women's Center was opened at UTK under the Student Activities office in the new University Student Center building. It was suggested in the data that the new Women's Center would be more accessible and visible to students, housed in the new Student Center, and that the center would have fewer financial constraints than the Office of Women's Programs did with increased financing from student activity fees. Other evidence disputed these claims, pointing out

losses in autonomy, function, leadership, and vision that occurred with the opening of the new center. However, the Women's Center has continued to exist at UTK for over 20 years in the same Student Center location. It fulfills many of the functions that the Office of Women's Programs did before it. In addition, the Commission for Women, the Women's Coordinating Council, and the women's studies program, which all evolved at UTK in the early 1970s, are also still in place, at the completion of the study in 1999. Further discussion of these and other campus women's programs can be found in Chapter Four.

Conclusions and Discussion

The history of the Office of Women's Programs, a small student services office at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, turned out to be a much more colorful and exciting story than might have been expected. Although the Office of Women's Programs was a short-term transitional office, operating for only five years from 1971-1976, it made an important and lasting impact on the University of Tennessee and the Knoxville community. As the gathered evidence has shown, the Office of Women's Programs worked on individual, institutional, and community levels to help improve the status of women at UTK and in the Knoxville area. These accomplishments are documented in detail in Chapters Four and Five of this study.

Evidence shows that the Office of Women's Programs was unusually productive for a short-term administrative office, leaving a network of women's offices and programs to their credit at the University and in the community, positively impacting the University and the lives of individual women. Participants claimed that the Office of Women's Programs had a part in whatever progress was made for women on campus in

the early 1970s. The office left behind a legacy that lives on, although their individual identity had been all but forgotten.

Data have shown that the successes of the Office of Women's Programs were due in part to the leadership, dedication, passion, and hard work of its administrators, especially Coordinator Marty Begalla and Assistant Coordinator Pat Ball. Its accomplishments were also influenced by the zeal and enthusiasm of the times and by the ongoing women's movement. As participants so vividly expressed, it was an "energizing time", with women "all in this force that had a common goal", caught in the "optimism in the 1970s" that made people believe "that they could accomplish social change".

It can be exciting and energizing to be on the crest of a time of change, to be a part of an era of awakening and enlightenment. Individuals often work with deep passion, energy, and commitment in such an emotionally charged atmosphere, incited by what they view as an important cause or effort. Evidence shows that a common goal of the Office of Women's Programs, its leaders, and the associated network of women leaders on campus and in the community, was to work sincerely for the advancement of women in the early 1970s. There was a crusade atmosphere that excited and touched those that were involved. The Office of Women's Programs was frequently identified not only as a women's office on campus fulfilling its defined administrative purpose, but the nucleus of the women's movement on campus. Participants talked about being an integral part of that movement through their involvements with the Office of Women's Programs.

Evidence showed that the women's movement was rising and peaking in the early 1970s. The women's movement and the Office of Women's Programs were linked in goals and zeal, compounding the program office's appeal, impact, and memory for many. Participants vividly remembered the enlightening knowledge and personal awakening that accompanied their

involvement in the program office, its events, the women's movement, and the consciousness-raising of both. The stories often merged. As data revealed, administrative women's centers and program offices were the administrative arm of the women's movement on college campuses. The height of the power and zeal of these administrative campus offices in the early 1970s corresponded to the height of the power and zeal of the women's movement at the same time.

The late 1960s-1970s was a time of dramatic social change. The nation and its campuses were irrevocably changed, and women's long-standing, traditional image and the lives of many individual women were changed. This study provides evidence of a wide range of these societal and educational changes that were occurring at the University of Tennessee and throughout the nation. In addition, data confirm how individual women at UTK were encouraged to find and seek new life choices and directions through their involvement with the Office of Women's Programs and the ongoing women's social movement. Women claimed these choices might not have been pursued without the supportive environment of the Office of Women's Programs and the encouragement of its leaders.

Fostering A Supportive Environment

Evidence in this study led to the identification of two distinct practices that were a part of this supportive administrative environment at the Office of Women's Programs. Even after more than twenty years, participants recalled these practices and valued them as meaningful accomplishments of the program office. One was the manner in which the Office of Women's Programs and its leadership was purposely interlinked with other campus and community programs and leaders. The other was the way in which the office and its leadership consciously encouraged

individual women to realize their own personal goals and dreams. These were each detailed in participant themes in Chapter Five. Ball, Begalla, and Hruz, administrative staff members of the Office of Women's Programs, claimed that these practices or attributes were purposely promoted by the Office of Women's Programs. Evidence indicated that these characteristics were also a part of the "sisterhood ideology" of the women's movement.

Support was consciously fostered. Evidence indicates that leaders in the Office of Women's Programs made intentional effort to respect, encourage, and mentor women students, even working with individual women after they left the University. The goal was to help women to be successful in whatever avenues they chose to pursue. Differences among women in work roles, goals, personality, or life choices were not to be viewed as divisive. Criticism and unhealthy competition were discouraged. There was an attitude perpetuated within and through the Office of Women's Programs that intentionally encouraged and supported each woman in her individual life choices and goals. This supportive network was not just a "campus-based activity" but a "community-based activity", extending outside the University to other women's organizations and groups. A collaborative ideology and cooperative effort was a conscious intent then. Consequently, women from all walks of life, with diverse dreams and goals, of different ages and types, both at UTK and in the community, were able to unite for the betterment of women collectively.

Participants claimed that they thrived within this accepting, supportive environment. They credited it with encouraging them to find their own personal identity and dreams. They praised it for not imposing an expected identity or conformity on them. For example, one participant could describe how the Office of Women's Programs helped her to gain the strength and vision to form her own business and become a

successful professional woman, while another could describe how the office helped her realize she didn't want a professional career, but wanted to work within a marriage and a family. Ball called it a "created atmosphere" with a sense of community and support that "let every woman dare to dream" and then encouraged her in that dream.

Most participants expressed regrets at how seldom they saw this "heart and spirit" manifested on campus and in work settings today. As mentioned in Chapter Five, this atmosphere might be desirable to create in other bureaucratic campus structures today. Data in this study demonstrated that a cooperative, supportive atmosphere can be successfully created through the conscious efforts of a college administrative office.

Evidence in this study also suggests that women in this time period at UTK needed to pull together for support because they had so much opposition in moving away from restrictive roles and a subordinate position on campus. Documents describing UTK's past history suggest that women's prior efforts for inclusion and advancement for gender equity had been met with resistance at most every stage. Women's struggle to gain access, acceptance, and equal opportunities with men had a long history and was not distinctive to only the 1970s era. However, data also showed that the University of Tennessee was quite similar to other educational institutions in existing gender attitudes and practices in either the 1960s-1970s or in the past.

Gender Socialization

Limiting societal views and practices regarding gender were not unique to only educational institutions either in the 1960s-1970s, but were perpetuated through other social institutions. These ideologies permeated the whole fabric of American society. Debates about gender

and the appropriate roles for men and women may have been heightened in the time period of the 1960s-1970s, but they were not new. What was new in the 1960s-1970s was the dramatic change and progress for women that occurred at UTK, on other campuses, and in the nation in that historic time period. As the contextual data in Chapter Three suggested, more advancement occurred for American women in those few years of the late 1960s-early 1970s than had occurred for women in almost forty years.

It could be concluded from this study that gender is not a neutral subject field. Everyone belongs to a gender category, has a stake in its issues, and a personal perspective. A study on a campus women's program office cannot help but touch on possibly controversial, gender sensitive issues. As Begalla (personal communication, 1995) expressed at one point regarding her administrative role at the Office of Women's Programs, "it's not like I was making 'widgets'; everything I did had some kind of personal bent to it". It is probable that many of the views and perspectives found in the written data or oral perspectives of this study may not resonate with every other reader's perspectives and views. Furthermore, written and oral viewpoints were often highly personal and emotionally charged in this study, reflective of the emotionally charged era of the 1960s-1970s. Gender issues were a major part of the history of the Office of Women's Programs.

Evidence in this study supported the concept that gender is basically a social construction. Sociological and feminist theorists and educators, from sociologists Robertson (1981) and Stark (1975) to feminists Friedan (1963) and Steinem (1992), stress that individuals alone do not establish gender customs, norms and expected roles, nor do they often realize how culturally programmed their views regarding gender are. In the late 1960s-early 1970s period of societal unrest, American society became keenly aware of social inequities that had previously been accepted as correct or natural by most people with

little question. Data in Chapters Three, Four and Five indicated that educational institutions, including the University of Tennessee, were frequently uncomfortable with these new awarenesses of inequities and reluctant to make the changes that correcting these inequities entailed. One participant explained that people sometimes embrace the idea of change initially, but later change their attitudes and initial enthusiasm when they realize the extent of the work and effort that might be involved in bringing about desired changes.

Societal habits become deeply entrenched in individuals and institutions, and often even needed change from long-term, comfortable, traditional habits is difficult. Change demands work. It demands acknowledgement of the need to change, evaluation and planning, reorganization, alteration of familiar patterns of attitude and practice, and disciplined effort to then form and keep new habits. Those who make others see the need for change and who initiate or administer that change often become resented. Conversely, they may also be celebrated and idealized, especially by those who benefit most from the changes advanced. Alteration in a societal culture, as with the multiple changes occurring with social movements, rip the calm and comfortable surface of set patterns. Change makes waves. These waves are clearly seen throughout this history of a transitional student services office in the 1970s involved with gender issues and gender change. In following campus women's programs and issues on through the 1980s-1990s, data suggest that the storm and waves have not totally resided. Many gender issues are still volatile and highly emotionally charged. The subject area is still not, to use Begalla's term, just "widgets" that individuals can consider with emotional detachment. Evidence indicates that issues ignited in the 1970s continue burning, if not quite as brightly, and are still not totally resolved.

Recommendations

Evidence acquired in this study indicate that there has not been proper recognition for, or awareness of, the contributions and achievements of the Office of Women's Programs. Files and records of the program office were not retained, and when this study was initiated, existing women's organizations and offices on campus were largely uninformed about the previous existence of or early roles of the Office of Women's Programs on the UTK campus. No previous studies on the Office of Women's Programs were discovered in the course of this research. There is a considerable void in the data here, as well as in the history and documentation of other women's offices or efforts of the 1970s and in women's history at the University as a whole.

It is recommended that others follow this beginning research effort in doing further histories and studies on UTK women's offices, centers, programs, and organizations, which all have little or no documentation. At many points, when information was needed on another women's area to clarify received data in this study, it was not readily available. This necessitated unanticipated research on other women's programs and organizations. As an example, the UTK Appalachian Center for Educational Equity, a two-year project funded through the Women's Educational Equity Act, had little to no documentation. In addition, this study on the Office of Women's Programs could be expanded or replicated by tapping other outside voices, such as those of students or faculty, or by looking at the historical events from other perspectives, such as a feminist pedagogy.

Another recommendation of this study is that more biographical research be done on significant women leaders in UTK's history. Dr. Sharon Lord is a good example of an undocumented leader of significance. Her accomplishments at the University of Tennessee and afterwards are

exceptional. Her contributions and those of many other women leaders, who studied or worked as faculty or administrators, were little known and have been little researched. This should be remedied.

Furthermore, very little UTK women's history is available since women entered the University just before the 1900s. There are many rich areas open for research here, as well. An example would be the Progressive Era of the 1900s, when women students had reentered the University of Tennessee and when the first feminist movement was ongoing in the United States. Evidence in this study suggests that just as women's history and contributions have been neglected and omitted in other areas, women's history and contributions in many academic and administrative areas have also been overlooked.

In a broader sense, this study discovered that there has been only limited research done on women's centers and administrative campus program offices nationally. Few comprehensive studies or histories have been done on women's centers or administrative women's program offices or research centers at other colleges or universities. It is recommended that research on other centers and program offices be initiated while data and oral participants may still be readily available to researchers.

This research showed that resolution of issues relating to sex discrimination are far from over, either at the University of Tennessee or in society at large. The overall struggles of women to gain equal rights and equal status to men are ongoing and need to be followed. Without an understanding of the historical contexts and progressions, the overall story makes only limited sense. In regard to gender issues, people need to know from "where they've come" to understand "where they are" to know "where they might be going". Understandings of past women's programs, involvements, losses, and gains give a clearer understanding to campus women's situations on campus today.

Until women's histories, opportunities, and participation follow an equal course with men's, and until practices of discrimination cease, women and men will have a separate history. Both will need to be studied and recorded for both to be understood. At this time, this study inferred that accounts of women's history at the University have been sadly neglected. Here also, evidence indicates that UTK is not unique among postsecondary institutions in overlooking past women's stories and contributions and in failing to record women's history.

In conclusion, it was not an intent of this study to evaluate the current state and status of offices and organizations at the University of Tennessee. However, as a part of setting the historical context of the Office of Women's Programs, related historical events prior to and after the operational years of the Office of Women's Programs were examined. The history of women at UTK before the opening of the program office was explored, and the structures and purpose of campus women's programs and the corresponding status of women after the close of the Office of Women's Program's were examined. Evidence gained in this pursuit suggested that further research to assess the status and effectiveness of current UTK organizations might be in order. Participants, and other individuals who contributed data to this study, expressed concern regarding the state and status of current women's programs and organizations on campus.

It is thus suggested that a study of the current women's campus offices and organizations be undertaken. This could be an individual or collaborative student research project, or the study could be commissioned by the University administration. Similarly to the Task Force study of the 1970s, discussed in Chapter Four of this research, a competent team could be appointed by the University to examine existing campus women's organizations. Within this project, research could be gathered on how other similar postsecondary institutions may be handling

the administration, support and operations of these same units.

All the data could be compiled and studied carefully, and proposals for effective change could then be created. From information gathered in this study, these modifications could inevitably involve:

(1) revitalization, support and growth for each individual program, office, or organization;

(2) consolidation, and a combining of the separate units into one stronger, unified whole; or

(3) diminishment and closing, and a reduction or closing of existing programs, offices, or organizations.

Many women's centers, women's studies programs, and campus women's organizations have experienced renewal and growth, and many of these now operate effectively and efficiently on their campuses with strong administrative, student, and community support. Some campuses have consolidated women's centers, women's studies, and women's organizations into continuing education centers, research institutes, gender institutes, or gender centers. They have created effective new campus operations responding to current needs and issues relating to gender. Still other postsecondary campuses have closed waning women's administrative offices and women's study programs and merged their functions into other existing campus organizations and academic departments, determining that there is no longer a need for separate women's centers and programs on their campus. Their campus centers, studies and programs now address and serve all students' needs jointly.

The best answer for the University of Tennessee cannot be known until a comprehensive study examines the present situation and the multiple alternatives. Within these studies, many innovative and positive ideas and alternatives could be discovered. Existing difficulties that might be faced by these offices, programs, and organizations could be efficiently resolved.

Concluding Thoughts

This study opened many new questions and revealed unresolved issues and concerns regarding gender equity on the University campus. Lack of clear answers in this situation corresponds to irresolution of these issues within the total society and at other institutions of higher education. What some educators term the gender revolution is still in process in our society and internationally. Gender roles are, in part, culturally contrived. Our society still exhibits uncertainty in its definitions of gender roles. As society as a whole and other major social institutions become more defined in these areas, educational institutions will also begin to follow a clearer course. With gender issues still being bounced around controversially and without complete resolution in education, it is not surprising that the University is unable to steer a clear course in areas relating to gender. There is no outer clarity in the society to reflect.

Gender issues are a long way from being resolved in the nation or at the University of Tennessee. Women, as a whole in our society, have proved very adaptive in changing roles with the times as our culture has demanded it of them. This willingness of women to be so role-adaptive is interesting in itself. They have allowed their image to be created and changed by the society much more so than men. However, this study suggests that American women are beginning to balk at being so societally-defined and adaptive to the demands of others. It will be interesting to see what will evolve in these areas in the future.

Gender equity has been notably advanced since the 1970s but equity is far from achieved. In many areas the University has done thorough research and resolved changes that it still has not been able or willing to act out. This research revealed little clear understanding as to why this has been so. As one of the participants in this study said:

"We've learned to talk a good talk, but not walk a good walk yet". The University subscribes to gender equity but gender equity has not been accomplished. The wheels of progress have been very slow.

Although the focus of this study has not been on current women's programs and organizations at the University of Tennessee, it has shed some light on the current situation at the University and to the overall development of University women's programs and services in general. It has focused a particularly bright light on one women's program office in the 1970s, the Office of Women's Programs, and the impact it had on the University of Tennessee. The study has shown that the contributions of this office have been much greater and more far reaching than might have been expected. A closing tribute is offered to the Office of Women's Programs and its leaders for all they accomplished as forerunners in generating new change and enlightenment and in opening greater opportunities for women at the University of Tennessee today.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

IRB Approval

THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE
KNOXVILLE



Office of Research
404 Andy Holt Tower
Knoxville, Tennessee 37996-0140
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12/11/96

IRB # : 5209 B

Title : A History of the 1970s Office of Women's Programs at The University of Tennessee: A Forerunner to Change

Stepp, Lin Mathews	Aper, Dr. Jeff
Leadership Studies	Leadership Studies
211 Claxton Addn.	233 Claxton Addn.
Campus	Campus

Your project listed above was reviewed. It qualified for expedited review and has been approved.

This approval is for a period ending one year from the date of this letter. Please make timely submission of renewal or prompt notification of project termination (see item #3 below).

Responsibilities of the investigator during the conduct of this project include the following:

1. To obtain prior approval from the Committee before instituting any changes in the project.
2. To retain signed consent forms from subjects for at least three years following completion of the project.
3. To submit a Form D to report changes in the project or to report termination at 12-month or less intervals.

The Committee wishes you every success in your research endeavor. This office will send you a renewal notice on the anniversary of your approval date.

Sincerely,

Brenda Lawson

Brenda Lawson
Compliances

cc: Grady Bogue

APPENDIX B

CONSENT FORM

CONSENT FORM

For Research Study

The purpose of this study is (1) to describe the experience of the participants who helped to begin or worked with the 1970s Office of Women's Programs at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, and (2) to describe the historical development of the Office of Women's Programs and related women's centers and programs in Knoxville, Tennessee.

Your participation will include an informal, audiotaped interview that will last approximately one hour. Audiotaping allows each person's unique and exact words to be captured for use in the research study. No other person besides the researcher will have access to tapes or notes from the interviews. All the materials will be stored in the researcher's locked UTK graduate office files and destroyed after three years.

There are no foreseeable risks involved in participation in this project. All participants will have an opportunity to reflect on and to share their own personal experiences and will be able to help establish historical documentation on the Office of Women's Programs and the 1970's era of women's program development at the University of Tennessee and in the Knoxville community.

Participation in this study is entirely voluntary. Participants do not have to answer all questions or discuss any experiences they would prefer to keep personal. Each person interviewed is free to withdraw from the study at any time, to contact the researcher later to ask questions or add relevant data to the research, to hear their taped interview, and to view a copy of the final research product.

Each participant's help both now and in the future is highly valued and appreciated. Each person has a story to tell of a special and unique time period in the 1970s women's program development era, and I, as researcher, am grateful to share in the recording of that story.

With gratitude: LIN MATHEWS STEPP, Researcher
U. T. Work Office: Graduate Center, Coll.of Education
112 Claxton Addition, University of Tennessee
Knoxville, TN 37916 PHONE: (423) 974-0906

PARTICIPANT'S NAME (printed): _____

INTERVIEW DATE & DAY: _____

With this signature below, I consent to participate in this research study and state that I understand the explanation of this research project.

Participant's Signature

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

For Research Study

1. WHAT are your first remembrances of the Office of Women's Programs and how it began at U.T.?

2. TELL me about the part or role you played in beginning or working in that office?

3. WHERE was the Office of Women's Programs located at U.T. then? What was the facility like? How was it staffed and budgeted? Through what years was it in operation? What visions or purposes do you remember that it had?

4. WHAT accomplishments can you look back and remember that this new office made in the 1970's?

5. TELL me about any problems or frustrations that you remember in helping to begin or run the office?

6. TELL me about some of the people you remember working with as related to the office. Do any staff members, associates or students especially stand out in your memory?

7. HOW was the area of women's issues and programs, the idea of having a women's program office received in the 1970's at the University and in the community at large?

8. WHAT part do you see, if any, that the Office of Women's Programs played in current women's programs at U.T. or in the immediate area?

9. TELL me how you might have grown or changed as a result of your involvement with the Office of Women's Programs?

10. WHAT other experiences do you recall, related to this 1970s time frame or the Office of Women's Programs, that might add to this research study? (Activities of the office, shaping events on campus or nationally, unique memories, funny stories, etc)

APPENDIX D

PARTICIPANT CHART

PARTICIPANT CHART

NAME	WORK OR ROLE 70s	STUDENT ROLE 70s	OTHER ROLES IN 70S	WORK ROLE IN 1990S
Dr Marty Eagleton Begalla	Coordinator-Office of Women's Programs	Doctoral Student Education	On Task Force for Women and Title IX Task Force	Vice President Human Resources Development - Baptist Hospital Knoxville, TN
Dr Pat Ball	Assistant Coordinator-Office of Women's Programs	Doctoral Student Education	Co-Director of Apalachian Ctr Asst Ombuds Educ Faculty	Vice President Strategic Dev. - Columbia HCA Dallas, TX
Becky Malone Hruz	Sec - Office of Wom's Programs	Undergrad Business	None	Co-manages 56 acre farm with husband
Dick Nash	Director of Counseling	None	Director Office Special Services	Retired; 1/2 time Advising Center
Dr Jack Reese	Chancellor UTK	None	Prior Asst Vice Chancellor	Professor English Dept UTK
Barbara Wickersham	Editor of Learning Research Institute	None	On Task Force for Women and Comm for Women	Retired; writes & does research
Susan Greene Nolan	1st Chair of Women's Co-Ord Council	Undergrad Nursing	Early Staff of Rape Crisis Ctr-Knox Wom's Ctr	Nurse; Summitt Medical Group Knoxville, TN
Mary Ellen Mitchell McLoughlin	Asst Director Career Planning & Placement	Doctoral Student Educ	Codirector of Appalachian Center	Mgr of Community Affairs, Levi Strauss, Knoxville
Nan Scott	Codirector of Appalachian Center, UTK	Doctoral Home Economics	Board of Knox Women's Ctr Comm for Women	Mgr of Weekend Academy - TVA Knoxville, TN
Glenda Ross Baxter	Two Practicums Women's Programs	Masters Educ	Member NOW Early activist	Doctoral Student Education
Dr Suzanne Kurth	UTK Professor Sociology	None	Comm for Women Early Wom Studies	1/2 Sociology Prof 1/2 Ombudswoman
Susan Connolly	1st Director of Rape Crisis Ctr Volunteer Off of Women's Programs	Masters Soc Work & Educ	1st Director Knox Women's Center; Volunteer early Rape Crisis Ctr	Owner-Personalized Business Services Knoxville, TN

APPENDIX E

COMMUNICATIONS CHART

COMMUNICATIONS CHART

DATE OF CONTACT	INDIVIDUAL NAME(S) STUDENT ROLE	ORGANIZATION / WORK ROLE(S)
1995-1998	Marie Garrett, Janette Prescod, Sandra Leach, Lew Conerly & others	Reference librarians, Hodges Library, UTK, Knoxville, TN
1995-1998	Nick Wyman James Lloyd	Archives librarians, Hoskins Library, UTK, Knoxville, TN
1995-1998	Dr. Milton M. Klein and office staff	Historian, through 1997, UTK & Professor Emeritus, UTK
1995-1996	Amy Ward undergraduate student UTK	Coordinator of UTK Women's Coordinating Council 1995-96
1995-1996	Karen Griffin doctoral student UTK	Director of UTK Women's Center Member Commission for Women
1995-1996	Mark Constantine	Director of Student Activities Supervisor of Women's Center
1996	Betty Craig	Asst Director UTK Career Svcs
1996	Dr. Nancy Goslee	Chair Women's Studies Program & English Professor UTK
1995-1996	Dr. Norma Cook	Chair UTK Commission for Women Prof in Speech Communications
1995-1996	Monique Anderson 1970s grad student-did practicum Office Wom Prog	Director UTK Undergraduate Programs -Coll of Business
1996	Dr. Maxine Thompson	Director UTK Re-Entry and Non-Traditional Students
1996	Mary Kay Walldvogel	2nd Director of Knoxville Women's Center 1970s
1996	Jane Weeks	One of founders of Knoxville Women's Center 1970s
1996	Shirley Nash-Pitts	Director of Knoxville Women's Center in 1996
1996	Carol Hollenshead	Director since 1988 of Center for the Education of Women at University of Michigan

COMMUNICATIONS CHART, continued

DATE OF CONTACT	INDIVIDUAL NAME(S) STUDENT ROLE	ORGANIZATION / WORK ROLE(S)
1997	Dr. Tom Hood	Sociology professor, UTK
1998	Mariane Haxton Eileen Coggins	Past & current directors of Nat Assc of Women's Centers
1998	Loretta Younger	National Exec Administrator of Nat Women's Studies Assc
1998	Dr. Robert L. Levy	Sr Vice President & Assc Vice President, UTK
1998	Amy Massengill	Data Coordinator UTK Office of Human Resource Management
1998	Dr. Archie Dykes	Cap City Holdings-Nashville,TN UTK Chancellor early 1970s
1998	Maggie Carini	Co-owner Home Town Medical 1970s Asst Dir Student Activ & Prior UTK Asst Dean of Women
1998	Ray Hamilton Denise D. Barlow	Exec Director & Director of Finance, UTK
1998	Jayne Matthews 1970s UTK student in Journalism	Reporter with Belleville News-Democrat,IL - 1970s Features Editor UTK Daily Beacon
1998	Frank Cagle-editor James D. Gill Anna Elkins	Managing Editor and Archives Librarians at Knoxville News-Sentinel, Knoxville, TN
1998	Doris Martinson	Archives Librarian-East Tenn Histor Ctr-Knox Co Archives
1998	Dr. Lida Barrett	1970s Head of UTK Math Dept & Chair of Task Force on Women Now Retired Professor
1998	Becky Little	Director UTK Alumni Programs 1970s active in Wom's Council & chaired council 1973-74
1998	Alice (last name anonymous)	Administrative staff member with Knoxville Center for Reproductive Health, Clinch Ave, Knoxville, TN

COMMUNICATIONS CHART, continued

DATE OF CONTACT	INDIVIDUAL NAME(S) STUDENT ROLE	ORGANIZATION / WORK ROLE(S)
1998	Dr. Sharon Lord	Owner S. Lord Associates- W VA 1970s UTK Prof in Education & taught 1st official women's courses; also director of Appalachian Center at UTK
1998	Jo Ann Watson	Principal secretary 26 yr with UTK Student Counseling Center 1970s worked with Dick Nash
1998	Susan Mee	Equal Opportunity Specialist Office of Diversity Resources (DRES) at UTK, Knoxville

VITA

Lin Stepp is a native Tennessean, her own family roots deeply intertwined with early Tennessee history. She attended Maryville College on an art scholarship and the University of Tennessee for both an undergraduate degree in Education and masters work in College Student Personnel. Utilizing her art, personnel, and educational training, Lin developed her own free lance art production and publication business which she ran successfully for ten years.

Professional employment in the latter 1980s with a national corporation brought Lin back into the educational environment. She was Campus Representative Coordinator to over twenty colleges in East Tennessee and North Carolina, working extensively with college students and organizations, career services and career fairs, educational events, faculty departments, student affairs offices, and related area businesses. These involvements renewed her interest in higher educational goals, and she returned to the University of Tennessee in 1993 to begin doctoral studies in Educational Administration and Supervision with a concentration in Higher Education. In the same time period, Lin and her husband jointly began a new regional publications and sales business in the East Tennessee area. Their business, S & S Communications, has grown steadily and now publishes three regional magazines in two states, with a subsidiary business handling sports media sales to over 1000 clientele.

At the University of Tennessee, Lin was awarded a Graduate Assistantship for eight semesters in the College of Education Graduate Center, working with incoming graduate students. She also was awarded the University of Tennessee ReEntry Fellowship Award in 1993 and the College of Education Ralph P. Quarles Scholarship in 1995 for academic success and leadership potential. She will graduate Summa Cum Laude.